Involving communities in deliberation: A study of 3 citizens' juries on onshore wind farms in Scotland

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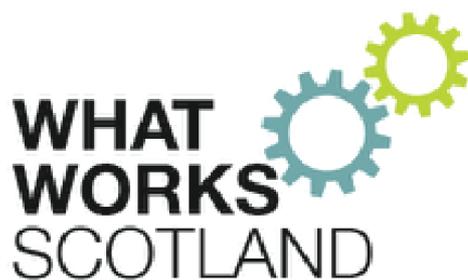
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The authors are indebted to the **Research Team**

for substantial contributions to data collection, analysis and write-up:

Dr. Niccole Pamphilis

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Dr. Magda Pieczka

Dr. Mhairi Aitken

Dr. Leslie Mabon

Dr. Wendy Faulkner

Dr. Claire Haggett

"This is the best thing that's happened to me in years. I've found my mojo"

We dedicate this report to all the participants who made these citizens' juries possible; including the jurors, witnesses, everyone involved in running the events, and the Stewarding Board. Special thanks to Ragne Low, Darcy Pimblett, Anne Marte Bergseng, Lee Callaghan, and Lucy Parry.

We wish to acknowledge a particular juror who passed away in 2014. Her words in the quote above remind us of the kindness and enthusiasm that she and her fellow jurors brought into the process.

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This report presents findings from one of the most comprehensive studies of citizens' juries conducted to date, and a first on the topic of wind farm development. The uniqueness of this project is that:

- it entailed 3 different citizens' juries addressing the same task in different locations,
- and the research combined multiple data sources to provide an in-depth account of the process and its outcomes.

The report analyses central dimensions in deliberative studies (opinion change, learning), but also the operational side to explore the challenges of designing and facilitating deliberative public engagement in practice. This introduction sets out the context and motivation for the project, and the outline of the report.

1.1. Wind farm development in Scotland

Scotland is a global leader in the scale of its ambition for renewable energy generation. The Scottish Government's 2011 *Routemap for Renewable Energy in Scotland in 2020* establishes a target for the equivalent of 100% of electricity demand in Scotland to be met from

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[1] Including contributions from Dr. Mhairi Aitken, Dr. Claire Haggett and Dr. Stephen Elstub. Some content is drawn from Aitken et al. (2014).

renewable sources by 2020. The Scottish Government's emphasis on renewable energy is such that:

> Renewable energy is a central element of our strategy for a successful Scotland. Scotland's vast renewable energy resources create major job and investment opportunities and – as part of a wider, balanced energy mix – will deliver secure, low carbon and cost-effective energy supplies (Scottish Government 2013:3).

Scotland already meets almost 50% of its domestic electricity needs from renewables and over 2/3 of this is provided by onshore wind farms. The rate of development has been rapid.

1.1.1 Wind farm planning and the role of public engagement

Scotland's spatial planning system defines three categories of development: national, major and local. These are each subject to different planning decision making procedures (Warren 2009). The general principle is that decisions should be made at the most local level, which means that decisions about most developments are made by Local Planning Authorities. Only large infrastructure developments, such as wind farms with a capacity of more than 50MW[2], are directly controlled by the Scottish Government. In these cases, respective Local Planning Authorities act as statutory consultees – meaning that they must be consulted in the decision making process. All smaller wind farm projects come under the authority of Local Planning Authorities, though the Scottish Government has the right "to call in planning applications for ministerial decision in certain cases" (Warren 2009:35), which has led to a revision of some local wind farm decisions.

Public consultation is a critical part of the planning process in Scotland. For national and major developments, there are clearly specified minimum standards for community engagement, and planning decisions must take public representations into account. And for all sizes of development, a mandatory period of public consultation applies.[3] [4]

Wind farms have been the topic of heated debates in many Scottish localities

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[2] A megawatt (MW) is a unit for measuring power that is often used to express the rate of energy conversion or "output" from power stations. One megawatt is one million watts is equivalent to one joule of energy per second.

[3] The current draft Scottish Planning Policy indicates that **all** development sizes should be planned for in the future: the "proposed removal of the 20MW threshold is intended to encourage all planning authorities to develop spatial frameworks for a full range of scales of wind farm developments" (SPP2013:52) and not only for major developments. The draft policy also sets out criteria and defines areas that are unsuitable for onshore wind farms.

Proposed wind farms sometimes encounter public opposition (Haggett 2010). Some of this opposition is highly organised, and there are well-established national and local campaign groups. Public opposition can lead to delays in the planning process and to wind farms being refused planning approval (Aitken 2010; Toke 2005). Opposition to projects causes costly and time-consuming delays for those projects (Haggett 2008).

1.1.2 Community engagement good practice

Recent case study research highlights key principles of best practice in community engagement (Aitken et al. 2014). In the cases studies, developers went above and beyond government and industry guidelines, for example for pre-application consultation, by forming community liaison groups or appointing liaison officers to create a closer relationship and dialogue between the developers and the communities. The best-practice cases studied demonstrate the value of meaningful engagement based on:

- wide-ranging and innovative methods;
- methods which strive to facilitate dialogue;
- instances where action is taken on the basis of responses gathered;
- measures to keep engagement ongoing through all stages including approval and construction;
- and the role of identifying and implementing tangible benefits[5] (Aitken et al. 2014).

WISE Power[6], an EU-funded project that is identifying ways to enhance local community participation in the planning and implementation of wind energy projects, demonstrates the attention that this issue is receiving also at European level. In this context, our project seeks to add to the body of research on how such engagement can work, and to expand understanding of deliberative processes available to developers, Planning Authorities and other actors.

1.2. Deliberative engagement using citizens' juries

The citizens' jury belongs to a family[7] of public participation formats called 'mini-publics'. A mini-public is a forum composed of citizens who have been randomly selected to reflect the

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[4] All wind farm projects with a capacity larger than 20 MW are classified as major developments requiring pre-application consultations.

[5] Aitken et al.'s principles of good practice as presented in Appendix 1

[6] http://wisepower-project.eu [Accessed 12 May 2005]

[7] Other examples of mini-publics are planning cells, consensus conferences, deliberative polls and citizens' assemblies (Esltub 2014). The differences between them are their size, format and function, with citizens' juries being the smallest type of mini-public.

range of demographic and attitudinal characteristics from the broader population – e.g. age, gender, income, opinion, etc. Organisers draw on democratic principles and social science methods to assemble a microcosm of 'the public'. The underlying principle in random selection is that every citizen affected by the topic in question has an equal chance of being selected, and this underpins the democratic legitimacy of the process (Carson and Martin 1999; Stone 2009).

The citizens' jury is the smallest and most commonly used type of mini-public. It typically involves a group of 15-25 citizens who are gathered for 3-5 days to learn about and discuss an issue, and then produce a collective recommendation to address that issue. Due to their small size, citizens' juries are intended to be demographically diverse rather than statistically representative of the population.

Like all mini-publics, once a citizens' jury is assembled it goes through a deliberative process. Deliberation is a form of communication that enables people to make informed and public-spirited decisions on an issue after having considered and discussed existing evidence, perspectives and arguments. To enable effective deliberation, mini-publics typically feature two phases[8]:

Information Phase: During the initial stages participants are supported to become more knowledgeable about the topic under consideration. This can be done by combining time for individual learning (e.g. information packages), with time for group learning where participants are exposed to a range of evidence, opinions and testimonies covering the issue from various points of view. Depending on the topic, this may include experts, officials, politicians, activists, and various stakeholders (e.g. business, community and voluntary sectors). During the process, participants work together to interrogate these 'witnesses'. The preparation of information packages and the selection of witnesses are typically overseen by a Stewarding Board to ensure that the mini-public is exposed to a balanced range of evidence and views.

Deliberation Phase: As the process advances, participants dedicate time to deliberate in small groups aided by impartial facilitators. Participants revise their initial views in light of the evidence and testimonies from the Information Phase, but also with respect to the arguments and experiences of their fellow deliberators. Depending on the topic, and the type and purpose of the mini-public, this may lead to a particular recommendation or decision articulated in the final report or statement. Then, the mini-public is dissolved, and the organisers feed the outputs into the relevant policy and/or decision making processes.

The work in these two phases is intended to enable participants to engage in considered judgement as a basis for informed decision making. Participating in a mini-public takes

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[8] On mini-publics see for instance Grönlund et al. (2014), Goodin (2008), Smith (2009), Coote and Lenaghan (1997), Fishkin (2009), Böke and Elstub (2015).

considerable effort, and citizens are usually compensated for their work. This helps to make the process more inclusive by removing barriers to participation – for instance, for those who may need to make arrangements in order to attend (e.g. carers, parents).

Hundreds of mini-publics have been held around the world since the 1970s (Crosby 1995; Delap 2001; Elstub 2014) to address a range of complex policy issues (e.g. science and technology, health, justice, planning, and sectarianism). The latest research on mini-publics examines whether, and how, these processes may be institutionalised as part of a more deliberative form of democracy at the large scale (Parkinson and Mansbridge 2012; Warren and Pearse 2008; Dryzek, 2010; Fournier et al. 2011).

1.3. Report outline

This report is comprised of 10 chapters. Each is designed to be stand-alone, though will make reference to other chapters to avoid repetition. A summary at the start of each chapter provides a guide to the contents, and aspects covered that may particularly interest the reader. We distil the key points and lessons learnt into a concluding section at the end of each chapter (except for Chapter 2).

- **Chapter 2** describes the project, including the research team, methodology and funding.
- **Chapter 3** explains how the juries were planned and organised, and the rationale for the decisions taken by the organising team.
- **Chapter 4** tells the story of the 3 juries, and provides a sense of what it was like to be in the room.
- **Chapter 5** discusses the deliberative quality within each jury, providing in-depth analysis of the type of communication that makes citizens' juries unique spaces for public deliberation.
- **Chapter 6** presents the juries' conclusions – the principles generated to address the juries' task.
- **Chapter 7** examines the role of evidence and the process of learning in the juries.
- **Chapter 8** analyses how the jurors' views changed both individually and as a group during the experience.
- **Chapter 9** reflects on the experience of the jurors, witnesses and organisers, and how in their view citizens should be involved in decision-making.
- **Chapter 10** summarises key findings from each chapter and explores the role that mini-publics may be play in decision-making in Scotland.

Chapter 2 - Overview of the Research Project

> **Read this Chapter if you are interested in:**
>
> - the project team and affiliations,
> - the project aims, objectives and research questions,
> - the mixed methods approach to research,
> - and the funding of the project.
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> **Outline**
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2.1. Purpose of the study

This is one of the most comprehensive studies of citizens' juries conducted to date. The project offers three distinct research contributions:

- Firstly, this is the first time that citizens' juries are used for public engagement on the topic of wind farm development in Scotland.
- Secondly, the project includes three different citizens' juries addressing the same task in three different locations (see Chapter 3), which is very unusual and enables systematic comparison of processes and outcomes.
- Finally, the project involves a mixed methods research design (see Section 2.3 in this Chapter) that allows for a comprehensive analysis of different aspects of the citizens' jury process.

The project had two overall research aims, which guided its design:

1. **To understand how deliberative processes can be used to engage citizens on complex public issues** and inform decision makers about how such processes may be used in public policy.

2. **To learn about citizens' views on wind farms before and after the deliberative process,** and explore what the citizens involved think about wind farm development in Scotland when given the opportunity to learn and deliberate on the topic.

This report is built around two broader objectives of this project:

- Firstly, we hope to contribute to the literature on mini-publics and deliberative processes (see Section 1.2), and thus the report will be followed by academic papers with analytical detail that is beyond the scope of this report.
- Secondly, we want the project to produce a useful resource for decision makers, policy workers and engagement practitioners who may want to consider the contribution that citizens' juries may bring to their policy area.

Therefore, this report provides the policy and practice community with insights and recommendations about running mini-publics in support of decision making, beyond the topic and political context of the project.

2.2. The project team

The project ran from April 2013 to May 2015, and is sponsored by Scotland's Centre of Expertise on Climate Change – ClimateXChange[9] – and the Edinburgh Centre for Carbon Innovation[10], based at the University of Edinburgh. ClimateXChange is a network of researchers in Scotland providing expertise on issues relating to climate change. Project set-up was overseen by a Stewarding Board comprised of representatives from organisations with a range of opinions about wind farm development in Scotland (see Box 2.1). The Stewarding Board provided helpful advice on key aspects of the project organisation (see Chapter 3). However, overall responsibility for the project and research design stayed with the organisers, the facilitators and the researchers.

> **Box 2.1. Stewarding Board members**
>
> Mike Thornton, Director, *Energy Saving Trust Scotland*
>
> Mike Robinson, Chief Executive, *Royal Scottish Geographical Society*
>
> Graham Lang, Chair, *Scotland Against Spin*
>
> Linda Holt, Press Officer, *Scotland Against Spin*
>
> Nicola McEwen, Professor and Associate Director of Research, School of Social and Political Science, *University of Edinburgh*
>
> John Sturrock QC, Chief Executive, *Core Solutions*

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[9] www.climatexchange.org.uk

[10] http://www.climatechangecentre.org.uk/

The Research Team acted independently from the project funders and included ten academics from four Scottish universities (see Box 2.2). This is an interdisciplinary team with expertise on energy, public engagement and policy making, as well as considerable experience in research methodology. The research team was not financially compensated for their time on this project though their time contribution was substantial[11]. Their participation was possible thanks to the support of their respective institutions, and the personal commitment that each researcher made to the project.

Box 2.2. Organising and Research Team		
Project Director:	Dr. Oliver Escobar	*What Works Scotland* and *Edinburgh University's Academy of Government*
Research Coordinator:	Dr. Jen Roberts	*University of Strathclyde*
Project Manager:	Ragne Low	*ClimateXChange Secretariat*
Research Team:	Prof. Andrew Thompson	*University of Edinburgh*
	Dr. Niccole Pamphilis	*University of Edinburgh* and *Glasgow University*
	Ruth Lightbody	*University of the West of Scotland* and *Glasgow Caledonian University*
	Dr. Stephen Elstub	*University of the West of Scotland*
	Dr. Mhairi Aitken	*University of Edinburgh*
	Dr. Leslie Mabon	*University of Edinburgh* and *Robert Gordon University*
	Dr. Magda Pieczka	*Queen Margaret University*
	Dr. Claire Haggett	*University of Edinburgh*

The project organisation also benefited from the support and input from other members of the ClimateXChange Secretariat: Darcy Pimblett, Anne Marte Bergseng, and Lee Callaghan.

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[11] Aside from Dr Pamphilis, who was contracted to perform the bulk of the quantitative analysis of survey data.

2.3. Research methods and research questions

This study complied with the Ethics Policy and Procedure of the School of Social and Political Science at the University of Edinburgh. Informed written consent was obtained from all research participants throughout the project.

2.3.1 A mixed methods approach

A mixed methods (MM) study entails research in which the investigators generate and analyse data, integrate findings, and draw inferences using both qualitative and quantitative methods in a single program of inquiry (Tashakkori and Creswell 2007: 4). But MM is more than simply combining methods. With Greene (2007:20), we understand MM as a way of thinking that combines "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".

MM approaches have proliferated fuelled by the increasing complexity of research problems and the need for more sophisticated evidence for policy and practice (Brannen and Moss 2012; Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 13). For instance, Mason (2006: 10) points out that "social experience and lived realities are multi-dimensional" and our understanding is "impoverished and may be inadequate if we view these phenomena only along a single dimension". Our project is built on that premise, and citizens' juries offer a unique research setting where MM can help to analyse multiple dimensions and dynamics.

A key purpose of mixing methods in this project was "complementarity", that is, the "elaboration, enhancement, illustration [and/or] clarification of the results from one method with the results from another" (Greene et al. 1989:259). The project entailed a "parallel mixed methods" research design, where quantitative and qualitative data were generated simultaneously in order to answer different research questions or related aspects of the same questions (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009: Location 2557-2563).

The assistance of the Research Team was invaluable in scrutinising the quality of the study. They helped us (the report authors) to make sense of specific research puzzles during workshops in the analytical stages, and read and provided feedback on our final interpretations during write-up. Nevertheless, any shortcomings are our sole responsibility.

For each citizens' jury, there were several

One of the ethnographers takes notes while the jury deliberates

qualitative and quantitative sources of data generated through methods including participant observation, artefact and document collection, semi-structured interviews, reflective memos and survey questionnaires. **Qualitative data** included:

- *Transcriptions* of the materials produced by the juries, such as the principles statements generated to complete the juries' task, or the multiple outputs from different sessions of the jury process.

- *Audio recordings* of all the sessions, including plenary and group deliberation[12].

- *Field notes* written by the ethnographers and evaluators observing the jury.

- *Notes* of the organisers and facilitators' reflections on the process.

- *Documents* produced by organisers including emails, schedules, briefs, plans, drafts, minutes, etc.

- *Interviews* with witnesses and members of the Stewarding Board in the aftermath of the juries.

Extensive **quantitative data**, and some additional qualitative data, were collected through four survey questionnaires, which jurors completed at the start and end of each day to solicit their individual views and track their evolution. The questions were designed to capture the jurors' views about wind energy and wind farms, politics and decision-making, their personal civic skills, and other aspects. Some questions also gauged their knowledge of climate change and energy generation. Many questions were repeated through the questionnaires to measure changes as the process evolved. An anonymous identity (ID) code chosen by, and known only to, the individual, allowed us to link their four questionnaires for panel analysis of their responses. Specific methods and techniques are presented in the relevant chapters, and Appendix 2 outlines the overall approach and research design in detail.

2.3.2 Research questions and themes

This mixed method approach (see Appendix 2) enabled the researchers to examine a range of questions and themes, including:

- What should be the key considerations when organising, designing and facilitating citizens' juries? What are the challenges of enabling deliberative public engagement in practice? (Chapters 3, 4 and 5)

- What was the quality of public deliberation at the juries? For example, did everyone participate and influence the outcomes? Were there problems of inclusion – i.e. strong voices dominating? Were all views and evidence scrutinised and challenged?

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[12] These have not been transcribed yet, but could be consulted to clarify particular instances during the process. We plan to transcribe and analyse them with additional funding secured by Dr. Stephen Elstub.

Were the discussions based on concern for 'the public good' or self-interest? Were the facilitators effective and impartial? (Chapter 5)

- **What principles did the jurors prioritise for guiding decision making about wind farm development?** Comparative analysis of the juries' 'verdicts' will help us to explore whether different groups of citizens deliberating in similar conditions resulted in related collective judgements. (Chapter 6)

- **What critical factors shaped how each jury evolved and the set of principles they agreed?** For example, are differences due to factors such as exposure to wind farms; group factors such as the composition of, and interaction within, each jury group; or other influences such as the witnesses' performance or interaction? (Chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8)

- **How did the jurors' opinions and knowledge change during the jury process?** What was the extent and nature of this change (Chapters 7 and 8):

    - **Which topics see the greatest preference change, or the greatest knowledge gain.** For example, juror perceptions of their own abilities, confidence, trust or political views may change in addition to their opinion and knowledge about climate change, energy generation and wind farms.

    - **When in the jury process did these preference changes take place?** – was it during Day 1 (Information Phase), Day 2 (Deliberation Phase) or the break between the two days (Reflection Phase)? This can establish which process influences learning or preference change most for different jurors.

    - **The characteristics of the jurors who change most during the process** – the nature of the preference change can be mapped, for instance, onto demographic characteristics.

- **Can the jury process foster civic skills?** Did it change jurors' perceptions about their abilities and confidence to participate in public deliberation, work in groups, and influence process outcomes? (Chapters 4, 5 and 7)

- **Can the process foster civic attitudes?** Is participating in the jury a positive experience? Does the experience change jurors' attitudes towards engaging in public forums? (Chapter 8)

- **How do citizens relate to information, evidence and opposing testimonies and perspectives?** How do they interact with, and relate to the different witnesses, and how is this influenced by factors such as the affiliation of the witness (i.e. whether they are an academic, activist or industry representative)? (Chapters 4 and 7)

- **What are the prospects for the citizens' jury as a format for public engagement in decision-making** from the perspective of the jurors, witnesses, Board members and researchers? (Chapters 9 and 10)

- **How could citizens' juries and other deliberative mini-publics be used in policy and decision making in Scotland?** What role can they play in democratic government and participatory policy making? (Chapter 10)

The main analysis of, and conclusions on, these themes are presented in this report. The bulk of data sets will be placed in a public database 4 years after the project close to enable additional research benefit from the project.

2.4. Project funding and cost

As mentioned earlier, the project was sponsored by Scotland's Centre of Expertise on Climate Change – ClimateXChange – and the Edinburgh Centre for Carbon Innovation, based at the University of Edinburgh. The total budget for running the juries was £40,000. Principal expenditure is summarized in Table 2.1 below, and a detailed breakdown of the project costs is provided in Appendix 4.

The ambitious research scope of the project was accomplished thanks to significant time contributions from the project and research teams, for which there was no financial compensation[13]. Total costs for the project would have been significantly greater without their generosity and interest in this research. Therefore, most expenditure went towards actually running the juries.

Table 2.1 Key project expenditure, showing total cost and cost per jury.

Delivering the juries	Cost
Recruitment	£10,000
Venue hire & catering	£3,600
Materials & Printing	£600
Facilitator's fees	£9,000
Jurors' stipends (both days)	£8,000
Travel expenses	£1,600
TOTAL	£33,000
Per Jury	£11,000

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[13] Besides reimbursement of travel expenses to attend juries, workshops and meetings.

Chapter 3 - Organising the citizens' juries: Between politics and logistics

3.1. Introduction

This chapter reflects the dilemmas and challenges that deliberative practitioners face when organising public forums, and the balance that must be struck when negotiating the tensions between politics and logistics. Reports on participation processes often focus on the visible part of public forums. Using a theatre metaphor, that is what we call the 'frontstage'. This chapter is about the dimensions that rarely get reported: the myriad challenges, trials and tribulations that take place 'backstage', out of sight for those observing or participating. Frontstage dynamics are important, but they are influenced by the tensions between politics and logistics that unfold backstage (Escobar 2014a). And we think we can learn from analysing them.

In that spirit, we must start with the inception of these citizens' juries. The origin of this project goes back to November 2012, when the Edinburgh Centre for Carbon Innovation and ClimateXChange hosted a forum on Scotland's energy future. It aimed to open up debate about energy policy and explore the underlying concerns and ambitions of the protagonists in that debate. Participants were drawn from groups with a strong interest in, and clear position on, energy issues.

Reflecting on the event afterwards, the organisers observed that the fact that the 'silent majority' – those without a strong voice in the public discourse on energy policy – were not represented meant that the dialogue only got so far. In particular, the organisers began to wonder whether the large amount of 'noise' from those who proclaim themselves either for or against wind power was drowning out the voices of wider publics. The organisers then conceived of a research project that would analyse a deliberative approach to exploring people's views.

This led to a meeting in April 2013 between ClimateXChange (CXC) and one of the authors here (Escobar), whose time was generously donated by Edinburgh University's Academy of Government to develop that initial idea into a fully-fledged project. Fortunately, another of the authors here (Roberts) was about to begin a ClimateXChange postdoctoral position at the University of Strathclyde, and she joined the project as the Research Coordinator. The timeline in Table 3.1 details key activities over the duration of the project.

Table 3.1 Overall project timeline and milestones

April – June 2013	July – September 2013	October 2013 – February 2014	March 2014 – May 2015
Initial meetings	Deciding the juries' task	Implementing jurors' recruitment	Data analysis and report preparation
Organising Team	Selecting locations and venues	**Managing and facilitating the 3 juries**	
Facilitation Team	Agreeing and approaching potential witnesses	Research: data generation	
Stewarding Board	Contracting and designing jurors' recruitment	Following up with jurors, witnesses and Stewarding Board	
Research Team	Designing the research		
Invitation to quote: Juror recruitment	Preparing the Jurors' Handbook		
	Preparing the Witnesses Brief		
	Designing the jury process and facilitation strategies		
	Preparing facilitation materials		
	Preparing communications plan		

3.2. Organisers' roles: Coordinating, mediating, problem-solving

Reviewing data on the organisational side of the project (i.e. internal emails, debrief sessions, organisers' reflective memos) suggests a set of core skills and traits needed in the Organising Team (OT):

- **Coordination and communication.** The project entailed planning and coordinating parallel work streams (e.g. logistics, research, Stewarding Board, witness selection, jurors' recruitment, learning materials) and communicating across a range of teams, contributors and networks.

- **Mediation and consensus-building.** This was particularly crucial with regard to the functioning of the Stewarding Board, as later shown.

- **Adaptation and problem-solving.** These processes involve many dimensions and the only certainty is that initial plans will have to be adapted to cope with emerging problems.

- **Political know-how and personal resilience.** Operating in a contested policy arena requires political know-how to respect and accommodate diverse perspectives, sensibilities and approaches. Organisers are always at risk of losing the trust and goodwill of key stakeholders, which can derail the process and render it futile. Such pressures can take their toll, and hence personal resilience and a supportive team are crucial.

- **Facilitation.** In running the juries, careful facilitation is instrumental to create a space for inclusive participation and substantial deliberation. The craft of enabling meaningful conversations on complex topics is perhaps one of the most challenging and overlooked skills in public life (Escobar 2011), and these juries offered numerous lessons on this (see Chapter 5).

- **Interpersonal rapport and humility.** The project entailed developing relationships with a wide range of people, including Board members, expert witnesses and jurors. Those relationships can be the foundation of this kind of process, and interpersonal rapport may sustain it through difficult junctures. Particularly important is the ability to build trust from the jurors in a very short period of time, and this requires respect, empathy and an ethic of care for each and every one of them. Unavoidably, mistakes are made, and organisers must have the humility to recognise these and address them when possible. This is not always easy in highly polarised policy contexts, where even honest mistakes can be used to undermine entire processes.

- **Reflective practice.** The OT was constantly learning by engaging with the various situations at hand and reflecting on past and future incidents and courses of action. This learning was shared over the months through internal meetings, endless ongoing conversations, and systematic debriefs after key events (e.g. end of each jury day).

This is a demanding set of skills and traits seldom found in a single individual, but organising juries is a team effort and hence the key is to assemble a multifaceted team. Our OT had

seven people (Ragne Low, Jen Roberts, Oliver Escobar, Darcy Pimblett, Wendy Faulkner, Lee Callaghan and Anne Marte Bergseng) who invested months of work to make this project happen, while still juggling their various 'day jobs'.

3.2.1 The challenge of assembling a Stewarding Board

Assembling an appropriate Stewarding Board (SB) is crucial to the organisation of juries because it underpins the arguments that can eventually be made about the fairness, legitimacy and transparency of the process. This is particularly important in a contested field such as wind farm development in Scotland. Organisers and sponsors can be seen with suspicion by stakeholders from all sides of a debate (example in Box 3.1), and the Stewarding Board should ideally function as the guarantor of the overall integrity of the process.

> **Box 3.1 Witness expressing initial suspicion during an interview**
>
> *"I reckoned this was a stitch up by the Scottish Government to get the answer which they wanted... I had grave reservations about participating in what I thought might simply be a fixed-up publicity exercise."*

Since these juries were a research project, rather than part of a real decision making process, the SB was given less responsibility than they would have otherwise, and the Research Team had control over final decisions. Nonetheless, the SB played a central role in deciding by consensus:

- The task to be carried out by the juries
- The locations of the juries
- The list of potential and final witnesses
- Demographic criteria for recruiting jurors
- Materials to be included in the Jurors' Handbook (see Chapter 7)

Assembling the SB as an advisory body was far from straightforward. The following subsections explore the composition and functioning of the SB, points of contestation, and the evaluation of the experience by SB members.

3.2.1.1 Composition, functioning and contestation

The Organising Team (OT) considered carefully who may be invited to the SB. The starting premise was to have people from the anti- and pro-wind farms side of the debate, as well as impartial members. It is too simplistic to characterise people as 'pro' or 'anti', but we use this terminology throughout the report for narrative ease. The following six people were invited and accepted to join, on the basis that

> **Box 3.2 SB member reflecting on the role of the SB in an interview**
>
> *"I suppose one of the other functions of the Stewarding Board was to provide legitimacy to the research by bringing together people who were from different sides ... that's not necessarily a bad role for an advisory board to give legitimacy to a project but it can potentially lead to some challenges for the research team."*

they could withdraw at any time:

- From the broadly pro-wind farms side of the argument: Mike Thornton (Director of Energy Saving Trust Scotland) and Mike Robinson – (climate change activist and Chief Executive of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society).

- From the broadly anti-wind farms side: Linda Holt (Press Officer, Scotland Against Spin) and Graham Lang (Chair, Scotland Against Spin).

- Impartial: Professor Nicola McEwen (at the time Director of Public Policy at Edinburgh University's Academy of Government) and John Sturrock QC (mediator and Chief Executive of Core Solutions).

The OT did not invite onto the SB people that would be approached as potential witnesses. Minded of the limited availability of SB members, the OT proposed a single face-to-face meeting, with the rest of the Board's work to be done by other means. The agenda for the meeting included a presentation of the project and discussion on the issues outlined above (task, locations, witnesses, recruitment, materials, process). Agreement was reached on the criteria for locations and recruitment, as well as the overall parameters of the process. Other issues required work after the meeting. As shown later, the most challenging issues were defining the task and selecting the witnesses.

> **Box 3.3 Stewarding Board member reflects on the dynamics at the meeting**
>
> *"It was clear that members of the steering board [sic] were bringing their own agendas –probably including me– in trying to ensure that the research was addressing some of their concerns and interests."*

During the SB meeting, all members engaged respectfully and explored disagreements and options constructively. In subsequent interviews with three SB members (conducted by Dr. Mhairi Aitken), none found anything particularly challenging, and despite tensions, there was agreement that Board discussion was productive and well facilitated. An interviewee added nuance: "*Not conflicts but challenges for the researchers to try and ensure that they kept everyone on board.*" Another interviewee reflected on difficulties associated with the diversity of positions represented and the dynamics involved:

> *SB member: We were deliberately selected to provide a range of opinions, so certainly at the outer edges of that there were quite differing and strongly held views. They didn't erupt into conflict and I don't think they inhibited the workings of the Board but it was quite noticeable that [the view of one of the parties] was that there was bound to be bias against them and it was their duty to look out for bias wherever they might find it…. So I think they had quite an adversarial attitude, I think they'd probably say they felt beleaguered and that their behaviour arose from that… I don't think they were beleaguered in the Stewarding Board, I think we went out of our way to be as accommodating and polite as possible, but then again you might want to ask them about that!*
>
> *Interviewer: Do you feel that that dynamic was managed appropriately?*
>
> *SB member: Yes, I think it was fine in terms of the process as it went on. And I do think it was right to have them on the Stewarding Board.*

Interestingly, the other party alluded to did not mention feeling beleaguered or that the meeting was adversarial. So this fragment exemplifies the complex game of assumptions and unfolding dynamics that form the undercurrent of a SB meeting. It also illustrates at least four points.

Firstly, it shows the sensibilities at stake, particularly around power dynamics and perceptions about how different members approach interaction. Secondly, it shows that this was not simply a ritualistic space for "apparent consensus" (Urfalino 2006) where the parties were reluctant to engage in robust challenge. This suggests that they took their role seriously in terms of scrutiny and oversight, which is crucial to the legitimacy of the SB and the project. Thirdly, the recognition that "it was right" for those on the other side of the argument to be represented, indicates agreement on the need for a diversity of views. This seems an obvious point, but sometimes it can be nearly impossible to get people from all sides of a policy issue willing to work together on a project (Hendriks 2011). Finally, the fragment also illustrates that careful facilitation can be instrumental to make meetings productive despite tensions. If participants feel facilitators have kept the process fair, they often value the opportunity to engage with those with whom they disagree (see Box 3.4).

The main challenge to the legitimacy of the SB came from outside. A key organisation representing the wind farm industry did not feel that its interests were represented at the SB. The OT explained that the plan had been to draw on industry representatives as witnesses at the juries, which was eventually the case. At the time, that seemed a good reason because the anti-wind farm SB members were not expected to also to act as witnesses. But due to difficulties we explain later, the plan changed. The OT also reassured industry representatives that pro-wind farm views were present at the SB, and further explained that the SB had an advisory role and that decision-making stayed

> **Box 3.4 SB member reflects on the experience**
>
> *"I've learnt a little about citizens' juries from the materials that were developed and so on, and as I knew absolutely nothing about them beforehand that's got to count as a plus. And of course because [one of the parties] were also on the panel there was some direct contact with them, which I hadn't had before, so there were learnings. It was a good experience, I don't regret it; it wasn't bad. Just limited I guess."*

with the organisers, researchers and facilitators. In hindsight, the OT realised that not having industry representation at the SB was a mistake. In retrospect, it might also have been helpful to have wider interests represented on the SB, for example from consumer groups or community wind organisations.

3.2.1.2 The Stewarding Board members' evaluation of the project

The three SB interviewees were satisfied that the project was well managed and delivered the juries according to plan. As one stated: *"The outcome was that there was a program of citizens' juries set up, and that was what the objective was so that outcome was satisfactory"*.

Nonetheless, each interviewee had suggestions on how things could have been improved. For instance, one was not wholly satisfied with the selection of witnesses, a point explored later. Others would have liked to be more involved in the overall process and learn more by attending the juries. The facilitators were strict on who could attend on the assumption that creating a "safe space" where jurors could participate may have been more difficult in the presence of spectators.

In addition, the OT was perhaps overly worried about demanding too much time of the SB members, and this meant minimising their role. It seems that at least some of them would have happily put more time into it. As Mhairi Aitken argues in her report on the interviews, the OT could have put more attention into learning what the SB members were hoping to get out of the experience, and "*ensuring that everyone has reasonable expectations of what their participation will entail*".

When asked whether they would undertake a similar role in the future, their responses were cautious. One said simply not, due to the time commitment, and another answered that perhaps, but subject to having a chance to attend the juries. It is important to note that, since this was a research project, the incentives to participate in the SB were arguably different than if this were an actual decision making process.

3.2.2 The juries' task

Defining the task might have been easier if this was a real decision making process and the question could have been simpler – e.g. "should there be a new wind farm in X?' In that case, jurors would not be tasked with examining the merits of a detailed proposal and produce a reasoned response and recommendations. But that was not the context here. The challenge was to keep it specific, doable and relevant.

The focus on wind farm development was decided by the OT, based upon the initial impetus for the project outlined earlier. This was later criticised by one industry representative who thought the topic should have been the energy system more broadly, or that it ought to have embraced the planning system context more fully. As illustrated in Box 3.5, this was a critique of the framing for the process. The argument was that it is artificial and unhelpful to consider wind farms as an energy generation technology in isolation; and also that proper consideration of the planning system context was essential if the juries were to make informed and legitimate statements.

Box 3.5 Interview with industry representative

"The failure was that the organisers took a topic that they knew would be controversial and then didn't manage the delivery of that topic so I think the result will be questionable".

Having said that, everybody at the Stewarding Board (SB) agreed on the relevance of the topic and the focus of the project, as did the entire Research Team (RT). The task was chosen to be manageable for the jurors in the short time available to them, and it would not have

been practical to include full consideration of the energy mix and planning system in the task wording. However, we explore the limitations of the task's scope further in Chapters 4 and 6

During their meeting SB members agreed that there were two broad areas that were salient in current debates: firstly, the issue of whether there should be limits to wind farm development and if so, which ones; and secondly, the question of what principles should guide decision making about wind farms. These were clearly interrelated issues, and at the time it seemed reasonable to bring them together into the juries' task. However, after the meeting, the SB engaged in an email discussion on the merits of subsequent draft task wordings (see Table 3.2) and some points of contention emerged. The main problem was around the issue of "limits", because it was difficult to generate task questions that were non-leading. In addition, given the short time available at the juries, the OT had concerns about the task being unmanageable – i.e. the question of limits becoming too time consuming and leaving no room for the question about principles for decision making.

After three weeks of proposals and counter-proposals, tweaks and counter-tweaks, long emails with fully fledged explanations from SB members, and a few bilateral phone calls with the OT acting as mediators, the SB agreed the final scope and phrasing of the task (see Table 3.2). The introductory paragraph remained the same, the question about limits was dropped, and "why" was added to the question to emphasise the deliberative approach.

Table 3.2 Examples of evolving 'jury task' drafts discussed by the Stewarding Board

Draft 1	Draft 2	Draft 3	Agreed final task
There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.	*There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.*	*There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.*	*There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.*
Do you think there should be limits to the development of wind farms in Scotland, and if so, what should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development?"	What, if any, limits do you think there should be to the development of wind farms in Scotland, and if so, what should be the key principles for deciding about the extent of wind farm development?	This Citizens' Jury will address two overall questions: 1. Should there be any limits to the development of wind farms in Scotland? 2. If so, what should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development?	**What should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development, and why?**

In retrospect, we can make three points. Firstly, the definition of the task worked well, in the sense that the juries were able to engage with it and accomplish it despite time constraints (see Chapters 4 and 6). Secondly, the agreed task was: as specific as it could be at the time, given the nature of the project (i.e. research rather than decision making); as doable as the SB and OT could manage, although arguably still rather abstract; and crucially, highly relevant given the current debate on wind farms in Scotland. Finally, considered deliberation between SB members, and their willingness to work together until finding the right articulation, made the finally agreed task better (i.e. specific, doable, relevant) than the initial drafts.

3.2.3 Locations and venues

Initially, the Organising Team (OT) proposed two criteria for choosing locations: proximity to wind farms, and urban/rural contexts. The proposal was to select juries in three locations: one urban, one near a wind farm and one distant from wind farms, the idea being to explore the potential differences in perspectives across both different types of community and different levels of exposure to wind farms. However, the Stewarding Board (SB) felt that there was a lack of rigour in that split and that there would be too many differences between each jury to allow for meaningful comparisons. Furthermore, the SB felt that we would learn more from focusing on the contested space where public debate about wind farm developments is actually happening (i.e. mainly rural areas).

Discussions with the Research Team (RT) and Ipsos MORI (the juror recruiters) further helped to develop the OT's thinking about locations. The advice from both was to concentrate recruitment on parts of the country that have not already been heavily researched (see also Clark 2008), and to recruit from towns or groups of villages rather than dispersed communities. The latter is because it is challenging to recruit in dispersed communities and difficult to then bring people together at a convenient location for the jury's meetings. Budgetary constraints meant that the juries would need to meet in locations accessible in a day from the central belt where the RT was based. As a result of all of this, the OT, the RT and the SB agreed on three proposed regions: the Borders, Argyll and Bute, and Perth and Kinross.

The locations were selected according to their exposure to wind farm developments:

- one location close to an existing wind farm (Aberfeldy),
- one with a wind farm proposed nearby (Helensburgh)
- and a third with no existing or proposed wind farms[14] (Coldstream).

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[14] Though there are a few existing or proposed individual turbines nearby, and several large wind farms in the Borders region.

Figure 3.1. Juries' locations in Scotland: Coldstream (Scottish Borders), Helensburgh (Argyll and Bute), and Aberfeldy (Perth and Kinross)[15]
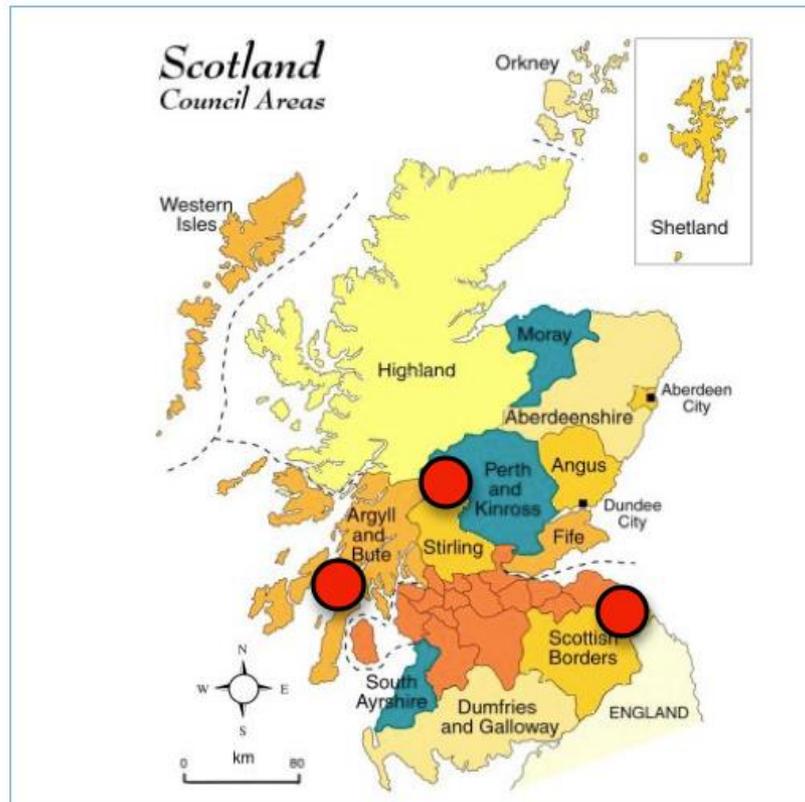
As far as possible, the locations were chosen to be of similar size and rural characteristics. The OT decided to start in Coldstream in order to test the jury design in a location likely to have less controversy about wind farms. Helensburgh had a dynamic public debate at the time due to an ongoing wind farm proposal, and the OT feared creating confusion or false expectations about the jury – which was not connected to the decision making process on that proposal. The OT also thought that Helensburgh and Aberfeldy residents were more likely to be aware of debates around wind farms and therefore the jury had the potential to be a lively and contested space, which may not be the best place to test the design for the first time, especially for witnesses and facilitators. As an OT member put it in an internal email: "*choosing a less controversial location for the first jury would perhaps ease us all into the project more gently*". The order of the juries is included in Table 3.3 with a summary of other details.

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[15] Source: http://www.scottish-places.info/scotland.html

Table 3.3 The three citizens' juries' – information about jury location and dates

Jury number, town (population) and **Local Authority** (population)	Local wind farms? Current / proposed	Day 1 Date	# Jurors	Break Weeks	Day 2 Date	# Jurors
1 **Coldstream** (1,813) Scottish Borders (109,270)	No / No	Oct 2013	16	3	Nov 2013	15*
2 **Helensburgh** (14,626) Argyll & Bute (91,190)	No / No	Nov 2013	15	2	Nov 2013	14*
3 **Aberfeldy** (1,895) Perth & Kinross (137,520)	Yes /	Jan 2014	18	2	Feb 2014	18

Two participants left the process due to ill health and relocation.

3.2.3.1 Venues and catering: heaters, acoustics and bacon rolls

Finding a suitable venue for a jury can seem deceptively simple, and yet it often becomes a key challenge. There are not many spaces that fulfil the needs of a process like this, for instance:

- **Accessibility.** The venue should be central, easy to get to by public transport and car (i.e. car parking), and accessible for disable participants.

- **Size.** It should be big enough to comfortably sit up to 20 jurors in plenary sessions, and be able to work in separate groups without noise disturbance. It should also accommodate organisers, researchers and witnesses without becoming a distraction to the jurors.

- **Layout.** Organisers and facilitators should be able to play with the space, adapting layouts and furniture to each session. For instance, sessions with witnesses featured tables in horseshoe layout for the plenary, and separate roundtable stations for working groups. Other times, jurors sat in circles without tables, or moved along the room and worked standing in front of displays on the walls. In addition, in Day 1 there was a stage for witnesses to present. The venue must therefore be adaptable for a range of formats and facilitation techniques.

The venues had to accommodate different types of facilitation and interaction

- **Fittings and walls.** Simple things like the availability of electric mains can dictate the layout to set up projectors, screens and other devices. Also, the facilitators used 'sticky walls', which are large nylon sheets were paper can be stuck and repositioned during group work, and various materials can be displayed throughout the process. This basic facilitation tool can be difficult to set up depending on the walls.

- **Acoustics.** Many venues for public forums are built on the assumption that there shall be a speaker and an audience, and this is problematic for accommodating forums where people deliberate in groups. The acoustics of a room can have a detrimental effect on the extent to which people can follow a conversation and thus meaningfully engage with it. In this project, two witnesses had hearing difficulties and the poor acoustics sometimes hindered the flow of their interaction with the jurors. Microphones can solve this but, unless everyone is equipped with one (which is expensive), having only a pair of roaming microphones can hinder the flow of interaction and put some people off from speaking.

- **Catering area.** Ideally, the venue should have a separate area for catering. Participants are often glad to move and have a separate social space after spending hours working in a room, and this also reduces disruption by the caterers.

- **Symbolism.** Spaces are 'political' (cf. Winner 1980) at least in two ways – internally and externally. Firstly, different layouts can symbolise different relationships (i.e. the hierarchical nature of a speaker/audience set up vs. the egalitarian ethos of a circle of chairs) and thus foster different dynamics and interactions (Escobar 2011, 2014). Secondly, it matters what certain venues may mean to different people (cf. Edelman 1988). For instance, the building may symbolise different values and elicit certain assumptions (i.e. government building vs. community hall). The OT tried to find town and community halls, but in one case had to resort to a commercial space. Opting for community spaces is not only arguably more coherent from a participatory ethos, but also more affordable.

As Table 3.4 shows, the three main problems with some of the venues were room temperature, acoustics and catering, as noted by the evaluators of the juries: Dr Magda Pieczka, Professor Andrew Thompson and Dr Stephen Elstub.

Table 3.4 Evaluators' notes on 'Physical Environment'

Venue and Evaluator	Evaluation Notes
Coldstream Town Hall (Dr Pieczka)	The building in the centre of Coldstream was easily accessible, with fairly easy parking around. The hall used was pleasant, clean and with the right temperature. However, the hall had a very high-ceiling and a wooden floor creating echo and making it difficult to conduct small group discussions (impossible not to hear louder contributors in both groups at the same time). Participants: "This room has got very bad acoustics", necessitating facilitators' questions such as "Are people hearing my voice?"
Helensburgh Commodore Hotel (Prof. Thompson)	The meeting was held in a fairly typical hotel function room/dance hall, which gave a sense of a lot of space rather than being customised for small group discussions. It was reasonably warm on the first day, but much less so on the second. The acoustics were relatively good, with adequate lighting and was reasonably quiet and unaffected by the rest of the hotel. The lunchtime food was very basic and not of particularly good quality, lacking any choice. The participants sat in front of tables in a horseshoe arrangement for the plenaries, but moved to two circles of chairs for the discussion groups.
Aberfeldy Community Hall (Dr Elstub)	The venue was not ideal, but was appropriate. The jury was held in the same venue for both days, a traditional town hall in the centre of town that was easy to find and that would also be well known to the jurors. The town hall had a car park with plenty of parking spaces, although most jurors walked. The room was very cold on both days, which led to many attending wearing coats throughout the process. The temperature was slightly warmer on day 2 as the organisers provided more heaters. The acoustics in the room were also very poor. There was a separate room where refreshments were served. The participants sat in a horseshoe arrangement facing the projector screen for the plenaries, but moved to two circles of chairs, one at each end of the hall, for the discussion groups. There was disturbance and noise between the small group discussions despite them being at opposite ends of the room.

The issue with room temperature was the flipside of using large spaces, and although additional heaters were used, the problem persisted particularly in Aberfeldy. The issue of acoustics was harder to tackle, as the 'echo effect' only disappears when a crowd fills the

space. This was particularly problematic in juries 1 and 3, although the jurors seldom complained and simply adapted to the situation and carried on.

Catering was a crucial part of the process, as it helped to create a certain mood and environment, and indeed some of the most interesting conversations took place during breaks while sharing food and beverages. The standard of catering was excellent in juries 1 and 3, provided by local caterers.

The caterer for Coldstream – a woman named Gill – made the breaks so relaxing and enjoyable that participants and organisers were full of praise: *"Gill really made me feel cared for"*. In Aberfeldy, a joke made by a juror on Day 1 – requesting bacon roles for breakfast – became the object of ongoing banter after the request was fulfilled at the start of Day 2. Sometimes small gestures can be effective in creating a working environment where humour nurtures the trust and resilience that can see a group through the tougher moments.

Box 3.6 'More than food' – Evaluator notes, Coldstream

"Catering was good: very nice food, set up in a large kitchen off the main hall. Participants clearly enjoyed it and the food breaks were used effectively as opportunities to mingle and chat both by the participants and the organisers, who used this opportunity to interact with all the participants in a more personal way."

The catering standards of the hotel where the Helensburgh jury took place were poorer in comparison. This, as an organiser said, "*put a dampener on things*". As we show in Chapter 4, these were long days of intensive, hard work for jurors and organisers alike, and thus the importance of enjoyable breaks cannot be overstated. These were groups of 'strangers' meeting for the first time to take on a big job in only two days. In sum, participation dynamics can be profoundly affected by basic issues to do with space and environment – although this is rarely acknowledged in research.

3.3. Process design

Here we outline key considerations about the design of deliberative forums. The process was designed and facilitated by two public engagement practitioners[16] whose approach can be found in Faulkner (2011), Escobar (2011), Escobar et al. (2014). They started from the typical structure of citizens' juries (The Jefferson Centre 2004), i.e. information phase > deliberation phase, and adapted it to the parameters agreed by the OT, RT and SB.

Citizens' juries are typically held over 3–5 days (The Jefferson Centre 2004; Coote and Lenaghan, 1997). For this project, the process was adapted to fit into two days, with a break of two or three weeks in between. The OT made this choice for three reasons:

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[16] Dr. Wendy Faulkner and Dr. Oliver Escobar (one of the authors in this report) have collaborated as facilitators since 2009 as part of the Beltane Public Engagement Network http://www.beltanenetwork.org and beyond.

- Firstly, this was a research project to test a deliberative format on the topic of wind farm development. If the juries were part of a decision making process they would have to be longer to avoid problems explored throughout this report.

- Secondly, the RT wanted to conduct several citizens' juries in different locations to make a substantial contribution to research on deliberative public engagement.

- Finally, shorter processes allowed the RT and OT to conduct the project with the resources available. The decision was to have three 2-day juries rather than a single 5-day jury, and thus gain insights beyond the single case studies that characterise this area of research.

The facilitators worked on the design over two months, creating seven drafts of the Facilitation Schedule and consulting colleagues and experts. After the Coldstream jury, timings were adjusted and some exercises simplified, but the process structure and facilitation formats remained the same.

Designing the juries was time-consuming and somewhat nerve-wracking. The facilitators drew on previous experiences, but every public forum generates its own dynamics, and therefore there is no 'magic formula'. Process design is an imperfect and evolving craft honed through reflective practice (cf. Schon 1983). However, the facilitators did have some guiding concerns and priorities:

> **Box 3.7 Facilitator's notes**
>
> *"For me, this task is a classic example of precisely the kind of challenges which require citizen engagement and deliberation: it involves judgements about complex trade-offs and contested technical knowledge on a topic which has both local and wider salience. Being involved in making this citizen-based deliberation happen has been a real privilege, a rare opportunity to 'put my politics into practice' and learn from the experience."*

- The key was to support the jurors in **accomplishing the task**. The process had to have all the ingredients to give participants a chance of getting the job done. This included realistic objectives for each section, as well as enough time for the Information Phase (suited to the different learning needs of participants) and the Deliberation Phase (without overwhelming or loosing participants).

- **Ensuring that the process is inclusive** and gives all the jurors opportunities to participate and shape the outcomes. This means using a range of formats and techniques to enable different styles of participation. For instance, some jurors prefer oral communication, while others feel more comfortable writing up ideas. The process should include various ways of making each juror's voice heard e.g.: speaking, writing, voting, prioritising, etc. This also requires using facilitation skills and techniques to avoid undesirable dynamics (defined by the jurors at the start of the forum) e.g.: dominating, monologuing, polarising, interrupting, attacking, etc (Escobar 2011).

- Designing the forums with a **progressive logic**, that is, building each section steadily on the previous one. This enables participants to understand how the forum works and develop a shared narrative about the job at hand. For instance, having a clear

sense of purpose and progression for both days: Day 1 is about learning, scrutinising and exploring; and Day 2 is about deliberating and making decisions collectively. The other function of this progressive logic is to make the overall task less daunting. By breaking the task into smaller tasks that build on the previous, the group can develop a sense of steady accomplishment and direction, without being overwhelmed by the overarching objective of the process – i.e. creating a set of principles to guide decision making on wind farms.

- Trying to make the forums **as enjoyable as possible**. This means, for instance, making the sessions dynamic and participative, keeping presentations short and sharp, breaking monotony by alternating different types of exercises and forms of participation, and having as many long breaks as feasible. Humour and enthusiasm, as earlier noted, can also go a long way towards this.

- Using a **responsive facilitation style**, that is, adapting the role of the facilitator to the situation at hand. Sometimes facilitators may adopt an interventionist style, for instance to ensure that all voices are heard, that the group is on track to accomplish the task, or to help the group deal with unproductive communication dynamics. Other times, facilitators may adopt a light-touch style (e.g. simply time-keeping) when a group is working inclusively and effectively and needs no further support. Facilitators must be attentive, read group dynamics as they unfold, and adapt intervention styles accordingly. This is intensive work, and ideally should be shared by at least two facilitators. In these juries, it was not unusual to find one of the facilitators having to lie down for a few minutes towards the end of day.

- Building the forums on core principles and practices of **dialogue and deliberation**. These are two different types of communication, with their own dynamics and requirements (Escobar 2009, 2011), and the juries were designed to incorporate elements from both. For instance, Day 1 was intended to be more dialogic – i.e. focussed on building understanding and relationships – and Day 2 more deliberative – i.e. considering options and making reasoned collective decisions.

When designing public forums, there are always dilemmas around how much should be planned, how strict and regimented the process should be, and the extent to which facilitators run the risk of fostering too much 'artificial' interaction. These dilemmas are based on the assumption that there is such thing as a 'natural' or 'free' flow of interaction between participants, which may be hindered by too much process design and interventionist facilitators who impose certain patterns.

However, the notion that there is such thing as a 'natural' or 'free' flow of interaction deserves scrutiny. Human contact is unavoidably ordered and regulated by the assumptions, habits and practices at play in different social contexts (Goffman 1966, 1983; Schatzki 2002). This means that groups usually interact according to the norms and patterns that seem appropriate in a given context. For instance, if public consultation meetings are understood as places where only the most vocal participate, where it is acceptable to engage in ritualised confrontation, and where shallow exchanges are the norm, then those patterns of interaction will tend to be replicated by people entering that space (Pearce 2007).

In other words, those kinds of interactions may come to be seen as the 'natural' state of things, but those 'open' and 'free-flowing' meetings are arguably as 'constructed' or 'artificial' as a rigorously designed and facilitated forum (Escobar 2014a). The difference is that the former may privilege certain individuals (e.g. articulate, vocal) and silence others. In that sense, this amounts to replicating within the forum some of the broader inequalities of society. That is what Young (2000) calls "internal exclusion", and the job of process designers and facilitators is to prevent it.

In Chapter 4 we will outline the different jury sessions in detail, including specific design elements, what the facilitators intended, and how it unfolded in practice.

3.3.1 Selecting witnesses

Selecting and getting commitment from suitable witnesses was a key challenge in this project. The main reason was the difficulty of ensuring availability for all three juries. In effect, this meant asking people to commit three days of attendance (their sessions were short, but they had to travel) as well as time for preparation. The project only had funding to support travelling expenses, so participation was based on the goodwill of the witnesses. In some cases they contributed as part of their day job, while in others they did so in their own time. This can give an advantage to witnesses from well-resourced organisations.

The Organising Team (OT) was extremely fortunate that the witnesses in Table 3.5 accepted and generously gave their time to the project. But this was not straightforward, and it took the OT two months and dozens of emails and phone calls to numerous potential witnesses.

Table 3.5 Witnesses per citizens' jury

Session		Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Session 1 **Energy and Climate Change**		Brian Cameron *(University of Edinburgh)*		
Session 2 **Wind Energy**	*Pro:*	Maf Smith *(Renewable UK)*		
	Anti:	Professor Jack Ponton *(University of Edinburgh)*	Professor Anthony Trewavas *(University of Edinburgh)*	
Session 3 **Wind Farms**	*Pro:*	Jelte Harnmeijer *(Sustainable Community Energy Network)*	Joss Blamire *(Scottish Renewables)*	
	Anti:	Graham Lang *(Scotland Against Spin)*		

The intention was to have the same witnesses in all three juries, but this was only partially achieved. In addition, it was impossible to secure participation by female witnesses. The

difficulty, again, was availability. The OT proposed to the Stewarding Board (SB) a list with over 20 individuals and organisations, and then approached many of them in turn. The challenge of securing suitable candidates from the 'anti-wind farms' side of the argument resulted in one of the SB members acting as a witness.

Arguably, the difficulty to secure participation by other prospective candidates, on both the pro- and anti- camps, may be related to the fact that this was a research project rather than a decision making process. That is to say, this particular challenge may not apply if citizens' juries are actually used as part of real decision-making scenarios, as the higher stakes may possibly constitute a better incentive to contribute.

Initially, the proposal by the OT was to have 4 witnesses in total: two impartial witnesses covering sessions 1-2, and one pro- and one anti- witness for session 3. However, this caused controversy at the SB. Representatives from Scotland Against Spin questioned whether session 2 (on wind energy) could be covered impartially by a single witness, and proposed to have both sides of the argument articulated by a witness from each 'camp'. The OT eventually accepted this – after internal debate, and some bilateral conversations with SB members – and the rest of the SB made no objections.

3.3.2 Witness preparation

The OT prepared the witnesses in three ways. Firstly, witnesses received a full brief about the jury process, its purpose and structure, as well as on the role of the witnesses, and the logistics involved. Witnesses received a second brief with presentation guidelines to try and ensure consistency in terms of length and accessibility. Finally, the witnesses received feedback after the first jury to help make some improvements. The following email excerpt sent by the OT to witnesses taking over in Helensburgh exemplifies that feedback, and gives a sense of the demanding task faced by the witnesses:

> *Dear [witness name],*
> *… the first citizens' jury on Saturday went very well indeed. Before your presentation on Saturday 9 November, I thought it would be useful for you to see the general feedback on the witness presentations that we gathered informally from the jurors and the researchers who were observing at the back of the room:*
> *1) Overall, people felt there were too many graphs used in the witness presentations. Graphs can be very hard to understand if you are not used to dealing with data presented in that way. A simple chart can be powerful, but a complex graph may just confuse people.*
> *2) Whilst we appreciate that the witnesses did all try hard to avoid using jargon and specialist terms, this is still something to keep an eye on – perhaps there are other ways of phrasing something, or in some cases, perhaps it doesn't need to be mentioned at all.*
> *3) It would be really helpful, we think, for the jurors to be left with a summary slide. We may not have been clear enough before about how useful that would be – apologies for that. A summary slide can be powerful in particular if it is*

geared towards helping the jurors tackle their task, which is to decide "what should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development, and why?" The witness presentations and Q&A will be one of the strongest factors in shaping how the jurors engage with the task.

4) We would also like to just confirm that it is fine to challenge the other witness if you feel that something has been said that is not substantiated by the evidence as you see it, or if you would like to respond to a particular point. Do feel free to do this in the Q&A session (obviously in a respectful manner!).

So, whilst the above relates specifically to the witness presentations from last Saturday, you might nevertheless find the feedback handy in thinking about your presentation. I think [Coldstream witness] will agree that Saturday was very enjoyable and that he got a lot out of participating. We are very much looking forward to the Helensburgh jury!

Warm regards,

Organising Team

Engaging with a jury can be very different from engaging with other types of forums and groups. The diversity in viewpoints, knowledge and interaction styles present at a jury makes it particularly challenging; not to mention having to debate 'live' with a witness representing opposing arguments. It is a role that is perhaps best learnt 'on the job', through experience. This seemed the case here, as some of the best witness presentations and interactions took place in the last jury. Arguably, the OT could have done more to prepare the witnesses, but describing a jury and experiencing it are two different things. A key lesson is perhaps that no matter how much organisers put in the briefs, when possible, it seems advisable to meet the witnesses in advance to go through all details carefully – although this puts further time demands on them.

3.3.3 Witnesses' evaluation of the experience

The seven witnesses were interviewed after the juries. Ruth Lightbody and Mhairi Aitken conducted the interviews and Ruth wrote the report that forms the basis for this section. Once again, the witnesses generously gave their time to help with the research. Here we share some of their reflections, grouped around two themes.

3.3.3.1 Contesting the nature of the sessions and the contribution of other witnesses

Most witnesses had misgivings about how the sessions were organised or the type of witnesses invited and their contribution. For instance, one witness felt that a "community speaker" should have been invited rather than speakers with "agendas". In his view, industry representatives are not ideal for this sort of discussion, and cannot convey the right message. Accordingly, he argued that the jurors should have been made aware that the wind energy debate and wind farm development are not just "communities versus developers", and that wind energy can actually be an "opportunity for communities". Furthermore, he explained that instead of industry representatives, lay citizens with "life experience" of community-owned renewables would have made better witnesses.

Two witnesses for the anti- side also questioned the motives of other witnesses, and argued that they were "the only people who aren't making money out of [wind farms]", "what we do is voluntary… almost a vocation rather than an employment, so we speak the truth and we have no issues that we are afraid of". One added: "If we are talking about renewables, you have to talk about economics", the discussion needed "better appreciation for nuclear energy". A pro- witness made a critique along the same lines. He understood that his role was to talk about wind power *development*, and felt that the facilitators did not ask people to discuss that topic. Instead, he argued, it was just a debate around pro- and anti- wind power arguments. He thought that they should have actually discussed how development should be managed and what process it should follow. Moreover, he commented that "[You] can't

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Box 3.8 Interview with a witness

"I think I've underestimated the time – I and others who have helped me with this have probably spent a total of maybe 10 or 12 days on the project. That's because we believe in doing a job, if we commit to doing something we do it 100 per cent. If you look at our input you can see it carries more intellectual effort than [input from other witnesses] I think a lot of it was pretty easily drawn together, a lot of our work was original front-end cerebral work went into it. You could go into these things in a very half-hearted way and just play it off the cuff but I think it deserves more respect than that. So whether I've got the time left or the inclination to do it again. I wouldn't mind being asked but I would reserve the right to say no."

</div>

have a debate whether wind is good or not without talking about alternatives". This was an issue[17] also taken up by the jurors, who asked numerous questions about alternatives and indeed made the 'energy mix' a key theme in the principles they produced (see Chapter 6). It must be noted that each witness was only exposed to a small fraction of the jury process, mostly their own session, so they commented in their interviews on that basis.

3.3.3.2 On the experience of being a witness

Only two of the seven witnesses said that they would take part in a project like this again. It is unclear, however, whether they would reconsider if this was a decision-making process instead of a research project. Most explained that the time commitment was considerable (see Table 3.6). As one put it, in the future he would probably "give a chance to someone else" to have the experience. Another found the process exhausting after investing time and energy in preparation as well as the written follow up questions from the jurors.

Most witnesses suggested that they participated as a favour to either one of the organisers or as part of their job. Two witnesses were very enthusiastic about the project and the process, and explained that their motivation was their belief in the value of community engagement. On that basis, they were keen to participate in similar processes in the future. Many also suggested that a key motivation was to "educate" people about the topic.

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[17] The juries' task as decided on by the SB was not explicitly to consider the energy mix.

When asked whether witnesses should be compensated for their role, there were various views. Four witnesses thought that wouldn't be appropriate as they felt their organisations paid them to do such work. For instance, some academics argued that it is their duty to relay information for free, and that universities should contribute to citizen engagement providing a link between communities and research knowledge. In contrast, another academic suggested £2000, another witness £200, and a third, perhaps uncomfortable with getting compensation for his vocation, said: "a decent case of claret would be nice". The issue of witness compensation is highly contextual and should probably be judged differently depending on the project. What seems clear is that travelling expenses should be the minimum, as in our project, and organisers should also consider how to lower the barriers to participation by those with fewer organisational resources at their disposal.

Table 3.6 Time dedicated by the witnesses

Session	Witness	Estimated time contributed per jury (hours*)
Session 1		8
Session 2	A	16
	B	16
	C	11
Session 3	A	8
	B	11
	C	24

*Where the time contributed was given in 'days', 8 hours has been applied as a standard working day. Time contributed includes preparation, attendance and answering the juries' questions.

In retrospect, the OT and RT recognised that there were issues around the best way to cover all the necessary ground in only three sessions during Day 1. In the same way that it was probably a mistake not to include industry representatives in the SB, it was also an oversight to have only industry witnesses representing the pro- side of the argument in two of the juries. In this case, the problem was not that they may have had undue air time to influence, but actually that it may have been a disservice to the pro- camp not to expose those two juries to wider pro- voices such as those advocating for community-owned wind farms – as was the case in Coldstream.

In sum, being a witness is highly **demanding**, partly because it entails engaging in new ways with citizens that may be different to other types of audiences in other types of processes, and partly because of the heavy time commitment required. Witnesses are asked to adapt their language, convey complex knowledge in accessible ways, and confront a variety of perspectives, sensibilities and ways of learning. The witnesses' experience explored in these interviews is in stark contrast to the jurors' experience (see Chapter 9). They had fewer

positive reflections on the process and shared concerns about the adequacy of the Information Phase and the contributions of their fellow witnesses. A lesson perhaps is that working with the witnesses may require as much preparation and personal contact as the OT put into their work with the jurors.

3.3.4 Recruiting Jurors

A citizens' jury must include citizens with a diverse mixture of social characteristics and attitudes towards the jury topic[18]. To achieve this within the relatively small number of participants in a jury is challenging. The process for recruiting participants, and details about the juror demographic and attitudinal profiles, are outlined in this final section. Further details can be read in the report by the social research company (Appendix 8), hired to carry out the recruitment.

There is a good reason why almost a third of the budget went into this. Many consultations and public meetings tend to involve, and therefore privilege, certain sections of the population – i.e. older, higher income and education, already engaged – and struggle to attract a diversity of citizens, particularly young people and those on lower incomes or full time employment (Ryfe and Stalsburg 2012; Beresford 2013). This is partly due to the "self-selection bias" at play in open public forums, usually populated by those who are already engaged and have time and resources to commit.

To involve a cross-section of the population, the organisers worked with Ipsos MORI on strategies to **reduce the self-selection bias and lower barriers to participation:**

- **Concealing the topic** for the juries. Prospective participants did not know the topic before gathering for the first jury day.

- **Timing and location**. To maximize attendance they took place at the weekend and in central locations familiar to the participants.

- **Compensation.** Jurors were compensated for their participation with a stipend determined following advice from Ipsos MORI (£70 for Day 1 and £100 for Day 2).

The importance of compensating citizens for their work, and in order to lower barriers to participation, cannot be overstated. For many people, the question is not only to be interested and have the time to participate, it is also about resources. For instance, if you are a single parent you will need childcare, if you are self-employed you may lose a days' wage, if you are a full time carer you may need support, and so on. Compensation is thus not only an incentive to participate, but also a way of ensuring that those with fewer resources are not excluded. Otherwise, as noted above, only certain sections of the population can

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[18] Or, in the language of deliberative studies, demographic and discursive representation (Dryzek and Niemeyer 2010).

participate. This highlights the deceptive nature of apparently 'open' public forums, where 'everyone' is invited but no thought is put into enabling inclusive participation.

Although there were other motivations at play (see Box 3.2), the compensation was key in attracting participants. In deliberative processes, compensation is justified not only because participants are asked to work hard on behalf of fellow citizens, but also because it contributes to reduce barriers to participation.

Each jury started with 16 – 18 jurors, totalling 49. Ipsos MORI recruited 65 participants[19], of which 49 turned up and 47 completed the process. Juror retention was excellent, with only 2 jurors not completing the process: one due to relocation and one because of ill health.

> **Box 3.9 Facilitator's notes**
>
> *"A poignant moment was during the lunch break on Day 1. A researcher, two jurors and I were chatting. I was apologising for the long questionnaire and all the work we were asking them to do and acknowledging that it's not easy to give up a Saturday. I was struck by the response of a juror in her thirties: 'actually I'm glad to be here, this is a very welcome day out for me'. She explained that she's been a full time carer for her partner for years and she had been unable to attend any kind of public forum. She welcomed the jury and liked doing something so different and being challenged. For me, this was an emotional moment that reminded me why we're doing this, precisely to learn how to engage people who otherwise couldn't participate in public life for all sorts of reasons."*

The recruitment quota was designed to ensure that participants would represent as much as possible a cross-section of the Scottish population according to key socio-demographic and attitudinal variables (see Table 3.7). The target profiles centred on three core characteristics – gender, age and income – but also considered other criteria including working status, civic engagement and level of interest in the environment.

Ipsos MORI took Scottish demographics as the starting point (Scottish Census data for gender and age, and Scottish Household Survey data for income), although the targets oversampled young people to ensure their participation, and under-sampled older people as they are generally more likely to turn up. According to Ipsos MORI, gender, age and a measure of socio-economic status are the most commonly used quota variables when recruiting a sample of the general public for social research exercises (see Appendix 8). Together they usually produce a mixed sample that can be also broadly representative of the population on other socio-demographic variables. Ipsos MORI argued that it is inadvisable to have too many quotas when the target sample size is small (and where there are also attitudinal requirements) because with every variable added the recruitment task becomes increasingly difficult and ultimately impractical.

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[19] A missed opportunity was not asking Ipsos MORI to follow up with those who didn't turn up. This would have given us insight into the causes and motivations at play, which are a key gap in deliberative studies.

Jurors were recruited using a face-to-face approach. This entailed sending trained recruiters to the jury locations two weeks before the event to enlist participants by door-to-door and in-street methods. Ipsos MORI advised recruitment in the immediate run up to the jury since this reduces likelihood of dropouts, and face-to-face recruitment tends to increase the number of recruits and attendance rates because engaging directly with a recruiter may elicit a more concrete sense of commitment than, for instance, speaking to someone on the phone. Additionally, according to Ipsos MORI, participants are less self-selecting when recruited face-to-face rather than by telephone or postal invitations (see Appendix 8 for a comparison of methods). This may introduce the recruiters' biases into the process, although this should be minimised by the requirement of fulfilling key quotas.

A hidden question in the questionnaire used by recruiters allowed the selection of participants with a range of interest in wind energy. The intention was also to represent a mixture of working status, involvement in civic activities such as volunteering or activism, and a range of attitudes towards the environment and wind farms. The jury topic remained unknown to the participants prior to the event to minimize the self-selection of an already‐engaged minority, so the project was vaguely described to prospective participants as 'public conversations about environmental issues'. Recruiters were instructed to inform participants that they didn't need to have any knowledge or interest on the topic. The decision to introduce the event in this way was to give a broad sense of what the events may be about – otherwise people may be more reticent to sign up – without disclosing that they were about wind farm development.

Table 3.7 Criteria for recruiting the juries, target quotas and actual percentage achieved in aggregate

Category	Target %	Actual (aggregate Day 1) %
Gender		
Male	Equal split	45%
Female		55%
Age		
18-24	20%	20%
25-54	50%	53%
55+	30%	27%
Working status*		
Full time		43%
Part time	Mix	14%
Not working		43%
Income		
< 15,999 per year	40%	47%

£16,000 - £31,199	20%	24%
£31,200 - £51,999	10%	16%
> £52,000	5%	10%
Civic activities		
Have taken part	Mix	49%
Haven't taken part		51%
Attitudes towards wind farms in Scotland		
Should be more		45%
Should be fewer	Mix	24%
Current level about right		31%
Attitudes towards the environment		
Very interested		76%
Fairly interested	Mix	
Not very interested		24%
Not at all interested		

Table 3.8. Profile of recruits and jurors by location (presented in percent, per jury)

	Coldstream		Helensburgh		Aberfeldy	
	Recruited	Attended	Recruited	Attended	Recruited	Attended
Demographic Mix						
Gender						
Male	55%	44%	55%	67%	42%	33%
Female	45%	56%	45%	33%	58%	67%
Age						
18-24	30%	25%	20%	13%	21%	22%
25-54	40%	44%	50%	60%	50%	56%
55+	30%	31%	30%	27%	29%	22%
Working status*						
Full time	50%	44%	35%	40%	54%	56%

Part time	25%	25%	30%	27%	29%	22%
Not working	20%	19%	20%	13%	13%	17%
Income						
< 15,999 per year	5%	6%	15%	20%	4%	6%
£16,000 - £31,199	35%	44%	40%	40%	29%	44%
£31,200 - £51,999	10%	13%	15%	13%	17%	17%
> £52,000	55%	44%	45%	47%	54%	39%
Civic activities						
Have taken part	30%	31%	55%	60%	63%	56%
Haven't taken part	70%	69%	45%	40%	38%	44%
Attitudinal mix						
Attitudes towards wind farms in Scotland						
Should be more						
Should be fewer	35%	44%	40%	20%	42%	39%
Current level about right	35%	38%	25%	33%	21%	33%
Should be more	30%	19%	35%	47%	38%	28%
Should be no more*	35%	44%	40%	20%	42%	39%
Interest in the environment						
Fairly/very interested	65%	56%	60%	80%	58%	61%
Not very/not at all interested	70%	81%	55%	67%	67%	78%

No more is the sum of participants who answered either "Current level about right" or "Should be fewer", since each of these answers indicate that no more wind farms should be constructed.

3.3.5 Jurors' diversity

Table 3.7 shows that, in aggregate, the recruitment targets to ensure a mix of citizens were largely achieved, although there were a number of shortfalls when we take each jury separately (see Table 3.8). In addition to the recruitment questions, further socio-demographic information about the jurors was gathered in the first research questionnaire.

3.3.5.1 Demographic diversity

In aggregate, the jurors represent a diverse cross-section of the population in terms of gender (55% female, 45% male), age, education and voting preferences (see Figure 3.2), and working status, profession and income (Figure 3.3). However, while each jury was relatively balanced in terms of age, income and profession, this was not the case for other socio-demographic characteristics.

Figure 3.2 Age, education and voting preferences, aggregated for the 3 juries
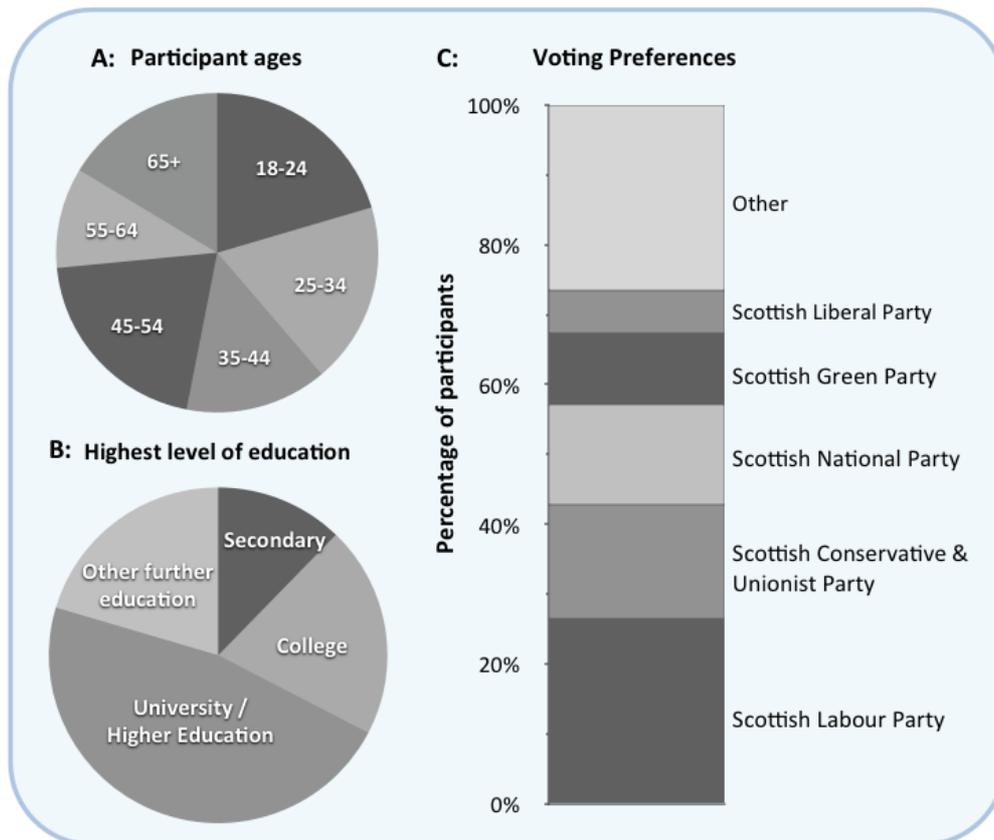
For example, the gender mix for Helensburgh and Aberfeldy was skewed, with the former having considerably more men and the latter considerably more women. In Appendix 8 Ipsos MORI explains how this happened. For instance, in Helensburgh only 5 out of 9 women who had signed up actually attended. Moreover, one of them left at the start of Day 2 due to ill health. In discussions with Ipsos MORI, the OT was made aware that often women find it harder to find the time to attend. Taking this into account, the OT and Ipsos MORI decided to oversample women for Aberfeldy, where then a number of men didn't turn up thus skewing the sample again. A level of education bias was also present across the juries:

overall 46% of the jurors had Higher Education/University compared to 26% in the wider Scottish population[20].

Nonetheless, Ipsos MORI reported that the aggregate jury demographics are rather similar to Scottish population demographics in terms of age, gender and income (Scottish Census data for gender and age, and Scottish Household Survey data for income).

Figure 3.3. Employment, occupation and income aggregated for the 3 juries
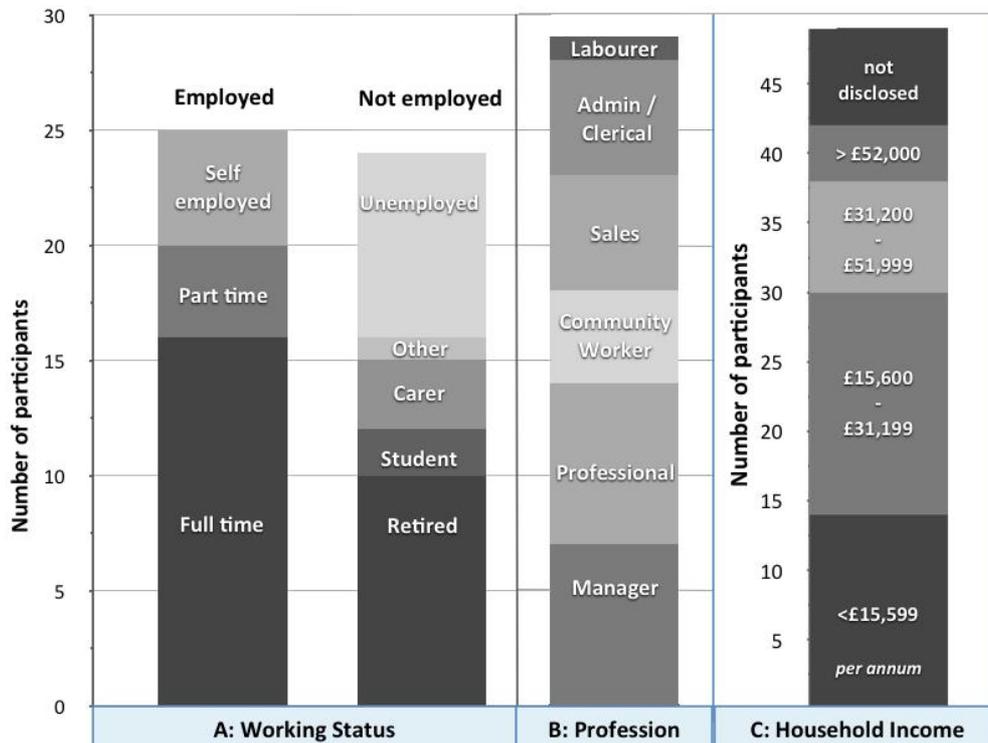
3.3.5.2 Attitudinal diversity

At the start of the process, the jurors expressed a range of attitudes, interest, and knowledge about topics relating to climate change and wind energy development. Interest in climate change was high across the board, with Coldstream featuring a slightly wider range of views (see Figure 3.4). More generally, a degree of self-selection regarding interest in the environment was unavoidable since the event was introduced by the recruiters as a 'public conversation on environmental issues'. Introducing the event this way, the organisers sought to give a vague indication of what it may be about while minimising the potential self-selection bias regarding wind farms. Survey responses also show moderate to strong support across the juries for the statement "climate change is an important issue", with

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[20] Scotland's Census 2011: http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-analyser/jsf/tableView/crosstabTableView.xhtml [Accessed 2 April 2014]

Aberfeldy featuring the strongest support and the least varied views on this item (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 Aggregate of Jurors' opinions about climate change in the first survey (a guide to interpreting boxplots is in Appendix 10).
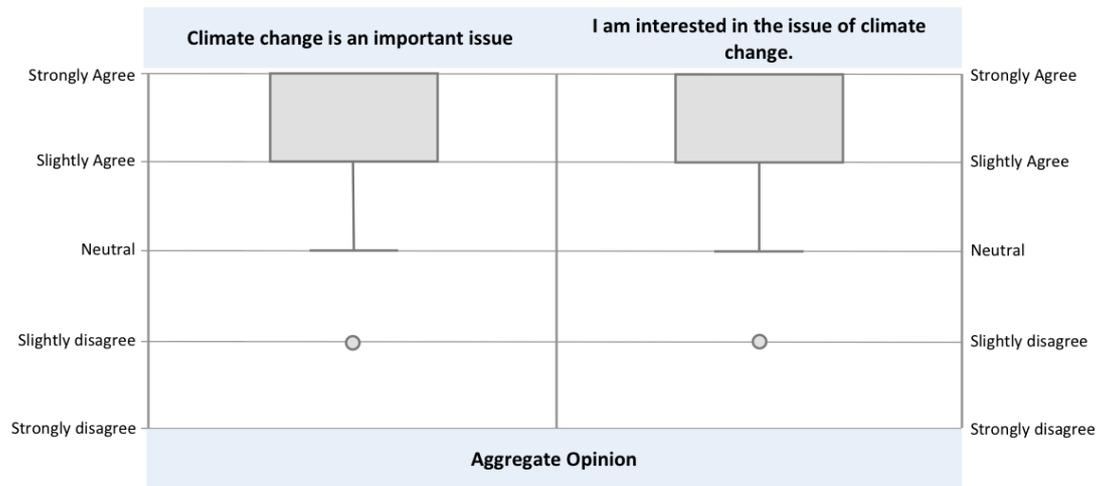
Figure 3.5 Aggregate of jurors' initial support for greenhouse gas emission targets in The Climate Change (Scotland) Act (a guide to interpreting boxplots is in Appendix 10).
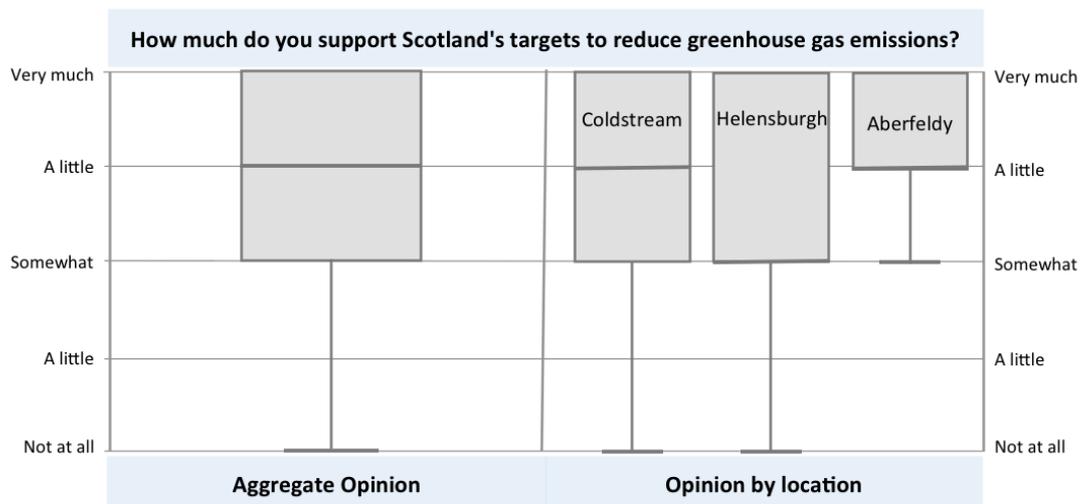
Self-reported knowledge on the topics of climate change and energy generation varied across the juries and within each jury (see Chapter 7), as did initial support for the greenhouse gas emission targets and renewable energy targets set by the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2009 and the Scottish Government (see Figure 3.6). On the latter, the level of support was varied in Coldstream and Helensburgh, and stronger in Aberfeldy.

Figure 3.6 Jurors' initial opinions about wind energy and wind farms.
A guide to interpreting boxplots is in Appendix 10.
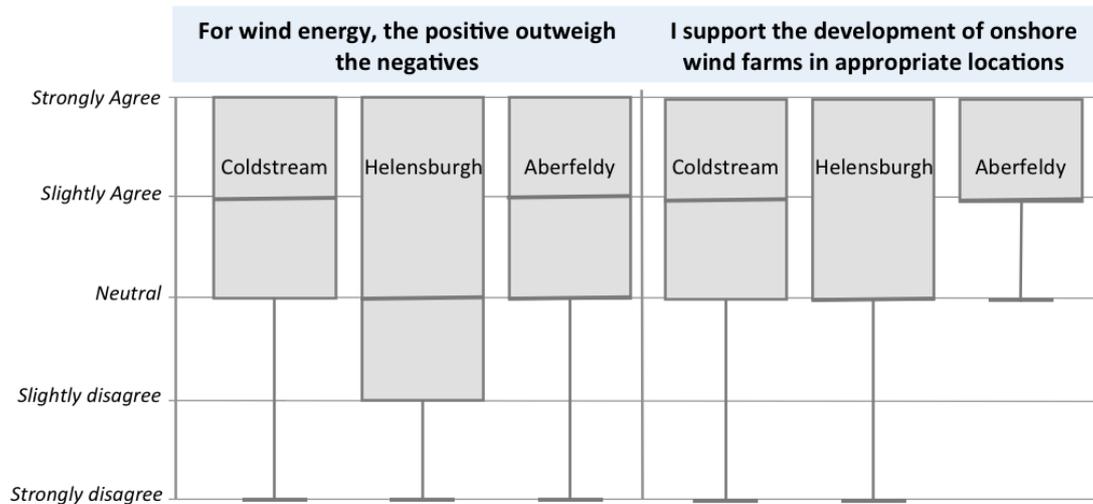
Although there was diversity in juror attitudes on these topics, the majority of responses reflected moderate to strong support. Overall, this mix of attitudes is broadly similar to the mix found in the Scottish Environmental Attitudes and Behaviours Survey 2008[21] – although our measures are not directly comparable, particularly regarding support for the Climate Change Act which had not been introduced.

Our survey shows a spread of attitudes towards wind energy and wind farms at the start of the process. For example, when asked at the start of Day 1 about the positive or negative impacts of wind energy, there was a mixed response in all juries, although in Coldstream and Aberfeldy the majority expressed moderate to strong support (see Figure 3.7). This is also broadly in line with the Scottish Environmental Attitudes and Behaviour Survey 2008, which also reflects, as the these juries did, considerable support for renewables and in particular wind and hydro power[22].

Across the juries there was a diverse, but largely positive, response to the statement 'I support the development of onshore wind farms in appropriate locations', although no participants expressed disagreement in Aberfeldy (see Figure 3.7). In Helensburgh, recruitment issues (see Appendix 8) resulted in a lack of strong supporters of wind farms. In particular, 5 people who were recruited but didn't turn up thought that 'there should be

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[21] http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2009/03/05145056/0 [Accessed 23 February 2015].

[22] See http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2009/03/05145056/0 [Accessed 23 February 2015]. We are here somewhat limited by the use of proxies for comparison. Other proxies (both on wind energy and wind farms) can be found in the 2012 Ipsos Mori UK poll: http://www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/renewable-uk-wind-power-topline-april.pdf; and the 2013 YouGov Scottish poll: http://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/vj66wakgzm/YG-Scottish-Renewables-Archive-results-260213-renewable-energy.pdf. [Accessed 15 January 2015].

more wind farms'. This meant that this jury was less reflective of the balance of attitudes towards wind farms found in the Scottish population (see Table 3.8), i.e.: 47% of the participants attending thought that there 'should be fewer' while only 20% supported more. This is important, as will be seen later (Chapters 4, 6 and 8).

The evidence in this section demonstrates the intense challenges that organisers of citizens' juries face in gathering a diverse sample of participants due to the low number of participants assembled. This can potentially compromise the deliberation in each jury as some important social characteristics will inevitably be excluded, which could also mean that "certain perspectives are not articulated' (Smith 2009: 81; Parkinson 2006: 76). We return to these issues in Chapters 4, 5 and 8.

Our survey indicates that across the three juries there were high initial levels of interest in environmental issues, moderate levels of knowledge, strong beliefs that climate change is important and relative support for the greenhouse gas emission targets set by the Climate Change (Scotland) Act. As noted above, these views broadly reflect data from the broader population[23]. Therefore, taking the juries in aggregate, there was no obvious bias in terms of attitudes to the environment, climate change, renewable energy or wind farms. Taken jury by jury, however, recruitment data in Table 3.8 suggests that there was an anti-wind farm bias in the Helensburgh group. Subsequent chapters will analyse how the different composition of, and interaction within, each jury may have affected the deliberative process and the principles for wind farm development that each jury produced.

Recognising the limitations of small samples, deliberative scholars have argued that citizens' juries can only aspire to be demographically and attitudinally diverse, rather than statistically representative of the population (Hendriks 2005: 96; Goodin 2008:13). The evidence on age, gender, income, employment, profession, education and voter preferences suggests that these juries achieved this aim to a considerable extent, especially when viewed in aggregate. This somewhat justifies the logic of running parallel juries on the same issue to increase the sample size, which is common practice in German planning cells, another type of mini-public (Dienel 1999).

Despite the shortfalls outlined above, the composition of these juries was remarkably diverse when compared, for instance, to mini-publics on wind energy conducted recently in the US (Phadke et al. 2011, Phadke et al., 2012a, Phadke et al., 2012b). We could not find systematic evidence on the diversity of participants in current consultations about wind farms in Scotland. However, the experience of members of the Research Team, and conversations with Stewarding Board members, witnesses and other stakeholders, suggest that they are usually far less effective in engaging a cross-section of the population.

Our research shows that even after investing considerable resources into professional recruitment this is a very challenging dimension in the organisation of deliberative public

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[23] See previous footnote.

forems. In Chapter 10, we will propose some potential solutions, and suggest that this deserves more attention in the Scottish context, especially if inclusion and diversity are to underpin public engagement with decision making.

3.4. Conclusions and key lessons

This chapter illustrated some of the strategic considerations at play when organising citizens' juries, and how organisers must navigate the tensions between politics and logistics. We have outlined core skills and traits that can help in this regard, namely: coordination and communication, mediation and consensus-building, adaptation and problem-solving, political know-how and resilience, facilitation, interpersonal rapport and humility, and ongoing reflective practice. This highlights the importance of assembling a multifaceted Organising Team (OT).

The chapter highlighted several crucial steps and the challenges involved:

- **Assembling the Stewarding Board (SB).** The SB should include key stakeholders representing the various perspectives on the jury' topic. Its role is to advise on key issues and oversee that the process is fair and balanced, thus ensuring its integrity and legitimacy. Since these juries were a research project, rather than part of a real decision making process, the SB had fewer responsibilities than it would otherwise, and the Organising Team (OT) kept control over final decisions. Despite difficulties, the SB managed to find consensus on all the issues discussed (i.e. task, location, witnesses, recruitment criteria, handbook materials). There were, however, two important lessons. Firstly, some SB members would have liked to attend the juries and, given the research nature of the project, this was not accommodated. In an actual decision making process this would be advisable. Secondly, an important organisation from one side of the debate was not represented at the SB, which can be potentially problematic for the legitimacy of the juries. Nonetheless, their perspective was somewhat represented by other members and the SB included a diversity of voices. In this sense, representing the spectrum of views seems more relevant than representing particular organisations. Clearly, this needs to be carefully thought through when using citizens' juries in decision making.

- **Deciding the task for the juries.** Some of the difficulties stemmed from this being a research project. After consideration and discussion between the OT and SB, it was decided to ask the juries to address an ongoing debate in this field: 'what should be the principles to guide decision making on wind farm development?' Admittedly, this was a broad and complex task, but that seemed a suitable way of testing the capacity of the citizens' jury process. In a real decision making process, the task should be carefully defined to ensure that there is clarity on how it will inform decision-making and at what stage. This project demonstrates that reaching SB consensus on the task can be difficult but achievable.

- **Locations.** Location was paramount for the purposes of this research, and it was decided to have the first jury in a location without a large neighbouring wind farm (Coldstream), the second in an area with a wind farm proposal (Helensburgh), and the third in one with an existing wind farm (Aberfeldy). This provided an important dimension for comparison, particularly since previous research suggests that the level of exposure to wind farms can be an important factor in citizens' perspectives (Wolsink 2007; Strachan and Lal 2004; Warren et al. 2005). In a decision making process, choosing location will depend on the scope of the jury's task. For instance, if the jury's task is to do with a specific wind farm development, organisers will have to consider the scope of the geographic areas to be represented at the jury. However, the issue could also be framed as pertaining to strategic considerations about the energy mix for the country. Therefore, organisers will have to consider whether the jury is addressing an issue of local, regional or national scope, and thus recruit jurors accordingly.

- **Venues.** Finding appropriate venues for deliberative work can be difficult. We have explored key elements to consider, namely: accessibility, size, layout, fittings and walls, acoustics, catering area, and symbolism. We have noted the challenges encountered during this project, and how these issues can have an impact in the type of environment created for the jury.

- **Process design.** Usually citizens' juries take 3-5 days. In this project this was reduced to 2 days in order to carry out 3 juries. This added difficulty to the design, which included an Information Phase (Day 1) and a Deliberation Phase (Day 2), in line with most processes of this kind. The design was prepared by the facilitators in consultation with organisers and expert colleagues. It took 7 iterations of detailed plans until finding a coherent sequence of formats and facilitation techniques that seemed adequate to support the jurors in accomplishing the task within the timeframe. Naturally, once the process was implemented adjustments had to be carried out, and thus facilitators must be flexible to incorporate ongoing learning and adapt to the particular needs of each group.

- **Selecting and recruiting witnesses.** This was one of the most challenging dimensions for the organisers. It was difficult to secure witnesses who: a) could commit the time to attend the 3 juries, b) represented diverse views on the topic, c) could be accepted by the SB, and d) had the necessary knowledge and communication skills. Despite dozens of emails and phone calls it was impossible to secure any female witness. In the end, the project benefitted from the goodwill of 7 witnesses who covered all the sessions in the Information Phase (3 attended all juries). Only the Coldstream jury featured a speaker with a 'community-owned renewables' perspective, and therefore the other juries only heard the pro-wind farms arguments from industry representatives. In hindsight, all the juries could have been exposed to that alternative viewpoint.

The organisers offered assistance to the witnesses in preparation for their role, and feedback after the first jury, but more could have been done (i.e. briefing session). Being a witness is highly demanding, not just in terms of time and effort, but also because they must adapt their language, convey complex knowledge in accessible ways, and confront a variety of perspectives, sensibilities and ways of learning. Most witnesses found the

task time-consuming but valued some aspects of the experience positively. Only two, however, said they would do it again. Nonetheless, we would argue that in real decision making processes there would be stronger incentives to take part and, arguably, a broader range of candidate witnesses may be attracted. In addition, it would also be advisable to involve the jurors in selecting the witnesses, which is common practice in some mini-publics but couldn't be done here due to time and funding constraints.

- **Recruiting jurors.** Citizens' juries must include participants with a diverse range of demographic and attitudinal characteristics. This is crucial for robust public deliberation, as explored later in Chapter 5. To ensure this, the organisers worked with Ipsos MORI. The aim was to avoid the 'self-selection bias' usually at play in open forums, which tend to be populated by participants with higher income and education, and adept at getting involved. The strategy entailed 3 measures: a) concealing the specific topic of the juries to prevent over-representation of those already engaged with the issue; b) choosing accessible times and locations; and c) offering compensation (£70 for Day 1 and £100 for Day 2). Compensation is crucial not only to value the hard work that jurors do, but also because it contributes to reducing barriers to participation so that, for instance, people with fewer resources are not excluded by personal circumstances.

The recruiters deployed a face-to-face approach using both door-to-door and in-street methods, until they signed up a mix of participants conforming to pre-determined quotas (i.e. gender, age, income). In aggregate across the juries, the participants represent a diverse cross-section of the population in terms of gender, age, education, voting preferences, working status, profession and income. However, while each separate jury was relatively balanced in terms of age, income and profession, this was not the case for the other categories. In particular, the gender mix for Helensburgh and Aberfeldy was skewed, with the former having considerably more men and the latter considerably more women.

In terms of attitudes towards wind energy, there was a mix of views across the juries, although the majority of participants expressed moderate to strong support (broadly in line with data for the Scottish population), with the exception of Helensburgh where, due to recruitment difficulties, there was a lack of strong supporters of wind farms. This illustrates the difficulty of gathering a diverse jury due to the low number of participants assembled, and justifies the logic of running several juries, or a larger type of mini-public, in order to increase the sample size. Nonetheless, citizens' juries are not expected to be statistically representative but demographically diverse. These juries were rather successful in this regard, particularly when compared to traditional public meetings and consultations.

Chapter 4 - Inside the Jury, across the Juries - the story of the process

4.1. Introduction

The chapter gives a sense of the rich texture of interaction at play in the juries, and the myriad process dimensions that can influence their evolution and outcomes. The chapter draws on the following data sources (see Appendix 2 on our mixed methods approach):

- ethnographers' fieldnotes,
- evaluators' report,
- interviews with witnesses,
- reflective notes by the organisers,
- and qualitative and quantitative responses from the jurors' survey questionnaires.

4.2. Overview of the process

Between October 2013 and February 2014 three groups of 14-18 people spent two Saturdays together questioning, and listening to, a range of speakers before being asked to discuss and decide, as a group, on the following task:

> **The Jury's Task**
>
> *"There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.*
>
> *What should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development, and why?"*

Each 'citizens' jury' was held over two Saturdays (9.15 am - 5.15 pm), either 2 or 3 weeks apart. Jurors were remunerated for their participation at the end of each day. The full programme for both days can be seen in Appendix 3. The first day was for learning and dialogue, the second for deliberation. Day 1 comprised three sessions to share and discuss evidence. The jurors heard brief presentations (10-15 minutes) from one or two 'witnesses', who came from universities, third sector organisations or trade bodies, as well as independent campaigners (for details see Chapter 3). The jurors then worked in two groups to agree questions to scrutinise the witnesses in plenary. The three sessions were:

- *Energy and Climate Change:* One witness, a science communicator who sought to present an impartial overview.
- *Wind Energy*: Two witnesses, presenting arguments 'for' and 'against' wind power.
- *Wind Farms:* Two witnesses (different from those in session two), presenting arguments 'for' and 'against' wind farms.

In sessions 2 and 3, the speaking order was decided by coin toss. Witnesses were briefed about their role and were asked to give the same presentation to each jury in order to keep the content as consistent as possible between the three juries.

In case the jurors wished to learn more in between the two jury days, each participant was provided with a Handbook[24], a short, user-friendly document which presented background information and links to diverse sources for further information and opinion. This included a range of formats (websites, blogs, videos, infographics, reports, briefs) to accommodate different learning styles. The witnesses were provided with a list of questions that remained unanswered on Day 1 due to time constraints, and that could not be answered by information in the Handbook. The witnesses' written answers to these questions were circulated to the jurors approximately a week before the second jury day. This was not anticipated before the juries, so it was designed into the process in response to the high

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[24] The Handbook was put together by ClimateXChange staff, with suggestions and oversight by the Stewarding Board. The Handbook can be accessed at:
http://www.climatexchange.org.uk/files/2314/3211/1648/Citizens_Juries_Handbook.pdf

volume of questions generated on Day 1 of the first jury. This added an extra and unforeseen burden to the contribution of the witnesses, who kindly obliged.

Figure 4.1 Schematic of the two-day jury process

Day 1

Information phase:

Introduction to the process and witness sessions.

2 - 3 weeks:

Reflection Phase:

Jurors take away information pack and receive witness responses to outstanding questions from Day 1.

Day 2

Deliberative phase:

Jurors set the agenda and work together on the task.
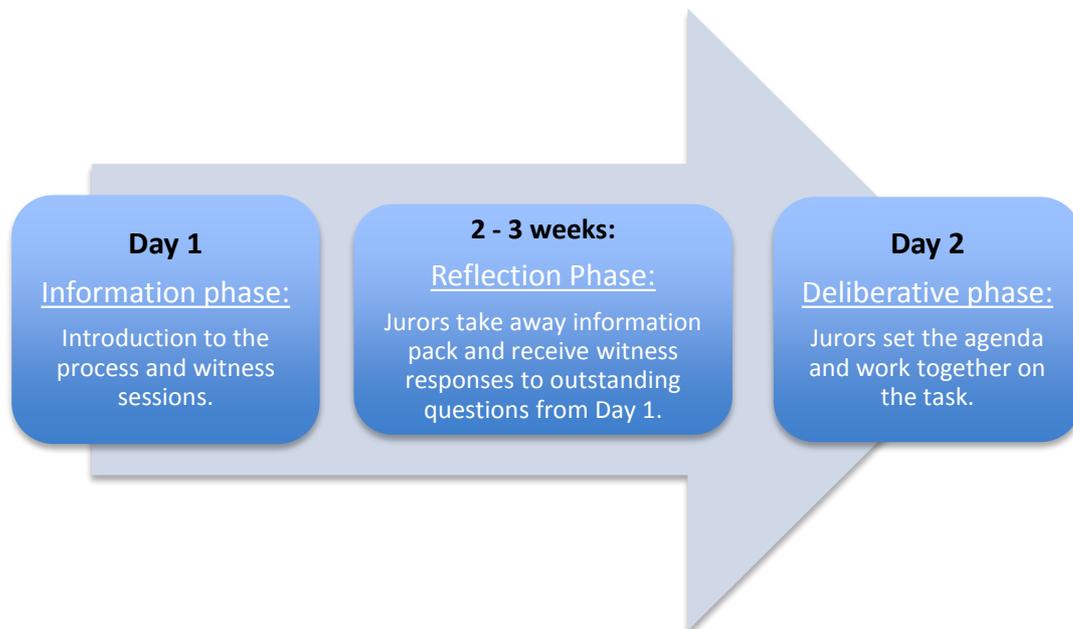
On Day 2, jurors worked towards the group 'verdict' on the task – a series of statements which expressed their agreed principles to guide decisions on wind farm development. Each jury set the agenda for the day by agreeing key themes to structure their deliberations. Then they worked through those themes, proposing and agreeing statements that captured their collective view. Each jury produced 10-15 principles, which they ranked. These statements constituted the jury's response to the task and are presented and analysed in Chapter 6.

The juries were also encouraged to identify potential conflicts within and between their principles, and to consider the trade-offs that need to be made when making decisions about wind farms. In the final session, the jurors were asked to consider who should be involved in decision making on this issue, and how. This gave further insight into the jurors' reflections on the role of citizen participation in decisions about wind farm development. Jurors were reassured that their verdict was for the research only and will not decide what happens to wind farms in their local area or in other parts of Scotland.

At each jury there were six or seven support and research staff:

Organisers: Two of the project organisers (Project Manager Ragne Low and Research Coordinator Dr. Jen Roberts) attended each day to assist the smooth running of the juries, manage logistics, and provide information where needed on Day 2. They were usually joined by one other ClimateXChange colleague who helped with various tasks such as registration or photography (Anne Marte Bergseng and Darcy Pimblett).

Facilitators: Two professional facilitators, Dr. Oliver Escobar (co-author of this report and Director of the project) and Dr. Wendy Faulkner, assisted the jurors throughout to ensure

that everyone could have a say and that dialogue and deliberation remained respectful and productive.

Researchers: There were two researchers present at each jury, one as an ethnographer, observing and taking notes about group interactions and conversations; and the other acting as an evaluator, observing various overarching dimensions of the process (see Appendix 7). These were members of the research team (see Chapter 2).

In addition, one or more of the five **witnesses** were present for parts of Day 1. They only needed to attend their allotted session and could choose how much they wished to interact with the jurors in the breaks beforehand or following their session. They did not attend the opening or closing sessions of Day 1, nor any of Day 2.

In the remainder of this chapter, we open a window onto the jury sessions by providing a chronological account of the process across the three juries. We divide this in terms of the two key phases in a citizens' jury, namely, the Information Phase and the Deliberation Phase.

> *For narrative ease we will refer to each jury using the name of the town where they took place, i.e.*
>
> > *Jury 1 – Coldstream (no existing or proposed wind farms)*
> >
> > *Jury 2 – Helensburgh (with a wind farm proposed nearby)*
> >
> > *Jury 3 – Aberfeldy (close to an existing wind farm)*

4.3. Day 1 – The Information Phase

The point of this phase is to support participants to learn about

- the CJ process and purpose,
- their own role during the process,
- their fellow jurors,
- the issues under consideration,
- and the contested evidence, competing views and diverse perspectives on the topic.

The extent to which learning occurred during these juries is analysed in Chapter 7. Here, we focus on describing the process as a backdrop to the rest of the report.

4.3.1 Starting the jury

9.00	-	9.30	Registration [and tea/coffee]
9.30	-	10.30	Project intro & dialogue session
10.30	-	11.00	Questionnaire 1

| **11.00 - 11.30** | *Refreshment break* |

The jurors turned up knowing little about the process or its purpose. The recruiters simply said that the events were for a 'public conversation about environmental issues' (see Section 3.3.4 for detail of the recruitment process).

First impressions matter and may colour the rest of the jurors' experience. The registration period is thus an opportunity to make participants feel welcome and create a good atmosphere for group work. Lessons from Coldstream were applied in the other juries. For example, simple things such as having the facilitators approach each participant for a personal introduction, or adding ambience music during the registration period or while filling in questionnaires.

On arrival, participants were welcomed, given a name badge, and asked to think about the question 'what do you like the most about living in your area' and write their answers on large orange cards to be displayed at a large Sticky Wall. This revealed common ground between participants regarding feelings about their community, and provided initial talking points as they started conversations over coffee. These vignettes by the ethnographers illustrate the dynamics:

> *Coldstream – There generally seemed to be a friendly atmosphere, although some of the younger (female) participants looked slightly nervous or uncomfortable – the older participants appeared jolly and enthusiastic. However, very few people talked to each other whilst waiting – gradually chatter did begin to build up (mostly between the older participants). Participants were asked to write on a card … gradually they all stick up their answers. Most relate to the natural environment (clean air, open spaces etc) and the quiet, friendly atmosphere.*

> *Helensburgh – Mostly men arrive first…. Women and younger participants seem a little more reserved/unsure but seem relieved when greeted warmly by the organisers and quickly settle in. They are directed toward tables arranged in horse-shoe shape … Most men seem fairly relaxed and as many appear to know one another they settle themselves at the table to complete the first task … Answers are up on the Sticky Wall for all to see fairly quickly. 'Community spirit', 'living by the water', 'the scenery', 'walks and countryside', 'access to the city' and 'the road out' ... The atmosphere appears relaxed and there is plenty of conversation.*

In two of the juries there were a few people who knew each other, which is difficult to prevent when recruiting in a local area (see Section 3.3.4 and Appendix 8). But there was a positive side to this. For instance, a young woman who had never participated in a public forum felt reassured by sharing the experience with someone she knew.

After registration, the project was introduced and the jurors learned that the topic was wind farms. The ethnographer observed different reactions in each jury, perhaps reflecting the

relationship of each locality to the topic. For instance, in **Coldstream**, where there are no wind farms[25]:

> *There is no particularly strong reaction ...although there are some glum faces...*
> *No one looks particularly engaged – are they serious/uninterested/concerned?*

In contrast, in **Helensburgh**, where there was a proposal at the time of the jury, the issue seemed more topical:

> *As the organisers start to introduce the purpose of the day and the project*
> *subject the participants seem really engaged – leaning forward and looking*
> *interested.*

When asked in the survey whether they were excited or disappointed about the topic, 20% of participants across the juries said they felt excited, 41% somewhat excited, 30% neutral and 7% somewhat disappointed. In turn, when asked whether they were interested in the topic, all juries expressed moderate or high level of interest (around 82%), with only Coldstream including participants who declared high level of disinterest (16%). These figures are significant when considering that the jurors did not know what the topic was beforehand, and therefore did not attend on the basis of interest. This perhaps indicates the high profile of the topic in Scotland, particularly in rural areas, or citizens' interest in renewable energy more generally.

When asked whether they felt confident or apprehensive about discussing the topic, 16% felt confident, 40% somewhat confident, 23% neutral, 16% somewhat apprehensive and 2% apprehensive. The level of apprehension was higher in Coldstream (21%) and Aberfeldy (26%), than in Helensburgh (7%). This suggests a higher level of self-confidence amongst Helensburgh jurors. As reflected in Table 3.8 (Section 3.3.5), over half of the jurors in Helensburgh (60%) and Aberfeldy (55%) had previous experience in civic engagement, in contrast to only 30% in Coldstream.

Next were the personal introductions, using a simple format with three objectives: to begin to model active listening, to give everyone an unthreatening chance to speak in plenary for the first time, and to invite participants to meet each other as 'people' before getting into viewpoints. The session worked well as an icebreaker, and met the objectives:

> *Coldstream –* *Participants are asked to introduce themselves to the person*
> *sitting next to them and say what they like most about living in the area. They*
> *are then asked to introduce the person to the whole group. People initially look*
> *nervous/uncomfortable, but the mood quickly becomes fun and conversation*
> *breaks out well. A couple of (younger female) participants seem reluctant to talk*
> *... Although a few initially looked apprehensive about the task, everyone seems*
> *quite confident to speak (albeit very briefly) to the group.*
> *Helensburgh –* *A couple of people look a little alarmed ... but a really animated*
> *discussion breaks out immediately. Some people write their neighbour's details*

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[25] Although there are several large wind farms in the Borders region.

down. Very few talk about why they like Helensburgh, instead people are keen to share information about jobs, family and hobbies…

Aberfeldy – Everyone talks for the full time, no conversations running dry. 'Oh, I think I know you, you live down by so and so...' Jurors introduce each other to the group … regurgitating the facts they've learned over the previous two minutes. Some speak off by heart, others read from notes. Those who know each other throw a bit more banter in, and as we get further round the room this encourages others to be a bit more light-hearted.

The facilitators then asked the jurors to come up with 'conversation guidelines' for interaction. Aside from the purpose of agreeing parameters that can be 'policed' by everyone, this exercise also plays a subtler role. The process of collectively agreeing guidelines invites participants to reflect on their own communication habits and those of others (Escobar 2011). In this way, the group can develop awareness of productive and unproductive dynamics by drawing on their own life experiences. This can be a crucial step to create a space for meaningful interaction. However, if a group is asked 'what guidelines…?', this can feel abstract and elicit little response. Instead, the facilitators asked 'what makes for a good conversation?' Once again, the ethnographers captured the scenes:

Coldstream – This discussion engages most participants and almost all actively participate suggesting examples of what makes a good conversation: a good subject; diversity; respect; listening; knowledge; life experience; interest; sense of humour; energy. Examples given of what makes a bad conversation are: being put on the spot; intimidated; narrow-mindedness. Although this engaged participants, there appears less enthusiasm for discussing turning these ideas into guidelines. This takes a bit more coaxing.

Helensburgh – There is quite a lively discussion and many people contribute: 'Compromise', 'listening to others', 'communication', 'getting your point across', 'respect', 'a good topic' and 'humour' … gradually suggestions come from men and women, young and old. 'Agree to disagree' and 'one voice at a time' both receive enthusiastic assent.

Aberfeldy – 'Different opinions' chimes in a younger woman right away. 'A bit of passion'. 'Smaller groups'. 'Listening'. The ideas come from all parts of the room. 'Understand what's being said'. 'Knowledge of what's being talked about'. 'Keeping an open mind'. 'Respect for differences'. 'Keep on track'. Every one of these is produced by a different person. What's bad in a conversation? 'One-sided'. 'Stick to the agenda'. 'Clash of opinions'. 'Don't push one view too much, listen to the other side'. A lot of nodding heads and consensus… The guidelines are stuck up on the wall for reference… [a female juror] adds that if you are silent, it can be because you are thinking and processing ideas.

There are recurring themes to do with respect and listening. Particularly interesting is the final addition in Aberfeldy, where a juror seeks to give silence a positive meaning. Interpreting silence and a sign of deep listening and reflection tentatively opens space for participants to feel less apprehensive about what others may think about their apparent lack of engagement.

These initial sessions were therefore about dialogue, rather than deliberation (see Escobar 2009, 2011). The point was to build some initial sense of shared purpose and productive group work, while easing jurors into their role. The intention was to build relational capital

within the group that may foster the resilience and capacity needed to eventually deliberate on conflicting views and perspectives.

Guidelines completed, the jurors were then introduced to the questionnaires, of which they completed four throughout the jury days. Filling in the questionnaires added to the time constraints. It also stopped the momentum built through the initial sessions and, as an organiser put it, "sapped the energy". An upside is that the questionnaires enabled jurors to express their views without the pressures of the group, thus providing an alternative channel to privately reflect and make their voices heard.

'What makes a good conversation?' The juries set out conversation guidelines for the two days, while a facilitator scribes

Then came the first break, which rekindled conversations in anticipation of the witness sessions. These breaks usually lasted half an hour, which may seem generous given the tight timeframe. The facilitators assumed that building relational capital through structured exercises could only take a group thus far. Indeed, important conversations often took place in unstructured interactions around teapots, scones, smoking areas and toilets. These were opportunities to make sense of the process, share initial thoughts about wind farms, or indeed unrelated topics. Survey data reveals that 82% of all jurors declared having learned from conversations during breaks (32% 'somewhat', 35% 'quite a lot' and 15% 'very much'). This is a vignette from **Aberfeldy** at lunchtime:

> The people on the table talk about the turbines. "Honestly, when you're in your house, in your living room, do the turbines affect you? No, they don't" claims Female Juror 12. "I think they've been good for the village in the short term, but not sure about the long term," adds Female Juror 11. "It's only when you go up the hill, right up the hill, that you notice them. I took my horse up there, and he just stopped, just froze, when he saw the turbine. It was like: no, don't like that, I'm not going there."

Clearly, local knowledge and personal experiences were backdrops for interpreting the arguments and evidence considered throughout the process (see Fischer 2000). In that sense, deliberation over lunch can be as consequential as deliberation during formal sessions. Breaks also revealed certain patterns. We found no evidence that jurors would only group with like-minded others, which is important because deliberation requires participants to be exposed to all views. However, in Helensburgh we did find a pattern regarding gender dynamics, with all women typically spending breaks together and men

grouping according to age. This grouping dynamic was also initially present during structured sessions, and the facilitators intervened to mix the jurors.

4.3.2 Witness Session 1

11.30 - 12.20	Witness Session 1: Context information [energy & environment] 1 witness, brief presentation, group work and Q&A
12.20 - 1.20	Lunch

The first witness was a science communicator tasked with providing a 14-minute introduction to energy and the environment. The presentation was generally well received in the three juries. However, as was the case with other witnesses, presentations often improved in subsequent juries due to cumulative learning. For example, after running out of time in Coldstream, the witness adapted accordingly for Helensburgh and Aberfeldy.

The session began with a video about energy and climate change, followed by a presentation including historical developments, and key concepts around electricity, energy and climate change. Participants seemed fairly engaged, particularly when the presenter covered contemporary energy use, sea levels rising, displaced populations and nuclear energy. Some jurors took copious notes while a few seemed to switch off at times, for instance when the presenter spoke about the industrial revolution to illustrate the importance of fossil fuels. Most jurors' body language, however, suggested a clear effort to engage.

After the presentation, the jurors were randomly divided into two groups to agree their line of questioning. The purpose of this format was to avoid the pitfalls of Q&A sessions where outspoken people typically dominate. Each group followed a process of individual formulation of questions, proposal to the group and prioritisation. Each participant was given coloured cards and a "bingo pen", which made the writing more visible. They had some "quiet time" to write down questions, preceded by the facilitators stating that "there is no such thing as a

Sticky Wall with outstanding questions from the witness sessions

stupid question" (which elicited signs of relief and positive reactions), and were invited to ask whatever would help them to address the jury's task. Then there was a "go-round" where each juror shared their questions and placed the cards on the table. Next, the group discussed, grouped, or rephrased the questions – discarding repeated or refined questions – before prioritising them using "sticky dots". The questions with the most dots would be asked during the plenary, whereas the rest would be displayed on the Sticky Wall to be addressed later.

The format worked really well in terms of ensuring that every juror was included and that the questioning reflected a variety of concerns and perspectives. Not all jurors formulated questions in every session, but all did at some point during the process as they gained confidence (see Chapter 7). Once they grasped the format, they generated numerous questions, prioritising around 10 per session. They often helped each other to formulate questions, clarify points and merge similar cards, and showed satisfaction (perhaps relief?) after accomplishing the task – which began to build a sense of collective capacity for group work.

At this point, the jury reconvened in plenary and two jurors were nominated by the groups to put the questions to Witness 1. The spokespeople changed for every session, including various jurors in terms of age and gender – although in Helensburgh the role was taken up by male jurors only. The extent to which jurors volunteered for jobs like these across the two days indicates their increased engagement as the process advanced. For instance, as the **Coldstream** ethnographer noted:

> *Interestingly, the volunteer from group 2 is Young Female 3 who had appeared particularly reluctant to speak within the 'Introducing yourself' session earlier and also who had been texting during the presentation.*

The questions asked covered numerous themes, including environmental concerns, energy alternatives, and energy needs and consumption (see Table 4.1). The answers by Witness 1 seemed to satisfy most jurors, although there were instances of disagreement where discussion ensued. For instance, a juror in Coldstream disputed figures offered for cost of unit per different source of energy, and referring to wind power shouted: "It's much more than that!" All the juries, but particularly Coldstream, elicited comparisons between Scotland and England, particularly around energy production and consumption, and Scottish interests emerged as an important theme. The challenge for all witnesses was to provide precise and accessible answers to complex questions without preparation, and this takes considerable skill. The following vignettes from **Aberfeldy** give a flavour of the interactions:

> *Juror: When will fossil fuels run out? Witness 1 talks about a website with clocks for all different fossil fuels, Facilitator 1 pushes him to give a number, Witness 1 eventually says fifty to sixty years.*
>
> *Juror: Why is nuclear not being talked about, is it because of pressure groups? Witness 1: partly yes, but there is a big question over what we do with the fuel.*
>
> *Question on fuel security: how long until we are fuel secure again? Witness 1: We might never be fuel secure, a lot comes from unstable parts of the world, fracking [for shale gas] might give us a more stable base – Juror 6 seems satisfied.*
>
> *Juror: How close are we to the Scottish government's targets? Witness 1: Well on target, good renewable resources. All jurors are listening (are they listening or just glazing over?)*
>
> *Juror: How much research into capturing emissions? Witness 1 talks about Carbon Capture and Storage and research into getting rid of smog, coal bed methane also cleaner than coal.*
>
> *Juror: How long will it take for renewables to make a noticeable impact? Witness 1: It is making an impact now, there is a dash towards wind turbines,*

and also hydro power. Hard to see benefits maybe because everything is fed back into a grid.

Juror: Why not more hydro? Witness 1: There are various forms of hydro, but entail aesthetic impacts on land, and need high level and low level loch near to each other.

Facilitator 1 periodically cuts in to paraphrase jurors' questions and/or push Witness 1 to answer questions concisely. Participants seem happy with responses, listening on and taking answers on board... .

These Q/A sessions were fast paced, with responses lasting between 1 and 3 minutes, and sometimes followed up by commentary or further probing by the jurors.

Table 4.1 Questions asked during Witness Session 1

Coldstream
• Has the cost of energy been put up to make the Government money?
• It was said that 30% of energy is exported in some years – how frequently does that happen?
• How much does it cost to produce a unit of energy from each different source (e.g. coal, gas, nuclear, wind etc)?
• How much energy do we (Scotland) require for our own use?
• Scotland has so much water – why is there so little hydro?
• What gases other than CO_2 are produced and what problems do they cause? Is CO_2 the chief villain?
• What impact has solar power had on reliance on other sources of energy?
• Does the Scottish Government do enough about global warming and the environment? What more should they do?
• What effect does burning fossil fuels have on the atmosphere?
• Fossil fuels produce CO_2 that affects the environment – what do nuclear power stations produce that affects the environment?
Helensburgh
• How does the UK/Scotland's energy 'mix' compare globally? Eg with developing economies such as China
• Has there been an impartial through life circle of all energy production methods?
• With Scotland being such a wet country, why don't we use more Hydro Energy?
• Where are the figures for capability vs. availability for all energy production methods?
• Why not more fusion research as opposed to fission?
• Is global warming a normal part of the earth's weather cycle over millions of years?
• It was proposed years ago to buy excess power from Iceland. Why has nothing happened?
• Why the succession on wind farms instead of other renewables?
• Should the Government nationalise the energy industry to stop companies putting

	profit above an important issue?
Aberfeldy	

- When will fossil fuels run out?
- What will the effect be on prices and what can we do?
- Why is nuclear not being talked about, is it because of pressure groups?
- How long until we are fuel secure again?
- How close are we to the Scottish government's targets?
- With fuel running out, but research increasing, will the two meet in the middle?
- How much research there is into capturing emissions?
- How long will it take for renewables to make a noticeable impact?
- What is being done to educate people about where energy comes from?
- Why not more hydro?

4.3.3 Witness Session 2

1.20 - 2.40	Witness Session 2: Renewable energy [onshore wind] 2 witnesses, brief presentations, group work and Q&A
2.40 - 3.10	*Refreshment break*

After an hour-long lunch break, filled with conversations about the process, the topic and beyond, jurors typically returned energised. In Session 2, they were exposed to two opposed views on onshore wind energy. Witness 2, a representative from industry, made the case for wind power, with a business-like presentation that addressed questions such as 'how does wind energy work?' and 'Is it efficient?' In contrast, Witness 3 presented the case against wind power, highlighting inefficiencies and costs in economic, environmental and health terms[26] (see 7.2).

The role of Witness 3 was fulfilled by two people with a similar profile and communication style. One attended Coldstream and the other Helensburgh and Aberfeldy. They were both dominant voices and had senior academic status in other fields of science. In contrast to the calm, soft-spoken and business-like communication style of Witness 2, both Witness 3s displayed a passionate, loud and authoritative communication style. We will return to rhetorical styles and their effects in Chapter 7. As analysed in Chapters 7-8, these contrasting styles of engagement had a significant impact on many jurors; and the juries received these witnesses differently. For now, it suffices to note that the anti-wind

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[26] The speaking order varied as determined by coin toss. For narrative purposes we simplify here by referring to Witness 2 as the pro-wind power speaker and Witness 3 as the anti-wind power speaker.

witnesses seemed to convey their message with more punch. After the presentations, the jurors returned to group work using the format outlined earlier. Now familiar with the process, and stimulated by the exposure to opposed views, the jurors generated numerous questions (see Table 4.2).
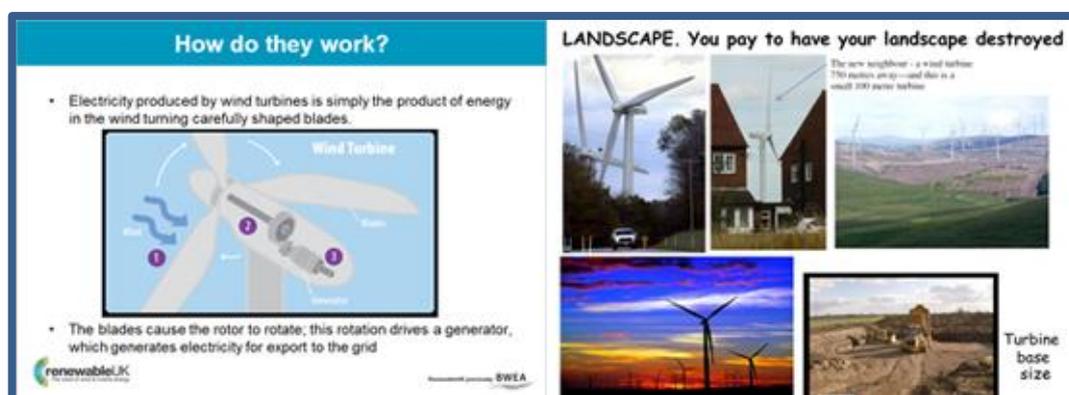
The witnesses presented both the science behind wind farms and perspectives on the experience of living with them

During discussion, some jurors questioned the credibility of the witnesses. For example, in **Helensburgh**, some acknowledged that the confident presentation by Witness 3 might persuade others despite lack of clarity about the reliability of the sources. However, many jurors enjoyed it because, as some put it, "real information was offered" in the sense that they could relate to it and how wind power can affect people at local level. This was in contrast to the more strategic perspective of Witness 2, who also did the ground work of explaining concepts such as base load, intermittency, and the likes. In **Aberfeldy** jurors also discussed whether or not the speakers had "facts" to back up their assertions. Scrutiny, however, was not only directed to witnesses, but also to fellow jurors. This fragment from **Coldstream** is illustrative:

> Juror: "Rather than wind farms, what about individual turbines supplemented by solar panels? A dispute breaks out. Male Juror 13 states: "there are caps on how much electricity you can generate … you can't generate all your electricity" Male Juror 8 responds: "that's not right, you can – you can have photovoltaic panels or turbines to generate electricity". Male Juror 13 responds: "no: you're not allowed to generate your own electricity" Male Juror 8: "no, you are!" There are references to the feed-in tariff and people selling electricity from PV cells to the grid. Tensions are developing… Male Juror 8 says to Male Juror 13: "be careful about what you say" – Male Juror 13 clarifies "you can, but you can't keep 100% for yourself". Different positions and experiences are becoming apparent.

The questioning of witnesses was lively across the juries and fostered considerable debate. This kept the jurors very engaged, as both witnesses offered very different perspectives and responded to further probing. Interaction between witnesses was generally respectful, although Witness 3 was prone to making direct attacks on "industry" personalised in his

"opponent". The facilitator had the challenge of distributing airtime equitably, so that witnesses and jurors could cover as much territory as possible. This was achieved, although in Helensburgh an organiser noticed that the anti-wind power witness had been somewhat advantaged by getting first turn to speak more times. The facilitator rectified this in subsequently, which highlights the importance of ongoing observation and support by the organisers.

The issues covered in the session were wide-ranging across the juries, as shown in Table 4.2 For example, all were particularly interested in considering who benefits from wind power development. This ethnographic vignette illustrates how the witnesses dealt with this question in **Coldstream**:

> Juror: "What benefits do local residents receive when turbines are built in the local area?" Witness 2 mentions jobs during construction and community benefits funds (£5000/F), but stresses jobs from construction as main benefit. A juror probes: "jobs in construction is very short term?" Witness 2 replies that construction is normally 6 months to a year but specialist construction companies are moving around the country. Another juror probes: "So the workers are coming in, the local community doesn't benefit – it's specialists coming in?" Witness 2 replies: "in the past this has been done badly but we're getting better". In turn, Witness 3 says there are no jobs once a wind farm is operational. He makes a very impassioned response regarding community benefits describing these as "vile" and saying they destroy and divide communities – immediate neighbours of wind farms get nothing whilst those in towns further afield benefit from investment.

These sessions were dynamic and fast-paced, and it is difficult to gauge the extent to which the jurors followed all the arguments and evidence presented by the witnesses. Nonetheless, as shown in Chapter 7, survey data suggests that learning took place during Day 1. In the following vignette, the **Aberfeldy** ethnographer conveys the richness of these sessions, both in terms of the variety of issues and the interactions at play:

> Juror: "is it fair Loch Ness residents get a farm they didn't want?" Witness 3 argues there is "a general problem with the democratic situation we have. If we give people enough money they will change their attitudes". Witness 3 would demand half of the profits in some situations. He insists there are no adequate benefits to local community. Some jurors seem quite taken with his impassioned responses. Witness 2: "the problem is who owns the land. How do you define the community, would you allow decision-making about roads and everything else? No, we have a planning process that makes decisions – it's not perfect but it takes things into consideration". A juror cuts in and says "no, in Scotland, the central governments overrules everything".
>
> Juror: "Why not tidal energy?" Witness 3 says they are "far more expensive than wind, too early, we don't have technology, like the whole damn rush into renewables … we need to think about it more first". Witness 3 is now shouting and shaking his fists: "we have a government in a hurry and that's wrong". In turn, Witness 2 outlines the progress being made by the European Marine Energy Centre in Orkney.
>
> Juror: "are there health risks if you live close by a turbine? Witness 3: "within 2km, 20 percent complain about health, usually sleep problems". Witness 2: "there are some health and safety issues, blades going wrong, fires, small

turbines falling over". Witness 3 says he blatantly disagrees, which makes many of the jurors laugh.

Juror: "In terms of self-sufficiency, aren't wind and fossil fuels part of same solution?" Witness 3: "we can't go back to two hundred years ago … it would not be progress rather a retreat from the world! There are lots of additional costs from using an unreliable source like wind". Witness 2: "fossil fuels are running out and we know they are damaging, so we need to look at alternatives like renewables … which reduce dependency on other countries and promote sufficiency". Witness 2 gives what feels like a very balanced and well-reasoned response, saying he would "never tell you not to have any coal".

Some witnesses were consistent in their delivery at the 3 juries, while others gave their best performances in the second and third juries, arguably after developing a sense of what was required to be effective in the unusual scenario of a citizens' jury (we return to this in Chapter 7). During an interview, a witness expressed concern about lack of direction, focus and closure in the sessions. Clearly, the jurors took the debate in the directions that they were interested in and the purpose of these sessions was not to reach closure but to explore the issues from different perspectives. However, such open and argumentative evidence sessions can feel inappropriate (e.g. unbalanced, unstructured) to some witnesses as they only get access to a fraction of the entire process. It is the job of the organisers to convey the nature of these sessions to the witnesses, and in this project this was perhaps only partially achieved despite the preparations outlined in Chapter 3. For example, part of the brief for the witnesses asked them to consider their presentation style in order to make it as engaging as possible. From the jurors' perspective, there were clear shortcomings in this regard. The starkest reaction was from some jurors in **Helensburgh**. As the ethnographer notes from the conversation amongst a group of female jurors:

At least two of [the jurors] say that despite being "for" wind power they are now "against" it. When I ask whether this is due to the strength of the argument forwarded by Witness 3, they admit it is just because the 3rd speaker was so passionate, animated and his slides were easy to follow. They say he would convince them of anything. They voice vexation at [Witness 2's] lack of enthusiasm for what they deem "a cause", as one woman refers to it. "He has to sell it to us", another says. They claim that the third speaker made the discussion 'personal' which they clearly deem important when discussing issues such as wind power.

In subsequent chapters, we will explore the importance of rhetorical ability and draw out ideas for future practice regarding witnesses and the evidence they present.

Table 4.2 Questions asked during Witness Session 2

Coldstream
• The speaker said energy can't be stored – but if it is transferred to the national grid, is that not storage?
• Will wind farms replace or reduce use of other power stations and reduce CO_2 emissions?
• What benefits do local residents receive when turbines are built in the local area? –

What incentives/compensation are offered?

- If small landowners put turbines up do they benefit only themselves or do others benefit as well?

- Is there a justification for developing small turbines/solar panels on houses rather than large wind farms?

- What is marine energy?

- Has the argument for wind power been a giant con generated by speculators and government?

- Can we spread them out instead of building big wind farms and not ruin the countryside so much?

- Why are we buying turbines from abroad? – Could we build them here?

- If wind generated energy is inconsistent, is there any way to stabilise wind energy over long periods of time?

- Wind turbines are said to have a lifespan of 25 – 30 years – how do you know how long a wind turbine will last?

Helensburgh

- What % of wind generated energy is lost in transmission?

- If wind farms are so good why do they need a subsidy?

- Is it possible to join up wind farm energy Europe-wide to 'chase' the wind?

- Wind farms in Denmark & Holland 30-40 years ago closed just before their subsidy ran out. The companies went "bust" leaving taxpayers to return land to natural state. Will this not happen here?

- If onshore wind is now comparable with nuclear power, why not choose nuclear as it is cheaper to build, requires less resources and lasts longer.

- Why the lack of concern for wildlife?

- Are wind farms motivated by politics and the greed of private industry and not the needs of the people of Scotland?

- Why is the real 'footprint' – air/ground and environment effect nor discussed by proponents of wind?

- Wind is unpredictable, surely wind relies on nuclear/fossils, not vice versa?

- Would Scottish independence affect energy cost?

Aberfeldy

- Why can't we use more solar?

- How much physically needs to be replaced on a turbine, and at what cost?

- Where and how is the electricity stored and who pays for it?

- Why do turbines need so much space?

- Is it fair Loch Ness residents get a farm they didn't want?

- Breakdown of costs for how wind turbines pay for themselves in 9 months?

- Why not tidal energy?

- Provide information on health impacts. Are there health risks if you live close by a turbine?

- In terms of self-sufficiency, aren't wind and fossil fuels part of the energy mix solution?

4.3.4 Witness Session 3

2.40	-	3.10	*Refreshment break*
3.10	-	4.40	Witness Session 3: Onshore wind farms 2 witnesses, brief presentation each, group work and Q&A

After having discussed climate change, energy and wind power, the final session focussed on arguments for and against onshore wind farms. Witness 4 was an anti-wind farms activist with experience in campaigning and mobilising communities across Scotland. He delivered carefully crafted arguments designed to help the juries address their task, and focussed on principles to support a strong critique of wind farms and the way decisions are currently made. Two people undertook the role of Witness 5. In Coldstream, it was a social entrepreneur involved in developing the community-owned wind farms sector in Scotland. He made an evocative and enthusiastic pitch on the benefits and opportunities of community ownership in the renewable energy sector – and forebodings about continued fossil fuel use. In Helensburgh and Aberfeldy, the role was fulfilled by an industry expert and spokesperson who delivered an accessible and engaging overview of the advantages of wind farm development.

Despite being the final session, these witnesses kept the jurors' interest with engaging debates following the presentations and group work. Nonetheless, many jurors began to feel tired and increasingly puzzled by the conflicting evidence and arguments before them. This generated a strong emerging theme across the juries, namely, a longing for conclusive information to inform their decisions and an appreciation for the complexity and difficulty of judging existing evidence. The strength of this theme was such that it would become a common thread in the principles generated across the juries (see Chapter 6).

After these final presentations, some jurors were prepared to show their hand and share their position with others. Ethnographer notes from **Coldstream** illustrate these emerging themes and positioning dynamics:

> *One juror says that it's interesting to hear the different views and that it's better than being told "this is right". But another participant says that given the strength of conviction on all sides how is the ordinary member of the public meant to make up their mind. There is some discussion and people agree that it is complex, which is interesting but difficult.*

A juror who has not voiced particular opinions up until now says he's "been against them from the start and I'm still against them, someone's making money out of them and it's not me!" Another participant challenges him by asking if it was him who was making money from them would he feel differently… Another juror says he is "still on the fence" and wants to do more research. Another says: "I think I'm for them, but in moderation, but I don't like companies making so much money".

Another juror argues: "the system for deciding is too complicated, there's too much diversity of opinion and no common ground… and there's too much money involved". To which another replies: "it's complicated and gets more complicated with more experts, there's money to be made but let's make sure that it's money for communities". Another adds: "the presentations have lots of statistics but the statistics are interpreted differently". One juror asks if they will be able to get the slides from the presentations – participants seem to be very interested in having more information.

In **Helensburgh**, some jurors were also ready to articulate their position, particularly those who reacted critically to the presentations of pro-wind witnesses and were persuaded by the impassioned performance of their "opponents". A clear, explicitly negative view of wind farms began to consolidate across this jury (see Chapter 8). In contrast, in **Aberfeldy** the jurors seemed cautious about declaring unequivocal positions. This was perhaps partly because they had an additional source of information to draw on, namely, local knowledge. Aberfeldy was the jury located close to a sizeable wind farm. As the ethnographer noted, some jurors spoke from their personal experiences with wind farms and planning. This may have tempered the expression of unequivocal viewpoints at this stage:

On many occasions, I heard jurors balancing negative anecdotal experiences with positive ones, and vice-versa. For example, I heard one discussion … that whilst it may have been the case that construction did not lead to permanent jobs in the local community, local businesses did profit from the increased footfall. Likewise, I heard jurors discussing how although the community did get financial benefit from the developments, the vast amount of profit went in the direction of private landowners. This first-hand experience of the pros and cons of development (and the shades of grey that can lie in-between) might explain why the participants did not appear to be forming a clear 'for' or 'against' stance towards wind farms.

By now, most jurors had become accustomed to the format and adept at scrutinising witnesses. An interesting contrast can be found across the juries. In Coldstream and Aberfeldy the jurors applied considerable scrutiny to both sides of the argument and provided opportunities for justification to both pro- and anti- witnesses. In contrast, in Helensburgh pro-wind presenters were subject to more scrutiny than their anti-wind counterparts. This was reflected in the type of questions formulated across the juries (e.g. Table 4.3). These vignettes exemplify follow-up questions posed by jurors in Coldstream and Aberfeldy, and which provided a platform for articulating alternative arguments:

Coldstream – Juror: "One witness said community benefits are vile, the other says that communities can benefit hugely – who is right?" Witness 5 responds that communities should be negotiating with developers to have equity in developments and ensure that projects benefit them. Witness 4 says that

community benefits serve to "oil the wheels for planning consent" and says that you "get nothing for nothing … you pay for it in your bills".

Aberfeldy – The questions again come thick and fast. Juror: "If you are against wind, which renewable source are you in favour of?" Witness 4: "trick question, everyone assumes renewables are an alternative. We all know we need reliable supplies; it can't come from wind so we need other sources. I have no problem with renewables in the energy mix, I prefer hydro but it's not available in significant quantities". Witness 5: "Wind is just one part of the energy mix, but it's proving to be a useful part". He adds that many wind companies are investing in other future technologies like marine power.

This final debate was as robust as that in Session 2, although it didn't feature the outbursts of indignation, fist-waving and raised voices that anti-wind witnesses displayed earlier. The witnesses in Session 3 knew each other from previous debates and perhaps this influenced their somewhat more cordial and respectful engagement. In Coldstream, for example, both witnesses concluded the session with a handshake. As much as some jurors had been entertained by the head-to-head that characterised Session 2, many others appreciated the more moderate style of Session 3. For instance, a juror offered the following reflection in the survey:

"Witness 5's session was very informative and whilst he is pro turbines, he did agree with some of Witness 4's comments. I liked that because it showed that he has thought of things from both sides of the fence and isn't just trying to brainwash with his views – that they are balanced."

All witnesses were applauded for their contribution and often approached by jurors during breaks to continue the conversation. The considerable effort that witnesses put into these juries was highlighted in Chapter 3 but must be reiterated here. They not only had to prepare presentations, but also be ready to engage live with emerging issues, while learning how to operate within a citizens' jury. In addition, they kindly provided written responses to unanswered questions.

Table 4.3 Questions asked by each jury in Witness Session 3

Coldstream
• One witness said community benefits are vile, another says communities can benefit hugely – who is right?
• Are companies made to follow legislation to ensure developments are located appropriately, consulting communities? Do communities really have no say?
• There appears to be a complicated system for planning and development – is there a single governing body to control this?
• Have we been building wind farms long enough to see any real benefits?
• If noise and appearance of wind farms are so destructive why have they been allowed to put them so close to houses and towns?
• Is there any organised opposition to current practices of subsidies that alter government policies?

- How can there be such opposing views on the same thing – is there conclusive evidence?
- Given the strength of conviction on all sides of the argument how can the ordinary member of the public decide?
- Why should energy companies get subsidies from wind farms?
- Could there be a way of making wind farms ok for wildlife?

Helensburgh

- Will all wind farms actually impact on climate change?
- Are local communities being "bribed" by short-term financial gain & will they regret it?
- By your standards what would you consider a suitable site for a wind farm?
- Are windfarms the new forestry plantations (tax breaks/dodging?)
- Does wind power provide more jobs than any alternative energy industry?
- How can Scotland cope with the 1100 wind farm applications in the planning stage?
- Do wind farms in local area create local jobs?
- Scottish Ministers, why do they ignore people decisions against wind farms? What justification?
- What evidence is there that wind farms affect people's heath or well-being? And property values?

Aberfeldy

- If you are against wind, which renewable source are you in favour of?
- What's the difference between Griffin and Gigha, where Griffin perhaps doesn't benefit local community as much as there are two wealthy landowners?
- What are the effects of wind farms on health exactly?
- What is the point of this consultation/jury, if at the end of the day consultations are often not taken into account?
- Aberfeldy has seen jobs during construction, but how many local jobs exist locally once it's built?
- Who has a more powerful lobby? Nuclear/coal or wind?
- Tourism – how can there be two opposing figures from different witnesses?
- Is hundred percent renewables by 2020 possible, and at what cost?
- Is there a source of energy that doesn't have an impact on wildlife?
- How does a wind farm compare to coal mine in terms of cost factors and visual impact?
- How many wind farm applications have been stopped by public concern?

4.3.5 Closing session

| 4.40 - 5.00 | Questionnaire 2 [*and refreshment refill*] |
| 5.00 - 5.15 | Close |

Then jurors filled in the second questionnaire, while being served beverages and biscuits by the facilitators. In the closing session, each juror was asked to write on an individual postcard a "note to yourself" about: "What matters most to you about wind farm development, and what issues do you want to pick up on Day 2". The purpose of these postcards was to link both days, ensuring that the jurors' priorities emerging from their experiences on Day 1 would help set the agenda for deliberation on Day 2.

Evaluators and ethnographers described the positive atmosphere that had been established by the end of the day, with jurors telling each other that they had an "interesting and enjoyable" experience (see Chapter 9). In Coldstream, for example, some jurors who were reluctant to talk at the beginning were by now engaging in friendly conversations, and a group headed off to the local pub afterwards.

When asked 'How well do you feel the groups you were in worked together?' 91% of participants across the juries said 'worked well' and 9% 'worked ok'. Comments expressed in the survey include: "Everyone had a view that was listened to", "Groups ran well and were well facilitated, relaxed and informative", "Everyone have their opinion and contributed, generally everyone listened well to each other and supported others when needed".

Around 5.15 pm, after being thanked for their work, the jurors picked up the brown envelopes with the cash incentive (£70 for Day 1) and steadily left the venue while the organisers began to pack up.

Organisers, facilitators and researchers de-brief after the first jury day in Helensburgh

4.4. Between Day 1 and Day 2

There were 2 or 3 weeks between each jury day, and the jurors were contacted by the recruiters from Ipsos MORI with a reminder for Day 2. The organisers also contacted them with further information (i.e. answers by witnesses to outstanding questions from Day 1), although it was made clear that they were not required to do anything during the break. Interestingly, 88% of the jurors declared having consulted further information (see Chapter 7).

The organisers contacted each witness with feedback on their presentations with a view to improving some parts for the next jury (e.g. adding a summary slide, minimising jargon, clarifying concepts, using clearer graphs). Witness 1 was also asked to add some notes on the Scottish/UK policy and planning context. This was not only motivated by jurors' requests but also because in Coldstream one of the pro- witnesses had to provide such context, which meant having less time in his presentation for other things. The organisers saw this as a disadvantage and the learning was implemented in subsequent juries. In addition, witnesses were reminded that they could challenge one another when necessary, as well as underline points of agreement, in order to help the jurors with the scrutiny of evidence and arguments. Many of these points were taken on board and there were improvements from jury to jury.

4.5. Day 2 – Deliberation Phase

This purpose of this phase is to support participants to

- consider a range of views, perspectives and options,
- engage in respectful deliberation with fellow jurors, while scrutinising and challenging their arguments and proposals,
- exchange arguments based on public reasons rather than private reasons (i.e. arguments founded on appeals to the common good rather than self-interest),
- and make group decisions based on some level of consensus.

The decisions made by each jury are analysed in Chapter 6, and the evolution of the jurors' opinions in Chapter 8. This section provides a descriptive account of how the deliberative phase unfolded.

4.5.1 Starting the Day

9.00 - **9.20**	Registration [*and tea/coffee*]
9.20 - **9.40**	Questionnaire 3
9.40 - **10.05**	Reflective Group Conversation

When the jurors arrived, they were welcomed, offered beverages and began to complete questionnaire 3. This survey asked them to express feelings about the day ahead using a scale from 1 (excited) to 5 (bored); the majority (87%) expressed strong or moderate excitement, and no one expressed negative feelings. When asked why they came back for Day 2, many jurors expressed how they find "the subject and the jury process interesting", or "feel that there is a lot to be taken away" from the experience, and also that they "would like to know how the group felt and learn from the sessions" and how they look forward to the conversations and hearing the opinions of the group. The sense of excitement was palpable and the mood typically upbeat. They quickly engaged in conversations with each other, sharing information they had found out and often engaging in friendly banter. Only one participant, from Coldstream, did not return due to relocation. Another juror had to leave the Helensburgh process soon after Day 2 began, as she fell ill.

Organisers and facilitators setting up the workstations and plenary area in the early morning

After finishing the questionnaire, participants sat in the plenary area. On their way, they picked up from the Sticky Wall the postcards they had written to themselves at the end of Day 1. The main purpose of the postcards was to remind them of the things that seemed most important to them back then, and thus help to link Day 1 and Day 2 in a simple but memorable way. Before sharing the postcards with others, however, the facilitators led a short preparatory session.

Firstly, they outlined the programme for the day and explained that "today there are no witnesses, it's all about conversations between ourselves", which seemed to please some jurors.

Nonetheless, it was anticipated that the jurors would need assistance with new questions, and therefore Day 2 featured two 'Information Officers' (IOs), which were introduced at this stage. These were one of the organisers and one of the researchers whom the jurors were already familiar with from Day 1. They were tasked with providing information by drawing on their expertise, a large dossier put together for the process and online resources. This

was a post of great responsibility and potential influence. When the questions were about uncontested information (e.g. renewable energy targets, planning procedures) the task was straightforward, but when the evidence was contested they had to outline the different perspectives on it. The jurors made good use of the support by the IOs, and the positive feedback in evaluations suggests that they conducted the job in a helpful and balanced manner.

After lessons learned in Coldstream, there was an addition to the IOs' role in Helensburgh and Aberfeldy. The Coldstream jury had a very consensual approach, and the research team wanted to ensure that any emerging consensus was not due to 'group norming', by which participants may simply conform to the apparent majority view. In deliberation, it is important that participants are exposed to diverse perspectives, and therefore if consensus is based only on one perspective then the quality of deliberation can be diminished. Consequently, Information Officers were also given license to play "devil's advocate" to scrutinise the arguments behind "easy" or "uncritical" consensus on a particular issue, and thus ask questions or offer counter-arguments. When this happened, it was clearly signalled to the jurors: "I will play devil's advocate on this one...".

The second point made by the facilitators in this preparatory session was about public deliberation. The jurors were reminded of the task, and asked to carry it out in a deliberative way. Deliberation was introduced as

- a form of communication
- based on the reasoned exchange of arguments
- and the consideration of diverse perspectives and options
- in order to make collective choices
- that can be justified to others
- as the result of informed and considered judgement.

The facilitator mentioned that Day 2 was designed so that there would be opportunities to express views without necessarily talking. Some jurors had a very positive reaction to this. For instance, the Coldstream ethnographer noted that a middle-aged woman looked relieved and nodded affirmatively. Young (2000) argues that excessive emphasis on 'reasoned argumentation' can foster exclusion of those who may feel less confident or have fewer resources to articulate their view in public. Consequently, the facilitators built into the process alternative channels to express views and influence the process (i.e. written cards, voting, prioritising, questionnaire).

The facilitator then asked the jurors to revise the "conversation guidelines" that they had generated on Day 1: "Are these guidelines still fit for the job? Would you change or add anything?" In Coldstream, a middle-aged woman suggested "respecting different opinions" and the group agreed on adding "different opinions aren't necessarily wrong". After renewing the jurors' commitment to the guidelines, the facilitator stated that although they were here to work together, that did not mean having to agree, and that deliberative quality depends on the diversity of perspectives and the respect for minority views.

In the survey, 88% of the jurors said that the deliberation process had been explained clearly and 10% somewhat clearly. This session was improved from jury to jury, with 26% of Coldstream saying 'somewhat', 7% in Helensburgh and no one in Aberfeldy.

4.5.2 Identifying priority areas

10.05 - **10.50**	Session 1: Identifying key areas for principles
10.50 - **11.15**	Refreshment break

The juries' task was rather abstract (i.e. 'What principles should guide decision making on wind farms…?') and therefore Day 2 was designed to break it down into stages that could help the jurors to complete it in a very limited time.

The first stage was to identify the priority areas under which they would want to formulate principles. Here the groups returned to the postcards from Day 1, which helped to set the agenda for the day according to the jurors' priorities. Each juror was asked to share what they had written, to offer clarification if needed, and to reflect on whether they would change it in the light of their thinking between jury days. Each point was summarised by the facilitators, corroborated by the juror in question and transcribed by the Information Officers onto large coloured cards to be displayed at the Sticky Wall. This generated dozens of cards per jury covering a wide range of issues, from the role of evidence, to economic, environmental and community impacts, or the desirable energy mix.

Next, the jurors were asked to stand up and work together around the Sticky Wall. The facilitator firstly invited them to quietly review all the points on display. Then, they were asked to suggest what cards seemed to go well together. This generated a number of "clusters" for which the jurors had to agree a heading. The broad areas that emerged from this exercise can be seen in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Headings of priority areas

Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Evidence & Opinions	Lack of Information & Trust	Local Control
Impacts & Benefits	Visual Impacts & Wildlife Protection	Advantages & Disadvantages
Costs & Options	Costs & Benefits	Landscape/Location
Planning & Strategy	Energy alternatives	Global Climate Change Context
		Strategy & Alternatives for Energy Mix

This exercise had to be carefully conducted, as it would set the agenda for the day by providing the thematic areas under which the jurors would generate principles. All the juries accomplished this task, but it was a painstaking process. For example, doing this with a

group of 14-18 participants makes it difficult to ensure that everyone can participate. A vignette from **Helensburgh** illustrates the scene:

Everyone moves immediately toward the Wall when asked. The younger people hang back. People have a good read when all the points are on the board, they are all happy to cluster together. They need instructions to get close enough to actually read all the points; it's almost like herding sheep. Some seem a little bored … The women are first to start organising points/questions into clusters. Lots of pointing/agreeing/helping /touching the board/moving things. There are quieter people, but this time there is no specific demographic – not old or young, male or female, also people standing at the back are contributing as much as those at the front.

The group is very tight together – both close in interaction and spatially. There is appreciative laughter when they are congratulated for working together. Everyone speaks and gets involved. The group doesn't seem to shy away from disagreeing with the facilitator if they feel they are being misunderstood or don't like where something is being grouped. This seems symptomatic of much tighter group bonds. The men are having a good chortle at the back. People keen to help one participant to get a seat, as she is tiring.

In a similar vein, the **Aberfeldy** ethnographer observed that "people who were quieter last time are more participative today, everyone volunteering topics or pointing out duplicates". Some jurors participated more in clustering and others in creating headings, but all had to agree on the final priority areas, and each decision had to meet everyone's consent.

Clustering cards and generating priority areas for deliberation

One facilitator worked at the front of the Sticky Wall, and the other observing the group dynamics and intervening occasionally to ensure everyone was included. The process entailed considerable discussion, as classifying an issue under a particular heading had implications for how that issue would be framed in later sessions. A vignette from **Coldstream** illustrates the dynamics:

It is suggested that efficiency, cost-effectiveness and economy are grouped together. There is some discussion about the overlap… Health and nature is suggested as a heading… The possibility of separating into two headings is considered but people seem keen to link them together. As the clustering process goes on more and more people actively participate.

A cluster is created including the cards: "how do alternatives compare"; "what is the contribution of wind farms". Titles are suggested relating to comparisons and alternatives. There is a discussion of maximising benefits to communities, it is suggested that this might be included under either tourism or cost-effectiveness, or that there could be a cluster around benefits, which could include benefits for communities and impacts on climate change. But the group seem to prefer the idea of a heading relating to communities.

> *A cluster is created including the cards: "diversity of views"; "open-mindedness"; "people not well-informed"; "need to address propaganda" – "Evidence vs. Opinions" is suggested as a title. A man says: "this is key to the whole thing" and a woman adds "this will impact on every topic". An older man comments that "Evidence vs. Opinion" is quite a loaded heading and suggests instead "Evidence and Opinion", another man adds: "you can't have an opinion without evidence" there is some disagreement and jokes about this.*

A key lesson from this session in the first jury was the need for the facilitator to sometimes make suggestions about potential clusters and headings. This was done in moments when the jurors struggled to find agreement, and the facilitator proposed compromise solutions that were then approved by the group. There was also a constraint with regards to the number of priority areas. Given the limited time available to work on them, there could only be a maximum of 4-5 priority areas. This intense session concluded with a sense of accomplishment across the juries and a well-earned break.

4.5.3 Small Group work

11.15 - 12.45	Session 2: Drafting proposals for principles
12.45 - 1.45	Lunch

The next stage was organised around the headings agreed before the break, and was perhaps the most challenging session for both jurors and facilitators. The purpose was to elaborate principles under each agreed priority area.

The jury was split in two groups, each supported by a facilitator and an Information Officer, and set up around a Sticky Wall. The composition of the groups was decided by the facilitators based on demographic criteria (i.e. gender, age), viewpoints and communication styles – based on the facilitators' observations of the dynamics on Day 1. It could be argued that random allocation would have been fairer. However, in a small group random allocation may not ensure a diverse mix of jurors. But, engineering the groups can also have unexpected consequences. In Coldstream, for example, two confident jurors with opposing perspectives were placed together with the purpose of balancing the group. That was achieved, but it had unwanted consequences for the other group; according to the ethnographer's observations:

> *the group, while being very diverse in terms of age and backgrounds, was largely homogenous in views or consisted of people who preferred not to debate/disagree the issues, as such the discussions were largely consensual.*

In contrast, placing two outspoken jurors in the same group in Aberfeldy was counterproductive in a different way. Instead of balancing group dynamics, it made the group less effective as they tended to dominate and digress, to the frustration of other jurors. The **Aberfeldy** ethnographer noted:

> *Male Juror 6 and Female Juror 1 essentially seem to be very aggressively agreeing with each other, challenging each other but coming to same consensus again and again… or at least letting the argument fizzle out. The facilitator is*

flat-out with his group. An hour left and they've only done one priority area. Female Juror 1 really, really, really wants to talk though, anxious she'll forget her point, which seems unrelated to the question of 'local control'.

The process of formulating principles for each priority area followed four steps: Firstly, jurors had quiet time to write proposed principles on cards. Secondly, they shared them with the group, and displayed the cards on the Sticky Wall. Thirdly, they discussed and grouped them. Finally, they articulated a principle that captured the variety of points and was acceptable to everyone.

The task was challenging in all the juries, but after Coldstream the facilitators were more conscious about the speed required, and got better at eliciting the articulation of principles, i.e. "think about how you'd like things to be in an ideal world…" Agreement on the

Jurors deliberate in small groups developing proposals

principles was often reached through consensus after tweaking the wording, although when time was running out voting was also used. When the result of voting was short of consensus, the proposed principle was marked as a "minority statement".

It took time for the jurors to get used to this format and grasp the task, and this was easier for some topics than for others. This vignette from **Coldstream**, on the priority area 'Evidence & Opinion', captures initial confusion as the jurors share their cards:

Female 1: there needs to be a strategy to ensure that evidence is comparable and we need to compare evidence on impacts and benefits.

Female 2 does not have a card to share: I wasn't sure what we were meant to be doing

Female 3: Communities of existing wind farms should give evidence to communities where wind farms are proposed.

Young Male 1: All evidence should be available equally to everyone. Everything has to be on the table in ways that can be easily understood.

Male 3: Who proposes it and how do they benefit, follow the money, transparency on slicing the pie and contracts.

Female 1: I like that one, transparency – evaluation must be independent.

Male 3: It's an awful thought, but creating a new body, independent, to oversee and guide decision-making … although independence is an ideal.

Female 1 suggests that a heading might be "profiteering vs. the environment" (thinking about developers' motivations).

Female 2 shakes her head at this.

Male 2 suggests tendering as a key area of interest and says important considerations relate to "what do you want to see in a proposal"

> *Young Male 1: The key thing is control – who has control.*
>
> *Young Male 2: Companies are in control of the process but also of the information that we get to see.*
>
> *Female 2: I'm just not getting this – she seems confused by the purpose/direction of the exercise. This reflects the sentiment of many in the group. People seem to be struggling to come up with principles.*

These difficulties made the facilitators sharpen their tactics in subsequent sessions and juries. Nonetheless, time constraints remained a challenge, particularly in groups where disagreements had to be worked out. Helensburgh was perhaps an exception. As Chapter 8 shows, this jury saw a sharp shift towards anti-wind farm views, which made the groups very consensual despite occasional interventions of the IOs as 'devil's advocate'. In contrast, while one group in **Aberfeldy** was fairly pro-wind and thus consensual, the other featured outspoken jurors who often disagreed. This fragment illustrates the dynamics:

> *Group 1 are on to landscape and location. Male Juror 6 comes back at Female Juror 11's proposal that humans' energy usage shouldn't trump the natural environment. "If you were starving would you kill a grouse on a moor?" The facilitator steps in to make sure Female Juror 3 can make her point about wildlife impact before Male Juror 6 comes charging in. Female Juror 1 bites her nails as Female Juror 11 presses Male Juror 6… Female Juror 5 suggests there will always be an impact no matter what we do, so it's about minimising impacts. Female Juror 3 points at cards on the wall, suggesting how they might be rearranged to make her point more clearly. Female Juror 11 doesn't think it's right that we disrupt habitats so we can watch TV. She says one of the gamekeepers up at Griffin has found more dead birds lying on the grounds since the wind farm has been built. While debate continues, Group 2 move on to the fourth topic. The facilitator in Group 1 is trying to keep everyone moving on, the bells on the phone ringing to signify the time for that topic is up. Vote time. Full consensus on the need for a cap on number of wind farms in an area, no disagreement, time to move on. Twenty minutes left, the facilitator cranks the jurors up to make a final big push, reminds Female Juror 1 to follow the "conversation guidelines" and keep the discussion going forwards.*

Throughout the process many jurors became restless and the difficulty of the task began to weigh heavily on the shoulders of both participants and facilitators. Lunchtime was approaching, and many jurors became impatient. This made the Coldstream and Aberfeldy ethnographers wonder whether some of the groups were following a consensual approach "because of lunch or genuine agreement or avoidance of conflict?" By the end of this session all juries expressed mixed feelings, reflected by the Helensburgh ethnographer: "People look pleased, tired, interested in what they have come up with after a hard session".

4.5.4 Lunchtime

This was probably the most anticipated break. It would be natural to expect negative feelings after undergoing such a gruelling session. Yet, the ethnographers noted a positive atmosphere across the juries, perhaps a sense of relief as they got a step further in accomplishing the task. This vignette describes a conversation over lunch in **Aberfeldy**:

The group talk about how much they are enjoying the citizens' jury, explaining it was good to learn something new and to think about something they didn't usually think about. "I would have done this even if we weren't being paid…", declares one. "I'd do it for twenty-five pounds" says another. One admits she's been too busy to do the reading, but got hooked into it when she tried to have a look at it before arriving this morning – apparently her biggest fear was to not have an opinion when she came.

This last sentence provides important clues about a core finding in this study (see also Goodin 2008). As we will see in Chapter 7, the jurors learned the most during the Information Phase on Day 1. However, this does not mean that the Deliberation Phase did not contribute to learning: it actually created a strong incentive for learning in the first place. In other words, simply providing information to citizens may not be enough to foster meaningful engagement with a topic like this. As we will argue, it is the prospect of having to publicly justify preferences and opinions that seems to provide a clear incentive for learning about the issues. In other words, the Deliberation Phase seems crucial to make the Information Phase effective.

4.5.5 Plenary work

1.45	-	3.00	Session 3: Agreeing principles statements
3.00	-	3.30	Refreshment break

The jurors reconvened in plenary. The purpose of the next session was to find collective agreement on the final principles. The plan was as follows. Several spokespeople from the morning groups would present their proposals for each priority area. The principles, written on large coloured cards, were to be displayed on a large Sticky Wall around which the full jury would sit forming a semi-circle. Then the jury would discuss commonalities and differences in order to chose existing proposals or merge them to reformulate new ones. The aim was to reach consensus, although it was expected that voting might be required.

In practice, the presentations by each group worked fairly well and, typically, common ground soon became apparent. This led to reformulation of principles by merging similar proposals, or tweaking existing ones to accommodate nuance from the other group. But there were also some disagreements, and the facilitators had not planned a clear procedure (beyond anticipating that there would be some majority and minority statements). They underestimated the time it would take to find some level of consensus on certain areas, and time constraints forced them to improvise a mode of resolution. This was devised live in Coldstream, and then used in the others. When consensus could not be found, proposals where put to a vote to gauge support (agree / disagree / unsure), and then reworked until a large majority was reached. A few principles with a small majority were noted for each jury. The final sets of principles are outlined and analysed in Chapter 6.

Some of the dynamics and problems during this session are exemplified in the following vignette from **Coldstream**, where the two groups disagreed on whether comparisons for assessing 'Costs & Options' should only include renewables or all energy sources:

A minority in Group 2 want to explore all energy sources, the majority say all renewable energy sources. Group 1 focussed only on renewables.

Male Juror 1: You can't do away with fossil fuels, there will always be fossil fuels.

Young Female 1: What happens when it runs out?

Male Juror 1: It won't!

Male Juror 2: It's difficult to make these statements, the future is unknown, we don't know what's possible, maybe nuclear fusion.

Through this discussion there are some huffs and puffs, it is beginning to feel a little laborious. There is a vote on whether the principle should be to explore and exploit only renewables 11 agree – 4 disagree.

Female 1: It should be appropriate renewables – no solar panels in dark places

Male Juror 2: But some people think it's never appropriate – appropriateness is understood differently

Female 1: But right technologies in right locations

Male Juror 2: That's better

There is then a vote on whether to explore and exploit all energy sources including fossil fuels: 10 agree – 4 disagree – there is some contradiction and confusion. There is some misunderstanding as to whether the vote refers to only or all renewables. One man does not vote, and didn't earlier either.

Discussing, merging, reformulating and agreeing principles for wind farm development during the plenary session of one of the juries

The lack of clarity on the voting procedure resulted in lack of resolution on that particular principle. This was improved in subsequent juries. For instance, the Aberfeldy ethnographer describes how a vote was repeated after a facilitator noted that one juror had missed it. Similarly to Coldstream, the issue of energy alternatives also came up in **Aberfeldy**, but was more clearly resolved:

Female Juror 2 says if we can make traditional energy sources cleaner why not use them? Female Juror 6 says she doesn't think they can be clean, she thinks they have to be phased out and reiterates the importance of moving to hundred

> *per cent renewables. Female Juror 2 asks if that includes nuclear. Female Juror 6 replies yes. With that, two proposals are written up by the scribes:*
>
> *1. Traditional sources should be part of mix if we make them cleaner*
>
> *2. Traditional sources can be included if they are cleaned up, but they must be phased out.*
>
> *The group votes on statement 1: Agree 9, Disagree 6, Unsure 3.*
>
> *There is a period of silence to allow the jurors to process how this is different from the first question, then it's time to vote on statement 2. Agree 15, Disagree 2, Unsure 1.*

Tiredness at this stage meant that a smaller number of jurors contributed substantially, although all were involved in the approval of principles. This vignette from **Helensburgh** illustrates participation dynamics, particularly by those less involved in previous sessions, and some interesting observations about the relationship between the groups:

> *People aren't as forthcoming in the big group. The youngest male and female are still the least interactive but vocally agree when asked. The group dynamic has changed now. Group 1 has quite a few big speakers, and it may be because they are sitting together, they are confident to continue as quite united and vocal participants. Group 2 largely relies on one of the more articulate young men to forward the ideas of the group – or the facilitator herself. There is a discussion about nationalising vs. private companies with no subsidies. It is not heated. There is definitely more consensus within the smaller groups, a camaraderie of sorts, it would seem that there is cross-group disagreement but in-group agreement.*
>
> *There are a couple of very tired, inattentive participants but the others remain extremely attentive. A large bulk of participants remain focussed. Women are more vocal this time but only the two older women. The other two seem content to listen and respond when asked.*
>
> *There is lots of biting pens/hands on chins/quizzical concentrated looks. People are thinking and working hard. When asked to vote a couple of times, the groups are unanimous. However, a couple of people are hesitant to put their hands up (especially one of the young males and the least confident female) but when they see that the group has, they do so too. Do they actually agree? I can't discern whether they are doing this to not stand out, although no one is asked to explain themselves or justify their vote. They could just be slow to put their hand up but I detect a little look around them before the hand goes up.*
>
> *Finally, two of the women are going to present a principle. They get nods and smiles from the other women. The young male goes next, although he talks very little in the group, he seems very confident.... seems a matter of pride for him to present a principle too?*

There are some indications here that some of the consensus may have been motivated by group norming or a propensity by some jurors to conform to the majority. However, beyond these fieldnotes, other sources of data gave no indication that this was prevalent. For example, the survey revealed that 92% of all the jurors felt able to express their views and feelings. The **Aberfeldy** ethnographer illustrates here the strong voicing of a minority view critical of emerging consensus:

> *The jury votes on the principle 'Environmental impact should rule over financial gain' – agree 17, disagree 0, unsure 1. "Nice thought," remarks Male Juror 6.*

> *"Financial gain for whom?" asks Female Juror 2. "The big companies," replies Female Juror 11. Male Juror 6 is not happy, says the group has "lost its way", "does it mean gain financially for developers and landowner, or for the nation?" Female Juror 3 clarifies that she means financial gain for developers. Three votes are needed to get this right, lots of confusion over what is meant by financial gain. After each vote Male Juror 6 comes in with remarks about how it's idealistic and how everything comes with a cost.*

By the end of this gruelling session, each jury had produced and agreed a set of principles to guide wind farm development. The break was met with enthusiasm. Here is the scene from **Aberfeldy**:

> *"That means, WE'RE DONE!" yells the facilitator, stamping his feet again. A round of applause breaks out, and three female jurors whoop with joy. Two are wrestling as they head to the coffee room, trying to stop each other from getting to the triangular traybakes first.*

4.5.6 Final session

3.30 - 4.30	Session 4: Principles into practice

By now, participants were visibly tired but the mood was still surprisingly positive across the juries. The principles were now displayed on the Sticky Wall, written on large green cards, which had substituted the yellow ones from the morning groups. This final session had three aims:

- Ranking the principles
- Reflecting on the principles
- Discussing who should be involved in decision-making about wind farm developments, and how.

The principles were ranked through a prioritising exercise. The jury was asked to gather around the Sticky Wall and review the cards/principles on display. Then, each juror was given a set of "sticky dots" and asked to place them on the principles they would like to prioritise. The number of dots per juror was half of the total number of principles. The purpose was to get an indication of the principles that mattered most to the jurors, and to provide another opportunity to review what they had produced. Most jurors embraced the exercise with enthusiasm and the "sticky dots" motivated some banter. The jurors who had been less vocal throughout the process were asked by the facilitator to tally up and rank the principles on the Sticky Wall, while the others set up a large semicircle of chairs around the Wall.

The next step was to reflect on the set of principles as a whole and the top priorities. The purpose was to gauge to what extent they felt the principles reflected their work, and to detect and reflect on potential contradictions between principles. The top 3 ranked principles in Coldstream were about reducing energy consumption, the quality of evidence for decision-making and the monitoring of impacts. In Helensburgh, they pertained to impact assessment and the impartial comparison of alternative energy sources. In Aberfeldy,

they were about the quality of evidence, energy security through energy mix, ensuring local and national economic benefits and control over the number of wind farms per region. A more detailed analysis of the principles can be found in Chapter 6.

There were no strong reactions in any of the juries when asked whether the final set of principles reflected their collective view. Then, the jurors were asked to focus on detecting contradictions between principles. For example, in **Coldstream**, some jurors highlighted the conflict between their ideas on establishing limits on wind farm development and their emphasis on ensuring efficiency and attention to climate change:

> *Female juror 1: Limiting numbers and density in an area could restrict development*
>
> *Male Juror 1: Not maximising efficiency leads to wind turbines potentially not being put in most efficient locations*
>
> *Male Juror 2: And there is potential conflict between global interests in reducing emissions and local limits on wind farms.*

This session was enriched in Helensburgh and Aberfeldy by the role of 'devil's advocate' now incorporated into the remit of the Information Officers. In **Helensburgh**, where a strong anti-wind farms consensus had developed, the jury defended their ideas firmly and appeared to enjoy the challenge. As the ethnographer noted:

> *Challenging misconceptions and playing devil's advocate got the best response and the organisers seem to have chosen a good time to do it, when they participants felt safe, included, informed and comfortable.*

Nonetheless, there was little time to foster substantial deliberation as the facilitators moved swiftly onto soliciting thoughts about who should be involved in decision-making about wind farms. Here some of the core tensions between the local nature of wind farm development and the national scope of energy strategies typically came into the discussion. This is exemplified in this vignette from **Coldstream**:

> *Older Female Juror: There should be a framework for decision-making and conflict resolution*
>
> *Male Juror 1: The responsibility is on all parties to make sure local community has all information and local communities should have final say because they are most affected. But everyone needs to have the information. People say "we didn't know", protestors can wind people up, not enough information, vested interests, biased information…*
>
> *Young Female Juror 1: But it's not just us, it doesn't just affect the local community*
>
> *Male Juror1: But if the local community have all information they will make the right decision and not just take a narrow local interest, we should trust communities to make the right decision – as this process has proven*
>
> *Young Female Juror 2: But information is very biased*
>
> *Male Juror 2: It is very difficult to feed high-level information down to community level and local communities are very biased*
>
> *Older Female Juror: there can be vocal minorities in communities*
>
> *Young Female Juror 1: if it's on the border of councils it has to be decided by multiple councils.*

The emphasis on the nature and source of information was recurrent across the juries, perhaps a sign of the predicament they faced trying to make sense of contradictory arguments presented by the witnesses. But here we also see how the juries were capable of detecting areas that needed more thought (i.e. local/national/global dimension; role of evidence) and they could have further refined the principles if they were given a third jury day. As the **Aberfeldy** ethnographer wrote:

> *The topics that emerged during the final plenary, for example about whether experts are "neutral" and can be trusted, and about the role of values, were very well articulated and illustrate extremely well the participants' ability to tackle issues of a highly complex nature.*

When asked who should be involved in decision-making and how, all juries proposed a stronger role for the communities affected, although they differed in terms of the methods to do this. In Coldstream, for example, some jurors proposed something akin to the jury they had just experienced, alongside "open days" and surveys. Two male jurors emphasised the "need for information and a representative sample – if you ask someone on the street you get yes/no but not an informed opinion". Once the possibility of using surveys and/or referendums came up, another female juror added a caveat that met general agreement: "if 51% say yes it should still be no – this needs a big majority".

Aberfeldy also mentioned the possibility of using citizens' juries, but brought the local/national dimension into it thus adding nuance: "if you are local, you are still biased as you have a local stake, so would need people from elsewhere". The same caveat was extended to the idea of using referenda, and the national/local debate split the jury in two. Some jurors in Aberfeldy also defended existing consultation mechanisms, arguing that if local people want to get involved there are already channels to do so (e.g. local councillors and community councillors, planning committees). This view was also present in Helensburgh, where traditional public consultation and petitions were emphasised. More analysis of the jurors' views on participation and decision-making can be found in Chapters 9-10.

Most jurors were running out of steam by now. This, coupled with the little time available to discuss the complexity of turning their principles into practice, meant that some contradictions and arguments could not be properly unpacked.

4.5.7 Wrap up

4.30	-	5.00	Questionnaire 4 [and refreshment refill]
5.00	-	5.15	Reflection and close

After filling in the last questionnaire, there was a final go-round where jurors briefly shared thoughts and feelings on the experience. In all the juries, this final round provided a sense of collective closure and often elicited poignant and humorous moments. Jurors also mentioned feeling more informed and being exhausted but impressed by the process, their fellow jurors, and what they managed to achieve. For example:

- A young woman who had never taken part in a public forum asked "when is the next one?"

- An older man with experience in public consultations said that he had thought "it wouldn't work but found it enjoyable".

- Another man said that the process had "opened my eyes to the power of individuals to come to a consensus".

- A woman said that she was "quite shy at first, but it was a nice group, nobody threatening".

- Three young women said the process was "fun" and they had "learned a lot".

- Many enjoyed "thinking and talking" about an issue they would normally not be interested in, and with a "mixed group" including people they would not normally talk to.

- There were, however, two comments with a critical undertone. A juror said that "it was good to hear 'off the wall' and 'tree-hugging' views" and another stated that it was "scary to think people can make opinions based on others' opinions rather than facts".

The last word from the organisers was about the next steps concerning the research and about inviting the jurors to the report launch, which was very well received. Everyone looked drained by now, but finished with a good round of applause, before collecting their brown envelopes (£100) and saying their final and often animated goodbyes. There was a general sense of accomplishment and survey data shows that most jurors enjoyed Day 2 more than Day 1 despite its gruelling nature. The end of each jury and the project brought also respite to the organisers, who shared the jurors' sense of achievement and exhaustion.

> **Box 4.1 An organiser expressed relief in retrospect**
>
> *What stood out to you about the process?* "*That it all went so smoothly. I was stunned that (a) enough folk turned up (b) all the witnesses came (c) everyone (bar one juror) stuck with the process (d) everyone felt they'd got something out of it and seemed to have enjoyed their time in the jury (e) we actually got through all the work, on time (f) people stayed good humoured and engaged. This was repeated in all three juries, but it was never a given. I was also amazed at the quality of the insights that came from the group - even though there were also some less sensible ideas....*"

4.6. Conclusions and key lessons

This chapter has offered a chronological account of how the citizens' juries unfolded, providing detail seldom found in studies of deliberative mini-publics. We have tried to bring the process alive by giving a feel for how it was experienced by participants, and to convey the complexity of designing and implementing such processes. There are some key lessons we would highlight.

4.6.1 Information Phase

According to the evaluators, this phase worked relatively well despite the limitations noted in this chapter. The purpose was to expose the jurors to evidence and arguments from 5 witnesses: one providing an impartial overview on energy and climate change, two offering arguments for wind power and wind farms and two against.

The jurors enjoyed the sessions and particularly the debates, although they were often puzzled by the contested nature of the evidence provided. This made the task of scrutinising the witnesses crucial, and it was effectively carried out in all juries, although rather unevenly in one (see Chapter 5). Learning about the issues was repeatedly mentioned across data sources as one of the highlights of the experience. In Chapter 7 we offer in-depth analysis of that learning.

Nevertheless, evaluators, ethnographers, organisers and witnesses pointed out important shortcomings in the Information Phase.

- *More time for preparation through dialogue.* Dialogue is a form of communication that focuses on building understanding and relationships (Escobar 2011). There was some opportunity for this at the start, when the jurors introduced each other, shared views about their local area, and co-created "conversation guidelines'". However, more time could have been dedicated to explore how they would like to approach their role as a juror and point out any difficulties they may anticipate. This could have helped the facilitators to be more responsive to the needs of each juror and the group.

- *A session to reflect on how to interpret evidence before the witness sessions*. The contested and contradictory nature of the evidence presented was apparent to the jurors. The importance of the credibility of different sources also came up, and some participants argued that evidence is seldom straightforward and can be manipulated. However, the jurors could have been better supported to carry out the job if they had had the opportunity to think together about how to critically unpack and interpret evidence. This could have a positive effect on developing individual and collective capacity beyond the jury process.

- *Vetting the quality of evidence.* Securing the contribution of suitable witnesses was a difficult task (see Chapter 3), and the organisers were clearly indebted to those who kindly gave their time – also valued by the jurors. However, there was no attempt to check the quality of the evidence presented and both evaluators and ethnographers

found some of the data, sources and interpretations questionable. It could be argued that it was the jurors' job to scrutinise this, although without support to do so that seems an unfair expectation. A potential solution would be to ask the Stewarding Board to provide some level of quality control in advance.

- *Supporting the witnesses*. Although the organisers prepared briefs for the witnesses, this proved insufficient. Some witnesses did not seem aware that they would have to engage in 'live debate' on whatever issues the jury deemed relevant. It could have been more clearly explained that their role was not only to convey evidence but also to present persuasive arguments that would help the juries to make sense of it. To be sure, some witnesses managed to do both, and this improved considerably as they adapted their contributions from jury to jury. In addition, some presentations also had room for improvement in terms of making complex information accessible, e.g.: appropriate use of graphs and figures, avoiding or unpacking jargon, making slides easy to read and digest, an introductory slide with a clear outline, a final slide with a summary of key points. Some presentations disregarded the guidelines issued by the organisers, and perhaps this is another area where the Stewarding Board could have been involved. In addition, the organisers did not anticipate the amount of remaining questions by the end of Day 1, which increased the burden on the witnesses without prior notice.

- *Time for the jurors to discuss evidence after the witness session.* The process would have benefitted from having had a session at the end of Day 1 to share reflections on the evidence heard. There was opportunity for this during the witness sessions, but a separate session including only jurors would have helped them to share their reactions and doubts, and further scrutinise the evidence. This may be particularly valuable for jurors who preferred not to engage directly with the witnesses. The session on how to critically unpack evidence, proposed above, could have also been done here.

- *Time for initial deliberation on the issues.* By the end of Day 1, many jurors were keen to start discussing the issues, but time constraints and the research design did not allow this. The researchers wanted to keep the Information Phase and the Deliberation Phase separate in order to check the distinct influence that each may have on

Box 4.2 Coldstream evaluator reporting on the Information Phase

"On the whole, there was a good balance of opportunities to learn by absorbing information presented and to formulate opinions on the basis of discussions in the groups. A number of participants commented on the richness of this experience in informal ways outside the structured parts of the event: "This is not what I expected. I'm glad I came. Makes you think". Other comments also indicate that a process of learning and change has taken place during the jury, both at an individual and group level. The flow of the sessions was well thought out and worked effectively. There was rich information offered through the witness statements and participants' handbook, covering a range of relevant topics."

the jurors (see Chapters 7-8).

These are clear areas for improvement with relatively straightforward solutions. Nonetheless, they highlight the challenge of designing and implementing a robust Information Phase, to which we return in Chapter 7. There is, in any case, good reason to argue that citizens' juries can provide a more suitable space to carefully consider evidence than standard public consultation processes.

4.6.2 Deliberation Phase

The design of Day 2 was much more complicated, with no repetition of sessions or formats, which made it more challenging for jurors and facilitators. Techniques and ways of working had to be refined incrementally based on ongoing learning from jury to jury. The overall design worked well, as exemplified in Boxes 4.2 and 4.3, which contain the evaluator notes from the first jury, even before improvements were introduced. There were, nonetheless, clear limitations as documented in this chapter. Here we highlight the following lessons:

- Day 2 was even more taxing than the previous, particularly given the speed needed to accomplish the task. This meant that considerable effort had to go into ensuring that the quality of deliberation was of a good standard despite time constraints, and this was partially achieved (see Chapter 5).

- The facilitators' allocation of jurors to small groups was only partially successful, which highlights the limitations of trying to 'engineer' group composition. The criteria used by the facilitators were demographics (i.e. gender and age), viewpoints and communication styles. In one jury, this led to a group lacking diversity of opinions and in another it resulted in two outspoken jurors hindering group work. An alternative might have been the random allocation of participants to small groups, as in Day 1. However, we are not persuaded that that wouldn't result in other shortcomings – i.e. lack of demographic diversity given the small size of the juries – or indeed still present the problem of combining strong voices in unproductive ways. We return to these issues in Chapter 5.

Box 4.3 Overview by the Coldstream evaluator

"Most of the arrangements were appropriate and worked well. There was a tight, clear plan: learning from the witnesses as the key purpose of the first day, and deliberation as the main activity for the second day. Good efforts were made to avoid making the first day too much of a passive, listening experience by introducing interactive, small group sessions, but inevitably it was the second day with rounds of small group and plenary work that really got people actively engaging though most of the day. Each day was introduced clearly at the beginning, and instructions and reminders were offered at appropriate times, timings for activities were projected on the screen, which was helpful. Rigorous timekeeping kept the days on schedule while, on the whole, allowing sufficient amount of time for completing various tasks. The days, although long and intensive were seen as worthwhile."

- There was a lack of clarity in the design about the voting procedure. The problem emerged soon during the first jury, and the facilitators had to find a form of resolution on the spot. This was caused by the fact that the jurors' views on the emerging principles were more nuanced than the expected straightforward support for majority and minority statements that the facilitators had expected. This required more intensive reworking of principles, which shows that facilitators cannot anticipate everything and must be ready to improvise.

- The jurors were not given enough time to refine the principles by unpacking assumptions, dealing with contradictions and fleshing out details. The opportunity to consider trade-offs and deliberate about how to put their principles into practice was limited. The problem was accentuated by placing such an important session at the end of an intensive day. Evaluators, ethnographers and organisers agreed that a third jury day could solve this problem.

- Having Information Officers, and introducing a 'devil's advocate' function, proved useful to the jurors but entailed risks. They answered questions on demand, and occasionally challenged 'uncritical consensus' thus helping the jurors to articulate and justify arguments. Evidence from the jurors, facilitators, evaluators and ethnographers suggests that they did a good job. This was a very demanding role that included:

    o   providing adequate information and presenting contested evidence and debates in a balanced manner;

    o   conveying complex information in accessible language;

    o   working in tune with the facilitator; and

    o   judging when it may be constructive to throw in a challenge to disrupt uncritical consensus.

Clearly, this role carries considerable power and responsibility, and must be monitored closely. It entails a fine balance: helping to deepen the jurors' understanding and ability to grapple with complexity while avoiding telling them what to think. To make the job easier, it may be advisable to separate the role of informing from that of challenging. The fact that mixing both roles in these juries did not create confusion, or elicit negative reactions, suggests that both Information Officers were remarkably effective at playing both functions. Another factor in this success was that the jurors had become familiar with them on Day 1.

The Deliberative Phase presented challenges but, once again, they are far from insurmountable. In Chapter 5, we delve deeper into the analysis of the quality of interaction and deliberation to draw further lessons for future practice.

4.6.3 Overall process

We want to highlight three other general lessons:

- **Time.** Conducting a process like this in two days has considerable limitations, and it would not be advisable in real decision-making processes. Time constraints were at

the heart of most shortcomings in this project, and a third jury day would have made a considerable difference to the process and the outcomes.

- **Improvisation.** No matter how much preparation is carried out, improvisation will be needed and the organising team must be ready for it. It is always difficult to anticipate the unexpected, but having a team with a diverse range of experience and expertise on both the process and the topic is a good starting point. A positive team vibe and responsive attitude is also crucial, as this will likely permeate the environment created for the jurors. This was aided by the fact that the organisers had been working together for months designing and planning the process, and thus were a functioning team by the time the juries began.

- **Social space.** At the jury, the social space (breaks, lunch) can be as crucial as the working space (sessions). On the one hand, people can build trust and relationships that will become important in developing resilience and goodwill to work collectively. On the other, this social space is also a space for deliberation in informal ways that can further enhance understanding of issues and perspectives, and enable the inclusion of those less inclined to speak in the formal sessions. This can bring up viewpoints that otherwise may not be expressed, and they can become part of the pool of arguments that other jurors can draw on during structured sessions. Consequently, it is advisable to ensure that breaks are long enough for participants to be re-energised and develop a productive social space.

This chapter has provided a rich account of the process inside each jury and across the juries. The level of detail offered is unusual in this type of study, and has revealed numerous challenges and learning points. To conclude, we want to also summarise key **achievements** documented throughout the chapter:

- The jurors took their role very seriously and demonstrated an outstanding level of **effort and commitment** to the process.

- In line with previous studies (e.g. Renn et al. 1995; Dietz and Stern 2008; Bierle and Cayford 2002), the groups also demonstrated clear ability to **engage with complex debates** in a short period of time, on issues new to most jurors, and despite the challenge of facing contradictory, and sometimes questionable, evidence.

- The importance of good **facilitation** skills, exhaustive preparatory work and ongoing reflective practice has also been highlighted, a theme to which we return in the next chapter.

- Together, the organisers, facilitators and jurors managed to create a **collaborative atmosphere** were everyone felt safe to participate and work together, and where considerable consensus was reached without suppressing differences and disagreements.

- The **witnesses** managed to make the topic interesting and relevant to the jurors, and to convey some of the complexity of current debates.

- The **overall design** of the process was effective in taking citizens, many of them with limited knowledge of the issues and no experience of the jury format, through a deliberative process that accomplished its main goals.

- Successful implementation of the process also required **attention to detail** in the planning and organisation, backed up by careful and responsive facilitation and support on the day.

Taking out breaks, introductory and wrap-up sessions, and survey time across both days, the jurors only had a total of 8 hours to actually hear the evidence and generate and agree the principles. It seems striking that a group of strangers can work together so effectively despite their diversity and the complexity of the task. This makes us wonder what might have been accomplished if they were given a longer timeframe and the shortcomings above were addressed.

All in all, this resonates with the core message from decades of research on citizens' juries and other mini-publics (Dienel 1999; Grönlund et al. 2014; Elstub 2014; Delli Carpini 2004; Coote and Lenaghan 1997). Namely: when citizens are given the time, resources and support to learn and deliberate together about public issues, they can grasp complex debates and collectively reach considered judgements.

Chapter 5 - The quality of participation and deliberation at the juries

> **Read this chapter if you are interested in:**
>
> - what makes deliberation a distinct form of communication with the potential to improve policy debates;
> - the quality of participation at the juries, including the extent to which citizens engaged in respectful, public-spirited, reasoned and inclusive deliberation;
> - and the challenges of effective and impartial facilitation.
>
> **Outline**
>
> **5.1.** What is public deliberation?
>
> **5.2.** Deliberative quality at the juries
>
> **5.3.** Conclusions and lessons

5.1. What is public deliberation?

In this chapter we provide an analysis of the quality of participation and deliberation inside and across the juries. To what extent did these citizens' juries approach the ideals found in the literature on public deliberation? The literature emphasises communication as the key dimension in democratic participation, and argues that "political decision-making should be talk-centric rather than vote-centric" (Elstub and McLaverty, 2014: 1). From this perspective, democracy should be more than simply counting heads: "it must involve discussion on an equal and inclusive basis, which deepens participants' knowledge of issues, awareness of the interests of others, and the confidence to play an active part in public affairs" (Saward 2000:5).

Deliberative scholars argue that democracy should not be conceived as a market for the negotiation of private preferences and interests, but as a forum for forming public-spirited reasons in order to reach collective agreements (Parkinson, 2004: 379). In the ideal of public deliberation, "no force except that of the better argument is exercised" (Habermas 1975: 108), and there should be room for reasons and emotions through inclusive participation that enables diverse forms of expression, argumentation and reciprocity (Young 2000; Morrell 2010; Escobar 2011).

Therefore, deliberation entails "communication that induces reflection on preferences, values and interests in a non-coercive fashion" (Mansbridge et al. 2010: 65). The goal is to facilitate conversations that generate

reasonable, well-informed opinions in which participants are willing to revise preferences in light of discussion, new information, and claims made by fellow participants. Although consensus need not be the ultimate aim of deliberation, and participants are expected to pursue their interests, an overarching interest in the legitimacy of outcomes (understood as justification to all affected) ideally characterizes deliberation. (Chambers, 2003: 309)

In deliberative processes, participants make decisions not simply by counting what preferences have greater numerical support, but "by determining which proposals the collective agrees are supported by the best reasons" (Young 2000: 23). For deliberative democrats, "public deliberation of free and equal citizens" is the core of legitimate decision-making (Bohman, 1998: 401) and improves the "quality and acceptability of collective decisions" (Saward, 2003: 147). Consequently, they argue that deliberation across public spaces (e.g. pubs, churches, town halls, parliaments, community centres) should provide the basis for more informed and legitimate decision-making.

However, critics question to what extent real-life public settings offer adequate conditions for the high standards of communication and interaction that underpin the ideal of deliberation (e.g. Rosemberg 2007, 2014; Mutz 2006; Escobar 2011). That is partly why in the last three decades there has been experimentation with new deliberative processes such as citizens' juries. The idea is to create spaces where high standards of public deliberation may be approximated.

For the purposes of this report, we define public deliberation as "un-coerced, other-regarding, reasoned, inclusive and equal debate" (Chappell, 2012, pp. 7-10; see also Dryzek 2000, 2010). Let us unpack how we understand this definition for our analysis:

- **'Un-coerced'** means that no force other than that of argumentation is at play. Consequently, in deliberation it is crucial that participants are not pressured into adopting certain positions – as it may happen in other forms of engagement (e.g. negotiating, campaigning, boycotting).

- **'Other-regarding'** means that participants must show respect for other participants and take into account their perspectives and interests. This reciprocity aims to overcome the dominance of self-interest in favour of concern for the common good.

- **'Reasoned'** refers to the need to offer reasons that others may understand although not necessarily accept. In deliberation, it is crucial to offer justification for one's views and perspectives. This aims to improve arguments and decisions by opening the reasons that underpin them up for scrutiny.

- **'Inclusive' and 'equal'** means that apart from ensuring formal inclusion of diverse backgrounds and perspectives, there must be also a level-playing field for deliberation – i.e. ensuring that the process does not privilege those with more rhetorical skills or domineering styles.

5.2. Deliberative quality at the juries

Despite much public engagement with science and technology issues, Burgess and Chilvers (2006) note that often such processes are not evaluated in depth. In turn, in democratic scholarship, studies of deliberative quality do not abound, and typically rely on the analysis of transcripts after the event (e.g. Steiner et al.). For this report we take a different approach, and rely on qualitative data from the ethnographers, evaluators, organisers, witnesses and jurors, as well as quantitative and qualitative data from the four survey questionnaires (see Appendix 2).

The analysis is conducted against the backdrop of the chronological account of the juries offered in Chapter 4. Therefore, here we focus on key patterns, dynamics and incidents and avoid repeating the description of the full process. We develop a framework built on the above definition of deliberation, to which we add 'unbiased facilitation' because of its relevance in deliberative research and practice (e.g. Moore 2011, Escobar 2011, 2014a). Another central dimension is the participants' willingness to revise their initial views and preferences during deliberation; we partially touch on this here but dedicate Chapter 8 to opinion change. We thus offer an assessment of the deliberative quality of the juries by paying attention to 5 core qualities (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Framework to analyse deliberative quality

Qualities	Questions
Un-coerced deliberation	Did the jurors feel able to express their views?
	Did they feel pressured into taking a particular position?
Other-regarding deliberation	Did the jurors respect and listen to each other?
	Did they consider the perspectives of others and keep an open mind?
	Did they appeal to the common good rather than self-interest?
Reasoned deliberation	Did the jurors scrutinise the witnesses and each other?
	Did the jurors offer reasons to support their views?
	Did they consider the trade-offs?
Inclusive and equal participation	Did every juror have an equal chance to participate?
	Did all the jurors participate?
	Did they feel they had influence over the process and outcomes?
Unbiased facilitation	Did the facilitators help the jury to work effectively?
	Did the facilitators help to create a level-playing field and distribute airtime fairly?
	Did the facilitators accommodate alternative communication styles and ways of participating?
	Did the facilitators influence the views of jurors? Did they work impartially?

5.2.1 Un-coerced– Did the jurors feel free to express their views?

Our data suggests a very high standard regarding this aspect of deliberation. We found no evidence of any juror feeling pressured into adopting a particular position or intimidated and prevented from expressing a view. In Coldstream, for example, the evaluator noted that the process "managed to keep at bay aggressively assertive behaviours, rigid polarisation of opinions and self-censorship linked to conformist pressures".

We return to the issue of "assertive behaviours" later, but it is important to highlight not only overt pressure by strong characters but also other subtle dynamics that may foster "self-censorship". This can occur when jurors suppress their opinion in order to conform to the dominant views in the group. There can be various motivations for this, for example, the desire to fit within the group, the lack of confidence to articulate a viewpoint, or reticence to engage in controversy or adversarial debate. We only found one instance where a young juror confided to a researcher that he did not strongly agree with some of the principles they had set out "but felt that the majority had to be heard".

Such dynamics are difficult to assess via observation by researchers, and therefore we included opportunities for the jurors to anonymously share concerns in the questionnaires. Capturing the reflexive and considered judgement of participants is paramount, and this requires a method that enables them to indicate their feelings and share their thoughts anonymously (see Neblo 2007). Table 5.2 presents survey data collected at the end of the jury process.

Table 5.2 Were you able to express your views and feelings during today's deliberations? Number of jurors (and percentage)

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	0	0	0	0
A little	1 (2%)	0	1 (7%)	0
Somewhat	3 (6%)	3 (20%)	0	0
Quite a lot	14 (30%)	5 (33%)	2 (14%)	7 (39%)
Very much	29 (61%)	7 (46%)	11 (78%)	11 (61%)

Table 5.2 shows that the majority of jurors (91%) felt able to express their views and feelings during deliberation. Only one juror felt limited in this regard. It is important to note that half of the Helensburgh jurors expressed anti-wind farm views prior to the jury (see Table 3.8 in Chapter 3) and others shifted towards similar positions during the process, leaving only one juror openly in favour (see Chapter 8). Nonetheless, this juror wrote: "I like the idea [of wind farms] and feel I am the only one! But my opinion was allowed and not dismissed". Therefore, this participant did not express feeling pressured to conform to the group consensus, and indeed ethnographic data shows that at least one juror was "happy to vote against everyone else".

It is significant that all the jurors in Aberfeldy felt able to express their views, despite being the largest and most diverse jury in terms of attitudes towards wind farms (see Table 3.8 in Chapter 3). This may be an indication of how facilitators and organisers incorporated ongoing learning to improve the process from jury to jury.

Gauging the extent to which jurors felt unconstrained was not only difficult for the researchers. Table 5.3 shows the juror's responses when asked about their fellow jurors. The overall answers do not depart significantly from the previous question, and remain on the positive side. But there is a slight moderation in Coldstream and Aberfeldy, perhaps indicating some jurors' caution about interpreting the feelings of other participants. Such interpretations are informed, for instance, by perceptions about the role of dominant jurors or by assumptions about what the silence of certain participants' means.

Table 5.3 Do you feel that other group members were free to express themselves?

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	0	0	0	0
A little	1 (2%)	0	1 (7%)	0
Somewhat	4 (8%)	2 (13%)	0	2 (11%)
Quite a lot	18 (38%)	8 (53%)	2 (14%)	8 (44%)
Very much	24 (51%)	5 (33%)	11 (78%)	8 (44%)

All in all, we can strongly argue that the juries engaged in un-coerced deliberation and that no juror felt unable to express their views. This is a very high standard that may be difficult to replicate in more conventional public forums.

5.2.2 Other-regarding – Did the jurors respect and consider the perspectives of others?

For deliberation to be other-regarding, it must entail active listening, respectful interaction, open-mindedness and concern for the common good. Ethnographers and evaluators described numerous instances of deep listening throughout the juries (see Chapter 4). The exceptions were likely motivated by exhaustion rather than necessarily lack of interest or respect – e.g. the juror who took catnaps in Coldstream or those struggling to focus as gruelling tasks progressed. Most jurors expressed satisfaction with the level of listening, although different jurors experienced the same sessions differently. For example, at the end of Day 1 in **Aberfeldy**, two jurors commented in the survey:

> Juror 45: The group worked well, everyone have their opinion and contributed, generally everyone listened well to each other and supported others when needed.
> Juror 46: Everybody spoke over the top of one another.

The survey also revealed that all jurors felt they had been treated with respect throughout the process (see Table 14). Remarkably, 72% of the jurors felt very strongly that this had been the case, while 23% felt quite strongly and only 4% expressed a more neutral view. In Chapter 4, we described how the jurors typically created a cordial, supportive and good-humoured environment. This, supported by the design of the process (e.g. guidelines, facilitation), contributed to achieve a striking level of respectful deliberation on a topic that can be divisive and controversial.

Table 5.4 Do you feel you have been treated with respect?

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	0	0	0	0
A little	0	0	0	0
Somewhat	2 (4%)	1 (6%)	1 (7%)	0
Quite a lot	11 (23%)	6 (40%)	1 (7%)	4 (22%)
Very much	34 (72%)	8 (53%)	12 (85%)	14 (77%)

Table 5.4 also points to another interesting pattern. The strength of feeling is highest in Helensburgh, as it was the case for data in Tables 5.2 and 5.3. This may be interpreted as related to the homogeneity of views – galvanised around a strong anti-wind farm stance – developed by this jury along the process, and the level of group cohesion described earlier by the ethnographer. In other words, the perception of being surrounded by like-minded individuals may have increased the satisfaction with the overall dynamics of the group.

However, a more diverse jury in Aberfeldy also expressed very high satisfaction in terms of respect (Table 5.4), thus suggesting that homogeneity of views was not a necessary factor. In this case, diversity of views voiced in a well-facilitated space may account for the positive perception of respectfulness. Consequently, we may argue that respectful deliberation took place regardless of the composition of the group, and that diversity of views provided as strong a basis for it as like-mindedness. This points again to the importance of the process design and facilitation, and its success in enabling constructive "interaction orders" (Escobar 2014a; cf. Goffman 1983).

To what extent were active listening and respectful interaction also a reflection of the level of open-mindedness by the jurors? As noted earlier, the quality of deliberation depends on participants keeping an open mind while listening to the arguments offered by others. Moreover, it requires speaking in ways that enable others to express competing views (Escobar 2011; Littlejohn and Domenici 2001). The **Coldstream** evaluator offers useful reflections on this, noting that jurors often displayed an important skill:

> The ability to inquire and take positions in ways that leave other routes open, e.g.:

- *The first juror tackling the question of whether local communities should have final say on planning permissions for wind farms says: "I am probably naïve, but I think if the local community have all the information, they will make the decision not just for themselves".*
- *Jurors use phrases such as "Is that not….", "it might…"; "it depends"...*

These are verbal forms of expressing openness while presenting their own views, fully anticipating differences and disagreement, and occasionally using humour.

A strong test of the extent to which jurors faced the topic with an open mind is to check whether their opinions were revised or changed throughout the jury. We dedicate Chapter 8 to this, so here we simply show that most jurors did revise their views. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1, which represents the individual evolution of the views on wind farms of the 47 jurors[27] throughout the process (measured at the 4 time points of the questionnaire, i.e. start and end of each jury day). The graphs illustrate how views fluctuated, thus clearly indicating that many jurors revised their views throughout the process.

Figure 5.1. Individual jurors' evolution of views on wind energy policy in Scotland

Each graph shows the opinion of one juror, over each survey, for a scaled measure (a composite of several questions that capture views on the same underlying concept - in this case, wind energy policy. These methods are described in Appendix 2). On the graphs, the x-axis shows the survey number (1 to 4) and the jurors' opinion on the y-axis, shown here as a scale from 0 to 1, where 0.5 is neutral, 0 is completely negative, and 1 is completely supportive. Jurors' opinions for other measures are shown in Appendix 9].

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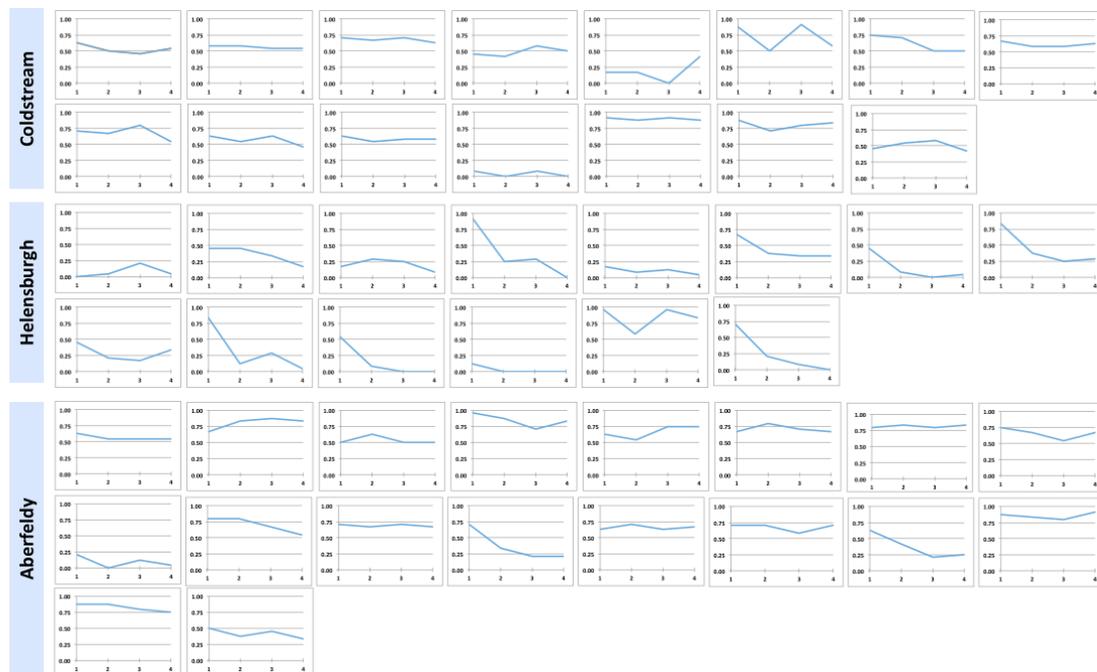
[27] Please note that jurors 7 and 17 were not included in the analysis because they did not complete the process. Therefore, Figure 5.1 is missing the graphs for those two jurors.

The extent to which jurors revised their views as a result of learning and/or deliberating will be analysed in Chapter 8. Nonetheless, survey data also indicates that the jurors did consider the views of others when making up their minds (see Table 5.5). Indeed, 87% said that they found group deliberation useful for this purpose.

Table 5.5 Were the conversations in the group useful to make up your mind?

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	2 (4%)	0	1 (7%)	1 (5%)
A little	0	0	0	0
Somewhat	4 (8%)	2 (13%)	0	2 (11%)
Quite a lot	17 (36%)	8 (53%)	4 (28%)	5 (27%)
Very much	24 (51%)	5 (33%)	9 (64%)	10 (55%)

The final component to analyse whether deliberation was other-regarding is the extent to which participants used public-spirited arguments rather than justifications based on self-interest. The jurors brought up, and discussed, numerous issues on the basis of appeals to the common good, for example regarding:

- the role and scope of community benefits derived from wind farms;
- the adverse effects of parochial attitudes that ignore the broader public interest when considering local developments;
- concerns around public health and animal welfare issues related to wind farm development;
- reflections on environmental impacts and climate change;
- and concerns about energy security in Scotland and the UK.

The materials generated at the jury (e.g. cards) reflect this spread of concerns, and many principles proposed by the juries are underpinned by views of, and aspirations about, the common good –including long-term thinking about future generations (see Chapter 6).

Of course, this does not mean that personal motives and self-interest were not at play at the juries. But deliberating in a public space is often conditioned by what Elster (1998: 111) calls the "civilising force of hypocrisy". In a nutshell, it is hard to publicly justify a position that seems motivated purely by self-interest. This forces deliberators to present arguments in terms that may seem more palatable to their audience, which often means framing them as related to the public interest or common good. In this sense, deliberating in public can serve "to quarantine self-interest by ensuring that the reasoning process focuses on publicly relevant arguments, rather than private demands" (Hendriks 2011: Location 615). Facilitators can also play a proactive role in fostering this (see Escobar 2014c: Chapter 7).

The line between private and public reasons (between self-interest and public interest) is nonetheless fuzzy. When people are concerned about health issues, or property prices, that

concern may reflect both personal and public interests and may be presented in the language of both private and public reasons. Moreover, there is the problem of the geographical scope of what constitutes 'the public' – locality, region, country? For example, many jurors discussed whether wind farms create new jobs for local people or actually require bringing expertise from elsewhere. What notion of the common good should then prevail, that of the local or national interest? And what about internationalist perspectives?

We cannot compare against some objective notion of what the common good may be on these issues, but we can assess whether the jurors based their arguments in what they deemed to be the public interest. In this regard, the jurors may have had concerns of a private nature, but none were presented as a matter of self-interest. The thesis of the 'civilising effect' of public deliberation therefore finds strong resonance in these juries, where participants typically chose to deliberate using other-regarding arguments.

That 'civilising effect' can be also extended here to other aspects of the juries and in particular to the striking level of respect noted earlier. Even jurors who perhaps disregarded others' views as naïve or uninformed refrained from expressing such sentiments during the process. For example, it was only in the farewell go-round, five minutes before concluding, that one juror stated: "it was good to hear 'off the wall' and 'tree-hugging' views". This was said with a smile, but not joking. The discipline of the jury as a safe space governed by deliberative rules was over.

All in all, the juries showed a high level of respectful, considered, open-minded and public-spirited deliberation.

5.2.3 Reasoned – Did the jurors justify and scrutinise arguments and perspectives?

In public deliberation, justification is central because it opens up for scrutiny the reasons behind the participants' views. Ethnographers and evaluators documented many instances where jurors engaged in reasoned exchanges of arguments (examples in Chapter 4). Some jurors tended to simply state their views, and others to also justify them. Facilitators often asked jurors to '"articulate" or "elaborate" on their points. This was usually well received and led to clarity in argumentation, but it took hard work by the jurors as illustrated by the **Aberfeldy** ethnographer:

> The facilitator asks Female Juror 11 to articulate what she means, she replies 'I hate articulating!' She takes a wee time out to collect her thoughts and get clear in her own head what she means.

The trend towards justification increased as the process advanced. This was perhaps a result of the design, with Day 1 framed as an Information Phase where the aim was to explore and understand issues and perspectives, and Day 2 as a Deliberative Phase were the aim was to consider options and make collective decisions.

The scrutiny of witnesses in Day 1 played a crucial role in the process. As shown in Chapter 4, the jurors took this job seriously and worked collectively to generate questions on the

issues that they deemed helpful to address their task as a jury. For instance, as the **Coldstream** evaluator reflects:

Discussions following the witness presentations were facilitated with a very clear focus on thinking critically through the material presented. For example: "Think of one questions to ask", "Think about questions that will help you think about wind energy". The work done in small groups appears to have worked in enacting the desirable deliberative behaviours as well as in checking how the information was processed and how it was interpreted by individual jurors.

However, the quality of the scrutiny of witnesses varied between juries, according to several data sources (i.e. evaluators, ethnographers, witness interviews, jurors' question cards and postcards). Coldstream and Aberfeldy jurors, who had started (in aggregate) from a more positive view of the overall impacts of wind energy in Scotland (see Chapter 8), scrutinised both pro- and anti- wind farm witnesses. In contrast,

Questions generated during scrutiny sessions with witness

Helensburgh jurors, who started (in aggregate) from a more negative view of the overall impacts, placed more emphasis on scrutinising pro-wind farm witnesses (see Chapter 4). This may be related to the lack of strong supporters of wind farms in the Helensburgh jury and the group dynamics that this lack of diversity generated (see Chapters 3, 4 and 8). Aberfeldy and Coldstream featured a broader range of perspectives and this was reflected in the more balanced scrutiny. The Helensburgh evaluator describes here the lack of scrutiny of anti-wind farm witnesses:

There was little obvious articulation of gaps, although there was some questioning of the anecdotal nature of some of the 'evidence' being presented; e.g. impact on health, jobs, climate change. Many jurors commented on the passion expressed by one [anti- wind] witness that was palpably lacking in the others, which has a big impact on them as it seemed to express a strong belief, apparently independent of commercial or political interests.

The only visibly pro-wind juror in Helensburgh thought that the pro-wind witnesses should have scrutinised their counterparts: "They didn't stick up for themselves, they didn't challenge the other side…" That was not the perception of the pro-wind witnesses. During an interview one said that the best part was the question and answer session, where witnesses could correct each other and interact with jurors. Yet, like the evaluators and the ethnographers, some witnesses also argued that the jurors' questions seemed biased

towards one side. We return to these issues in Chapters 7 and 8, and in particular to the role of rhetoric and emotion in reasoned deliberation.

As the jury moved to Day 2, the focus of the jurors shifted towards sharing and scrutinising each other's views. This is a crucial aspect in deliberation in order to prevent 'groupthink' dynamics that may generate a false consensus or other non-deliberative dynamics (Goodin 2008: 100; Delli Carpini et al 2004). Groupthink is a pattern of interaction in which individuals uncritically accept and/or support the views or some members of the group. There can be various motivations for this, such as the desire to fit in or avoid conflict (Ryfe and Stalsburg 2012: 48; Mutz 2006). This kind of "pattern" can prevent the exploration of diverse perspectives and options (Escobar 2011: 12), and produce decisions based on dynamics other than the exchange of reasoned arguments (see Box 5.1).

> **Box 5.1 "Confirmation bias" in enclave deliberation (Mercier and Landemore 2012: 253)**
>
> *"When people are engaged in a genuine deliberation, the confirmation bias present in each individual's reasoning is checked, compensated by the confirmation bias of individuals who defend another opinions. When no other opinion is present (or expressed, or listened to), people will be disinclined to use reasoning to critically examine the arguments put forward by other discussants, since they share their opinion. Instead, they will use reasoning to strengthen these arguments or find other arguments supporting the same opinion."*

Such dynamics did not prevail in these juries. Aberfeldy did particularly well in terms of scrutiny amongst the jurors, probably due to its larger size and range of views. But even in a group like Coldstream, within a highly consensual way of working (see Chapter 4), challenges took place when jurors disagreed. For example, there was a very lively debate about a proposal for turning wind farms into tourist attractions by using art. There were also instances of tension, such as when a juror challenged another about unfounded claims by offering a counter-argument and a warning: "be careful about what you say".

Similarly, there is some indication that the Helensburgh jury, despite being also highly consensual, featured some critical scrutiny. Both the ethnographer and the evaluator noted that jurors pointed out flaws in some emerging ideas and proposals. The scrutiny, however, was never directed to the anti-wind consensus that had settled by the end of Day 1 (see Chapter 8). Instead, the scrutiny concerned the desirable energy mix, the local feasibility of various energy sources and so on. As shown in Chapter 3, Helensburgh was the only jury with few strong supporters of wind farms. This reduced the diversity of perspectives in this jury as pro-wind farms arguments were seldom articulated. The impacts of this will be explored in our analysis of the results of the jury (i.e. the 'principles', Chapter 6) and the opinion changes that took place through the process (Chapter 8). But we can anticipate that Helensburgh provides an illustrative case of Sunstein's 'law of group polarisation' – a statistical regularly documented in myriad experiments with group dynamics:

> *group polarization means that members of a deliberating group predictably move toward a more extreme point in the direction indicated by the members' predeliberation tendencies. (Sunstein, 2002, p. 176)*

Group polarisation[28] often results from 'enclave deliberation', that is, deliberation amongst individuals who share similar views and where alternative viewpoints are not put forward. As Sunstein (2009) explains, lack of diverse perspectives in a group limits the pool of information and arguments that can be considered during deliberation. In turn, this further reduces the diversity of the group by polarising more moderate views:

> *When people talk to like-minded others, they tend to amplify their pre-existing views, and to do so in a way that reduces their internal diversity. We see this happen in politics… families, business, churches... (Sunstein, 2009, p. 8)*
>
> *In a wide variety of experimental contexts, people's opinions have been shown to become more extreme simply because their initial views have been corroborated and because they have been more confident after learning of the shared views of others. (Sunstein, 2009, p. 23)*

That increased level of confidence (via group validation) in one's views tends to lead to stronger positions (p. 24). Polarisation is also accentuated if group members think that they have a "shared identity and high degree of solidarity", and "group belongingness" affects the extent of polarisation (p. 42). We noted earlier that Helensburgh jurors developed a strong sense of cohesion in the group ("tight bonds" in the words of the ethnographer) and, as shown in Chapter 6, they were able to agree many of their principles by consensus.

 Summing up the argument, when like-minded individuals deliberate without considering counter-arguments, they tend to move towards stronger positions "in the direction of pre-existing views of the majority" (Delli Carpini et al 2004 :325; Sunstein 2002, p. 177). As a result of 'enclave deliberation', Helensburgh jurors shifted towards strongly negative views about wind energy and wind farms (see Chapter 8). In contrast, in Aberfeldy and Coldstream, where the arguments reflected a diversity of views, the effect of deliberation was moderation of their initially stronger positive overall views about the impact of wind energy in Scotland (see Chapter 8).

Indeed, when groups are more diverse and "do not hold rigidly to their positions, and listen to one another, members will shift toward the middle; they will depolarise. The effect of mixing will be to produce moderation" (Sunstein 2009: 48). A large body of research has shown that, when individuals "are confronted by a greater diversity of ideas", they tend to "become more open-minded, learn more from others, and engage in a deeper consideration of issues" (Ryfe and Stalsburg 2012: 45). Furthermore, "cognitive diversity", i.e. the "ability to interpret the world differently"– can be more crucial to group competence than individual ability (Mercier and Landemore 2012: 254). This explains, for example, the advantage of some groups of ordinary people over smaller groups of experts, and the thesis that "when diverse opinions are discussed, group reasoning will outperform individual reasoning" (Ibid.).

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[28] 'Polarisation' in this literature does not refer to the splitting of a group into two sides, but to the gravitation of a group towards one 'pole' (see Mercier and Landemore 2012).

In sum, our findings highlight the importance of enacting diversity via counter-argument and challenge during deliberation.

Several jurors adopted explicit roles as challengers across the juries. Some did so presenting themselves as realists or pragmatists, or as giving voice to a perspective absent in the jury, while others adopted less diplomatic approaches. Nonetheless, after the first jury in Coldstream the Information Officers were tasked with occasionally playing 'devils' advocate' in order to test arguments, and avoid uncritical consensus or groupthink. Despite the risks noted in Chapter 4, this worked well. Yet, some organisers, facilitators, evaluators and ethnographers questioned whether there was enough challenge. For example, when asked what could have been done differently, an organiser reflected:

> *Challenge the jurors more regarding some of their wilder conclusions. If they had had more time, they might have done this themselves, but as it was, with only two days, this was never going to happen enough.*

That was of particular concern with regard to considering potential tensions and trade-offs between the principles that each jury had generated. This is an extract from one of the facilitators' reflections:

> *We got them to think about whether there were any contradictions in their choices, helped in Helensburgh and Aberfeldy by incisive challenges from the Information Officers. With hindsight, I wonder whether we could have done more to get them thinking about how they would manage trade-offs – eg, between negative environmental impacts locally and positive impacts through reducing carbon use, or financial benefits to the community and negative impacts on landscape – though all three CJs (I think!) did address the tension between local and national/global considerations, and who should have the final say.*

The designers of the process failed to leave enough time for this crucial final phase. As a result, the deliberative quality underpinning the final principles was diminished. This is clearly reflected in this fragment from the Aberfeldy evaluator:

> *On day 2 during the plenary session used to refine the key principles generated from the small groups, time pressures restricted discussion. There was a discussion of some of the principles followed by a vote. However, some proposals did not get discussed, but just voted on e.g. jobs for the local community. There was a disagreement on some of the principles e.g. local control and need for voting and local community decision, but again due to time constraints there was not much of a discussion to try and reach agreement before the jurors were asked to vote.*

As noted earlier, deliberative democracy is based on the idea that participation should be more than simply counting heads. Clearly, some parts of these juries did not live up to that standard. To be sure, not all deliberation ends up in consensus, and resolution through voting is not unusual in deliberative processes. But the key is that there must be discussion prior to voting, so that the options to vote on, and the decision on how to vote, are based on considered deliberation.

As noted in Chapter 4, having more time could have improved scrutiny, challenge and reflection on trade-offs, not only because this is complex work, but because groups require time to develop the trust and confidence necessary to engage in that kind of work. The lack of time was also picked up by some jurors in the survey, e.g.: "Feels rushed at times but appreciate this is important so discussions don't get tied up or go round in circles".

The transcripts of the juries, unavailable for this report[29], can be used to provide complementary analysis of the issues considered in this section. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the juries featured reasoned deliberation although there were clear limitations. In particular, the unbalanced scrutiny that took place in one of the juries, and the lack of time to engage in discussion about the principles and the trade-offs for implementing them.

5.2.4 Inclusive and equal – Did all the jurors participate and influence the outcomes?

Ensuring that the process is inclusive and gives everyone opportunities to participate is a fundamental challenge in public dialogue and deliberation (Young 2000; Escobar 2011). We divide this section into three parts. Firstly, we provide an overall assessment of the extent to which the jurors felt they had an influence over the outcomes. Secondly, we explore the distinct participation dynamics of each jury as well as their similarities. Finally, we analyse the complex role of outspoken participants.

5.2.4.1 Influencing the outcomes

Equality of participation is difficult to assess. For example, it is not simply a matter of sharing airtime equitably – some people can do more with less time. By the same token, different participants can contribute in different ways and to different stages of the process. Nonetheless, we can assess inclusion by asking whether any juror felt systematically excluded by the process. Qualitative data, explored at length in Chapter 4, provides no indication of systematic exclusion. Furthermore, there was formal equality regarding key sessions such as agenda-setting (e.g. one postcard per person) and the prioritising and voting exercises, where everyone had an equal weight in influencing results.

The high level of satisfaction by the jurors regarding the process has been already noted (see also Chapter 9), but did they feel they had an influence over the jury outcomes? Survey data in Table 5.6 indicates that the majority did.

Jurors in Coldstream and Helensburgh felt a higher level of influence (Table 5.6) than Aberfeldy, perhaps a result of the latter being larger and diverse, and thus reflecting the level of compromise that had to be reached through deliberation. The high percentage in

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[29] Due to lack of budget for transcription at this stage.

Helensburgh (84%) is perhaps a reflection of the homogeneity of views developed in the group by the end of the process.

Table 5.6 Do you feel you had an influence over the Jury outcomes?

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	0	0	0	0
A little	0	0	0	0
Somewhat	7 (14%)	6 (40%)	0	1 (5%)
Quite a lot	23 (48%)	4 (26%)	7 (50%)	12 (66%)
Very much	17 (36%)	5 (33%)	7 (50%)	5 (27%)

Data in Table 5.7 adds nuance, because it is not about the jurors' feelings of influence, but the extent to which they identified with the principles generated by their jury.

No juror declared feeling completely unrepresented by the principles generated, and a large majority across the juries (84%) said that their views were reflected quite a lot or very much. Coldstream offered the most moderate responses, with 40% of the jurors feeling their views 'somewhat' reflected. This could be interpreted as a result of having to compromise to find agreement, or as a result of time pressures as this was the first jury and had less time to refine the principles (see Chapter 4). It may also be an indication of "apparent consensus" dynamics (Urbalino 2006) in the generation of principles. That is, some jurors may have gone along with the emerging consensus without engaging in deliberation to adjust the principles according to their own priorities. This seems to vindicate the organisers' decision to introduce the 'devil's advocate' role in subsequent juries to stimulate scrutiny, deepen arguments and challenge uncritical consensus.

Table 5.7 Do the Jury statements reflect your views?

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	1 (2%)	0	0	1 (5%)
A little	3 (6%)	0	2 (14%)	1 (5%)
Somewhat	14 (29%)	5 (33%)	0	9 (50%)
Quite a lot	13 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (42%)	2 (11%)
Very much	16 (34%)	5 (33%)	6 (42%)	5 (27%)

Every juror in Helensburgh said that the principles reflect their views 'quite a lot' (50%) or 'very much' (50%). This may seem unsurprising given how homogeneous in views this group seemed to become, but by the end of the process there was still at least one pro-wind farms juror. The fact that this juror still felt represented by the principles may be interpreted in two ways. It may reflect the effort made by the jury to accommodate minority views in the process of formulating and agreeing the principles. Or perhaps it may indicate that the principles do not necessarily reflect the strong anti-wind farms stance that individual jurors held by the end. In other words, the collective output may be somewhat more moderate than the individual preferences expressed by individual jurors in the final survey (see Chapter 6 for an analysis of the principles, and Chapter 8 for analysis of changes of opinion).

If we compare Tables 5.6 and 5.7, the strength of feeling is higher in the latter. Most jurors felt stronger about the extent to which the principles reflected their views than about the level of influence they had in shaping the principles. This is an important finding regarding participation and influence. The high level of identification with the principles shows that despite the different levels of influence felt by the jurors, the process nonetheless produced decisions that all jurors supported to a large extent.

This adds important nuance to debates on what is desirable and what is achievable in terms of inclusion and equality in deliberative processes. It suggests that direct participation by every juror in every instance is less important than ensuring that all viewpoints are represented (see Dryzek and Niemeyer 2010 on 'discursive representation'). In other words, some jurors may not participate in a particular discussion because they feel that their views are already represented by others. Insofar this happens, they may still feel a strong sense of inclusion and influence.

All in all, our analysis so far suggests that most jurors felt included in influencing the process and its outcomes. We now turn to considering in more detail the participation dynamics at each jury (see also Chapter 4).

5.2.4.2 Participating in the process

The three juries developed a supportive environment, where jurors often helped each other to participate. **Coldstream** was a particularly good example. The evaluator observed

> *supportive behaviours displayed very early on in the proceedings. Facilitator: "Think of one question to ask." The first participant starts and promptly says, "Oh no. That's wrong" The group quickly offer reassurances, "It's interesting", "Say it anyway".*

In all juries, the ethnographers observed growing confidence and trust as the process advanced. Survey data also indicates a shift towards stronger group identity for each jury. By the end, jurors felt more identified with the group, probably as a result of the consensus-building process, the development of trust and a sense of shared purpose. Confidence to participate grew as the process unfolded. This was particularly the case regarding younger jurors in Coldstream, and across demographics in Aberfeldy. For example, the **Aberfeldy** ethnographer wrote:

many of the jurors that were less participative on day one played a much more vocal role on the second day – and from the conversations I had during the breaks, it seems that many jurors recognised this themselves.

Helensburgh was more clearly dominated by a small group of male jurors, which challenged the facilitators throughout the process. The evaluator noted:

Inclusiveness: Strong attempt in the groups to bring in less articulate /confident jurors. On Day 2 all comments were included in the clustering in an attempt to play down the vocal few. Help was given to phrasing principles as 'should' statements, with positive reinforcement of each oral and written contribution.

We return to the issue of 'growing confidence to participate' in Chapter 7, when we explore survey data that shows positive increases of the jurors' sense of self-efficacy.

As described in Chapter 4, not all the jurors participated equally across all the sessions, although everyone participated at some stage and in one way or another. The **Coldstream** evaluator illustrates this:

While there were a number of more outspoken participants, there were also a number of quieter members of the group. Jurors displayed different levels of participation:

- *taking the lead in discussion by offering regular contributions in addition to invited contributions in rounds;*
- *making occasional contributions in addition to invited questions or opinions;*
- *actively listening, demonstrated by body language.*

By the end of Day 2 perhaps only one or two people had not contributed verbally as deliberators or reporters on behalf of their groups.

This was similar across the juries, and is similar to findings from research on court juries, which show that on average one in five jurors say little or nothing (Delli Carpini 2004:35).

All jurors participated in the structured sessions (e.g. agenda-setting, small group go-rounds, prioritising exercises, voting), but fewer contributed during plenary sessions. This is clearly reflected by the **Aberfeldy** evaluator:

Participation in the plenary discussions was more unequal (e.g. the process grouping the postcards was dominated by a few jurors). Throughout both days quieter jurors were encouraged to contribute by the facilitators.

Working in small groups is key to ensure inclusive and equal participation (Escobar 2011; Gastil 1993). The juries featured four small group sessions, but some work had to be conducted in plenary (i.e. discussing and agreeing the principles). Even small plenaries (14-18 people in these juries) make it challenging to involve everyone. If the plenary session is structured in go-rounds, with every juror speaking in turn, then deliberative quality can suffer from a lack of depth (e.g. shifting focus; short time) and a tedious flow. On the other hand, if the plenary is left to the 'natural' dynamics of the group, it is likely that the more outspoken, dominant or assertive individuals will contribute to the exclusion of those less prone to public speaking.
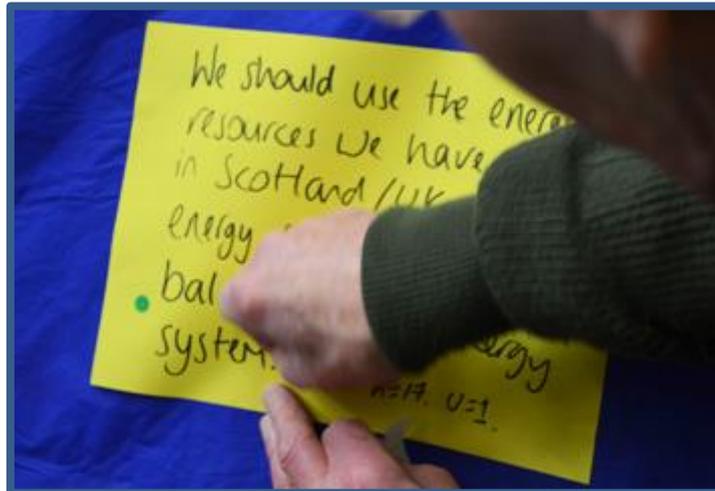
Jurors were given different ways to express their views or prioritise questions and statements

Facilitators often face this tension between structure and flow. In small groups this can be addressed, as go-rounds and open flow can be more easily combined. This highlights the importance of combining different formats and methods for participation within deliberative processes. Plenary sessions are crucial to share understanding across the jury and deliberate on critical issues, but it is important to intersperse other opportunities to participate and influence the outcomes. In these juries this proved crucial.

For example, the Helensburgh ethnographer heard an older woman say that she felt "much more comfortable in a small group". This is particularly significant in a jury where the ethnographer observed a lack of participation by women, particularly on Day 1, and a "gender divide" manifested during breaks (see Chapter 4). These extracts illustrate the point:

> *Helensburgh* *evaluator: "Middle-aged men dominated and presented the questions in the plenaries. Women (especially young) were less sure about offering opinions, even when encouraged."*
>
> *Organiser reflections: "The gender imbalance was palpable. There were no young women at all, and no women who really spoke up or out."*

As explained in Chapter 3, recruitment problems led to a jury of 4 women and 10 men in Helensburgh, and this compromised the diversity of the female cohort. It is interesting that all researchers and organisers pointed to gender as influential in Helensburgh's dynamics. Yet, there was also a gender imbalance in Aberfeldy (6 male, 12 female), a slight one in Coldstream (6 male, 8 female), and this was not emphasised as an important factor in how those juries worked. This suggests that gender may not have been as crucial as the diversity of other demographic and attitudinal traits within the female and male cohorts in each jury.

5.2.4.3 The role of outspoken participants

Data from the evaluators and ethnographers are peppered with references to a few outspoken "middle-aged and older male" jurors who participated frequently. These participants (usually male but not exclusively) were often seen by fellow jurors as helpful

and knowledgeable, particularly when it came to articulating or scrutinising an argument or offering examples to illustrate points. In some cases, however, they were a source of frustration for their tendency to interrupt or dominate the conversation.

We simplify our analysis around three 'archetypes' induced from the data, namely: the 'contrarian', the 'professional' and the 'sage'. To be clear, we are not interested in describing specific individuals. We offer instead analytical archetypes that illustrate different ways of being an outspoken participant. Accordingly, we first outline their role as jurors and then, more revealingly, their distinct evolution throughout the jury process.

The 'contrarian' archetype was always ready to express scepticism, dispute arguments without necessarily offering reasons, and stand up alone against emerging consensus. This archetype showed an almost automatic and systematic impulse to counter-argue. This denoted unwavering confidence, illustrated in this quote taken by one of the ethnographers: "*I am too educated for people round here – they don't like me because I know too much*". Consequently, the contrarian was not shy of interrupting or intervening through strident outbursts, which provoked positive and negative reactions as these excerpts show:

> *Two men discussing the morning's session… agree that it has been interesting but one complains about Male Juror 3 and says he was talking over the speaker and that "it gets on my tits"!*
>
> *During a break, Young Female Juror 3 asks the facilitator if she will be in the same small group as Male Juror 9… she seems initially unhappy about this but then says "to be fair I can be quite dominant too", an older lady adds that "you need people to be controversial – it would be boring otherwise".*

Our second archetype is the 'professional', who brought to the jury ideas, ways of thinking and language derived from expertise and experience. These two ethnographic fragments are illustrative:

> *Male Juror 2 who has very clear ideas of what he considers vital in developing a strategy for assessing wind farm proposals – in this he is clearly drawing on his own professional experience as …*
>
> *Although technical, Male Juror 7's questions get big nods from all the men but none of the women. Some of the men's questions are quite complex and technical.*

Juries unavoidably bring together people with different types and levels of expertise. That is indeed the point of a mini-public, to bring together a diverse group where different jurors can contribute from different perspectives – thus enhancing the "cognitive diversity" mentioned earlier (Mercier and Landemore 2012: 254). The outspoken 'professional' archetype, nonetheless, can challenge the inclusiveness of deliberation through the excessive use of inaccessible jargon. In this context, jargon can be interpreted as an expression of knowledge and a marker of power. The dominance of highly technical contributions can frame these as the most important considerations, which can exclude other types of knowledge and contributions (see Fischer 2000). This can unwittingly serve to assert leadership positions and dent the confidence of other jurors. Here is an example by one of the ethnographers:

> *One woman has confided in me a couple of times that she is really doubting her input and knowledge, in terms of her own ability and in direct comparison to the type of questions that the men are asking, which is making her reluctant to put her opinion or questions forward.*

Finally, the 'sage' archetype is prone to imparting wisdom and "common sense" through long-winded monologues that can meander over a range of topics. In contrast to the contrarian, who tends to use razor-sharp comments in multiple interventions, the sage is a storyteller who enjoys performing at leisure for a crowd and struggles to listen. The sage seems to know and have an opinion about everything, and other jurors often value this. Here is an illustrative lunchtime vignette:

> *Male Juror 12 holds court in the coffee room with stories about large infrastructure projects. A few tables away Female Juror 6 talks to others about emerging frustration with two dominant jurors: "I don't really mind Male Juror 12 because he has the knowledge and the facts to back up what he says".*

However, this appreciation can be short-lived, as the sage often struggles to adhere to the 'conversation guidelines':

> Organiser reflections: *"I am not sure that he closed off other voices/views. It was more that people got fed up listening to him. His views were in fact not too strident – again, more that he got excess airtime."*

What we found interesting is the evolution of each archetype in the transition from Day 1 to Day 2. The following ethnographic fragments illustrate how the juries accommodated (or not) key exemplars of these archetypes. Firstly, the contrarian

> *now fits in well with the group and tensions which had begun to emerge through Day 1 have now relaxed, rather than people getting annoyed … he has become the (willing and good-humoured) subject of much friendly banter.*

Secondly, an exemplar of the professional

> *is quick to explain the issue but he does it in an unassuming way which the group listens to. He seems to be considered as somewhat of an authority, and the group look to him to explain things or put things in an articulate way, but he is in no way the dominant male on Day 2.*

Finally, the sage

> *became even more vocal than on Day 1. It was very tempting to write down all of the remarkable quotes … however, this might have taken my eye off what was going on elsewhere in the room. Looking back at my notes it's interesting to see how he physically separated himself out from the rest of the group towards the end of Day 2 (e.g. having coffee in another room, sitting on the other side of the circle during the final plenary). Nobody was talking to him any longer.*

The juries dealt with these archetypes in different ways. The contrarian was accommodated using humour and found a place as a friendly and welcome challenger. The professional also developed a helpful and valued role in informing deliberation. Both had found a fit between their style of engaging and the needs of the jury. In contrast, the sage alienated many jurors and became somewhat isolated.

It is important not to overstate the influence of these outspoken participants. Naturally, the ethnographic eye can be drawn to the apparently prominent role of such jurors, and overestimate their centrality in the process. However, as we saw earlier in survey data, most jurors felt a sense of influence over the process and the outcomes.

Nonetheless, the presence of these archetypes can have an important impact on participation dynamics. The contrarian, with a determination to challenge arguments and consensus, can enhance scrutiny functions – albeit risking annoying or silencing other jurors. The professional, drawing on expertise and skills can help to inform the task at hand, albeit potentially excluding others by using jargon and/or privileging technical knowledge as superior to other forms of knowledge. In turn, the sage, sometimes drawing on contrarian instincts, sometimes on professional knowledge and experience, is adept at conveying illustrative stories but can come across as lecturing and patronising.

Accordingly, they can all bring value by contributing to realise important deliberative goods, for example, scrutiny and challenge that can disrupt uncritical or apparent consensus and groupthink. They have in common self-confidence, conviction and critical thinking, as well as a difficulty to share airtime. But they can differ in their ability to listen, adapt to the group and work with it productively.

The point is that their roles are complex, and we should pay more attention to understanding them. Arguably, there will always be outspoken participants prone to dominate in ways that are challenging for facilitators and jurors. The question is how to develop facilitation strategies, and group dynamics, that accommodate their valuable contribution and minimise the potential downsides, especially regarding the inclusion of others.

5.2.5 Unbiased facilitation – Did the facilitators support effectiveness and fairness in an impartial manner?

The facilitators designed the process drawing on an approach to dialogue and deliberation set out in detail in their previous work (Escobar 2009, 2011, Faulkner 2011, Escobar, Faulkner and Rea 2014). Chapter 4 has already analysed the logic of the design and how it unfolded in practice. Here we focus on the role of facilitation in fostering deliberative quality. The job of the facilitators was to ensure the effectiveness and fairness of the process, while remaining impartial on the topic. Therefore, this final section is structured around those three themes – effectiveness, fairness and impartiality.

5.2.5.1 Effectiveness

As argued in Chapter 4, the juries accomplished their task although there were clear limitations. Due largely to time constraints, the facilitators' design was arguably overambitious, which added pressure during implementation. Generally, time-management was good and improved from jury to jury, although some jurors tested the facilitators' ability to keep the conversations on track, as later illustrated. Nonetheless, the facilitators managed to create a safe and supportive and space where jurors felt 'comfortable' (in all

sense – humour, physical, etc) and able to work together productively. Of course, this ultimately depended on the jurors' willingness and effort to work together to accomplish the task. Survey data in Table 5.8 indicates that the jurors thought that this was achieved.

Table 5.8 Do you feel the group worked well together?

	Aggregate	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy
Not at all	0	0	0	0
A little	0	0	0	0
Somewhat	3 (6%)	1 (6%)	0	2 (11%)
Quite a lot	13 (27%)	5 (33%)	3 (21%)	5 (27%)
Very much	31 (65%)	9 (60%)	11 (78%)	11 (61%)

Each jury had to find its own rhythm and way of working, and the facilitators had to adapt their support accordingly in a very limited period of time. This was best accomplished during small group work where, as a facilitator reflected afterwards, "there were moments of real thinking together, fluid creativity and constructive work – typically just as I was trying to wrap up one topic and move on!"

The two facilitators (male and female) had different but complementary styles (energetic vs. calm), and their performance benefitted from previous experience working together and shared values regarding facilitation practice. The jurors responded well to both facilitators and the combination of different styles for different sessions.

The amount of energy invested by the facilitators cannot be overstated. These were 12-hour long shifts, including setting up and packing up, with eight hours of intense work with the jurors (plus up to three hours' travelling time). Typically, the energy levels and sharpness of the facilitators diminished as the day progressed. This had a negative impact on their effectiveness in the latter sessions, particularly on Day 2. As noted in Chapter 4, these were the least effective parts of the jury, and tiredness by jurors and facilitators, as well as time constraints, seem key factors. Having a third facilitator might have increased effectiveness.

5.2.5.2 Fairness

Deliberation does not happen in a vacuum, but reflects patterns from society at large. Participants brought into the jury their diverse experiences and expertise, their different interpersonal skills and communication styles, their varying levels of self-confidence, and so on. These dimensions depend on personal backgrounds, life stories and resources (e.g. education, income) that can often reflect the landscape of differences and inequalities of a society. For example, one jury featured a senior civil servant and a young unemployed single parent. In this context, facilitators must try to minimise any negative effects that those differences may have in the way participation and deliberation take place.

Differences and inequalities can indeed shape the dynamics of the jury. The challenge for the facilitators is to ensure the fairness of the process, by supporting everyone to contribute and influence. In these juries, the facilitators tried to create a level-playing field in several ways. For example, they sought to foster shared understanding by asking participants and witnesses to unpack jargon and concepts, and by checking for wording to capture shared meaning.

Another key task is to accommodate alternative communication styles (e.g. storytelling, rhetoric) and ways of participating (e.g. beyond speech). This is to avoid what Young (2000) calls "internal exclusion". She argues that narrow definitions of deliberation as reasoned argumentation give advantage to those proficient at a skill that is unequally and unfairly distributed across different sections of the population. The concern is that this can favour those already privileged in

Experienced facilitators used a range of formats and techniques

terms of education and income (see Ryfe and Stalsburg 2012). So "external exclusion" may be overcome by including a diversity of citizens in the jury, but this can be hindered by "internal exclusion" if the jury only opens space for rational deliberation based on certain modes of communication. Those included in the process can then be excluded by the process.

The facilitators, drawing on Young's (2000) ideas, welcomed various forms of communication, including rhetoric, emotional expression and storytelling. For example, the jurors were asked about their feelings and not just the reasons for their views, particularly during Day 1 (see also (Cass and Walker 2009). Some jurors and witnesses used emotive rhetoric to convey their arguments. Many jurors also chose to share stories and experiences, and these helped to inform deliberation and move the conversation on. Coming up with principles was a challenging task (see Chapter 4) partly because it squeezed out stories, experiences and feelings and demanded from the jurors proposals backed by arguments. As noted in Chapter 4, time constraints limited space for dialogue and storytelling here.

The facilitators also provided alternative ways of participating beyond speech. These are crucial for including jurors less comfortable with public speaking, and to counter the influence of outspoken individuals. For example, written cards played a central role in many sessions, including peer support to write up when needed. Postcards were used for outlining priorities and setting the agenda for Day 2. There were also several clustering exercises using colour-coded cards at the Sticky Wall. And voting by show of hands and using sticky dots for prioritising were also used. In addition, the questionnaires provided an anonymous way of communicating views about the topics and the process. Arguably, this combination of

alternative ways of participating without necessarily speaking was instrumental in achieving the jurors' sense of influence over the outcomes shown earlier.

The facilitation effort was particularly strong in terms of supporting quieter or less confident jurors to participate. The ethnographers and evaluators' notes are peppered with references to successful and unsuccessful attempts in this regard (see Chapter 4). Box 5.2 contains the Coldstream evaluator's reflections on some of the facilitation tactics.

> **Box 5.2. Coldstream evaluator's notes on facilitation**
>
> *The structure of the two days as well as the way in which small group work was facilitated provided ample opportunities for participation. This could be expressed as the proportion of time given to participants' voices. It can also be demonstrated by the establishment of appropriate conversation guidelines supporting participation and by the typical facilitation techniques used:*
>
> - *to create a sense of inclusion: "Do we all understand the question?", "Do we all agree?", "Let's share what we feel"*
>
> - *to build confidence: "There are no stupid questions"; "You don't have to have a question"; to a participant who could not offer a question in the round when it was their turn, "That's OK. We'll come back to you"*
>
> - *to ensure space for all contributions and to stop breakaway conversations: "One at a time please. I'll come to you and then to you", "were you saying something?", "Can we listen?"*
>
> - *to share power more equitably between the facilitators (representing the institutional power in this setting) and the participants: "Do we want to explore anything?"; "I want to check with you that these questions are sensible": "We have got two things to do now. How might we organise it?"*
>
> *These examples demonstrate that confidence-building techniques worked also to ensure and display the facilitators' impartiality in the discussion.*

However, this work was not restricted to the formal sessions. The breaks were also used by as opportunities to understand how to support the jurors. For example, this vignette taken from a facilitator's reflection notes is illustrative:

> *During the last break, Young Female Jurors 6 and 7, and Young Male Juror 9 joined me outside to smoke. The two young women, the quietest participants at this jury, talked passionately about ensuring a better world for their children (how the older generation had 'screwed the world' and now it was 'our' turn to decide) and said they often feel older people 'patronise' them: 'if they think we shouldn't have a say because we don't know enough they should educate us but not patronise us or ignore us or talk over us as they usually do'. I asked if they felt like that at the jury. They said this felt different, and the young man said that was because of our roles as 'mediators'. I was surprised by how vocal the silent women were outside the jury and we discussed how to support them to make those points on Day 2.*

Inevitably, it is questionable how much of a 'safe space' for fair and inclusive participation can be built by facilitators in two days. Ethnographers and evaluators nonetheless agreed that the creation of 'conversation guidelines' was a useful step to set the tone for the

process, and an effective tool to foster desirable communication patterns (see Chapter 4). The guidelines were followed by most jurors, with a few exceptions from individuals closely aligned with the "outspoken" archetypes explored earlier.

For example, in one jury two participants repeatedly interrupted others and dominated some parts of the sessions, diminishing airtime for others and testing the nerve and ability of the facilitators. These dynamics were particularly unproductive during small group work, as this ethnographic vignette illustrates:

> *The facilitator is flat-out with this group. An hour left and they've only done one question. Female Juror 1 really, really, really wants to talk though, anxious she'll forget her point, which seems unrelated to the question of local control.*

Combining in the same small group two jurors with a tendency to interrupt, lecture and digress made it extremely challenging for the facilitator to help the group to accomplish the task. The ethnographer again:

> *The facilitator is being pulled both ways like the last piece of bread at the dinner table, trying to keep Male Juror 6 and Female Juror 1 – who are sitting at opposing sides of the group – in check at the same time on the subject of advantages and disadvantages.*

The ethnographer and the evaluator described how the facilitators tried to stop the interruptions and limit the length of their interventions. Appeals to the guidelines were made, which were met with assenting nods. These jurors would comply momentarily and then, as the ethnographer put it, "come in charging in" again. This caused visible frustration to other jurors, who where often interrupted and annoyed by the slow progress on the tasks at hand. One facilitator approached these jurors separately during breaks to reiterate time constraints and the importance of everyone getting airtime. As the sessions progressed, the dynamics persisted and there were at least three instances, described by the ethnographer, of clear friction between these jurors and the facilitator. One was during small group work:

> *Female Juror 1 then decides to qualify her response. But the facilitator claps his hands, announcing "right, next topic" before she can get her point out. "You're stressing me out!" quips Female Juror 1, only half-joking. "You do want lunch?" bats the facilitator back. "We can have lunch and work at the same time," chirps Female Juror 1, who seems to be feeling her wings are clipped a little. "Follow the game," barks Male Juror 6 jovially, and with that the group moves to topic 2.*

The other two instances occurred during the final plenary sessions:

> *Discussion on who should be involved in decision-making. The facilitator tells Female Juror 1 to wait, 'one voice at a time'. Female juror 11 talks about researchers... Now the facilitator goes back to Female Juror 1, she doesn't want to talk now she's been told to wait! Eventually she mutters she was just going to say 'scientists'.*
>
> *Female Juror 2 says if we can make traditional energy sources cleaner why not use them? Female Juror 6 comes back and says she doesn't think they can be clean, she thinks they have to be phased out. Male Juror 6 tries to cut in, to stop him the facilitator stamps his feet on the wooden floor with such force I feel it up my spine. Female Juror 6 finishes her point about the importance of moving to hundred per cent renewables.*

The ethnographer described these jurors as "unstoppable", and the questionably aggressive tactics used by the facilitator barely dented such behaviours. The vignettes illustrate the tensions between a facilitator struggling to enforce the conversation guidelines without compromising basic facilitation principles, and two jurors with little regard for the participation of others. This demonstrates clearly the perennial facilitator dilemma of how to serve both the needs of the group and each individual.

Interestingly, the reactions by other jurors seemed positive. At lunchtime, after the gruelling small group session, the ethnographer observed this scene:

> *Two of the table then talk about how focused the facilitator was on keeping the discussion on track and making sure the group got the outcomes it needed, and are clearly impressed. The women from the other group laugh that their discussion was much more civilised.*

Similarly, the survey did not bring up any complaints about the facilitator's strong interventions. On the contrary, many jurors praised the effort:

> *(37) Thought it was very well-handled, especially with certain people who wanted to almost disrupt the process*
> *(48) There were a couple of dominant voices in the group but the facilitation ensured that everyone had a voice.*

This example demonstrates the difficulty of meeting the needs of those who require support to participate, and of those who require support to allow others to participate. As we have argued, most jurors worked hard to accomplish the task to a high standard of deliberative quality. Furthermore, despite time limitations, the juries proved effective as spaces where citizens with no experience in public participation could develop confidence and contribute. However, the juries proved challenging for a few jurors with strong skills and experience in other forms of public engagement. Two days was clearly not enough for unlearning styles of interaction honed in traditional public meetings and other settings, where inclusion is not necessarily a priority and speaking seems more important than listening.

All in all, this section shows that the facilitators worked hard to create a level-playing field across the juries, by accommodating various styles of communication and offering alternative forms of participation. Juror feedback indicates that, despite less successful attempts to distribute airtime fairly in one jury, the facilitators succeeded to a considerable degree in ensuring the fairness of the process.

5.2.5.3 Impartiality

Facilitators have a powerful role in deliberative processes, and it is a core tenet of good practice not to use the position to influence the views of participants (Escobar 2011, 2014: Chapter 7; Moore 2011; cf. Forester 2009). This is a key element in making the process as inclusive as possible: participants are likely to be defensive or silenced by a facilitator who expresses views at odds to their own. This means that the facilitator's focus is on shaping the deliberative process, rather than the contents of deliberation

Accordingly, throughout the jury process, the facilitators did not provide information nor expressed views on the topics – that was the role of witnesses, jurors and Information

Officers. Nonetheless, they did exert influence over what happened, when they led the 'clustering' sessions or helped the groups to articulate or merge points for the cards used on the Sticky Walls. These two ethnographic notes describe the dynamics in such sessions:

> **Coldstream** - *When discussing Evidence vs Opinions one man says: "you have to be careful about dismissing this – this is key to the whole thing" and a lady adds "this will impact on every topic". The facilitator suggests that this might be something to keep in mind but perhaps not have as a heading/group but the jury are clear that they want to keep this as a separate topic to discuss.*

> **Helensburgh** - *The group doesn't seem to shy away from disagreeing with the facilitator if they feel they are being misunderstood or don't like where something is being grouped.*

This illustrates the control exerted by the jurors when the facilitators offered proposals to make progress on the task. There is an important point here. Despite the powerful position of the facilitators, it should not be assumed that jurors do not have the critical ability and confidence to say so when they feel a facilitator's suggestion fails to capture the group's intended meaning, and point out potential flaws in the process. Furthermore, other organisers can also play a crucial role in observing and correcting counter-inclusive group dynamics. For example, in one instance an organiser approached the facilitator to indicate that one witness was being advantaged by the way speaking time was distributed during onstage debate. Therefore, the responsibility for unbiased facilitation can be shared in this way with the broader team and the jurors.

The evaluation reports reflect that the facilitators' work remained largely impartial throughout the various sessions. For example, the **Helensburgh** report notes:

> *Impartiality of facilitators. Very fairly conducted, with emphasis on diversity and lack of compulsion to reach conclusions. Questions and proposals were managed through a Delphi process (using voting stars), which gave equal weight to each person's views.*

The only exception was noticed by the **Aberfeldy** evaluator:

> *Overall the facilitators made every attempt to ensure that they did not bias the discussion. Only one occasion in the two days did the facilitator 'lead' the discussion unduly. On the discussion at the end of day 2 on 'who should be involved in decision-making?' they suggested that 'citizens can determine values if not facts'.*

There is a useful distinction to be drawn here between impartiality and neutrality: facilitators are charged with maintaining a studiously impartial stance on the topic, but they are not neutral about the process. That is, their role is to keep the process on track, inclusive, collaborative and constructive; and they actively intervene to shape interaction according to what they deem appropriate to the task at hand – by encouraging participation and responding to situations that might close down dialogue, and by framing questions, drawing threads and the like to move the process on. In this sense, they are not neutral arbiters sitting on the sidelines while action unfolds. Indeed, they work to foster certain communication patterns and curtail others, and make process choices that are consequential.

For example, the Aberfeldy evaluator stated that "overall the facilitators managed the process very impartially" but highlighted their lack of neutrality when they "decided which jurors would be in which small discussion group, which is usually done randomly in mini-publics". As explored in Chapter 4, the facilitators justified this on the basis of wanting to ensure a diverse mix of demographics, views and communication styles per group – but this 'engineering' only succeeded for some groups.

There are other ways in which the work of the facilitator may get in the way of good deliberation. For example both the evaluator and the ethnographer in Helensburgh expressed concern about lack of direct deliberation between the jurors and how much of the interaction was mediated via the facilitator. An ethnographic vignette illustrates improvement in the absence of the facilitator:

> *The facilitator leaves the small group for a few minutes. All participants lean forward. Conversation breaks out immediately. There is more discussion in the absence of the facilitator. They continue to discuss Cost Benefit Analysis which they have been struggling with for a bit. One man takes on a leadership role – not dominant, just alpha male. Even when the facilitator returns the group continues to converse with each other rather than just running ideas-suggestions by the facilitator.*

The facilitators' reflection notes offer a rationale for the highly structured nature of these sessions in Helensburgh. They were concerned about minority views. By the end of Day 1, there seemed to be a large majority with strongly held views against wind farms. Accordingly, the facilitators thought it crucial to follow closely the structured design of the small group session to ensure that minority voices could be heard and opposing arguments fleshed out. The upshot was an overly structured session, particularly during the creation of proposals for principles, to the detriment of more direct deliberation between the jurors. Furthermore, the strategy failed as the only juror who still held a pro-wind farms position did not try to persuade other jurors. In this case, the highly structured interaction did not contribute to provide a platform for the minority view to disrupt the emerging consensus.

We can only guess whether this might have been otherwise if the facilitators left this group more to their own devices. However, the evidence in this chapter and the next show that this group engaged in productive work and accomplished the task successfully. Moreover, there is strong consensus in the literature that facilitation is needed to foster inclusive and productive dynamics particularly in groups with diverse backgrounds, skills and communication styles (Escobar 2011; Forester 1999, 2010; Rosenberg 2014).

The jurors' evaluation of the facilitators seems to support that argument. An open question in the survey asked whether they felt included and respected. The 32 jurors who answered this question (7 in Coldstream; 9 in Helensburgh; 16 in Aberfeldy) did so positively and added numerous compliments to the facilitators. For example:

Coldstream*:* *"I felt included and that other members of the group were too."*
Helensburgh*:* *"I did feel included and comfortable, very friendly facilitators."*
Aberfeldy*:* *"They did a brilliant job as facilitator/mediator, keeping discussion flowing and letting everyone's opinions be heard."*

All in all, evaluators and ethnographers largely agreed that the facilitators managed the process impartially, and the feedback from the jurors was overwhelmingly positive.

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Box 5.3. Facilitators' reflections on their role and its challenges in these juries and beyond

Our role as facilitators in a deliberative process may be summed up by the work we do to keep the process collaborative and constructive. Collaboration only happens when people feel included and valued. As we have already noted, it means building a space that feels safe and respectful for everyone present, and maintaining a studiously impartial stance on the topic being discussed.

It also means working hard to build trust in the facilitator and across the group; supporting the more reticent, uncomfortable and inexperienced to contribute; encouraging folk to really hear what each other have to say and to understand where they are coming from; channelling disagreement or conflict into an opportunity for learning rather than confrontation; building shared meaning from their diverse contributions, language and framings.

None of this is easy; it requires a practiced awareness of 'self in relation to other' group dynamics, and a lived ethic of respect for all. In addition to all of this, keeping the deliberation constructive involves keeping it on topic and on time. These concerns are often at odds with the requirements of keeping it collaborative, and with the facilitator's defining focus on being person-centred and measured. The tightly timed structure of these citizens' juries necessitated some painful trade-offs, which inevitably limited the depth of collaboration and of the deliberation to some extent.

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5.3 Conclusions and key lessons

Despite the boom in deliberative studies over the last two decades, our knowledge is still limited in terms of the dynamics that take place within processes such as citizens' juries (Talpin 2013). Most studies focus on the results of the process, the level of learning that takes place, and the measurement of opinion change. Our report considers those aspects in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively. However, Chapters 4 and 5 have offered a detailed account and analysis of the process that is rare in this field. The purpose was to illuminate the "micro-politics" and dynamics at play during participation and deliberation (see Escobar 2014c). This highlighted practical lessons outlined in Chapter 4 and reflections on deliberative quality in this chapter.

We analysed five dimensions in order to assess the deliberative quality in these juries. Drawing on standards from the literature, we asked whether deliberation was uncoerced, other-regarding, reasoned, inclusive and equal, and whether facilitation was effective, fair and impartial. Summing up the conclusions reached throughout the chapter:

- **Un-coerced deliberation.** The jurors felt able to express their views and did not feel pressured into adopting a particular position. This deliberative ideal was therefore approximated to a very high standard.

- **Other-regarding deliberation.** The large majority of jurors respected and listened to each other. Two juries put substantial effort into considering different perspectives and keeping an open mind. Lack of diversity of views in the other jury was a key factor preventing a more balanced consideration of perspectives. Nonetheless, appeals to the common good, rather than self-interest, largely formed the basis for deliberation across all juries.

- **Reasoned deliberation.** Across the juries, participants offered reasons to support their views particularly on Day 2; accordingly, the trend towards justification increased as the process advanced. There were, nonetheless, limitations in terms of how much the jurors scrutinised each other and discussed potential contradictions and trade-offs implied in the principles. The key reason for this was time constraints, as shown in Chapter 4.

  The level of scrutiny between jurors, and between jurors and witnesses varied from jury to jury. For example, once again, lack of diversity of perspectives in one jury skewed the scrutiny in favour of anti-wind witnesses and jurors. We have argued that this jury constitutes an illustrative case of Sunstein's "law of group polarisation" (2002, 2009) –i.e. lack of diverse perspectives limits the pool of information and reasons that can be considered during deliberation, which further reduces the diversity of the group by polarising more moderate views. In the absence of counter-arguments, groups tend to move towards stronger positions in the direction of their pre-existing views (Delli Carpini et al 2004: 325; Sunstein 2002: 176-177). In our study, some Helensburgh jurors shifted towards strongly negative views about wind farms, while others reinforced pre-existing negative views. In Aberfeldy and Coldstream, which featured more diverse viewpoints, the effect of deliberation was moderation of their (on average) initially stronger positive assessment of the impact of wind energy in Scotland. The effect of mixing can be to produce moderation (Sunstein 2009: 48), which highlights the impact of diversity, but also the importance of reasoned counter-argumentation and challenge.

- **Inclusive and equal participation.** The juries provided a supportive environment where jurors helped each other to participate. Many felt growing confidence and trust as the process advanced. Not all the jurors participated equally across all the sessions, but everyone participated at some stage and in one form or another. Some jurors may not visibly participate in a particular session and yet feel included in the outcomes. For example, they may agree with what's been said and feel represented by other jurors' contributions, or they may prefer to focus on listening and thinking and express their views by other means (e.g. votes, written cards, prioritising exercises). This highlights the importance of providing ways of participating beyond speech. However, quality deliberation still requires that jurors justify their views and hence such 'silent' ways of participating may only be deliberative if others actually articulate those arguments

during the discussions that lead to the decisions. In these juries, the majority of participants said that the agreed principles reflected their views to a large extent, and that they felt included in influencing the outcomes of the juries.

- **Unbiased facilitation.** Our analysis has shown that facilitation contributed to ensure the effectiveness, fairness and impartiality of the process. Given the demanding task and time constraints, facilitation was instrumental in supporting the jurors by creating a safe environment for deliberation where both consensus and disagreement were valued and engaged. Undoubtedly, no amount of process design and facilitation skill can prevent the need for improvisation and the unavoidable mistakes that facilitators can make 'live' as they try to navigate the complex dynamics and relationships at play. Here, there were instances in which the facilitators struggled to distribute airtime effectively and manage the relationship between dominant participants and their jury. Nonetheless, there was a high level of satisfaction by jurors with the assistance provided by the facilitators. The key lesson here is that despite some mistakes and shortcomings, if the jurors perceive that organisers and facilitators have done their best to keep the process fair, enjoyable and interesting then they will usually do their best to make it work.

An important point fleshed out in our analysis is that to foster deliberative quality facilitators must be impartial, but not neutral. They must be impartial about the topics discussed, but not neutral about the process of discussion. The chapter also illustrates how crucial it is to involve experienced and skilled facilitators – both for the design and for facilitating on the day– to keep the process collaborative and constructive. The risk of disregarding this input can be a process that fails to achieve its deliberative objectives and potentially alienates participants from participating again.

Citizens' juries offer a high quality deliberative space where desirable rules of communication and interaction can be, to a large extent, effectively implemented. It can be argued that this is an 'artificial' space 'engineered' to foster certain communication patterns. And we would argue that that is precisely the point (see Escobar 2014a; Escobar 2014c: Chapters 6-7). Often, 'natural' spaces for public discussion can be hindered by the problems that deliberative design and facilitation seek to avoid (e.g. coercion, disrespect, lack of listening, lack of inclusion, dominant voices, etc). In this sense, those 'natural' spaces can be also seen as 'engineered', but by the inequalities of participation and influence that characterise the broader society. Accordingly, they can produce undesirable and unproductive dynamics and, in that light, these 'artificial' designs seek to disrupt the status quo. The high standards of deliberative quality achieved within citizens' juries may be difficult to replicate in more conventional public forums, which are not necessarily designed to enable high quality deliberation

As shown in this chapter, some indicators of quality improved from jury to jury, perhaps due to the refinement of the process and the various techniques as facilitators and organisers incorporated ongoing learning. This highlights the importance of experience, developed by replicating and refining a particular process design, and has clear implications for adapting this type of forum for actual decision-making. Despite certain characteristics common to all

citizens' juries, there is variation with regard to the type of task, the sequence of sessions, the formats and techniques used and so on. Therefore, it is difficult to judge the worth of a particular design until the organising team has developed it through successive iterations.

This suggests a note of caution with regard to deciding about the mainstreaming of deliberative engagement processes on the basis of individual pilots: if public authorities want to foster high quality deliberative processes of this kind, they should build capacity through sustained practice over time (see Chapter 10.3).

Chapter 6 - The juries' principles for onshore wind farm development

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter presents and analyses the principles created and agreed by the 3 citizens' juries in response to their task. In Chapter 3, we explained how the task was decided and the challenges of organising the juries. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 opened a window into the jury process, analysing key dynamics across the juries and the quality of participation and deliberation. Here, we turn our attention to what the juries managed to produce despite the challenges explored in previous Chapters.

The Jury's Task

"There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.

What should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development, and why?"

In particular, we address two important research questions in this project, namely: what principles for decision making would a diverse group of citizens propose if they had the opportunity to learn and deliberate about the topic? And would different groups, going through the same jury process, generate similar principles? This question is important because it presents a dilemma for decision makers – i.e. how to interpret and use the results if different juries produce different verdicts?

Before proceeding, we must mention three important caveats:

- **These principles cannot be considered to represent the views of the towns where the juries were conducted.** As explained in Chapter 3, the jurors were selected to reflect a diversity of backgrounds according to key Scottish demographics. Citizens' juries feature a very small sample of citizens and thus the aim is not statistical representation but demographic and attitudinal diversity[30]. Put simply, these juries should not be seen as speaking for their towns (see Chapter 10.3).

- All **participants were clearly informed** that the task of generating the principles was for the research purposes of testing the citizens' jury format, and not to determine current policy or decisions on wind farms.

- The principles **reflect what these particular juries agreed** should be key principles to guide decision-making on onshore wind farms. This does not reflect the views of the researchers and organisers of the project

In Chapter 4, we gave a detailed account of the intensive work carried out by the jurors to accomplish a very broad task in a very limited time. All the juries succeeded in generating the principles, but were not given the time to work through and resolve potential contradictions, trade-offs and implementation details, nor to agree a written articulation of the reasons behind each principle. Those reasons – the 'why' in the task – were nonetheless shared along the process. To be clear, these limitations reflect shortcomings in the design and implementation of the juries, rather than in the capacity of the jurors. As previous Chapters indicate, the jurors could have taken the task further if they had been given a more realistic timeframe.

In the process of discussing and formulating principles based of individual views and collective work

Each jury was tasked with developing a set of principles to guide decision-making about wind farm developments in Scotland. They were not given instructions on what dimensions

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[30] This was achieved to a greater extent in 2 out of the 3 juries (see Chapter 3).

these principles should include. They decided on the issues through a process that enabled the expression of individual priorities and concerns without group pressures (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). At the end of Day 1 (Information Phase), each juror was asked to write on a postcard "whatever matters most to you on this issue". At the start of Day 2 (Deliberative Phase), the postcards were returned to the jurors. They then shared them with the group and reflected on whether they still represented their thoughts after the 2-3 weeks break. The organisers captured key ideas on cards that were then displayed for the jurors to check for accuracy.

Then the jury reviewed the ideas and, assisted by a facilitator, clustered them by themes thus finding shared areas of interest. Those themes structured the agenda for deliberation. The jury was then split into two groups, and they discussed each theme to generate proposals for principles. This was completed by lunchtime. After the break, both groups reconvened in plenary to share, discuss, reconcile or rethink the proposals and then vote on the final principles. Next, the jurors were asked to vote on the principles that best reflected their priorities, which produced a ranking. Then, there was a short session to discuss potential contradictions and trade-offs, but there was no time to refine the statements accordingly. By the end, the jury as a whole had agreed the final principles – built through a process that went from each juror's individual priorities at the end of Day 1, to collective statements based on deliberation on Day 2.

6.2. Principles formulated and agreed by each jury

In this section we present the set of principles as formulated and agreed by each jury. Table 6.1 offers the key to understand the different components featured in the subsequent tables below. We deal with each jury in turn.

Table 6.1 Key to the tables featuring the principles

ID.	Principles	Votes per principle	Ranking exercise
This is an ID number to identify each principle	This is the text of the principle as written and agreed by the jury	These are the number of votes, by show of hands, for each principle as they were proposed in turn during the plenary session. They reflect the strength of agreement on each principle.	This is the ranking of each principle according to a prioritising exercise conducted after all principles had been individually agreed. It reflects the priority level given to each principle in reference to the whole set. The highest ranking is 1.

6.2.1 Principles from the Coldstream Citizens' Jury

ID.	Coldstream Principles	Votes per principle	Ranking exercise
P1	We should also reduce energy demand/use (e.g. by education)	14 Agree 1 Unsure	1
P2	Decisions should be evidence based. Evidence should be: • Clear & transparent • Source of evidence clear, or independent • Of a high standard • Up to date & relevant • Identify impacts & benefits • Identify who benefits & who pays • Identify the motivation (developer) • Agree definitions & terms of reference • Provide proof of efficiency benefits • Include experience from other communities • Include any legal considerations	Consensus	2
P3	We should monitor positive & negative impacts of wind farms & be willing to adapt or remove the windmills accordingly	13 Agree 1 Disagree 1 Unsure	2
P4	Efficiency should be defined transparently. Comparisons of efficiency should include total costs: • Long lasting • Construction cost • Running cost • Decommissioning cost • Reliability of supply • Security/risk • CO_2/environmental cost	13 Agree 2 Unsure	3
P5	There should be a limit to the number/density of windmills in any one area	9 Agree 5 Disagree 1 Unsure	3
P6	Local community should be surveyed, listened to and involved in the decision-making	Consensus	4
P7	We should explore & exploit all sources of energy including fossil fuels	10 Agree 4 Disagree 1 Unsure	4
P8	Develop the best renewable energy source for the location	13 Agree 2 Unsure	5

P9	When considering impacts/benefits the following things must be taken into consideration: • Effect on tourism • Environmental quality • Future of humanity • Quality of life • Look at the longer term timescale • Effects on existing infrastructure • Wind farms should benefit the whole community (money, employment, energy from farm)	11 Agree 2 Disagree 1 Unsure	6
P10	Wind farms could be a potential tourist attraction	10 Agree 4 Disagree 1 Unsure	7
P11	Be willing to review the decision in the light of the evidence	Consensus	8
P12	The decision on wind farm should seek to minimize negative impacts	13 Agree 2 Unsure	8

The votes by each principle reflect a high level of agreement (consensus or large majority) in the following areas:

- reducing energy consumption (P1),

- ensuring the high quality of evidence for decision-making (P2),

- monitoring and reviewing wind farm developments (P3, P11),

- analysing efficiency on the basis of several dimensions (P4),

- considering what renewable sources are appropriate for a given location (P8),

- involving local communities in decision-making (P6).

In turn, the principles that elicited some disagreement (a narrower majority) were those about establishing limits to the number of wind turbines in an area (P5), and reframing wind farms as potential tourist attractions (P10). The latter was actually ranked very low, whereas the former ranked high thus showing the strength of feeling by those who supported them. The highest-ranking principle (P1) suggests that the jury's concern went beyond energy generation and developments and highlighted the importance of public responsibility in reducing energy consumption in order to ease issues of supply. Other high-ranked principles reflect that the desire for clear evidence – specifically to inform decisions, efficiency, and monitoring – and community engagement were top priorities for the Coldstream jurors. Significantly, some of the least elaborated principles were ranked the lowest (P12, P11, P8). In contrast, despite time constraints, the jurors tried to specify different components deemed relevant within some of the more complex statements (P2, P4, P9).

We must note that principle 7 ("We should explore & exploit all sources of energy, including fossil fuels") superseded a previous proposal ("We should explore & exploit only renewable

sources of energy"), which had also generated considerable support (10 Agree, 5 Disagree). As explained in Chapter 4, the discussion on these principles created some confusion due to lack of clarity in the voting procedure and mounting exhaustion. Our interpretation is that after the "only renewables" principle was discussed, some jurors were persuaded to change their mind, and voted for principle 7 instead. Rather than a contradiction, this reflects how deliberation can foster the reconsideration of preferences. Nonetheless, given the confusion we found in the data, we note this point here for transparency purposes.

It is also important to note that the smaller number of principles generated by Coldstream is due to running out of time in the morning and having to cover their theme on 'Planning & Strategy' after lunchtime. This reduced the time left for formulating and agreeing the final principles. The jury was thus affected by being the first to test the process design (see Chapter 4).

6.2.2 Principles from the Helensburgh Citizens' Jury

ID.	Helensburgh Principles	Votes per principle	Ranking exercise
P1	There should be a full environmental impact assessment, independently undertaken & funded by energy companies including: • Impact on all species • Construction • Large-scale visual imaging • Visual impact • Tourism	Consensus	1
P2	There should be independent impartial cost benefit analysis and comparison of all energy sources by a qualified body so that all costs (financial, social and environmental etc) can be quantified and qualified and decisions can be made that ensure personal and general public benefit	Consensus	2
P3	If a credible, open, honest body gave full, impartial information to the public, an inclusive & informed decision could be made about the pros & cons of wind farms	Consensus	3
P4	There should be comparative research to inform the public about the alternatives so that they can all be considered and we should choose the appropriate alternatives where the financial and environmental benefits outweigh the costs	Consensus	3
P5	Wind farm costs should not be passed on to household electricity bills	13 Agree 1 Disagree	4
P6	Costs & benefits should be regularly reviewed in an independent & evidence based way, to ensure that the business case remains valid. The costs & benefits should be presented together and openly available to the public	Consensus	5

P7	Windfarm development should be funded from private investment only, with all future 'restoration' costs fully funded by developers up front	13 Agree 1 Unsure	5
P8	Wildlife and environmental protection should be a fundamental consideration, and energy companies should fund independent monitoring and conservation	Consensus	6
P9	Energy generation should be nationalised	8 Agree 3 Disagree 3 Unsure	7
P10	Small scale alternatives should be encouraged/enforced on all new build properties (housing/commercial) e.g. solar panels, heat exchangers	10 Agree 1 Disagree 3 Unsure	8
P11	Energy use in the home should be reduced	11 Agree 3 Disagree	8
P12	Minority statement: We should be able to TRUST the evidence; it should be: • Impartial • Funding source clear • Cover both sides (pros, cons, costs & benefits)	6 Agree 4 Disagree 4 Unsure	9
P13	Any conditions imposed on developers must be enforced (e.g. dismantling a road)	Consensus	10
P14	There should be no wind farms because of their environmental impact (no evidence of benefits)	10 Agree 1 Disagree 3 Unsure	10

The Helensburgh principles show a striking level of consensus on all top-ranked statements, and half of all the principles were unanimously agreed – reflecting this jury's cohesion and homogeneity of views as analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 8. The votes per principle reflect a high level of agreement (consensus or large majority) in the following areas:

- conducting impact assessments, cost benefit analysis and comparisons of energy sources that consider a range of dimensions (P1, P2, P4),

- ensuring the independence of the sources that provide evidence to inform decision-making (P1, P2, P3),

- ensuring that wind farm development and ongoing costs are funded by private investment[31] (P5, P7, P8),
- the importance of monitoring and reviewing (P6, P13).

In turn, the votes also reflect some areas of lesser agreement, namely regarding the reduction of household energy consumption (P11), the nationalisation of energy production (P9), and the foundations for trustworthy evidence (P12). Moreover, P12 was left as a minority statement because there was no time to further unpack, discuss and rework it to find a broader agreement around different notions of trust in evidence. As in Coldstream, the clearer principles became the top-ranked, whereas those that needed further unpacking and development received little support in the prioritising exercise. This almost splits the principles in two halves, with the top including statements that broadly elicited consensus, and the bottom half reflecting lesser agreement.

There were two other principles proposed but defeated in the voting (i.e. the majority disagreed). One stated: "The only alternative energy should be nuclear" and was voted down by a large majority (Agree 3; Disagree 11). Nonetheless, this proposal indicates support for nuclear energy in Helensburgh, perhaps explained by the town's location near a nuclear submarine base. The principle was rejected because of its formulation ('only nuclear'), which didn't chime with the jury's views on the desirability of a broader energy mix including other renewables (e.g. hydro, solar).

The second principle that was voted down stated: "There should be no wind farms in natural places that people value" (Agree 1; Disagree 12; Unsure 1). This statement was rejected because the jury disagreed with the premise and most jurors thought that there were more important criteria for rejecting wind farms. They demonstrated this in P14, where the majority voted that there shouldn't be wind farms because of their environmental impact and, they argued, lack of evidence of any benefits.

It is significant that this strong anti-wind farms statement was given the lowest priority ranking. It perhaps reflects an ongoing tension between normative ideals and pragmatism, accentuated by the fact that there was a new wind farm proposal for the area while the jury took place. Despite most jurors consolidating or developing negative views about wind farms throughout the process (see Chapters 4, 5, 8), the highest ranked principles clearly reflect a pragmatic approach to stipulating conditions for wind farm development. Another example of how the jury combined the normative and the pragmatic is the statement of support for nationalising energy production eventually, while demanding across other principles private funding for various development, research and decommissioning costs in the meantime (P1, P5, P7, P8).

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[31] The apparent contradiction between these statements and the principle on re-nationalising energy production was not addressed due to the time constraints alluded earlier.

6.2.3 Principles from the Aberfeldy Citizens' Jury

No.	Aberfeldy Principles	Votes per principle	Ranking exercise
P1	There should be a clear, unbiased assessment of the pros and cons of wind farms (including environmental, financial, health…) and these should be compared and presented side by side, and communicated in a balanced and unbiased way. Local communities affected by a proposed wind farm should be provided with full, unbiased information about pros and cons (not just local)	Consensus	1
P2	There should be a clear benefit to the economy • e.g. manufacture turbines etc in Scotland • e.g. local training schemes to keep jobs in the local area (post construction)	Consensus	2
P3	We should use the energy resources we have here in Scotland/UK for energy security in a balanced, mixed energy system	17 Agree 1 Unsure	2
P4	Consensus statement: There should be control of the number of wind turbines in any region… Majority statement: …through a cap proportionate to amenity value and wind resource	Consensus 17 Agree 1 Unsure	3
P5	Environmental impact should rule over financial gain to the wind farm developer & land owner	17 Agree 1 Unsure	4
P6	We accept that there will be some visual impact from wind farms – but this should be minimised, especially in areas of natural beauty or tourism	Consensus	5
P7	Government should increase funding for research and development of new, clean sources of energy	Consensus	5
P8	Majority statement: Traditional energy sources can be part of the energy mix if they are made cleaner, but they must be phased out and replaced by 100% renewables Minority statement: Traditional energy sources should be continued to be part of the future energy mix – if we make them cleaner	15 Agree 2 Disagree 1 Unsure 9 Agree 6 Disagree 3 Unsure	6

P9	There should be an assessment of the impact on all wildlife which might be affected; and the wind farm development should seek to minimise these impacts	16 Agree 2 Disagree	7
P10	There should be a clear assessment of the benefit of wind farms as a source of clean energy – in comparison with other sources of energy. This assessment should include construction and sourcing materials (mining & transport)	Consensus	8
P11	We should minimise impact on human and natural activities	Consensus	9
P12	Money should be made available by the wind farm operator to the local community, more evenly shared out, and made more easily accessible, and better know about.	Consensus	10
P13	We should accept that onshore wind power is a short term solution and have a flexible, adaptable long term plan	14 Agree 2 Disagree 2 Unsure	11
P14	Local views should be considered and reasons given as to why they are over ridden	Consensus	11
P15	We should lead by example by doing what we can to reduce emissions: Including reducing our energy use Adapting to climate change's impacts	15 Agree 3 Unsure	12
P16	Consensus statement: Local people should have the opportunity to air their views and be listened to about a proposed wind farm. Majority statement: "…air their views, be listened to and vote about a proposed wind farm."	Consensus 14 Agree 3 Disagree 1 Unsure	13

As seen above, the Aberfeldy jurors added nuance to their principles by occasionally agreeing a consensus or majority statement while acknowledging minority statements in the final set. The votes per principle reflect broad areas of consensus, or majority agreement, around principles related to:

- the quality of evidence to consider the development of wind farms according to local and national priorities and in comparative terms (P1, P10).
- the economic and community benefits of wind farms locally and nationally (P2, P12),
- achieving energy security through a balanced energy mix (P3),
- establishing limits to the number of turbines per area (P4),
- minimising the negative impacts of wind farm developments (P5, P6, P9, P10, P11),

- developing new sources of clean energy (P7, P8),
- the importance of involving local people in decision-making (P14, P16).

In turn, issues eliciting some disagreement related to minimising impacts on wildlife (P9), using local referenda (P16), considering wind farms as a short-term solution (P13), and reflecting on the future of traditional energy sources (P8). The latter (P8) stimulated debate about the potential for making traditional energy sources cleaner and whether they should nonetheless be phased out and replaced by renewables. The minority statement reflects the views of those who supported keeping traditional sources if they became cleaner. However, the discussion led to a majority eventually supporting the aim of 100% renewables.

It is striking that the majority of principles (10 out of the total 16) had consensus support, especially given the diversity of views in this jury. In the case of Helensburgh we noted the increasing cohesion of the group as a potential factor to explain the consensus-based agreement on half of the principles. Significantly, the Aberfeldy jury provides a counterfactual case. This group didn't feature progressively homogeneous views, and yet it largely generated consensus-based principles. This suggests that group diversity can form a strong basis for finding common ground and agreement as much as group homogeneity.

Facilitator follows the jurors' instructions during the formulation, discussion and voting of principles to guide decision-making on wind farm development in Scotland

Aberfeldy is located in an area that has had large wind farms for some time, and perhaps this is reflected in this jury's more positive attitudes to them in comparison to Helensburgh (see Chapter 8). Nonetheless, the principles from Aberfeldy do not reflect an uncritical stance in favour of wind farm development. Rather they take into account certain critiques of wind farms when elaborating parameters to guide future developments. This is also reflected in the evolution of individual opinions in this jury. As we will see in Chapter 8, although the jurors remained in general largely positive about wind farms, the jury process moderated (on average) their views about the overall impact of wind energy in Scotland.

Aberfeldy also features several principles (P1, P14, P16) that emphasise the role of community involvement in decision-making about wind farms. It is noteworthy that a related minority statement was voted down. The consensus statement (P14) states: "Local views should be considered and reasons given as to why they are over ridden". And the proposed minority statement would add to it: "…and should have the final say if opinion is overwhelming." This was strongly rejected (2 Agree, 10 Disagree, 6 Unsure), reflecting perhaps concerns expressed by this jury about risks of local "nimbyism", as well as the tensions between local and national interests.

6.3. Similarities and differences between principles across the juries

We find striking similarities between the principles across the juries, despite the differences between the juries explored in previous Chapters. To examine this overlap systematically, and highlight shared areas of concern as well as differences, a team of 7 categorised the principles through thematic coding[32]. In a nutshell, we derived a total of 9 themes that cover the 42 principles across the juries. Table 6.2 outlines the themes and their description.

Table 6.2 Themes and descriptions

Theme	Description
Energy mix	Principles that referred to the desirable mix of energy sources for Scotland, as well as ideas pertaining to research and development of alternative energy sources and the comparison between different energy sources to facilitate decision-making about energy futures. The theme captures the broader context within which the jurors situated their deliberations and resulting principles.
Impact	Principles about the range of impacts (positive or negative) of wind farm development, including ideas on what should be measured and how impact should inform decisions about wind farms.
Evidence	Principles that emphasised the importance and characteristics of the evidence to be obtained and considered when deciding on wind farm developments.

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[32] This was an iterative process using both inductive and abductive logics (Blaikie 2007). Firstly, the 2 authors of this report, and 1 of the organisers, worked separately on open coding (i.e. inducing themes from the principles). Then we had a workshop to check whether we had coded in similar fashion and discuss and refine the codes until they were reconciled and consolidated. To check whether the codes had been used consistently, 4 researchers from outwith the core team (Dr. Leslie Mabon, Dr. Claire Hagget, Darcy Pimblett and Prof. Zoe Shipton) were asked to separately apply the codes across all the principles. When there was clear disagreement between these additional coders, the principle in question was double-coded. This resulted in the themes represented in the Table above.

Limits	Principles that focus on ideas about limits, or restrictions, to wind farm development.
Public responsibility in energy use	Principles to do with the responsibility of citizens regarding energy use.
Who should benefit?	Principles that consider who benefits, or should benefit, from wind farm developments.
Who should pay?	Principles that focus on who should and/or should not pay for the development of wind farms.
Monitoring and reviewing	Principles that relate to the monitoring and reviewing of wind farm developments, and how the outcomes of doing so should be considered.
Public involvement in decision-making	Principles that reflect ideas on community participation in the decision-making process.

Table 6.3 shows the number of principles categorised under each theme per jury, and will help us to highlight the similarities and differences across the juries.

Table 6.3 Number of principles per theme

Themes	Coldstream	Helensburgh	Aberfeldy	Total
Energy mix	3	3	5	11
Impact	2	3	6	11
Evidence	2	5	3	10
Limits	1	1	2	4
Public responsibility in energy use	1	1	1	3
Who should benefit?	2	2	3	7
Who should pay?	-	3	-	3
Monitoring & reviewing	2	2	-	4
Public involvement in decision-making	1	-	3	4

The jurors, as noted earlier, were not given a predetermined set of dimensions to consider. Considering the open nature of the task, it is significant that the majority of principles fall within 6 themes present across the 3 juries, namely:

- the desirable energy mix for Scotland,

- the range of negative and positive impacts that should be taken into account for decision-making,
- the characteristics of the evidence required for decision-making,
- the question of who should benefit from this energy source,
- the limits to wind farm development,
- and the role of public responsibility i.e. reducing energy consumption.

We now take these shared themes in turn to highlight similarities and differences between juries, noting that some of these principles were agreed by consensus whilst others were only agreed on by a majority:

- **Energy mix –** All the juries created several principles about the desirable energy mix for Scotland, and this was one of the largest thematic blocks (11 principles). They all emphasised the need for transparent and systematic comparison of alternative sources of energy to inform decision-making, and outlined key dimensions for comparison (e.g. financial, social, environmental). The difference between juries pertains to the type of energy mix. Coldstream, after coming close to agreeing on focussing exclusively on renewable energy, stipulated that all sources, including fossil fuels, should be explored and exploited, and emphasised the need to determine the renewable sources best suited for any given location. Helensburgh also stated that all sources should be considered, including renewables, albeit not necessarily onshore wind power. In contrast, Aberfeldy emphasised the importance of renewables and cleaner energy sources more than the other juries, and agreed that the desirable future energy mix should be based solely on renewables. Interestingly, this was also the jury where energy security was highlighted as a key motivation for a diverse energy mix.

- **Impacts –** This thematic block included as many principles as the previous (11 principles). The juries shared similar concerns about negative impacts regarding landscape, tourism and wildlife, but there was a fundamental difference. Helensburgh focussed mainly on negative impacts, whereas Coldstream and Aberfeldy also considered the positives. This relates to previous analysis (Chapter 5) of the unbalanced scrutiny of evidence and arguments in Helensburgh, which favoured anti-wind farm views and reflected this preference in the principles. The only reference to benefits is found in this jury's mention of the importance of evidence based on cost-benefit analysis. In contrast, Coldstream and Aberfeldy offer more balanced attention to negative and positive impacts. Both juries feature principles on "minimising" negative environmental and social impacts. But they also include principles on maximising positive impacts for local communities including employment, community funds and other benefits. In addition, both juries consider impacts regarding climate change and energy security – expressed, for instance, in Coldstream by reference to the "future of humanity" and "longer term timescale" and in Aberfeldy to "phasing out fossil fuels and replacing with 100% renewables".

- **Evidence** – This was the second largest thematic block (10 principles). There are many similarities between these principles. For example, they all emphasise certain characteristics for desirable sources of evidence, including transparency, independence and impartiality, and call for "clear" and "unbiased information" on the "pros and cons". All the juries refer to the importance of evidence not only for decision makers but also for "local communities" and "the public". Moreover, they outline numerous criteria and dimensions for research. The differences between juries are smaller than the previous two themes. For example, Coldstream is the only jury that includes in the evidence "experiences from other communities", perhaps explained by the fact that this was the only location with no experience of proposed or established wind farms. Helensburgh featured more principles (5 in total) under this theme than the other juries, and insisted on the use of techniques that they deemed impartial (i.e. cost-benefit analysis; large-scale visual imaging, environmental impact assessment). The contents of those 5 principles convey a strong belief in the role that evidence may play in resolving disputes and providing clear direction for decision-making. That belief in technical resolution perhaps explains why this jury did not create a principle about public involvement in decision-making. All in all, the insistence by all juries in specifying the desirable qualities of evidence ("clear", "unbiased") seems a logical response to the complex, contradictory and contested evidence that they faced during the Information Phase.

- **Who should benefit?** – Principles on this theme (7 in total) varied across the juries. Coldstream and Aberfeldy emphasised securing community benefits and maximising economic benefits locally and nationally (e.g. employment, training, tourism, manufacturing). Aberfeldy went further and added a principle signalling that public interest (i.e. "environmental impact") should overrule financial gain by private interests (i.e. "developers and land owners"). Helensburgh did not stipulate a principle on benefit to communities. It nonetheless had two statements broadly related to who should benefit; one referred to making decisions that "ensure personal and general public benefit", and the other proposed to nationalise energy generation. The focus was thus on a broader notion of the public interest.

There were two themes that emerged in all the juries, but with markedly fewer principles than the previous themes:

- **Limits** – All the juries included some statement about establishing limits to wind farm development. Following the pattern already noted, Coldstream and Aberfeldy produced similar principles stipulating that there should be a limit to the number and density of turbines per area, with Aberfeldy stating that this should entail a "cap proportionate to amenity value and wind resource". In contrast, Helensburgh posited implicitly that the limit might have already been reached by stating: "there should be no wind farms".

- **Public responsibility in energy use** – The final theme shared across the juries, with principles written in similar terms, was that of paying attention not only to energy generation but also demand, thus insisting on reducing energy use.

There were three themes that only emerged in some of the juries, namely:

- **Monitoring and reviewing –** Coldstream and Helensburgh elaborated similar principles, emphasising the need to regularly monitor the impacts of wind farms and review decisions accordingly. Helensburgh also added a principle on "enforcing" commitments by developers (e.g. "dismantling a road" for access). In contrast, Aberfeldy did not stipulate a specific principle on this theme. This may reflect the different contexts of the juries, with Aberfeldy being the only location with an existing wind farm nearby.

- **Who should pay? –** This theme emerged only in the Helensburgh jury, which created three principles stating that the costs of wind farm development, impact assessment, and decommissioning should be funded by private investment. In addition to rejecting public funding support, another principle stated that "costs should not be passed on to households". Coldstream and Aberfeldy did not feature this theme and, as shown above, focussed more on specifying who should benefit at local and national level. Nonetheless, these juries did refer during discussions to the issue of private funding of research, and questioned the impartiality of privately funded studies.

- **Public involvement in decision-making –** There were similar principles under this theme in Coldstream and Aberfeldy. The former stipulated that local communities should be "listened to and involved in the decision-making". The latter elaborated further, specifying that communities should be provided with unbiased information, involved through deliberation and voting, and responded to with a reasoned explanation about decisions. This perhaps reflects Aberfeldy's experience with wind farm development over the years. This theme was not found in the Helensburgh principles. As shown in Chapter 4, Helensburgh jurors seemed satisfied with existing mechanisms for consultation (e.g. public meetings and hearings, community councils). In contrast, Coldstream and Aberfeldy mentioned new mechanisms including the citizens' jury format.

There was another area of similarity implicit across the juries. Namely, long-term thinking seems to underpin a considerable part of principles. This was the case when considering the desirable energy mix, the impacts to be discussed in wind farm development plans, the characteristics of the evidence, and the issue of public responsibility for energy consumption. Clearly, long-term environmental concerns were central in the jurors' considerations, although they differed in their view on the role that wind power should play. References to monitoring and reviewing wind farms also denote long-term thinking, and suggest concern for ensuring that decisions can be revised in light of future evidence.

Admittedly, the task faced by these juries was rather broad and this may have opened more space for long-term thinking than a narrower task such as 'should a new wind farm be developed in this area?' Nonetheless, the principles show that the jurors did not merely focus on immediate issues and interests, and put considerable effort into developing and agreeing principles based on long-term thinking. This is an important finding for policy makers considering what citizens' juries may contribute to current decision-making processes.

6.4. Conclusions: Three juries, three verdicts?

This Chapter has illustrated the capacity demonstrated by the juries to engage in long-term thinking and propose a range of principles that could guide decision-making about wind farm developments in Scotland. There is evidence from the survey data that the jurors' individual opinions evolved differently in each jury (Chapter 8). This highlights the significance of one of the findings in this Chapter, namely, that all the juries focused their efforts on a few, largely common, themes. This suggests that, despite their differences, there was significant overlap in terms of what mattered most to each jury when thinking about decisions on wind farm development. The majority of principles across the 3 juries correspond to 6 themes, with the first four being the most important:

- the desirable energy mix for Scotland,
- the range of negative and positive impacts that should be taken into account for decision-making,
- the characteristics of the evidence required for decision-making,
- the question of who should benefit from this energy source
- the limits to wind farm development
- and the role of public responsibility i.e. reducing energy consumption,

The principles generated by Coldstream and Aberfeldy shared many similarities, both in terms of the themes covered and the statements within them, while Helensburgh was similar on the former and distinctive on latter.

The differences between the principles, when considered in the light of our wider analyses (Chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8), reflect the idiosyncrasies of each jury's composition (e.g. diversity of views) and evolution throughout the deliberative process (e.g. impact of witnesses, scrutiny of evidence), as well as the context of their location (Coldstream: no wind farms but several large wind farms in the Borders region; Helensburgh: proposed wind farms, nearby or visible from town and the nearby nuclear deterrent submarine service providing local employment; Aberfeldy: existing wind farms nearby, not visible from town).

Interestingly, despite rejecting onshore wind power in favour of other energy sources, the Helensburgh jury spent much time and effort outlining principles related to the quality of evidence, measurement of impacts and energy mix considerations to be assessed when deciding about wind farm developments. Accordingly, the jury took a pragmatic approach to the task and set out parameters for practice beyond normative arguments about the desirability of this energy source.

Our analysis of the voting and ranking of principles across the juries shows how people with diverse perspectives and backgrounds can deliberate, find common ground and decide on complex issues in a very short period of time (see also Chapters 4 and 5). This seems remarkable given that these people had never worked together before, and half of them had never taken part in any type of civic engagement.

All juries managed to agree principles on the basis of consensus or large majorities. In the case of Helensburgh this may have been expected given the homogeneity of views developed by the jury. However, this was also the case in Coldstream and Aberfeldy, which were more diverse in viewpoints. This illustrates how diversity and difference of opinion can form a basis for finding common ground and agree principles, which is as strong as homogeneity and like-mindedness. The importance of this cannot be overstated, and indeed echoes decades of learning on dialogue and consensus-building (Escobar 2011, Forester 2009, Susskind et al). This suggests that difference and disagreement are not only important democratic goods, but also crucial deliberative ingredients for robust policy-making. As this Chapter has shown, the more diverse juries agreed principles containing a more balanced consideration of the negatives and positives of wind farm development.

In the end, should we conclude that 3 citizens' juries on the same topic in 3 different locations reached different verdicts, and is this problematic in terms of using this process in decision-making? This task did not entail a yes-or-no verdict, and therefore comparing the results is not straightforward. Nonetheless, our analysis finds similar verdicts in the two juries (Coldstream and Aberfeldy) that featured higher diversity and deliberative quality (see Chapters 3, 4, 5), and a somewhat different verdict in the jury that didn't include a range of perspectives and arguments. Another factor may have been that Helensburgh was the only jury with 'live' wind farm proposals, although half of the jurors had not heard about it. We revisit these issues in Chapters 7 and 8.

Different citizens' juries dealing with the same topic may therefore produce different outcomes (cf. Goodin 2008: 115). This can be accentuated by the fact that citizens' juries involve a very small sample and therefore are not statistically representative of their population. This makes each jury somewhat unique, and the results may depend on the jurors' diversity and how this influences the deliberative process, as well as factors such as the quality of the evidence presented (see Chapter 7). In any case, as Smith argues (2009:101), expecting otherwise from citizens' juries seems unrealistic: "All we can reasonably hope is that they come to considered judgments that reflect the demands of their particular context". The same logic applies to elected bodies, which can also reach different conclusions on the basis of their composition, and deliberative work, at any given time.

In our view, the problem in terms of using citizens' juries in policy making is not necessarily whether different juries in different locations may come up with different verdicts. The point of using locality-based citizens juries is precisely to tap into local knowledge, values and priorities. More challenging is the question of what is the appropriate level of engagement for a particular policy topic (i.e. local, regional, national, international). Citizens' juries must be populated by participants from across the appropriate level. For research and logistic purposes (see Chapter 3), we chose to mix two levels, and ask locality-based juries to take on a national question (i.e. principles for wind farm development). The challenge for policy makers is to determine the appropriate level for a given issue taking into account its scope and the local and national interests at stake.

Chapter 7 - Learning through deliberation: evidence, expertise and interaction

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Read this chapter if you are interested in:

- The information, evidence and perspectives shared in the jury.
- How jurors' knowledge and learning was measured and assessed.
- Evidence of jurors' learning in the process, when this occurred and on what topics.
- How the process can be refined and improved to enhance learning.

Outline

7.1. Introduction

7.2. Information and evidence shared in the jury

7.3. (What) did the jurors know, and what did they learn?

7.4. Juror reflections on learning over the course of the jury process

7.5. Assessing evidence and learning

7.6. Conclusions

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7.1. Introduction

In deliberative processes such as citizens' juries, participants should be supported to learn more about the topic in hand, so that they can develop considered judgements (see Chapter 5). Information is provided largely at the start of the process, giving opportunity to correct information errors. Other modes of learning are supported throughout with the aim of developing a sense of the complexities of the topic (uncertainties, conflicts and trade-offs), and learn about the different values that people hold. In addition, jurors may develop skills on how to find common ground, how to articulate a viewpoint or how reach compromises.

Currently, there is limited understanding about when substantial learning takes place (cf. Goodin 2008; Fishkin 2009; Grolund et al 2014), and about the different types of knowledge developed during the deliberative process. Furthermore, little is known about what types of learning may have the greatest effect on opinion changes. Our mixed methods approach sought to provide insight into these dimensions.

In this chapter, we first introduce the different opportunities for learning during the phases of the citizens' jury process. Section 7.2 outlines the information, evidence and perspectives to which the jurors were exposed, and how this evidence was delivered. This section details

how jurors' knowledge on different aspects was assessed, and how this tracked information gains during the jury process. In Section 7.3 we present evidence of learning about different aspects of the topic (climate change, energy, wind farms), as well as about deliberative skills and the extent to which the process helped jurors to develop a sense of self-efficacy[33].

Where possible, we identify when this took place and the characteristics of those who learned most. The jurors' and witnesses' reflections on information and learning during their participation in this project are summarised in Section 7.4, along with a discussion of the factors that may influence, encourage, or confound learning and some of the issues that arose in this project. Section 7.5 closes the chapter by evaluating the learning in the juries. Opinion change in the juries, and how learning may influence such change, are examined in Chapter 8.

7.1.1 Information and learning during the jury

Before we progress further, there are three aspects that should be made clear:

- Firstly, in citizens' juries the aim of providing information is to illuminate the relevant complexities of the topic, not necessarily to school the jurors in all the details. Jurors should be supported to obtain further detail – should they seek it.

- Secondly, a somewhat obvious point, giving information does not necessarily elicit learning. Learning often entails the acquisition of skills or knowledge, through mechanisms such as study, experience or being taught. The jury process offered a number of opportunities for information to be provided or shared, and a mixture of mechanisms to facilitate knowledge and skills development. The process thus opened space for different modes of learning, and we will explore what jurors learnt most.

- Finally, we should not lose side of the extremely limited time that the jurors had to engage with these issues, and how this made the process rather grueling (see Chapter 4), with 'learning' being only one of the unfolding dimensions.

For the purpose of our analysis, we consider 3 chronological phases in the jury, namely: information, reflection, and deliberation (see Table 7.1). Each phase emphasise a particular mode of learning, though clearly learning may take place throughout the jury. The table details how jurors could gather and share information about the topic in a number of ways throughout each of these phases.

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[33] For the purposes of this research, we define self-efficacy as an individual's sense of agency, or perception of their abilities and confidence to participate in deliberation, work in groups, and influence process outcomes.

Table 7.1 The phases of the jury process

1	Information Phase

The Information Phase comprised Day 1, when jurors heard information and perspectives from witnesses from universities, NGO's, campaign groups and trade bodies (see Chapter 3). There were five witnesses in total and three thematic sessions:

1. *Energy and Climate Change:* One witness; an academic who sought to present an impartial overview.

2. *Wind Energy:* Two witnesses; one presenting the argument 'for' and the other the argument 'against' wind power.

3. *Wind Farms:* Two witnesses; one presenting the argument 'for' and the other the argument 'against' wind farms (different from the witnesses in the previous session)

There were two parts to each session, first the jury heard brief presentations from the witness(es). Then there was a longer period for scrutiny; the jurors first worked in groups to prioritise key questions before interrogating the witnesses in plenary (see Chapter 4).

Thus during this phase information was shared by witnesses, and between the jurors in structured and unstructured discussion.

2	Reflection Phase

This comprised the period between Day 1 and Day 2 of the jury, which were held either 2 or 3 weeks apart. In case the jurors wished to learn more, each participant was provided with a user friendly Handbook, which presented background information about climate change and energy, and linked to many resources for further information in various formats[34].

The witnesses were given a list of questions from Day 1 that were not addressed in the plenary due to time constraints, and that were not answered in the Handbook. Their written answers were circulated to the jurors approximately a week before Day 2. The jurors could of course use other information sources beside these materials.

The jurors were told that they were not expected to do anything for the jury during this phase and that checking the Handbook or other materials was optional.

Thus during this phase information may or may not have been gathered. Any information sought could have used the Handbook (provided by the organisers), the written answers (from witnesses), or other resources. Information and perspectives may also be shared in jurors' conversations with family and friends.

3	Deliberation Phase

This comprised Day 2, when the jurors set the agenda by agreeing key themes to structure the day, and worked through a series of deliberative sessions, which eventually led to the group 'verdict' on the task – a series of principles to guide decision-making on wind farm development (see Chapter 6).

The sessions were guided by facilitators. Where information was called for, or the organisers were aware of important misunderstandings or misinformation, two members of the organising

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[34] The Handbook was put together by ClimateXChange staff, with suggestions and oversight by the Stewarding Board. The Handbook can be accessed at:
http://www.climatexchange.org.uk/files/2314/3211/1648/Citizens_Juries_Handbook.pdf

team appointed as 'Information Officers' interjected and referred to the Handbook for guidance (see Chapter 4).

Thus during this phase information was shared by organisers and between jurors in structured and unstructured discussion.

7.1.2 Gathering evidence of learning

As outlined in Chapter 2 (see also Appendix 2), we took a mixed methods approach to the research. Qualitative data on the formal and informal communication of information was gathered from the witness materials and interviews, transcriptions of the materials produced by the juries during group work (such as questions to the witnesses), field notes written by the ethnographers and evaluators observing the jury, and notes of the organisers and facilitators' reflections on the juries. We present this in Section 7.2 of this Chapter.

Quantitative data was also central to this part of the study. The jurors completed a series of four questionnaires, one at the start and end of each jury day. An anonymous identity code, known only to the individual, allows their four questionnaires to be linked for panel analysis of their responses. There were questions in the surveys that were designed to gauge jurors' knowledge on different aspects relevant to the jury, and were repeated through the questionnaires to track changes as the process evolved. Some questions asked about jurors' self-reported level of knowledge, and others assessed factual knowledge. They were also asked to reflect on their learning experience. The survey results can map the development of jurors' knowledge and perspectives through the different phases of the jury:

- *Questionnaire 1* (QA1), administered at the start of Day 1, documented the baseline knowledge of the jurors.

- *Questionnaire 2* (QA2), administered at the end of Day 1, gauges knowledge gains during the Information Phase.

- *Questionnaire 3* (QA3), administered at the start of Day 2, gauges knowledge gains during the Reflection Phase.

- *Questionnaire 4* (QA4), administered at the end of Day 2, gauges knowledge gains during the Deliberation Phase. The overall learning can be analysed by comparing juror responses to QA1 and QA4.

Adopting a mixed methods research design enabled us to explore experiential factors which may have shaped jurors' learning, such as the witnesses performance, individuals in the group and their interactions, the role of rhetoric and so on.

7.2 Information and evidence shared in the jury

There are two broad aspects to information provision relevant to our analysis:

- *the information about the topic:* including the evidence chosen for presentation as well as the arguments offered to make sense of it;
- *the delivery of this information*: how evidence and arguments are communicated, and by whom. i.e. rhetoric.

Rhetoric played a crucial role throughout, but particularly in the Information Phase. Differences in rhetorical style by the witnesses had a considerable impact on the juries, as analysed later. Rhetoric is the art of using the spoken word to reach, inform, persuade and motivate others (Dryzek 2010:66; Yack 2006). Some basics of rhetoric have been well understood since Aristotle: persuasive communication typically combines *ethos* – personality, stance and credibility; *pathos* – emotional arousal; and *logos* – coherent argumentation (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992). In other words, effective rhetoric usually entails good arguments (logos), given by a speaker who is perceived as credible (ethos) and is capable of communicating in an emotionally compelling manner (pathos) – see Escobar (2011b). When one of these elements is missing, communication is likely to be unpersuasive.

The Information Phase, therefore, hinged not only on the quality of the evidence but also on rhetorical quality. In this, citizens' juries are no different from any other policy forum, albeit the process can offer more opportunities to enhance the quality of both evidence and rhetoric. The extent to which this was accomplished is analysed later in this Chapter (see also Chapter 4 and 5).

7.2.1 The Information Phase

The three witness sessions outlined in Table 7.1 were designed to introduce the jurors to the core arguments surrounding energy development and wind farms. There was also some opportunity for jurors to share perspectives in breaks and group work (see Chapter 4). The witnesses were briefed on their role in advance (see Chapter 3).

Session 1 was to set the context and so featured one witness giving an impartial introduction to the topic. Sessions 2 and 3 were 'debating' sessions and so the two witnesses presented opposing perspectives on wind energy and wind farms. For narrative ease, we will refer to these witnesses as presenting the 'pro' or 'anti' perspective, though we recognise that this oversimplifies.

Witnesses generously volunteered their time to contribute to the citizens' juries, and came from the renewables industry, campaigning groups and academia.

Having the same witnesses in all juries was unfeasible, so Helensburgh and Aberfeldy jurors heard from the same five witnesses, whereas Coldstream had two different witnesses (details in Chapter 3). The

perspectives represented varied; the anti- witnesses represented individual perspectives or campaign groups, whereas the pro- wind witnesses worked for trade-bodies and (only for Coldstream) a community-owned renewables network. The facilitators explained to the jurors that all witnesses were volunteering their time to contribute to the jury.

7.2.1.1 Witness presentations

There were significant differences between witness presentations, in terms of the detail and source of evidence, as well as the layout and other visuals. The witnesses' style of delivery and interaction with the jurors, and each other, were also different. For example, some ways in which the witnesses differed include:

- *Presence*: Age, accent, attire (suit or casual-wear). All speakers were male (see Chapter 3).

- *Presentations*: Use of imagery and graphs (and complexity of graphs), quantity of text (and style of the text), source of information (academic papers, published reports, websites, anecdotes, or unreferenced), pitch of information (use of relatable stories and anecdotes, or 'plain' facts, numbers placed in context or not, high level language or concepts).

- *Delivery:* Loudness of voice and pace of delivery, apparent passion for the subject, language style (colloquial, technical), use of humour, repetition of key points. Clear and concise manner of delivery or not. Sitting or standing (still or pacing). Summary of key points. Provision of additional materials.

- *Interaction with jurors:* Eye contact with jurors, answered questions to individuals or the whole plenary, moved around the group, spoke to the jurors in the refreshment break – about the jury topic or more personal conversation. Positive body language as they receive the questions (such as smiling, or nodding) and reaction to the question (thanking the juror, commending a complex question, taking the question seriously or not, smiling or frowning).

- *Interaction with witnesses:* Willingness to interrupt or correct other witness answers, language used to refer to fellow witness ("opposition", "colleague", "industry mouthpiece"), language used to dispute the witnesses point, as well as body language and interaction style.

The witness affiliation, and summary of presentation content are summarised in Table 7.2 below. Although they were encouraged to coordinate, the information delivered by different witnesses in the same role varied in style and content. Later we consider whether some of these differences may have had any impact on the changes in knowledge or opinion in the jury. Overall, as illustrated in Chapter 4, all jurors engaged with the witness presentations, though some more than others.

7.2.1.2 Information presented in the plenary Q&A

After hearing the presentations for each Session, the jurors worked together to formulate questions as described in Chapter 4. For all Sessions, the Q&A was only 30 minutes long, which led to a lively, interactive session. For Session 2 and 3, if a question was directed to a

certain witness, the other was invited to then comment if they wished. Otherwise, for fairness, the facilitator varied the order in which the witnesses answered.

Table 7.2 Summary of different approaches taken by the witnesses. The number in the first column refers to the session number.

Witness		Affiliation	Presentation content
1	Impartial	None. Science communicator associated with a university.	Electrical terminology (definitions) Energy generation since industrial revolution. Climate change (& energy) and the energy mix. Additional slides include visuals of renewables.
2	Oppose	None. Professors associated with a university.	The costs of wind energy - who pays and who gains. Questions how 'green' the technology is and its performance. Negative impacts on jobs/ tourism/ wildlife. One witness mentions nuclear power more than the other.
	Support	Their organisation. (industry trade body)	Explains how electricity is generated from wind and how this contributes to the UK energy mix. Explains common misconceptions, including 'inefficiency', high cost to the consumer, 'paid to do nothing' etc.
3	Oppose	Represent their campaigning organisation	Benefits vs. costs - impact on landscape, wildlife, tourism, human health, financial cost. Questions the fairness of the current planning system (whether rights & protections are respected / if the decisions are democratic).
	Support	Represent their organisation, one is an industry trade body, the other a consultancy supporting community renewables	Scotland's wind resource. Why we have wind farms (i.e. benefits), incl. carbon benefits. Costs of wind farms (bills/tourism/ why we have them) How communities can benefit from wind - incl. examples. One witness emphasises the urgency of climate change.

The questions asked are outlined in Chapter 3, but the question themes in each session were as follows:

- *Session 1:* Mostly about climate change, energy futures, and sources of energy (particularly renewables and nuclear).

- *Session 2:* The majority of the questions were about aspects of wind energy that reflect themes later covered in the principles agreed by the juries (costs, environmental impact, planning). Some questions about alternative forms of energy to wind power and some factual questions of clarification about wind.

- *Session 3*: Largely about wind farms, with attention to community benefit, health impacts and costs (financial and environmental). There were also a number of questions that probed the evidence base for assessing costs and benefits.

The questions prioritised by the jurors show which issues they most wanted to know about or were most conflicted about. In all locations jurors were interested in comparative studies for all energy sources, asking *"Has there been an impartial, thorough, life-cycle analysis of all energy production methods?'* and *'How do all energy sources compare in terms of efficiency?"* Jurors were trying to put wind energy into context.

There were some differences in the style and focus of questions between the juries. While questions about wind farms were generally phrased in a neutral tone in Coldstream and Aberfeldy, the questions in Helensburgh were sometimes framed more negatively – i.e. *"If wind farms are so good..."; "are wind farms motivated by politics and greed…"; "could it be argued that 'community benefits' are merely bribery…?').* In the questionnaire, a juror commented how *"it feels, from bias in questions that majority* [of jurors] *are against, rather than undecided".* As seen in Chapters 4-5, pro-wind presenters were subjected to more scrutiny than anti-wind witnesses in this jury.

In Session 3 in Coldstream and Aberfeldy, we see several questions about conflict between the evidence presented by the witnesses. Jurors asked '*Given the strength of conviction on each side of the argument how is the ordinary member of the public to decide which side to come down on?'* and *'How can there be such opposing views for the same thing? Where is the proof to substantiate either side?'* Jurors also reflected an understanding of debates about the energy mix, and recognised that every energy development has impacts, and that their task is about a compromise of values. For example, in Aberfeldy, they asked the anti-wind witness (Session 2): *"If you are against wind energy what renewable source are you in favour of? What impact does that have?"*

Jurors were confident to probe the witness or to cut in if they disputed a point or noticed a conflict between the witnesses' answers. For example: the question '*will wind farms replace or slow down the use of power stations and so reduce CO_2 levels?'* resulted in some debate

between the speakers, with no answer arising, and so a participant probed further: *'Overall, will wind farms reduce CO_2 emissions*?' [Coldstream].

As illustrated in Chapter 4, the Q&A sessions were dynamic and fast-paced, and it is difficult to gauge the extent to which the jurors could follow all the arguments and evidence presented by the witnesses. We return to this later. However, the jurors report that the Q&A was useful, and a proportion of jurors would have preferred to have more time to cross-examine the witnesses.

7.2.1.2 Conversations in the Information Phase

The group work and refreshment breaks during Day 1 provided further opportunity for conversation about aspects of the jurors' task. Jurors report that they found these discussions quite useful for learning in the jury. The ethnographers note how jurors shared knowledge and experience in the structured discussions (see Chapter 4). Many informal juror conversations in Coldstream and Aberfeldy were relevant to the jury topic, i.e. talking about community energy matters such as '*hydropower development in the Birks of Aberfeldy*'. This was sometimes brought into the structured sessions, i.e. a juror said that the '[hydropower] *project split the community and led to neighbours not speaking to each other [and] a fairly acrimonious council meeting [about the proposal]*'. Such experiences may affect perspectives on how energy projects affect communities, or views on consultation or community engagement. In contrast to the other juries, informal conversations in Helensburgh tended away from the topic.

7.2.2 Reflection phase

The Reflection Phase took place in the weeks between Day 1 and 2, which were either 2 or 3 weeks apart. The jurors could seek additional information on the jury topic, though there was no obligation for them to do so. In addition to the Handbook, the jurors were provided with replies to questions not addressed on Day 1 or the Handbook. The witnesses were asked to answer as many questions as possible within a week. The compiled responses[35] were circulated to the jurors (by post or email) approximately a week before Day 2.

There were, on average, 30 remaining questions per jury. Answering these questions was a very time consuming activity for the witnesses, particularly since many of the questions were not specifically about wind energy. Some witnesses answered all the questions, others did not, and the answering styles (language, length, content) differed. Witnesses involved in more than one jury answered fewer questions for each jury they participated in.

The impartial witness from Session 1 provided technical answers to 43% of the questions in a factual style referenced with web links. The overall response rate for the pro- witnesses was on average 62%, whereas the anti- was 87%. The anti-witnesses generally provided

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[35] Written answers were compiled and colour coded for clear presentation by the organising team.

fuller, less technical answers using evocative and emotive language, with links to websites, whereas the pro-witnesses provided short answers, or longer technical answers with links to PDF reports.

The survey shows that the vast majority of jurors sought additional information between jury days (88%), which is testimony to their engagement with the task. Of those that followed up on information, most focussed on energy, and half on wind energy and wind farms (see Table 7.3), though the proportions in Helensburgh and Aberfeldy were slightly greater than Coldstream. From the three locations, a greater number of Helensburgh jurors looked up information about climate change, and the jury process.

Table 7.3 Topics jurors sought further information about during the Reflection Phase

Topic	Number of jurors	Proportion of jurors
Energy	31	65%
Wind farms in Scotland	26	54%
Climate Change	24	50%
Generating electricity from wind power	23	48%
Citizens Jury Process	17	35%
Other	12	25%

Those who sought further information unanimously reported that the Handbook and written Q&A from the witnesses were useful. Jurors also reported using other information sources including blogs, books and TV. In particular, 90% of jurors report that conversations with their colleagues and family were useful, and that they found Internet resources and information from organisations and charities also useful.

Jurors showed clear interest in having more information by asking if they could get the slides from the witness presentations. Furthermore, a juror emailed the organisers with questions and comments; another brought newspaper cuttings along. Conversations on Day 2 evidenced additional attention to the topic For example, the ethnographers note how one juror shared in conversation that they were '*listening to a radio programme about wind farms ... and paid particular attention as it was relevant to the citizens jury*' [Coldstream], while other jurors asked their family members and friends about wind farms [Helensburgh], or even went to view a nearby wind farm [Aberfeldy]. Qualitative and survey data thus suggest that most jurors engaged in learning, reflection and discussion during the Reflection Phase.

7.2.3 Deliberation phase

During the Deliberation Phase jurors were to draw from evidence gathered in the preceding phases, and their understanding and perspectives on the issues raised. Further information

was also shared, on demand, by the Information Officers (see Box 7.2 below) and between jurors during discussions.

<div style="border: 2px solid blue; background-color: #dce6f1; padding: 10px;">

Box 7.1. Information Officers

It was anticipated that the jurors may need some further information during the day, and so two 'Information Officers' (IOs) were introduced. Their role was to provide information from the Handbook, the evidence presented by the witnesses on Day 1, or, if needs be, their own expertise. After lessons from Coldstream (see Chapter 4), in Helensburgh and Aberfeldy the IOs also occasionally played 'devil's advocate' to stimulate deliberation (see Chapter 5), pointing out potential inconsistencies or conflicts in the discussions or challenging uncritical consensus. When the IOs interjected, they made it clear that this was to 'stir the pot' as part of their role. IOs offerings included issues such as climate change, life-cycle assessments, current environmental regulation, or principles of development planning.

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Key topics were distilled into the principles (see Chapter 6), but there were several underlying themes that were not captured into a discrete principle, and which the jurors shared information and perspectives on. For example, the topic of community financial incentives was an undercurrent to the conversations in all the juries, as was the overall economics of wind farms. Other themes were social justice, environmental justice, and trust.

Jurors sometimes mentioned issues presented by the witnesses on Day 1. Several tended to place issues in a personal or local context to help them to articulate their point, and some outspoken jurors used passionate rhetoric (see Chapter 5). As analysed in Chapter 5, deliberative quality in Helensburgh was more limited than in Aberfeldy and Coldstream. Potential contradictions were not so readily identified, and jurors did not themselves act as devil's advocate to scrutinise each other's arguments. This limited the information and perspectives that the Helensburgh jurors shared. However, on the whole, jurors shared information, evidence and perspectives, and worked together to contextualise and make sense of the issues and conflicts at hand.

7.3 (What) did the jurors know, and what did they learn?

As Fischer (2000) argues, local and experiential knowledge are central in the way citizens make sense of technical or scientific issues and debates. We must thus start by providing some notes on the local context and the extent to which jurors may have had some experience of wind farms.

The Scottish Borders region hosts a number of wind farms and so, although not immediately exposed to a wind farm, Coldstream jurors were likely to be somwhat familiar with them. Wind farm proposals had been a contested topic in Helensburgh for the past 3 years, and yet, half of the Helensburgh jurors were not aware, and so were surprised to learn about the

proposals on Day 1. No information was formally provided about the proposals but jurors shared what they knew in their group conversations – though, as one ethnographer noted, their information was not necessarily accurate. Aberfeldy has a wind farm nearby that provides funds for community and charitable projects[36]. It was unclear how many of the jurors knew about these funds at the start of the project, though insights from some jurors were shared on Day 2.

Participants of deliberative processes are expected to gain knowledge during the process (e.g. Fishkin 2009; Goodin 2008; Elstub 2014). Qualitative data shown in the previous section and previous Chapters indicates that throughout the process jurors were learning about issues related to wind farm development. The surveys included questions to gauge juror's self-reported and assessed knowledge gains on various topics, including:

- Self-reported knowledge of environmental issues (including climate change), energy generation, and politics and carbon reduction legislation.

- Assessed knowledge of climate change and energy generation. Jurors indicated whether statements about climate change and energy generation were 'True' or 'False'.

- Self-reported learning in the jury.

- Self-efficacy – that is, the individual's sense of agency, or perception of their abilities and confidence to participate in deliberation, work in groups, and influence process outcomes.

The survey questions for these topics are detailed in Appendix 9. At the start of Day 1, the survey also asked jurors about which information sources they use to learn about politics, climate change and energy – and their level of trust in these sources. Television and newspapers were the largest source of information for all three topics, and the jurors trusted television more than newspapers. Notably trusted sources included information from academics (75% 'trust a lot'; 21% 'some trust'), books (43% 'trust a lot'; 54% 'some trust'), as well as family members and colleagues. Particularly distrusted sources included information from politicians (5% 'trust a lot'; 5% 'some trust'), government (17% 'trust a lot'; 49% 'some trust') and industry (15% 'trust a lot'; 56% 'some trust'). This may influence how the jurors receive the information that is presented to them, and by who – i.e. the anti-witnesses in Session 2 were professors, while the pro-witnesses represented industry trade bodies.

7.3.1 Starting knowledge

Across the juries, many participants expressed concern on Day 1 about not knowing enough about wind farms to discuss the topic or to make a decision. The ethnographers capture how

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[36] The venue for the Aberfeldy citizens' jury had in fact been supported by a grant from these community funds.

some jurors expressed that they felt they '*didn't know anything really*'. The survey responses reflected this; the number of jurors that answered questions about wind farms with "don't know" was greatest at the start of the process. Each jury also contained participants who gave the impression of being well informed and confident in their own opinion from the beginning – and in some cases were eager to share it.

Jurors' self reported knowledge on political issues varied widely for each jury, but most jurors reported that they had a fair understanding of the important political issues facing Scotland and the rest of the UK. Self reported knowledge about environmental issues was equally diverse. In all groups, most jurors felt they knew 'moderate' or 'quite a lot' about the causes and effects of climate change. This is similar for greenhouse gas emissions, energy generation and about wind power, but jurors were slightly less confident on these topics. Most jurors report some awareness of Scotland's ambitious carbon and renewable energy targets and the Climate Change (Scotland) Act, though more jurors reported being completely unaware of the Act than aware. On the whole, awareness of Scotland's climate change policy was low at the start of the process.

At the start of the process, jurors' factual knowledge on climate change had an average score of 66% across the juries (see Figure 7.2 below). Scores were relatively similar for Coldstream and Aberfeldy, however they were lower in Helensburgh[37]. Jurors' initial knowledge about energy was mixed, and consistent between jury locations.

### 7.3.2 Changes in assessed knowledge

As expected, jurors' assessed factual knowledge on climate change and energy generation increased during the jury – as can be seen in Figure 7.2. The total number of correct answers increased in all juries, and the number of jurors that answered 'don't know' decreased. Knowledge gains were highest for questions[38] about energy generation even though, on the whole, the scores were lower.

Significant learning about climate change occurred in the Information Phase and the Reflection Phase (cf. Goodin 2008). By this point, jurors answered most of the statements about climate change correctly. However, there was a decrease in performance on some questions in the Deliberation Phase, particularly in Helensburgh, suggesting that incorrect or misperceived information was shared between jurors during the deliberations. This may have been related to 'enclave deliberation' which limits opportunities for correction because the pool of arguments and information is reduced by lack of diverse viewpoints (see Chapter 5).

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[37] It is unlikely that these results are skewed by climate change 'deniers'; all juries performed similarly on questions to gage these attitudes.

[38] The statements are shown in Appendix 9

Figure 7.1 Change in jurors' factual knowledge on climate change and energy. Results are shown in (A) aggregate for each for each learning phase and (B) the overall change from initial and final scores for each jury.

A: Aggregate of jurors' assessed knowledge for each phase of the jury

B: Overall change in jurors' assessed knowledge
Arrow shows direction of scores from first to last survey
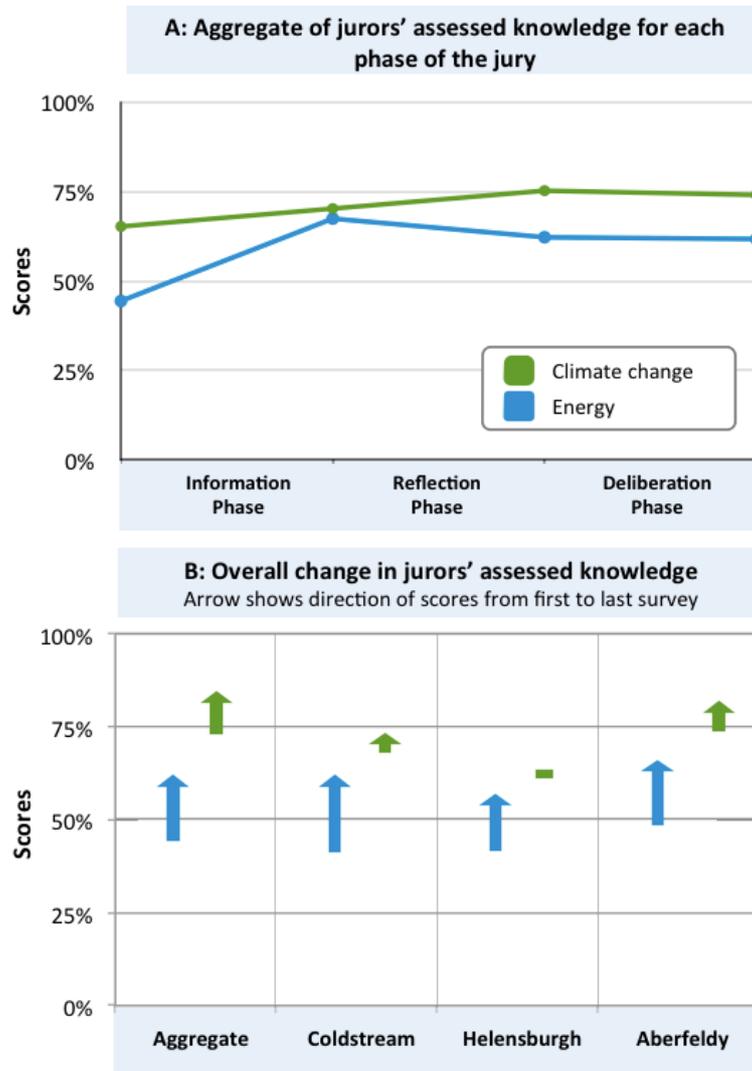
Jurors' performance on statements about energy generation was greatest following the Information Phase, though it decreased marginally following the Reflection Phase – although many jurors report learning more about energy generation in the break. Though jurors did learn more about some statements than others, all statements about energy saw notably better performance, whereas some questions about climate change saw little change in scores.

It is perhaps unsurprising that jurors learnt more about energy generation than climate change. There was considerably more information and discussion about issues relating to energy during the juries. In the Reflection Phase, 50% of the jurors sought additional information about climate change (more so in Helensburgh), and 65% sought more information about energy. However, jurors don't perform any better on the questions about

energy after this phase, whereas they do better on some questions about climate change. Indeed, the improvement in performance in this phase is comparable to that in the Information Phase, and these information gains are not lost in the Deliberation Phase. This provides strong evidence of self-directed learning by the jurors; exposure to the debates in the Information Phase provided the incentive to become more informed in the Reflection Phase.

Performance was different between jury locations for some topics or particular questions, as shown in Figure 7.2. For example, though Aberfeldy had the highest starting knowledge about climate change, this jury also learnt most on this topic in the jury, and answered nearly all the questions correctly by the end of the process. This jury also scored highest for questions about renewable energy. The Helensburgh jurors had lowest performance on this topic, but instead had greatest performance on the question about nuclear power. Coldstream learnt most about greenhouse gas emissions and climate change (this jury also had lowest starting scores on this topic).

7.3.3 Changes in self-reported knowledge

Juror's recognised that they were learning from their experience of the jury. Their self reported knowledge about climate change and energy generation increased following each jury day, particularly following the Information Phase (see Figure 7.3). At the end of the process, jurors' felt knew most about wind energy (than renewable energy or Scotland's energy mix). Interestingly, self-reported knowledge on all questions decreases in the Reflection Phase, perhaps because they perceived self-directed learning as less important than learning in the formal space of the jury.

Jurors' self-reported understanding of political issues increases overall during the process, though there was a small reduction in the number of Helensburgh jurors who felt that they understand politics very well.

Figure 7.2 Self reported knowledge in each survey: *The graphs show the mean responses for questions on climate change and energy for all jurors across each survey. The questions are shown in*

Appendix 9. The remaining percentage (colourless) in the graphs below are for 'don't know' answers.
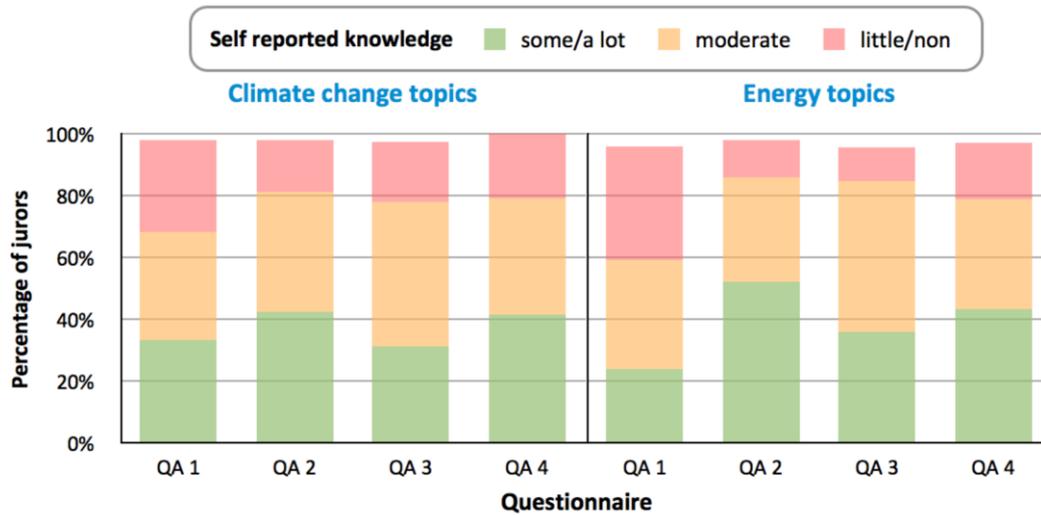
Finally, at the end of both jury days jurors were asked what they found most striking about the day, or what they learnt about that day that most influenced their opinion. In their responses, jurors shared information that they had picked up from the witnesses and from each other. For example, jurors in Coldstream mention how wind energy "*does seem to help power supply*" and how "*community owned projects seem to be successful*". Similarly, an Aberfeldy juror notes how they learnt how "*the environmental benefits [from generating electricity from wind power] are less destructive than fossil fuels*" and how "*more energy is generated by this method*" than they thought, and that they learnt about "*jobs in both construction and tourism in visitor centres*" and how the nearby wind farm is "*donating to community projects*". Helensburgh jurors noted how they learnt (in Session 2) that "*a single nuclear plant could provide the same power output as all the wind farms in Scotland*", or that issues about damage to wildlife and tourism had put them off.

7.3.4 Developing skills and self-efficacy

As well as knowledge gains on issues related to wind power, the experience of deliberation may enhance jurors' sense of self-efficacy as well as transferable skills. Before noting changes in these elements suggested in the surveys, we first outline the qualitative evidence, which paints a fuller picture of how these skills are nurtured.

The ethnographers and evaluators observed how jurors became more adept at working together, questioning each other (and the witnesses) and offering contributions as the process unfolded (for a detailed account see Chapters 4 and 5). Thus, as well as becoming more proficient in weighing up evidence and perspectives, jurors gained confidence in their 'voice'. For example, at the start of Day 1, many jurors expressed relief when reassured by the facilitators that there is '*no such thing as a stupid question*'. This was particularly the case in Helensburgh, where some women *seemed "anxious/taken aback at the mention of 'making decisions' and 'open-minded discussions'"*.

Formulating questions was a challenge for some participants, and some confided that their '*mind just went blank*' when forming questions to ask the witnesses. These same jurors were more actively involved in articulating and presenting questions to the witnesses by Session 3. Many of the group conversations became more inclusive on Day 2, although there were still challenges. This suggests that jurors gained confidence in participatory skills, such as listening, articulating their views, encouraging conversation and negotiating differences.

In some cases this confidence may have been boosted by their improved knowledge about the topic, but also perhaps by a shared sense of learning together about how to be a juror engaged in public-spirited deliberation. As one witness commented in interview, he felt the experience gave jurors "*a sense of community, a sense of pride within the community, a sense of worth that they were being asked to contribute to something that was happening within the community".* It seems that these skills and sense of 'social capital' were fostered on Day 1, and came to fruition on Day 2.

Overall, jurors' starting self-efficacy scores in the survey are moderate and there is a range of scores across the jurors, but as the juries unfold there are fewer jurors with low self-efficacy. This means that their perception of their ability to participate and contribute increased overall. This is particularly the case in Coldstream and Aberfeldy following Day 1, though self-efficacy increases after Day 2 also. In Helensburgh, the range of self-efficacy scores increased, with a rise in the maximum level, but there was also a slight drop in minimum level of self-efficacy, particularly on Day 1, though this recovers a little on Day 2.

Jurors' levels of trust in sources of information on climate change, politics and energy technologies change over the course of the process. At the end of Day 2 we see a drop in trust in information from industry sources, organisations and charities, and also government. The level of trust in academic sources remains the same, and, overall, only academics, organisations and charities, TV, and books are trusted to some extent by over 80% of the jurors.

Given that trust in information from industry is relatively low compared to academic institutions, the pro- witnesses were perhaps disadvantaged because they were associated with the wind farm industry. The anti-wind witnesses, on the other hand, were associated with academic institutions, which were deemed to be trustworthy sources of information, and remained so during the process[39].

7.4. Juror reflections on learning over the course of the jury process

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[39] For the purpose of this report we do not explore how perceived trust changes depending on jury location.

Jurors repeatedly described learning about the topic of wind farms and related issues as one of the highlights of the experience – in conversations and questionnaires. The results illustrate mixed responses to the various sessions in the jury process, as well as the richness of the experience for some jurors.

7.4.1 What did jurors find informative?

Over two thirds of Helensburgh and Aberfeldy jurors felt that they learned most on Day 1, the Information Phase. For Coldstream jurors there was an equal split with Day 2. The witness presentations were found to be most informative (in aggregate for all juries), followed closely by the Q&A sessions – though less so for the Helensburgh jurors. Indeed, while jurors were largely satisfied with the timing of the Information Phase schedule, many felt that more time for the witness talks and cross-examining would have been useful. The witnesses continued input in the Reflection Phase was also appreciated; jurors commented that '*the questions & answers were excellent*' and they liked that they '*covered the pro- and anti- side of things*'.

Questionnaires at the end of Day 1 asked jurors which witness sessions they found most useful. Though jurors found some sessions more useful than others, very few felt that any session wasn't helpful at all. In all juries, Session 2 (Wind Power) was deemed to be most useful, and particularly at Helensburgh and Aberfeldy. Jurors found the anti-witnesses in this session particularly informative (75% of jurors felt they learnt a lot from this witness, whereas for all other witnesses the scores were ~60-65%). Session 1 (Energy and Climate Change) was deemed to be moderately helpful by all juries (~50 % split). This session provided

Many issues that had to be 'parked'. The witnesses were asked to provide their perspectives on these, and their answers were circulated to the jurors during the Reflection Phase prior to Day 2.

important context-setting themes to which the jurors referred on Day 2.

Jurors found the group work and conversations in the breaks quite useful for learning during the jury. However, Helensburgh jurors found these notably more helpful than the Aberfeldy or Coldstream jurors did. This adds further nuance to our analysis of the distinct dynamics of the Helensburgh jury. As explored in Chapters 5 and 8, Helensburgh can be interpreted as a case of 'enclave deliberation' resulting from the lack of articulation of diverse viewpoints in the jury (Sunstein 2002:176-177). Perhaps some Helensburgh jurors felt that hearing

opposing perspectives during the witness sessions was less helpful than the mutual reinforcement of views that took place during group work where like-minded views were expressed (see Mercier and Landemore 2012).

7.4.2 What did jurors feel they learnt?

The questionnaires asked jurors what they had learnt about that really stood out for them. The responses indicate that jurors learnt about different aspects in each day:

- *End of Day 1*: There was some information offered here, which often referred to the number of wind farms and their economic and environmental costs. Many of the responses referred to the range of opinions about wind farms, or their new perspectives on issues relating to the topic, including climate change. For example, they express surprise about "*things they thought they knew*", and that they had "*learnt a lot about the different sides to the wind farm debate... very informative*". Several jurors reported learning about the importance of energy; that it "*shouldn't be taken for granted*" [Helensburgh] and relief that "*renewable energy is being taken seriously*" [Coldstream].

  A number of jurors also reflected on the "*re-ignition of interest*" in these topics. One juror comment on "*the importance of the local community being proactive in the discussion*" about wind energy. This was in Coldstream, where the 'pro' witness in Session 3 touched on community wind farms and community more than the witness for other juries did.

- *End of Day 2:* There were almost no reflections on knowledge gained during deliberation. Most jurors' key learning was about the process; the dialogue or the citizens jury approach. Several jurors in Coldstream and Aberfeldy reflect on the diversity in opinions*,* whereas Helensburgh jurors reflect on the similarity in opinions, showing the different experiences in each jury. There is also some appreciation of the difficulties of decision-making, and that "*there always has to be a trade off*" [Aberfeldy] and yet *"diverse groups can work together with appropriate support"* [Coldstream] and "*that a number of different people's viewpoints can be taken into account and used as a plan for taking future ideas forward"* [Aberfeldy].

  Jurors also report that in Day 2 they learnt that clearer, unbiased information needs to be provided to people and that "*is a complicated subject that needs to be better explained to the public in general"* [Aberfeldy]. Two participants reflect on importance of "*community say*" [Coldstream] and *"that communities would just like to be heard and understood"* [Aberfeldy]. Some jurors referred to self-efficacy, for example, learning that their "*views are valued"* [Helensburgh].

The final survey asked jurors what they felt was the most striking thing for them, personally. There were various themes in the jurors' responses, which are reflected in Box 7.3. Several reflections on the topic of wind farms refer to particular knowledge gains, or an ignited interest in the topic, and a number of responses comment on "*how extremely different the*

witnesses' arguments were" and the range of difference in perspectives in the group. Another strong theme was jurors' increase in self-efficacy and confidence as a result of participating in the process. Several jurors also reflected on their new perspectives on public participation in decision making, commenting how "*there might be in reality a shift towards greater democracy*" and "*how useful and important this process could be for local decision making*".

There were some differences in responses depending on location. Helensburgh jurors reflected more on what they called the 'facts' about negative impacts of wind, and two said that the most striking thing was a particular anti-wind speaker. Additionally, the jurors reflected on how '*consensus of opinion is not that difficult to obtain*'. In Coldstream and Aberfeldy, jurors commented how they '*don't need to agree*', or how '*after two days discussing these issues, a random selection of people generally agree with the principles*'. These reflect the different experiences of jurors in the different groups, and how a number of Helensburgh jurors felt that they all held the same opinions.

Box 7.2 Examples of themes found in the jurors' reflections on what they learnt from taking part in the citizens' jury that was most striking thing to them.

Self-efficacy

Coldstream - "*I have more confidence than I thought in discussing topics in a group situation and my brain still works since having kids!*" ; "*my opinion is justified*"; "*being able to take part in the group activities*".

Helensburgh - "*Being part of a decision*"; "*that people opinions count*"; "*the power of conversation between the people in our community*".

Aberfeldy - "*It is amazing how one can react to group discussions and bring confidence to yourself*"; "*my thoughts... were challenged*"; "*the amount of knowledge gained*"

Knowledge gains about wind farms

Coldstream - "*health problems that wind farms cause to the surrounding communities and animals*"

Helensburgh - "*That wind farms are not nearly as reliable as I originally thought*"; "*The breadth of enquiry the 2 days have given me when I was just mildly interested/informed [before]*"

Aberfeldy - "*the efficiency of these wind farms*"; "*how ill informed we are about energy and where it comes from and how it impacts on our world*"

Perspectives on wind farms

Coldstream - "*How extremely different the witnesses' arguments were*"

Helensburgh - "*How passionate [the anti-wind] speaker was*"

Aberfeldy - "*There is a general lack of trust in 'expert' opinions and that is difficult to find a satisfactory solution to this*"; "*that sometimes its not what the information that is delivered as opposed to how it is delivered has the most influence when making decisions*".

7.4.3 Did jurors enjoy learning?

A rewarding aspect of the experience was the opportunity to learn about the topic and deliberate on the issue. For example, at the start of Day 2 jurors were asked whether they had thought about leaving the project and why. No one indicated that they had considered leaving, and one of the key reasons provided was their desire to learn more about the topic, '*to use my brain in a different way*', and how they had enjoyed learning on Day 1. Jurors also expressed surprise at their interest in the subject once they had learnt more about it, and that they were interested in experiencing the next step – deciding on principles together.

During conversations they also repeatedly mention how they were enjoying learning about wind farm development and the associated issues, as well as the complexities of decision making. Jurors humorously expressed enjoyment in the chance to '*use their grey matter*' or checking that their '*brain still works*' – even when they were struggling to make sense of conflicting information. It seems that learning was one of the highlights of the experience for jurors and so, for them, was a fundamental reward for their participation.

7.5. Assessing evidence and learning

As noted at the start of this Chapter, there are two important aspects of information provision for the purposes of our analysis; the information itself, and the delivery of the information. This project has provided valuable insights into the importance of managing the information provided to the jurors from different perspectives, and helping jurors to make sense of it. As outlined in their brief, the information provided by the witnesses was intended to '*assist jurors in getting to grips with key aspects of the topic, and equip and empower them to deliberate and respond to the task*' and '*help the jurors to understand the issues central to the jury's task*'. The jurors were not supported to make sense of the witnesses' testimonies, and so the information provided to the jurors did not fully achieve these goals (see Conclusions in Chapter 4). As we argue below, this is more a critique of the project than of the witnesses.

7.5.1 Assessing the design of the information phase

Witnesses were invited to present evidence about wind farm development in Scotland from their perspective. This format encouraged conflicting and persuasive argumentation, as witnesses sought to convince the jury that their perspective is more valid than the other. Many issues in complex and disputed topics have no 'right' or 'wrong' answer. Different perspectives arise from different values, worldviews and positions (Gutmann and Thompson 1996). Additionally, different information and interpretations may arise from how the available evidence is approached, and/or the assumptions or scope of the studies. However, these apparent conflicts can give the impression that little is known about the issue, or that the evidence available is incorrect, uncertain or poor quality. This can undermine trust in reputable sources. In some cases, the witnesses presented arguments as 'fact' and did not always provide the source of information.

It would be unusual for the jurors to have the knowledge and skills needed to critique evidence in detail to establish – or at least get a sense for – how these conflicts arise. The

source of conflict must either be made clear, or they must be supported to work together to address it. On the whole, jurors were not helped to make sense of the different perspectives shared, and so there was little chance to pull apart whose information and values they most agreed with and why. This exposes a shortcoming in our project design.

We had anticipated that the witness presentations and cross-examination would have picked up on these issues. The witnesses in the debating sessions had opportunity to contest or challenge the evidence put forward by their counterparts in the plenary Q&A. However, despite encouragement, there were few instances where this was really achieved, until Aberfeldy. Here, witnesses in Session 2 in particular teased out some of the arguments which gave these jurors more exposure to the nuances of the arguments and evidence available than in Coldstream and Helensburgh. Helensburgh were least exposed to these nuances since the jurors did not rigorously scrutinise the anti-wind arguments to the same degree as the other two juries.

Realising these drawbacks, the facilitators and researchers/organisers – particularly as Information Officers on Day 2 – sometimes helped to bring out key issues in the group work and breaks. This had to be done sensitively, so as not to create any sense of partiality, and without disrupting the jurors' focus on their task (see Chapter 4). At times, several jurors were also adept at encouraging a critique of the arguments in the deliberations.

With limited opportunity to pull apart some of the sources of conflicts, Day 1 did not 'equip and empower' the jurors with an understanding of the different perspectives. Jurors instead wondered 'who to trust' and who was 'right' or what was the 'truth'. It is therefore little surprise that 'evidence and facts' was such a salient theme throughout both days in each jury. Jurors expressed desire for clear and 'unbiased facts', and mention the subjectivity of evidence in the plenary questions, jurors' discussions, and also in survey comments.
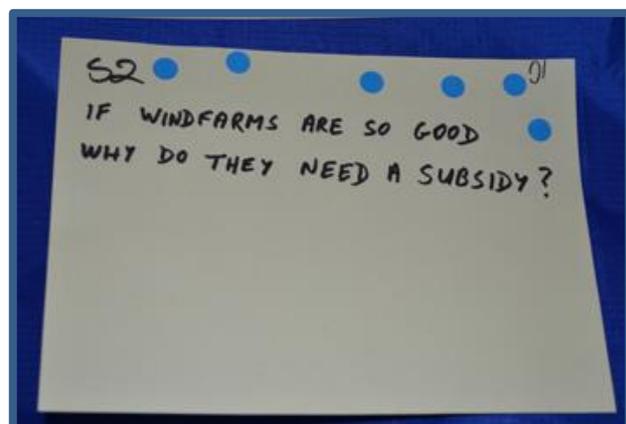
The jurors posed dozens of questions to witnesses and Information Officers

For example, jurors noted how *"a lot is opinion... even very similar statistics can be used to support both sides of an argument",* that *"different sides rarely use directly comparable facts"* and how *"statistics are interpreted differently".* Jurors in Coldstream and Aberfeldy also discussed "*how it is difficult to separate 'truth' from 'emotion' in debates like this".*

Some jurors valued being exposed to conflicting evidence, recognising that there is no clear answer. For example, they appreciating that the issue is '*complex, which is interesting, but difficult'* and remarking that "*it's interesting to hear the different views...it's better than being told 'this is right' – it's not black and white".* One means to encourage this approach

would be to include a discussion towards the start about how to critically interpret evidence (see Conclusions in Chapter 4). Jurors would be encouraged to 'problematise' evidence (Fischer 200, 2003, 2009), place it in its political context, and discuss what may be deemed as robust and persuasive.

Despite the limitation outlined above, the jurors' task was not – as one juror acknowledged – to find a "*definitive answer about this subject*". Rather, their task was to consider the range of perspectives and, with these in mind, make recommendations for how to make decision about wind farm development. Some of the witness perspectives were helpful for this; for example, the anti- witness in Coldstream Session 2 clearly stated *"I am not against wind farms in the right place, at the right price"*. The witnesses were asked to provide a summary slide making clear their principles for wind farm development, though few did this. To help the jurors bridge the different perspectives, it may have perhaps been helpful to have included evidence from a witness who was undecided about the topic, who presented their reasons for being undecided. This witness could have pulled out some of the relationships between values, priorities and evidence, and examples of trade-offs when making decisions on these issues.

As a final point, there seem to be some potential tensions between the nature of the information that some jurors demanded and the information that they 'believed'. Some jurors said that persuasive speaking could sometimes *'convince them of anything!'* and expressed desire for unbiased information. Some observations and comments reflect how some jurors' were very responsive to anecdote and emotionally compelling narratives. Furthermore, when contemplating the topic in the Reflection Phase, jurors found sources like newspapers and conversations with colleagues and family particularly useful.

Thus, there might be a disconnection between the information that some jurors demand and the information that engages them. In the Information Phase, issues of trust and values likely played a prominent role in the jury, since the validity of the evidence was to some extent influenced by the person/institution delivering or discussing it (the 'ethos', component of rhetoric mentioned earlier). It would be interesting to explore how jurors' would have felt about conflicting evidence had they had been offered more support in making sense of conflicting evidence and views.

7.5.1.1 The scope of the jury

To some extent, the questions in the Q&A session pulled the debate away from the focus of the jury: wind farm development. Questions and discussions often included other energy sources[40]. This compensated for a failing in the way the jury was delivered, since, as one witness put it '*[you] can't have a debate whether wind is good or not without talking about*

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[40] While this was one of the purposes of Session 1, it was intended that remaining sessions only consider or discuss wind energy.

alternatives'. This is an important issue that is difficult to resolve in the absence of a clear purpose or decision making-role for the jury outcomes, as discussed further in Chapter 10.

The Information Phase did not equip the jurors with knowledge of the wind farm planning process. Jurors should have been exposed to information about wind farm planning, monitoring and development. This would have helped them to devise principles for making decisions about these issues, and so should be designed into the context-setting part of the day for any future processes.

7.5.2 Assessing the delivery of the evidence

The witnesses' variation in style of delivery (such as effective communication techniques and appropriately pitched information) meant that the characteristics of the witnesses and their forms of delivery were highly influential in creating a sense of the veracity of the claims being made.

7.5.2.1 Witnesses materials

Following Coldstream, the organisers gave all witnesses additional guidance on their presentations to make them more accessible (Section 7.2). Several witnesses improved their slides, evidence, and argument throughout the jury process, and Box 7.3 summarises observations from the ethnographers about what worked well. The improved performance of the witnesses may have had an impact on the effectiveness of the Information Phase. Indeed, the Coldstream jury found Day 1 less informative compared to the later juries – though as we showed earlier jurors did not necessarily learn more in the later juries.

Other than these improvements, as seen in Section 7.3, the evidence provided to jurors (by witness presentations, and the questions in plenary) was largely the same across the three juries, and all jurors received the Handbook. The biggest difference in materials and content was the written witness answers provided to jurors in the Reflection Phase. The later answers (Helensburgh and Aberfeldy) lacked full contributions, particularly from a pro-perspective. However, none of the jurors mentioned this in their feedback on these materials. In this sense, there was little difference in content of the information presented to all three juries.

While this was achieved on many respects, as we touch on above, there were shortcomings. For example, some of the comments and questions during Day 1 suggest that the concept of the energy mix was not communicated effectively to the juries – which was quite crucial for their understanding of the topic and their task. For example, several jurors reflected that wind energy development is "*not the answer*", or that they didn't support wind because it "*can't provide all the power*". These concepts were developed further in Day 2, where each jury featured "energy strategy" or "energy mix" as a theme for deliberations (Chapter 6).

Box 7.3 Tips for effective witness materials

Positive juror responses were observed when the witness presentations included:

- Information that jurors can relate to on a personal level, such as anecdotes, analogies, and stories like the surge in electricity demand following the 2013 Royal Wedding when people went and turned on their kettle on following the ceremony.

- Simple slides with key facts, images, and clear, easy to read, graphs (if any)

- No unnecessary technical jargon – or where necessary, accompanied by a clear explanation.

- Large text so that jurors did not have to strain their eyes.

7.5.2.2 Witnesses and rhetoric

Several witnesses, pro- and anti, created a sense of passion and commitment to a cause (the 'pathos' component of rhetoric), which appealed to some jurors. Revisiting our earlier definition of rhetoric, some presentations seemed unbalanced in terms of 'pathos' and 'logos' resulting in communication that was compelling but not necessarily reasoned. Thus some witnesses presented their perspectives without much direct reference to robust evidence – though the Q&As did tease out some of this. Other witness presentations were unbalanced in the opposite direction, being well reasoned but less compelling. In some cases, these imbalances provoked strong emotional reaction from the jurors, who expressed feeling *'angry and frustrated', 'manipulated', 'let-down', 'convinced', 'bombarded and bullied'* by different witnesses. Some Helensburgh jurors felt disappointed that a witness had not tried to *"sell"* them their case.

These differences came down to the way witnesses approached their task and their perceived role – as well as their different styles of communication. The evaluators note how in some cases the witnesses used emotive photographs and language to add to their argument. Emotional rhetoric is an effective communication form (e.g. Escobar 2011b) and the witnesses using emotive language may have done so because they believe that the way some people *feel* about the issue of wind farms may compel them into action. Indeed, emotions are actually a key component of people's *rational* decision-making processes (Damasio 1995; Marcus 2002), and should not be neutralised in deliberative processes (see Fischer 2009; Cass and Walker, 2009). However, it is arguably desirable to ensure that jurors are given appropriate reasons and evidence as part of compelling arguments in order to come to an informed decision.

As touched on above, some of the witnesses persuasively framed arguments as 'facts', and some did not provide full references to reputable sources for the evidence presented. Indeed, in their interviews, most witnesses highlighted the need for properly referenced and

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reputable sources for where information came from. All those that mentioned this felt they themselves had offered non-biased and properly referenced information. They all suggested that the information offered should be controlled by the organisers to ensure that the information is reputable. This was perhaps a potential role for the Stewarding Board that was overlooked. In Chapter 9 we explore further the witnesses' reflections on the sort of information that they felt the jurors should be exposed to and the role it serves.

One of the pro- witnesses reflected that a community speaker should have been used, since people from businesses with perceived 'agendas' are not necesarily well placed for discussions in the juries. Indeed, we noted earlier how the witnesses affiliation may have influenced how jurors' received the evidence they put forward; jurors said that they trusted information from academics more than from industry. Indeed, the anti- witnesses appealed directly to their own apparent impartiality, since they were associated with voluntary organisations or academic institutions (ethos, the perceived credibility of the source of communication), and indeed sometimes referred to the pro-witnesses as being paid to promote industry's interests. In this way, they appealed to the "politics of expertise and authenticity" that are crucial in public deliberation on science and technology issues (Brown and Michael 2002).

7.5.3 Assessing the learning in the jury

The witness's presentations often offered '*very rapid*' information delivery and as one evaluator notes '*it would be interesting to find out how much the participants have taken in, or if they are feeling lost'.* Learning is not a passive act, but a response to various stimuli, both formal (e.g. information packs, witnesses) and informal (e.g. between jurors, colleagues and family), that incorporates discursive and reflective processes. Lecture-style information provision is thus a limited approach. We do see greatest 'factual' information gains in Day 1, however, for questions about energy and climate change. However it perhaps would have been useful if the questions to assess knowledge on different topics also asked about broader concepts rather than specific topic information. For example, while there was little learning in the Deliberation Phase as assessed by the survey, there is much evidence that jurors picked up the nuances and complexities of the debate. This may suggest why the jurors report higher self assessed knowledge at the end of this day, despite showing no 'factual' knowledge gains (cf. Goodin 2008; Fishkin 2009).

On the final day, the quality of the discussions were, on the whole, to a very high standard (see Chapter 5); sharing information and perspectives, and working together to put issues into context. The Coldstream evaluator summarises that "*the process can produce profound engagement that combines active critical learning with pragmatic focus on forming opinions in a fully open context. My notes suggest that the process delivered deep learning, opinion change, consensus on a number of levels, while contributing to building of social capital by encouraging participation".*

7.6. Conclusions

If mini-publics are to lead to considered judgement, then participants need to be given the opportunity to become informed about the subject, with information errors being corrected. Throughout these three citizens' juries, participants were exposed to a range of evidence; either formally via the witnesses and the organising team, or informally via their own reading in the Reflection Phase, and the sharing of evidence in the conversations during both jury days. In this chapter we have examined the evidence provided to jurors and explored their subsequent learning, drawing on a wealth of data to do so – including witness presentations, materials used and produced in the juries, evaluations and ethnographies, and interviews and qualitative and quantitative survey responses.

In the Information Phase, the jurors were provided with evidence in the presentations and in the Q&A sessions from different perspectives on the topic. Thus most evidence formally presented by the witnesses was contested, although the source of dispute was rarely distilled. Imbalances between witnesses in their rhetorical work to convey evidence and arguments had an important impact in how the presentations were received. In addition, little information was formally provided to the jurors on planning, regulation and monitoring of wind farm developments, and models and options for financing wind farms. These are important limitations in terms of providing the jurors with enough support to address the task.

Despite these limitations, jurors show knowledge gains on some climate change and energy topics, and overall the witnesses successfully helped jurors to understand issues central to wind power and decisions around onshore wind farm development in Scotland. During deliberation, on the whole, jurors worked together using the evidence and perspectives on a range of topics to contextualise and make sense of the issues and conflicts at hand – although, as analysed, the quality of information sharing was slightly limited in Helensburgh.

Jurors gained knowledge particularly during the Information and Reflection phase, and felt that they learnt from the witnesses, the discussions in facilitated groups and informal conversations. In the Reflection Phase, most jurors sought additional information using the materials provided to them and other resources – stimulated by the Information Phase and encouraged by the incentive of having to express and justify their views during the Deliberation Phase (echoing Goodin 2008; Goodin and Niemeyer 2003). This illustrates how learning in deliberative processes is a response to various stimuli and incorporates discursive and reflective processes. Furthermore, the jurors showed greater retention of knowledge gained during this phase, which is an important indication of the value of self-directed learning – and an important finding for designing citizens' juries and other mini-publics.

These citizens' juries have thus allowed us to explore whether, how and when participants learn in deliberative processes. To summarise:

- *What did jurors learn?* There is evidence of knowledge gains on several aspects related to the topic, whether or not they were directly covered by the witnesses. Improvements on assessed knowledge were similar for all juries, although

performance was different for different questions. There is evidence that many jurors picked up the nuances and complexities of the debate, thus learning about complex concepts and trade-offs. Jurors also developed deliberative skills and self-efficacy.

- *When did they learn?* Jurors gained assessed knowledge about climate change and energy generation in the Information Phase, and learnt more about the former in the Reflection Phase also. There were no assessed knowledge gains in the Deliberation Phase, and indeed it seems there were some instances were incorrect information was shared in this phase. Jurors also learnt about concepts and debates in the Information Phase, but explored trade-offs and nuances more in the Deliberation Phase. The jurors thus felt they had more knowledge about wind farms and related issues after each jury day. Interestingly, jurors did not feel more knowledgeable about climate change after the Reflection Phase, despite showing greater assessed knowledge following this phase.

There are also several lessons about the process, and opportunities to refine the design of the Information Phase:

- The scope of the evidence must be carefully considered: in these juries, the absence of context setting about wind farm planning and development was a disadvantage. Likewise, there is a challenge in deciding whether to cover alternative energy sources or not – and if so, to do this in sufficient detail without distracting from the task.

- Witnesses should be selected to represent a range of bodies, institutions and organisations. In these juries, the pro- witnesses were perhaps disadvantaged because they were associated with industry bodies, whereas the anti- witnesses affiliations were more generally trusted (cf. Hendriks 2011).

- There is clear value in presenting jurors with evidence from both sides of the argument about contested issues such as wind farms. However, witnesses should frame their evidence so that it helps jurors with their task. Additionally, the process would also benefit from including speakers who are undecided about the topic and share their reasons for it.

- The witnesses must be effectively briefed and supported by the organisers. They should also be encouraged to interact and reason with the other witnesses, in order to identify or clarify the source of disputed evidence – and where the conflict lays. Contesting the others' viewpoints and teasing out some of these arguments exposes jurors to the nuances of the arguments and the quality of the evidence available.

- The evidence formally prepared by the witnesses must be appropriately vetted. The witness materials should be independently monitored in advance of the event – to make sure that they are effectively presented and that the content is relevant and suitable. An additional session to reflect on the interpretation of evidence, and perhaps awareness of particular biases would have been helpful for the jurors (see Chapter 4 conclusions).

- There is a case to include more interactive learning in the jury. Witnesses may not be needed for some of these activities. For example, there are games that can help to

explore the energy mix or the current planning system by active learning. Nonetheless, 'artefacts' do 'have politics' (Winner 1980; Law 1994) and therefore critical scrutiny must also be applied to them by the jurors, which, as above, may require support.

All in all, for the jurors, the experience of learning was one of the highlights of the process, and a fundamental reward for their participation. We now turn to jurors' opinions about the topic to see how learning and information gains map onto jurors' preferences throughout the process.

Chapter 8 - Jurors' opinions on wind farms – and how these change

> **Read this chapter if you are interested in:**
>
> - ways of capturing and analysing jurors' opinions on wind farm development and related topics,
> - finding out how these opinions developed in the jury,
> - the factors that influence when and how opinions change during the process,
> - and the value to the jurors from devising and revising opinions on such topics.
>
> **Outline**
>
> **8.1.** Introduction
>
> **8.2.** Jurors' opinions – and how they changed
>
> **8.3.** Jurors' reflections on their opinion and how it changed
>
> **8.4**. Discussion – jurors' opinions and what may have changed them
>
> **8.5.** Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

Deliberation entails a reflective process in which participants re-examine their preferences in light of evidence and the perspectives of others (Dryzek 2000; Chambers 2003). Citizens' juries are designed to provide opportunities for learning, reflection and deliberation. In light of these experiences, jurors may revise their preferences on the issues at hand.

In deliberative studies, 'preferences' is often used as an umbrella term to refer to the amalgam of evolving attitudes, values, priorities and opinions articulated and/or developed by citizens when engaged in public deliberation (e.g. Goodin 2008; Fishkin 2009; Grolund et al 2014; Elstub and McLaverty 2014).

Preferences colour how we view the world, and drive the opinions that we hold and the actions that we take. Preferences may refer to an individual's attitude towards particular issues, which will guide evaluation and decision-making about the tradeoffs involved. They are shaped by values, experiences and choices. People continually revise their preferences in light of new information, evidence, experiences, and decisions. This chapter contributes to further understanding on how and when people change their preference in deliberative processes.

The job of the jurors was to work together to address the following question: '*what should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development, and why?*' Accordingly, the jurors were invited to engage with long-term considerations regarding energy and planning policy, energy generation and climate change. Some of the evidence on these topics is nuanced and contested, often coming down to values and context. For example, questions of 'who pays and gains?' can have varied answers according to what is being considered and how, and at what scale. Hence the challenge of deciding about complex issues such as wind farm development.

This chapter explores some important dimensions in this project:

- *Understanding citizens' perspectives on wind farm development:* what is the range of perspectives, what insights can we glean into people's evolving views?

- *Whether these perspectives are similar for different groups of people:* do perspectives vary according to the composition of the group or, say, proximity to wind farm developments (i.e. jury location)?

- *Understanding how people's opinions change* as they become more informed about the topic, when these changes occur during the process, and whose views change the most.

In this section we introduce why citizens' juries may foster preference change, and current knowledge about when in the process this takes place. We also outline how our mixed-methods research design generated data about jurors' opinions throughout the process and the experiential factors that may shape these. The jurors' individual perspectives are presented and explored in Section 8.3. The extent and nature of jurors' opinion changes are investigated in Section 8.4, and Section 8.5 examines which phase of the process saw greatest change, and the characteristics of those who changed most. In Section 8.6 the aspects of the process that may have contributed to preference changes are explored, before offering conclusions in Section 8.7.

It is important to reiterate here the caveat expressed in Chapter 6. These juries were assembled to be diverse, but not statistically representative – which would have been impossible given the small sample size. Therefore, our conclusions cannot be extrapolated to the Scottish population, or the populations of the towns where they took place. Consequently, although the findings in this chapter may be used in the future to investigate broader trends, our conclusions only apply to the participants in this project.

Furthermore, the key purpose of citizens' juries is to produce informed collective judgements (e.g. agreed principles, see Chapter 6) and, in that sense, individual opinions are a secondary consideration. In other words, what is important is what a jury manages to agree in its conclusions, rather than the individual views that jurors hold by the end of the process. And indeed, it is that collective judgement that matters most from the perspective

of using juries in decision-making. However, for research purposes, we also wanted to explore how individual views evolved throughout the juries.

8.1.1 Citizens' juries and preference change[41]

In non-deliberative processes, such as opinion polls or voting, people often deliberate privately, without having to necessarily consider the arguments of others or justify their choices. Thus nothing stops citizens from exercising judgement "on purely self-interested grounds, without any consideration for what would be a good decision for the collective" (Fearon 1998: 53).

In deliberative processes such as citizens' juries (and other 'mini-publics'), collective decisions should emerge from reasoned dialogue and deliberation (Elstub 2014; ELstub and McLaverty 2014). Deliberation is not entirely interactive, as it entails reflection that can take place internally: "The whole point of deliberation, political or otherwise, is usually to make our decision processes more "reflective"' (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003: 629). Thus, preference reflection and change amongst participants is thought be induced by the combination of:

- *Information gains –* from pooling the relevant information that participants have on the issue at hand; and

- *Public reasoning–* by providing reasons in support of their opinions and perspectives, in order to motivate other participants to reflect upon their existing preferences, and perhaps reassess them.

Deliberation does not *require* preference change, however; participants may consider the new information and reasons of others and decide that their initial preferences are still perfectly appropriate, and indeed strengthen their confidence in them (Goodin 2008:51). Therefore, deliberation requires "reflection upon preferences in non-coercive fashion" (Dryzek 2000: 2).

Accordingly, as explored in Chapter 5, the ideals of deliberative democracy entail high standards of inclusion and communication. Good environments for such quality of public deliberation can be difficult to find in existing decision-making processes. Consequently, democratic innovators have been experimenting for decades with creating appropriate conditions using processes such as citizens' juries.

Opinion change seems commonplace in citizens' juries, but since individual preferences are typically measured before and after the process, the reasons for these changes are rarely explored. Research on 'The Far North Queensland Citizens' Jury' in Australia sought to resolve this shortcoming (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003) by also surveying the jurors following the Information Phase and before the Deliberation Phase. Jurors' preferences on the various

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41 With many thanks to Dr. Stephen Elstub for help writing this section.

policy options "shifted dramatically from the beginning to the end of the process" (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003: 632), however "the bigger change, by a wide margin, occurred in the minds of the jurors before the jury's formal discussion began" (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003: 634).

The Deliberation Phase did produce preference change too, but these changes were not statistically significant. The jurors themselves felt that the Information Phase had the greatest impact on their preferences during the process (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003: 635). However, information provision without the incentive of impending deliberation does not facilitate preference change, as exemplified by an Irish mini-public in 2011 where a control group, provided with the same information packs as the group who deliberated, did not undergo as much preference change (Farrell et al. 2012). Thus, perhaps it is the anticipation of deliberation, where jurors know they will have to share and defend their views with reasons (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003: 643) that provides the incentive for "internal-reflective deliberation, altering not just the information people have about the issue but also the way people process that information and hence (perhaps) what they think about the issue" (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003: 642).

These previous studies explored single cases and so cannot provide insight into the transferability of the results; i.e. would another sample of citizens have adopted similar preferences after the process? In a series of eight Deliberative Polls (another type of 'mini-public', larger than citizens' juries) held in Texas, a public consultation to inform electric utility companies, similar preference changes occurred in each poll despite the different citizens included in each. Preferences changed in the same direction from pre to post deliberation and were consistent across all social groups (Luskin et al. 1999; Fishkin 2006). At the end of the process, a majority of citizens were willing to pay more for renewable energy, invest in conservation programmes and subsidise lower income energy users (Ackerman and Fishkin 2004: 55). However, since participants were only surveyed twice, at the beginning and end of the poll, it is impossible to deduce whether information or deliberation had the greatest impact on the participants' preferences.

Therefore, the three citizens' juries held in Scotland provide a unique opportunity to address these research gaps.

8.1.2 The Jury process: Sharing perspectives

The process, described in detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, occurred over three phases – these will be referred to when discussing opinion changes throughout the process:

- *The Information Phase*: This was Day 1, when jurors were exposed to evidence and perspectives from the witnesses and conversations with jurors.
- *The Reflection Phase*: This was the time between Day 1 and Day 2 of the jury, when jurors had opportunity to reflect on the issues, and find out more information aided by the Handbook, witness's written answers to outstanding questions from Day 1, and any other additional resources. The majority of jurors sought additional information,

using the resources provided and other materials including newspapers, TV, the Internet, and conversations with family and friends.

- *The Deliberation Phase*: This was Day 2, when jurors discussed evidence and perspectives between themselves. Members of the organising team, in their role as 'Information Officers' (IOs), provided clarification on some topics where needed using the Handbook or witness materials, and sometimes played 'devil's advocate' to provoke debate and challenge uncritical consensus.

Jurors exploring a range of issues during the Deliberation Phase

Thus, there were opportunities for listening to and sharing information and perspectives throughout the process; either formally (via the witnesses, the organising team and structured group work), or informally (via their own information gathering and in conversations in the breaks).

This exposed jurors to a range of perspectives and evidence, as detailed in Chapter 7. Furthermore, throughout the process, jurors were encouraged to articulate their thoughts, scrutinise information, and consider differences in values. In light of these experiences, it was therefore expected that jurors might revise their perspectives and opinions.

8.1.3 Measuring jurors' preferences

To gather quantitative and qualitative data about jurors' opinions throughout the jury, we adopted a mixed methods approach (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 2). Individual opinions were tracked via surveys completed anonymously by each juror; while emerging group views were documented via ethnographic notes, as well as the principles for wind farm development agreed by each jury (see Chapter 6). The jurors completed a series of four questionnaires, one at the start and end of each jury day. Many of the questions were repeated in each questionnaire so that the results can map the evolution through the different phases of the jury:

- *Questionnaire 1 (QA1):* administered at the start of Day 1, provided the baseline opinion and beliefs of the jurors. This survey also collected socio-demographic data.
- *Questionnaire 2 (QA2):* administered at the end of Day 1, gauges jurors' opinion change during the Information Phase.
- *Questionnaire 3 (QA3):* administered at the start of Day 2, gauges jurors' opinion change during the Reflection Phase

- *Questionnaire 4 (QA4):* administered at the end of Day 2, gauges jurors' opinion change during the Deliberation Phase of the jury. The overall shift in opinion from the jury experience can be assessed by comparing juror responses to QA1 and QA4

The surveys included questions to gauge jurors' overarching opinion about wind energy developments in Scotland, and their perspectives on more specific aspects of wind energy policy, planning, environmental effects, financing and so on. They were also asked to consider how they felt their views were changing – if at all – and which aspects of the process were useful to help make up their minds or had greatest effect on their opinion. In addition, the surveys gathered data about jurors' opinions about other related topics, listed in Box 8.1, which asked about citizen influence, feeling of community, self-efficacy, and trust in different information sources.

> **Box 8.1 – Questions in the surveys measured jurors' opinions about the following topics, which are related to wind farms**
>
> - *Political engagement and perspectives*
> - *Policy and decision-making processes*
> - *Preferences towards local developments*
> - *The environment, and environmental issues*
> - *Climate change, and renewable energy targets*
> - *Sources of energy and energy usage*
> - *Wind energy generation in Scotland*
> - *Wind farms*

For the purpose of analysis and reporting, questions that measure attitudes towards the same underlying concept (such as wind farm planning, or climate change) were grouped together and 'scaled' i.e. collapsed to give one measure. This scaled value measures the overall attitude to the concept more reliably than individual questions.

Each survey was marked with an anonymous identity code, chosen by and known only to the individual, to allow their four questionnaires to be linked. This is called 'panel data', which can be analysed to examine individuals' preferences throughout the process, and used to model how preferences change. Jurors' opinions and how these changed can be examined for the three locations to highlight the effect of group dependent factors (such as the dynamics within the group itself or locational factors such proximity to wind farms). Panel data also allows the characteristics of the jurors to be linked to their preferences and preference change during the jury process. We can thus examine how factors such as demographic traits may be associated with the jurors' views, and the nature of any change (how much, direction, and when in the process).

Modelling is used to examine what variables (i.e. factors such as location, gender, education) are associated with preference changes in a statistically significant manner. Because of the small sample size (47 jurors) these models could only include a small number of variables. Furthermore, the small sample meant that in order for potential relationships between opinion change and key factors (e.g.. location, phase, demographics) to be deemed statistically significant, the amount of change must be larger than would be necessary to achieve statistical significance in larger samples.

The analyses in this report focus on opinion change on the jury topic – wind farm development – only. Three scaled variables reflected citizens underlying opinions on different aspects of the topic: wind power and national energy policy ('wind farm policy'), wind farm planning and siting decisions ('wind farm planning'), and the impact of wind farms on the local area ('local impacts of wind farms'). The questions that comprised these scales are shown in Appendix 10. For these scaled dimensions, we used panel data to examine:

- Individuals' preference change during the jury. Potential factors associated with these changes investigated included: jurors' age, gender, education, location, and phase of the jury process..

- The overall opinion of the group (all three juries), to test if the opinions were statistically different before and after each phase of the jury process.

Jurors' preferences throughout the phases of the jury will have been shaped by the whole experience, and thus some experiential factors are explored by analysing field notes by the ethnographers and evaluators, and the reflection notes by organisers and facilitators'. This mixed-methods approach offers insight into the perspectives of the jurors about wind farms and related issues, reasoning for these perspectives and how a range of factors may influence these, including:

- proximity to wind farms or other locational factors,

- process-related factors such as evidence and perspectives from the witnesses, and rhetorical styles,

- and what aspects mattered most to these citizens as reflected in the issues that featured regularly during deliberation.

8.2. Jurors' opinions – and how they changed

In Chapter 7 we explored how information and perspectives were shared over the course of the jury, and examined evidence of learning on different aspects of the topic. We found that:

- Jurors felt more knowledgeable about wind energy following both jury days, and felt that they learnt the most in the Information Phase.

- All juries showed gained 'factual' knowledge about energy and climate change. They learnt most in the Information Phase, though they also learnt about climate change in the Reflection Phase.

- There was little 'factual' learning in the Deliberation Phase. However, jurors' discussions, the arguments that were articulated, and the principles that they devised, showed excellent understanding of some of the key the issues and complexities around making decisions about wind farms. These include the impacts and trade-offs, national and local contexts, and long and short timescales.

If new information changed jurors' minds, we would expect to see the greatest change in jurors' opinions in the Information Phase (Day 1). If self-directed learning or conversations

with peers during the Reflection Phase served to modify or reinforce the information gained on Day 1, then we could see jurors revise their opinions in this phase. Otherwise, if the experience of group deliberation caused jurors to revise their opinions, then we expect the Deliberation Phase (Day 2) to have most impact. In the next section we show how jurors revised their opinions to varying degrees on different subjects.

## 8.2.1 Jurors' opinions about climate change and energy

To provide context around jurors' opinions of wind farms, it is useful to first consider their feelings about broader topics that are relevant to the issue. These are summarised in Table 8.1, which illustrates how the jurors' preferences changed on these topics.

Table 8.1 Jurors' opinions about climate change and energy, and how these changed.

	The environment and climate change
Start	• In all juries the levels of interest in environmental issues was high, though Aberfeldy was most diverse on this aspect. • Jurors also felt strongly that climate change is an important issue. Some individuals in Aberfeldy and Coldstream did not hold this view - either because they do not think that recent climate change is evidenced or that it has anthropogenic causes.
Change	• Views on these topics are stronger at the end of Day 2. • The Information and Reflection Phases cultivated jurors' initial feelings about climate change: jurors felt more strongly that it is an important issue. Jurors who felt that climate change is not important at the start did not change. • In all juries, the deliberations slightly moderate jurors' views on the importance of climate change – which mirrors the performance on the questions assessing their knowledge on this topic (see Chapter 7).
	Developing a low carbon energy economy in Scotland
Start	• Jurors were in favour of developing a low-carbon energy economy in Scotland. • Jurors had a favourable view of generating energy from renewable sources and reducing carbon emissions (Figure 8.2). Support was particularly strong in Aberfeldy (>70% strongly agreed) and weakest in Helensburgh (50% strongly agreed). • In all juries we observe support for Scotland's renewable energy targets, and most jurors felt that they were achievable. • There was general consensus that people should be doing more to reduce energy consumption, and mixed feelings about the importance of having low-cost energy.

Change	- Jurors in all locations felt more strongly about developing a low carbon energy economy. Slightly less positive change was observed in Helensburgh. - Helensburgh jurors show a slight drop in the strength of support for Scotland's renewable energy targets; and by Day 2, most Helensburgh jurors no longer feel these targets are achievable. - There remained general consensus across all juries that "*people should be doing more to reduce energy consumption*". - Jurors' perspectives about the cost of energy changed. The number of jurors who felt that energy must be cheap halved (from 40% to 20%) and more jurors felt aspects of energy generation (other than price) were important. Much of this change occurred after Day 1, the Information Phase, and a similar trend was observed in all locations. Thus jurors perhaps gained awareness of the relative costs of energy generation, and were possibly willing to pay more for energy from sources that they agreed with.
Preferred energy sources for Scotland	
Start	- The 5 most popular energy technologies were all renewable (hydro-electric; wave/tidal; wind; solar and biofuels) for Coldstream and Aberfeldy jurors. However, Helensburgh preferred natural gas (a fossil fuel) in place of wind in their 'top 5'. - Jurors were generally less supportive of conventional energy sources, and largely felt that Scotland should generate less energy from fossil fuel sources.
Change	- Jurors' opinions about other energy sources were unchanged in Coldstream and Aberfeldy. - Opinions in Helensburgh evolve differently following the Information Phase. Nuclear was ranked second at the end of Day 1 (and replaced gas in the top 5) and these jurors were generally more supportive of traditional energy sources. Jurors also held neutral attitudes about whether "Scotland should generate less energy from fossil fuel sources". - In Helensburgh, opinions on these issues do not change following Day 1. This contrasts to the other juries, where there are small changes in subsequent phases.
Political priorities for Scotland	
Start	Despite very different voting preferences between the juries (see Chapter 2) the juries shared similar political ideals and priorities for the Scottish Government (such as maintaining law and order, and improving national health, employment, education and social welfare).
Change	Minor changes. In Aberfeldy, jurors felt less strongly about government goals to ensure energy is cheaply available.

Figure 8.1. Jurors' initial opinions about Scotland's renewable energy commitments (a guide to interpreting boxplots is in Appendix 10).
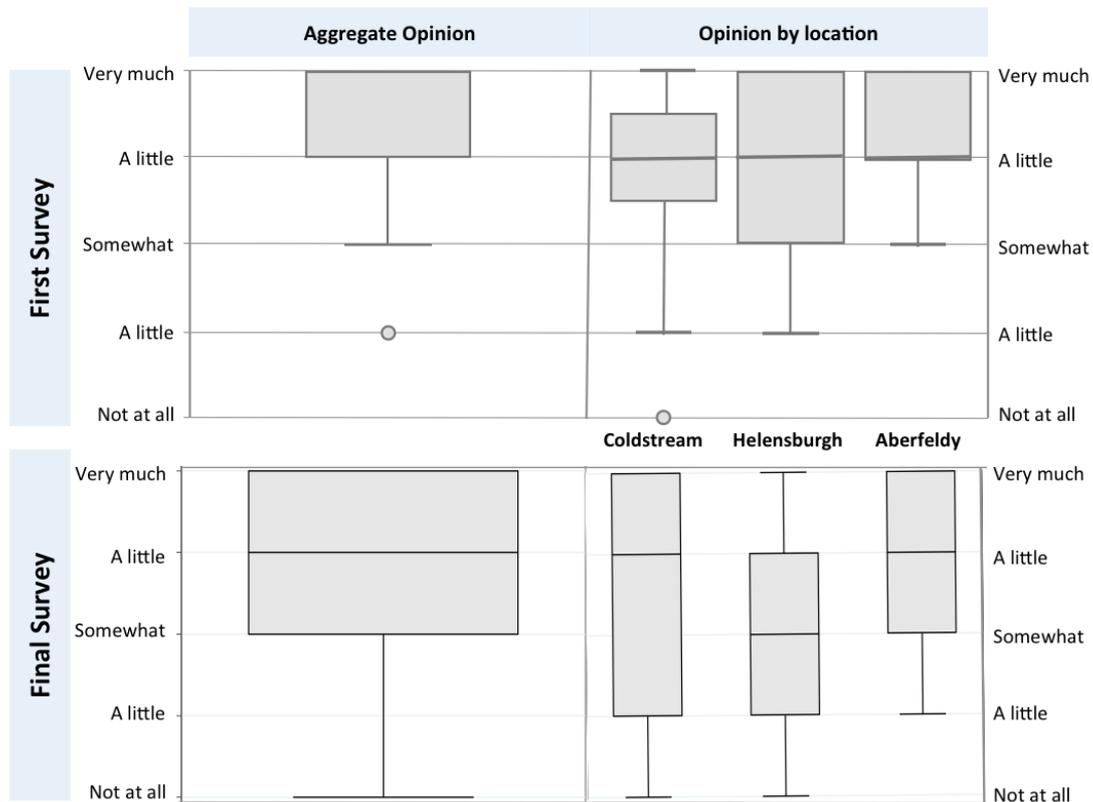
8.2.2 Jurors' opinions about onshore wind farms

The jurors did not know that they would be discussing wind farms; when recruited they were told that the event was for "conversations about the environment". In the first survey, most jurors report feeling moderately excited and confident about the prospect of discussing and learning about wind farms, although around a quarter of jurors in Coldstream and Aberfeldy felt a little apprehensive. During conversations, the ethnographers noted how some jurors expressed concern that they didn't know enough to have an opinion on the matter. However, as described in Chapter 7, the surveys find that jurors had moderate knowledge of climate change and how energy is generated. In the following analyses we explore jurors' opinions at the start of the process and explore how they change over the course of each jury, and the differences between juries.

8.2.2.1 The overall impact of wind energy development in Scotland

At the start, most jurors felt that wind energy development has had a positive or neutral impact on Scotland, though a small number felt the overall impact was negative (see Figure 8.3). This spread of opinions was similar across the three juries, with slightly fewer positive perspectives in Helensburgh. This reflects the recruitment issues in Helensburgh outlined in Chapter 3, and the lack of wind farm supporters in this jury.

Jurors were asked to give reasons for their views about wind farm impacts. Common themes are detailed in Box 8.2, which also bring out some differences in the juries' perspectives on wind farms. Jurors' opinions, and their reasons for them, evolve during the jury (see Table 8.2). There are no statistically significant shifts in opinion from Coldstream and Aberfeldy jurors', but the themes in their given reasons broaden through the different phases. Thus even when jurors' views of the overall impact change little, they are nonetheless revised as they consider new information and perspectives. Important, too, is that comments in Coldstream and Aberfeldy show directly contrasting perspectives *within* each group, particularly with regards to cost (cheap vs. expensive form of energy), visual effects (look good vs. ruin the landscape), economic benefits (community fund vs. wealthy landowners profit), ideas of efficiency (free resource vs. ineffective), and environmental impacts (good vs. bad for the environment). This is not the case in Helensburgh, where nearly exclusively negative reasons are provided in the two phases following the Information Phase.

It is also worth noting that some jurors refer to the perspectives of others, saying "*from what I have heard from local residents…*" or "*people think that…*" – particularly following the Reflection Phase. These show how much jurors valued the perspectives of others, and indeed many jurors report that they found conversations with peers useful in the Reflection Phase (see Chapter 7).

Figure 8.2 Jurors' opinion about the impact of wind energy development in Scotland for each survey.

The results are shown for each survey, in each jury. Jurors selected either 'positive' (shown in green), 'negative' (shown in red), and neutral (shown in grey), and the results are expressed as a percentage.

Box 8.2. Key themes and examples for jurors' reasons for why they felt wind energy development has had a positive or negative impact on Scotland

Positive impacts

Replace/better than fossil fuels*: "We need to reduce our use of fossil fuels - wind energy can contribute to that", "I'd rather live next to a turbine than a power station" [Coldstream]; "Anything that is renewable and alternative to gas/oil/coal should be explored" [Helensburgh].*

Plentiful & cheap resource*: "free commodity", "cheaper energy source" [Coldstream], "We have so much wind it would be silly not to make use of it" [Aberfeldy].*

Jobs and economy*: The wind industry "has created many jobs and supports the local communities with grants that are possible because of substantial profits" [Aberfeldy].*

National pride*: "I think people in Scotland feel proud to be doing their part" [Coldstream]; The wind industry "has raised Scotland's profile - shows dedication to renewable energies and environmental awareness" [Aberfeldy].*

Visual effects*: "I like the look of them" [Coldstream], "they look good in some locations" [Aberfeldy].*

Negative impacts

Landscape*: "detract from the beauty of Scotland", "bad for tourism" [Coldstream]; "If inappropriately sited they are a visual scar on the landscape", "they are ugly" [Helensburgh]; "I believe that they have chosen the wrong places to situate them and am disappointed with the way it has been done".*

Inefficiency*: "They are inefficient with large proportion of energy generated lost in transmission", "when wind is too strong they get turned off" [Coldstream], "we don't get much energy from them" [Helensburgh].*

Financing/cost*: "The wind turbines only make money for the landowner.." [Coldstream]; "I see wind farms everywhere but there is...certainly no reduction in power cost", "Cost too much for too little energy supply" [Helensburgh].*

Environment and Wildlife: "impact on wildlife is not positive" [Aberfeldy], they "damage the environment" and "destroy wildlife" [Helensburgh].

Unsure of the impacts

Don't know enough, personally: "Don't know enough about it to really give informed opinion" [Coldstream]; "Not sure the in and out of wind farms options" [Helensburgh]

Not enough information: "no information on how effective they are" [Helensburgh]; "It is hard to get actual information without in depth research which most people do not have the time or inclination to do", "it is maybe still too early days to see the full impact yet, whether positive or negative" [Aberfeldy]

Table 8.2 A summary of jurors' opinions about the overall impact of wind energy development in Scotland and how they changed.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">S T A R T</td><td>Opinion about the overall impact</td></tr>
<tr><td>

- Most jurors felt that wind energy development has had a positive or neutral impact on Scotland, though a small number felt the overall impact was negative
- Opinions were similar in the three juries, though fewer jurors in Helensburgh felt the overall impact is positive.

Reasons provided for the view they held

- Most perceived positive impacts referred to wind energy generation as good for the environment – and how using a natural resource reduces the use of fossil fuels. Negative impacts were largely visual.
- As shown in Box 8.2, Coldstream and Aberfeldy jurors gave a range of different reasons in support and against wind farms, with slightly more in favour. There were much fewer positive comments in Helensburgh.
- A number of jurors mentioned a lack of knowledge or information on the issue, particularly in Aberfeldy.
- Comments by Aberfeldy jurors were particularly measurably phrased.

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<tr><td rowspan="2">C H A N G E</td><td>

Opinion about the overall impact

- *Information Phase*: In Coldstream and Aberfeldy, jurors' opinions became slightly more supportive. In Helensburgh opinions became strongly negative, with all jurors expressing neutral or negative views.
- *Reflection Phase*: An increase in the number of jurors in Coldstream and Aberfeldy who felt overall impacts were neutral or negative. Opinions change little in Helensburgh.
- *Deliberation Phase*: Opinions became more positive once again in the deliberations - particularly in Aberfeldy. In Helensburgh, jurors' opinions changed very little.

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Reasons provided for the view they held:

- *Information Phase*: There are more themes in jurors' responses following Day 1. As well landscape disturbance from wind farms, negative impacts now included reference to their detriment to wildlife, public dislike of wind farms, and their negative impacts on tourism, as well as the relative benefits of other sources of energy. There was no common theme to the negative responses in Coldstream, whereas in Aberfeldy the (financial) cost of wind farms had become an important theme. Helensburgh jurors offered no positive impacts of wind energy at all. Fewer comments appealed for more information/knowledge.
- *Reflection Phase*: More negative impacts were provided, mirroring the drop in support from Coldstream and Aberfeldy jurors. Both positive and negative reasons were provided on similar themes in Coldstream: cost, environmental impact, and appearance. Jurors in Aberfeldy perceived wind energy as 'good for the environment', but felt they have a detrimental effect on the landscape. A small number of Helensburgh jurors mentioned the environmental benefit of exploiting wind as a renewable energy source, but negative reasons still dominated their comments – even for those that held a 'neutral' opinion.
- *Deliberation Phase*: A mix of positive and negative reasons continued in Coldstream, and there was a return to more positive impacts in Aberfeldy. In both locations, most positive reasons refer to wind being a natural resource that is 'clean' and good for the environment, whereas there is no strong theme to the given negative impacts of wind energy. Helensburgh jurors continued to comment only on the negative impacts of wind energy development. Their reasons covered themes of cost and ineffectiveness, and also the effect on the local environment - moving away from negative visual impacts of wind farms that had dominated their comments in the previous questionnaires.

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8.2.2.2 Different aspects of wind farms

In Section 8.1.3 we described how jurors' individual opinions about different aspects of wind farms were measured by scaled variables[42]. The results are summarised in Table 8.3 below, and displayed graphically in Figure 8.4.

When examining the results in aggregate, we see that the range in jurors' opinions on each measure increases through the process. The overall attitude towards wind energy policy and the wind farm planning process decreased in range, changing from weak support towards a more neutral stance during the process. In fact, as we see in the next section, this shift in the aggregate results is mostly driven by changes in Helensburgh. This change masks how preference changes in Coldstream and Aberfeldy were more mixed.

Table 8.3. A summary of opinions for measures about different aspects of wind farms in Scotland and how these attitudes change through the process. It is important to note that the aggregate changes in opinion mask differences in how opinions evolve in different locations, as we explore in the next section.

Wind power and national energy policy (Fig 8.3-A)	
Start	• Jurors felt that wind energy development is quite important for Scotland - for wealth and job creation, and for combating climate change – and support investment in the wind industry. • All juries contain individuals with extreme views (in favour or opposed). However, on average, opinions were relatively neutral in Helensburgh, and most supportive in Aberfeldy.
Change	• The jurors' attitudes dropped to a more neutral stance over the course of the jury. • The greatest change in jurors' opinions occurred following the Information Phase. • In the Reflection and Deliberation phase the aggregate scores recovered a little, but final preferences are still lower than at the start.
Impacts of wind farms on the local area (Fig 8.3-B)	
Start	• Jurors' attitudes on this measure were less favourable than the other variables. • On average, jurors were undecided whether they would support wind farms in their local area, whether such developments would change their relationship with the countryside, or whether wind farms benefit the local community or not (either financially or by other means). • Opinions were most favourable in Coldstream, and least favourable in Helensburgh.

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[42] Unfortunately, the sample size (47 jurors) is too small to be able to explore any relationship[s between demographic traits and the opinions that the jurors held. These associations were tested in the models of preference change that are presented and explored in Section 8.2.2.3.

Change	• By the end of Day 2 jurors' aggregate attitudes had become weakly negative. • The largest change in opinion for this variable followed the Information Phase. • This measure also saw increasingly fewer numbers of participants revising their opinion; for each phase, the number of participants whose scores showed no change in attitude between surveys increased.
	Wind farm planning and siting decisions (Fig 8.3-C)
Start	• Jurors felt that wind farms are planned and designed to minimise noise, visual appearance and disruption to nearby communities, and that they pose little health threat. Jurors were also quite supportive of the development of wind farms in appropriate locations. • Attitudes in Helensburgh were neutral, whereas they were more positive in Aberfeldy and Coldstream. • More jurors selected "don't know" for these questions than for other two variables, and so may generally feel less informed about this topic.
Change	• In aggregate, jurors' attitudes moved towards a neutral opinion over the course of the jury. • Opinions in Aberfeldy and Coldstream remain neutral, whereas in Helensburgh attitudes change from neutral to progressively more negative.

Jurors answered "don't know" to a number of these questions in the first survey, particularly in Coldstream. Overall, fewer answered "don't know" as the jury process progressed and they expressed opinions on more aspects. Questions about wind farm planning had proportionally more "don't know" answers throughout, thus jurors felt least able to express an opinion on these aspects. This is possibly because little information was provided on this topic, a shortcoming of the Information Phase noted Chapter 7.
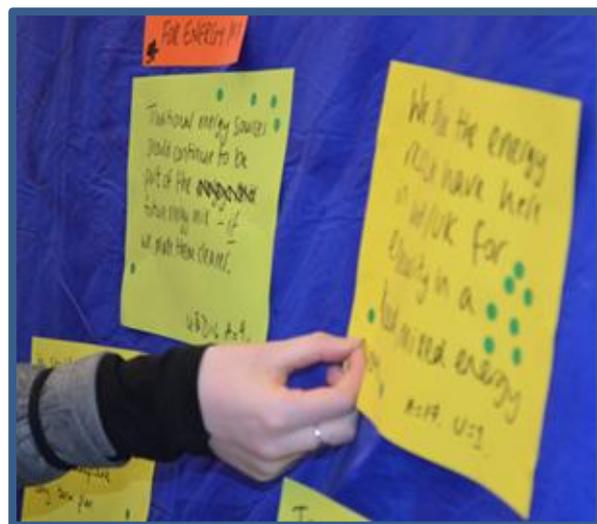
Opinions and priorities changed as a result of the experience of the jury

Jurors are uncertain whether wind farms are decided about in consultation with the public. A fifth answered "don't know", and the remaining responses showed a spread of attitudes, though these tended towards a negative stance. However, over 60% of jurors felt that communities didn't have very much influence over wind farm development, and jurors were unsure about how communities were consulted – or the impact that these consultations have. These opinions were most negative in Aberfeldy (78%), and most neutral in Coldstream.

8.2.2.3 Who changed their opinions and when?

The panel data was used to model how jurors' preferences changed on the measures for attitude about wind energy policy and wind farm planning in Scotland, and the effects of wind farms on the local area. These models were used to investigate how opinions change throughout each phase of the jury, and whether this differed between juries. The model results reveal important differences in the evolution of jurors' preferences during the process in different locations. The results are shown in Figure 8.3, and further detail of the statistical tests is in Appendix 10.

Figure 8.3 Changes in median opinions on different aspects of wind farms;(A) wind energy policy, (B) Impacts of wind farms on the local area (C) wind farm planning and (D) total change in the aggregate between Questionnaire (QA) 1 and 4. All measures see a decrease in the mean opinion, as indicated by the direction of the arrow.
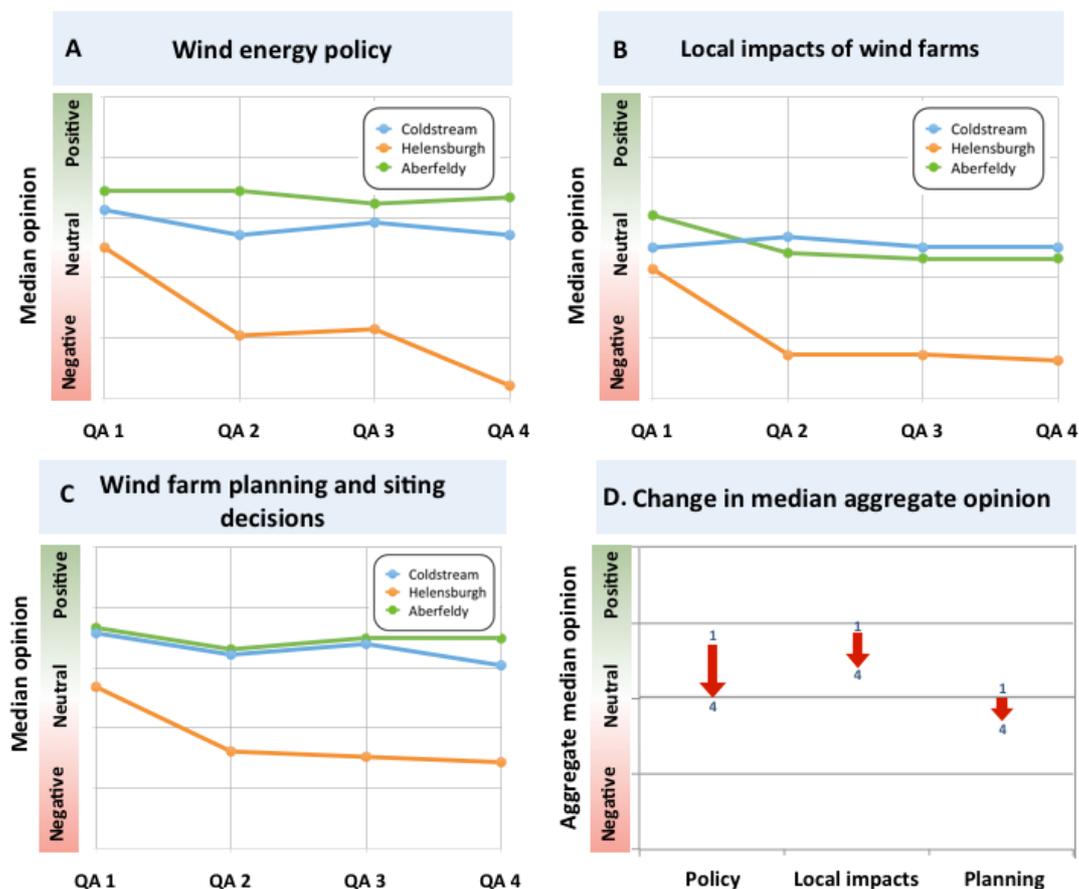
The key observations and inferences from these results include:

- No single phase caused jurors' preferences to change to the same extent and direction in each of the juries.

- Jurors' preferences changed the most in the **Information Phase**, particularly about wind farm policy and the local impacts of wind farms. In this phase, preferences in Helensburgh were revised towards a negative stance compared to the Reflection and Deliberation phases. There was no common direction to jurors' opinion changes in

Coldstream and Aberfeldy, thus the average level of support for these measures in these juries does not change.

- There was no common direction to opinion changes in Coldstream and Aberfeldy in **all phases** of the jury and thus no differences *on average* change between these two locations in most phases and measures. In contrast, there was significantly more change in attitudes about wind farms among Helensburgh jurors, mostly following the Information Phase. These jurors continued to revise their views towards more negative views in the remaining phases of the jury, but the effects of these changes on their average level of support was not statistically significant.

- The extent, and direction, of preference change in Helensburgh affected the aggregate results across all three juries, as we saw in the section above. This must be noted when interpreting aggregate results.

- Most jurors revised their preferences **from phase to phase** –between each survey (see the panel data for the wind energy policy measure in Figure 8.4 and Appendix 10 for the other two measures). Some jurors scored more positively (less opposed/more supportive) and others less positively (more opposed/less supportive) as the process unfolds in Coldstream and Aberfeldy. In Helensburgh, preferences were revised towards more negative views. This is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it illustrates that participants across the three juries were revising their preferences throughout. Secondly, this means no single phase led jurors to revise their opinions in the same manner, indicating that no single phase was significant for all jurors. And finally, this demonstrates the diversity in response to the information and perspectives that jurors were exposed to during the process.

- The group opinion or overall spread of the juror responses was not always affected by these individual changes, showing the value of the detailed analyses presented here.

The models also explored the characteristics associated with jurors who changed their preferences the most on these measures (wind energy policy, wind farm planning, and the impacts of wind farms on the local area). Socio-demographic traits were explored to see if this had any influence on the degree or direction of preference change in the jurors. Our analyses did not identify any relationships; age, education and gender were not associated with how jurors' preferences changed (cf. Fishkin 2009).

There are some exceptions; jurors with a higher level of education changed their preferences about the local impacts of wind energy more – towards a more positive stance, though the association is weak. Second, there is some indication that men were more likely to develop more negative views during the process, particularly in relation to wind power and energy policy, but these are not statistically significant results and are probably an artefact of the negative preference change observed in Helensburgh as these jurors were mostly male. Other factors such as political party affiliation and strength of partisanship also have little association with jurors' preferences. Future analyses – beyond the scope of this report – will explore other potential factors in more detail, such as the strength of initial opinion on the topic or change in knowledge.

Figure 8.4 Individual jurors' evolution of views on wind energy policy in Scotland

Each graph shows the opinion of one juror, over each survey, for a scaled measure (a composite of several questions that capture views on the same underlying concept - in this case, wind energy policy. These methods are described in Appendix 2). On the graphs, the x-axis shows the survey number (1 to 4) and the jurors' opinion on the y-axis, shown here as a scale from 0 to 1, where 0.5 is neutral, 0 is completely negative, and 1 is completely supportive. [Jurors' opinions for other measures are shown in Appendix 9].
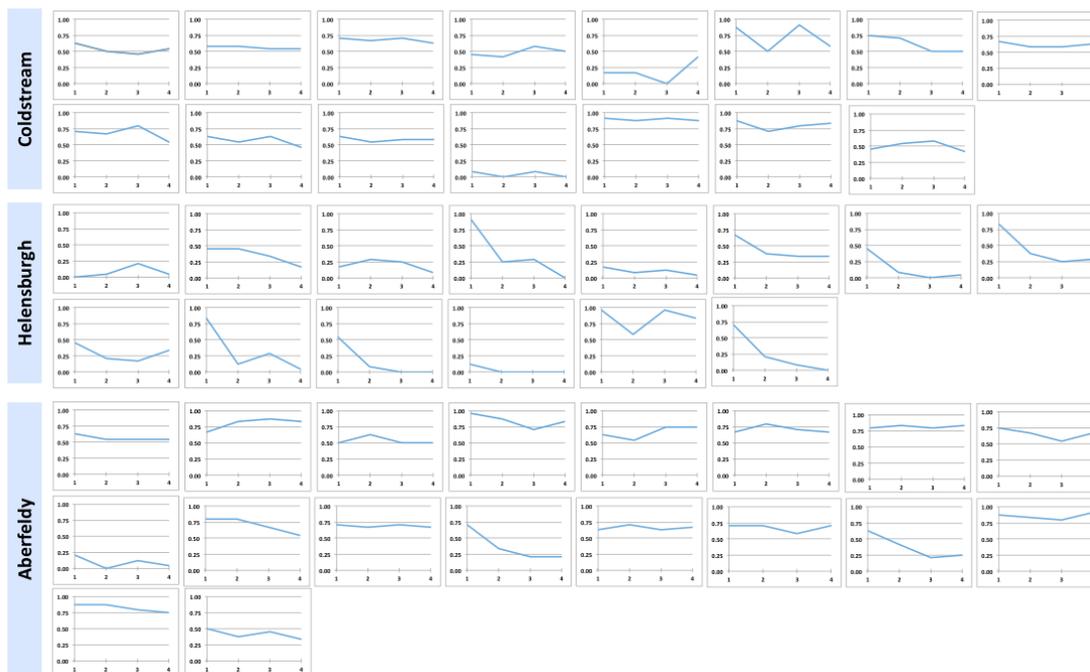
Thus from these analyses, the differences in jury groups appear to be the common factor that influences the preference changes analysed. There are two key components to the differences in jury groups; the jury location – i.e. the relative familiarity to wind farms or other energy developments; and the composition of the juries in each location – i.e the diversity in viewpoints, and the effect of this on the evolution of the deliberative process. We explore the potential role of these factors in Section 8.4.

8.3. Jurors' reflections on their opinion and how it changed

The results in this section show how one of the key experiences for the jurors was the opportunity to reflect on, and develop, their opinions. These experiences were captured in the surveys and in conversations during the process. The ethnographers observed jurors talking to one another informally about:

- How interesting it was to see how their opinion (and their fellow jurors') changed during the process.

- How "*opinion could be swayed*" by convincing argument.

- Appreciating having opportunity to think through these issues.

- Coming to appreciate how "*opinions don't have to agree*".

- The value of the realisation that they could have an opinion on these matters.

The survey at the end of each day asked jurors if they felt their opinions had changed at all, and if so, whether they felt they were more or less supportive of wind energy development in Scotland. The results, in Figure 8.5 below, show how jurors recognised that their views were changing. Nearly all Helensburgh jurors reported that they felt they carried more negative views after Day 1, though two reported feeling more positive about wind energy after Day 2. In contrast, most Coldstream and Aberfeldy jurors felt they carried more positive views after each jury day, or that their opinion had not changed in light of the proceedings that day. This is reflected in their reported opinions on the overall impacts of wind energy described in Section 8.2.2.1.

Figure 8.5 Jurors' reflections on whether they feel their opinion has changed during the Information and the Deliberation Phases.
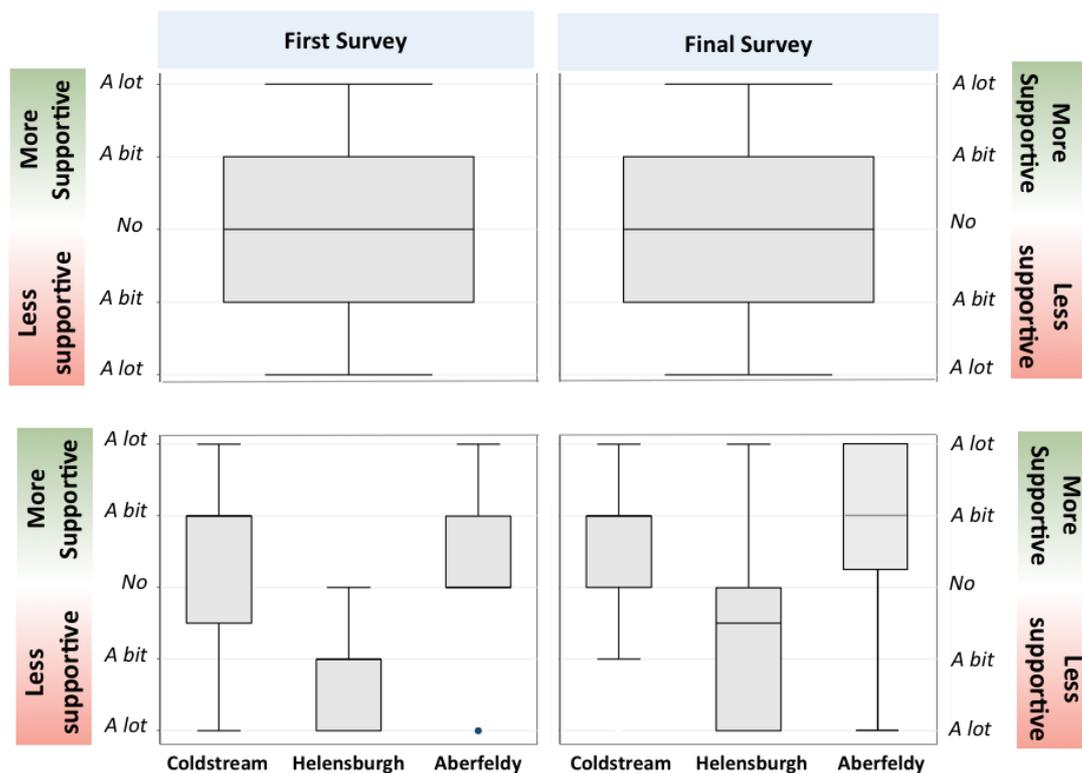
Jurors were also asked "which aspect of each day they felt had the greatest effect on your opinion?" After both days and in all locations, jurors mentioned the role of evidence when forming or changing their views. Several jurors expressed satisfaction in forming opinions

based on "facts", whereas others felt there was not enough factual evidence from which to form an opinion.

Their answers at the end of Day 1 mentioned several key aspects of the evidence they had heard that day, and the unavoidable conflicts in evidence. This illustrates how the information provided in this phase affected their outlook on the issues at hand. While responses varied within the groups, there are some noticeably different trends between locations. Most of the full comments from Coldstream jurors focused on the community benefits of wind farms, and the '*fact that a community can own a wind farm and benefit from it rather than a developer or land owner'*. In contrast, a number of comments from Helensburgh focussed on the information provided in Session 2, which '*was an eye-opener to the 'downside' of a wind farm*'. Several Aberfeldy jurors commented on the value of hearing perspectives from both sides of the arguments and getting a "*clearer understanding of both the for and against opinions from the different speakers*".

Several Aberfeldy jurors reflected how their opinions changed through the presentations, for example one juror notes "*my opinions changed throughout the course of the day …*[the anti-wind witness] *presentation with harsh reality of argumentative facts and figures and did push me against wind farms, but only for a short while*" and another says how "*the second witness session did make me feel less supportive of wind farms, but then after the third session I changed my mind again to support them a little*". Again, this reflects the differing impact of the witnesses in the debates about wind energy and wind farms (see Chapter 7).

Following Day 2 jurors' reflections are mixed, and themes are illustrated in Box 8.3. In Coldstream, there were no very strong themes in jurors' comments, though several mentioned the benefits of working with one another, and some of the specific activities or discussion topics. Helensburgh jurors noticed how their opinion was affected by how much the group agreed, whereas Aberfeldy expressed a range of reflections about the richness of perspectives and information sharing in the conversations.

Indeed, an Aberfeldy juror commented in the final survey that, though her views had not in fact changed, she felt that contributions from 'everyone' helped to shape the opinion that she now holds, and thus in some ways it is the product of the group – albeit her own personal viewpoint. This reflection illustrates the deliberative quality in this jury. This was also nurtured in Coldstream, as the evaluator summed up "*on the whole, there was a good balance of opportunities to … formulate opinions on the basis of discussions in the groups. A number of participants commented on the richness of this experience in informal ways outside the structured parts of the event*".

Indeed, to foster such deliberative quality, it was important that jurors did not feel that they were forced to adopt an opinion, nor into changing their opinion, either by the activities or by each other. It was also important that the process successfully created an environment where jurors felt their views could be shared in an open and respectful way. There is evidence that this was achieved (see Chapter 5). For example, in the final survey, when jurors were asked about whether their experience differed from their expectations at the start, a number of jurors mentioned being initially concerned that they didn't have an

opinion, but that the experience didn't require this. Furthermore, as a juror commented, "*many of the jurors are undecided after two days. This is important – it reflects society*". Furthermore, several jurors commented in conversation and in surveys on the respectful and cooperative environment created within the groups – in all juries. These aspects are explored more in Chapter 9, and a guide to creating a deliberative environment is outlined in Chapters 4 and 5.

Box 8.3. A selection of juror responses to summarise what jurors felt had greatest effect on their opinions in Day 2:

Coldstream:

Group work: "The willingness of people to listen and take on board a range of views"

Activities: "At the end, when we were prioritising" [i.e. exercise when jurors prioritised principles – see Chapters 4 and 6]

Topics of discussion: "The conflicts when discussing national strategy, infrastructure"; "The fact that there is compelling evidence both for and against"

Helensburgh:

Consensus: "Formulating the principles has reinforced my opposition"; "Seeing the breadth of dislike for wind farms and everyone distrust of current processes of decision"; "Group discussions and agreements backed up my opinion"

Group work: "that people were able to remove emotional feeling and discuss facts"; "Hearing other peoples opinions"

Aberfeldy:

Content of the discussions "Adding in other resources to help the wind farms develop may have swayed me a bit"; "the subject of caps on wind farms",

Breadth of discussions: "Diversity of opinions and different outlooks", "balance of arguments that brought into play other issues."

New information: "The environmental impact and the long term benefits are much better than I expected".

Self discovery: "Realising that your overall opinion can be made up from a wide range of different feelings on the subject being discussed", "time to think and consolidate existing views".

8.4. Discussion – jurors' opinions and what may have changed them

As we outline at the start of this Chapter, we aimed to explore how jurors preferences were revised and how this differed between locations, as well as what phases influenced these changes, i.e. Information, Reflection, Deliberation – or a combination.

Previous research on energy technologies suggests that people's attitudes towards the technology, and its development, are influenced by factors such as the perceived costs and benefits of the technology, as well as personal values and trust (e.g. Mabon et al 2014). In this Chapter, we have explored how the jurors' opinions were influenced by various cost-benefit considerations (efficiency, environmental impact, financing models, local benefits

and so on) but also how differences in personal values and outlook matter on all these issues.

Before we explore what aspects, experiences, or information changed jurors' opinions, it is first important to revisit a point expressed at the start to this Chapter, namely, that deliberation does not necessitate preference change. Jurors may consider the topic without changing their opinion. For example, in Abefeldy a juror expressed, during conversation, how '*she has the same opinion as before, but feels she can back it up now*'. The reflections in the previous section show that one of the highlights of the experience for the jurors related to the realisation, or evolution, of their opinion on contested topics such as wind farms. This was regardless of the orientation of their perspectives, or whether it changed, or even if they remained undecided. Considering and sharing perspectives thus contributed to jurors' enjoyment and engagement in the process.

8.4.1 Information provision and preference change

In each jury the Information Phase was the most significant for opinion change on the three aspects of wind farm development (policy, planning, and impact) that were statistically modelled to examine preference changes. As mentioned earlier, this observation is in line with previous studies.

The Information Phase was also most important for improving assessed factual knowledge on climate change and energy generation (Section 7.3), and is when most jurors felt they learnt the most (particularly in Helensburgh and Aberfeldy - Section 7.4.2). Indeed, in Chapter 7 we explore how the prospect of deliberations in Day 2 may have incentivised learning in the preceding phases; jurors wanted to "*feel informed*" in order to "*have an opinion*". Thus, it can be argued that learning – or being freshly exposed to new evidence and perspectives - contributed to preference change on these aspects. Support for this is found in how jurors' opinions about the impact of wind farms on the local area changed most in Day 1, and opinions about the wind farms planning process changed least, which reflects the level of detail that the witnesses presented on these aspects (see Section 7.5).

However, though there is less 'factual' learning in the Deliberative Phase, there is qualitative evidence that the process enhanced the jurors' understanding of the nuance and complexities of the debate around wind energy development and related issues. While significant preference change is not observed following the deliberations, our analyses do find that individuals revised their opinions in all phases of the process (though not all jurors revised opinion on each aspect in every phase). This is the case even when the group opinion or overall spread of the jurors' responses showed little change. This is significant because it shows how jurors were largely engaging with both sides of the argument throughout the jury – particularly in Coldstream and Aberfeldy. Furthermore, since no single phase led jurors to revise their opinions in the same manner, it also indicates the diversity in jurors' responses to the information and perspectives shared, and thus the range of personal

values in the groups[43]. Thus it seems that, to some degree, exposure to 'factual' and 'conceptual' knowledge (in Day 1, and Day 2 respectively) had an impact on jurors revising their preferences in different ways, though more significant change seems to relate to the experiences in the Information Phase.

We can consider different reasons why Day 1 seems more influential overall. Survey and ethnographic evidence indicates that many jurors had, prior to the jury, given the issue little attention. Additionally, jurors initially reported that they don't feel particularly knowledgeable about wind energy or, as one jurors expressed, how they "*took for granted what had been done*" regarding wind farms developments. Attention to a topic that had been given little previous thought, as well as fresh exposure to information and different perspectives about issues could thus have influence an initial burst of preference change. A second argument could be that the evidence shared by the witnesses was more persuasive for jurors than the evidence shared between each other in the deliberations. Or perhaps jurors simply paid attention to particular evidence that stood out to them most, for whatever heuristic reason, and changed their opinions. Later, the Reflection and Deliberation phases may have motivated them to revise their responses to the new information.

For many complex issues, information provision can lead to more negative opinions about the topic. For example, focus groups on Carbon Capture and Storage technology – another alternative for low carbon energy generation – observed a shift from neutral to negative opinion after participants were given the chance to learn more and discuss the technology (Howell et al., 2012). It may seem that a similar effect is at play in all the juries, since jurors' aggregate attitudes towards wind farm policy, planning and their impacts – which were initially positive – became more neutral, particularly following the Information Phase. As one juror put in their comments: "*I always thought* [wind farms] *were a good option until I learned more about them*". However, as we note in Section 8.2.2, the aggregate results mask differences in the evolutions of jurors' opinions in Aberfeldy and Coldstream, compared to Helensburgh. The opinion changes observed in Coldstream and Aberfeldy did *not* affect the average opinions of these groups, and the Information Phase was no different to the other phases in these locations. In contrast, in Helensburgh, changes in preferences in Day 1 led to statistically significant negative preference change. Thus it seems that other differences are at play between the groups that caused jurors' opinion to evolve differently from the other juries.

8.4.2 Three juries, two patterns of preference change

The preference change in Helensburgh Day 1 is distinct from the other locations, in direction, scale, and also rigidity. Coldstream and Aberfeldy saw jurors revise their opinions

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[43] As an additional point, since the 'averaged-out' group opinion was not always affected by individual preference changes, the value of the detailed research methods used in this project is brought to light here.

in no consistent direction, throughout the process. Thus the average opinions of the group did not significantly change, though we do observe that jurors revise their opinions during the process.

The differences in jury groups appear to be a plausible explanation to understand the two distinct patterns. There are two principal components that differ between the juries: their location, and the composition of jurors in each location. We will examine these factors in turn. A third aspect could have been potential differences in either the implementation of the process or the evidence to which the jurors are exposed. However this is evaluated in Chapter 4, and there are no notable differences that could convincingly account for such strong and sustained preference change in Helensburgh.

Two locational factors were distinct in Helensburgh; the town's proximity to Faslane (the Royal Navy's nuclear submarine base) and to proposed wind farms. Perhaps local acceptance of Faslane may have encouraged the jurors to perceive nuclear technologies more favourably than the wider public[44]. However, jurors in this location only viewed wind power unfavourably; they supported other renewable energy sources (other than wind) and retained support for Scotland's renewable energy targets throughout the process. Furthermore, as we saw in Section 8.2.1, jurors were unsupportive towards wind power from the very start, when nuclear power did not feature in the jurors' 'top 5' energy sources. Thus proximity to Faslane does not seem a convincing argument for the jurors' views about wind power.

The other locational aspect unique to Helensburgh was exposure to wind farms. Indeed, it seems the observations in the juries corroborate, to a certain degree, the common assertion within the literature on public responses to wind farms. First, that greater experience of wind farms leads to greater acceptance and support for the technology (e.g. Strachan & Lal 2004; Warren et al., 2005). The juries revealed the most positive initial attitudes towards wind farms were in Aberfeldy, the location with existing wind farms. Moreover, it has been asserted that public opinions on wind farms (and similar topics or issues) follow a 'U' shape, reflecting how public opinion changes over time in relation to a person's experience of the issue. Wolsink (2007, p.1197) explains how "attitudes range from very positive (that is when people are not confronted by a wind power scheme in their neighbourhood), to much more critical (when a project is announced), to positive again some reasonable time after construction)". Following this line of argument, it might be considered that the positive or neutral attitudes in Coldstream represent the views of citizens who are not confronted by wind farms, whereas the critical positions uncovered at Helensburgh could represent the dip in U-shaped attitudes due to current prospects of wind farms. The views in Aberfeldy, where

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[44] The organisers had not considered this while selecting locations, but the topic soon cropped up in Day 1 since several jurors worked at (or knew people who worked at) the base, and also jurors showed evident readiness to discuss nuclear power.

a wind farm was already operational, may thus represent the return to a largely positive position.

In terms internal group diversity, as outlined in Chapter 3, Helensburgh was compositionally distinct from the other two juries in terms of jurors' initial perspectives about wind energy, and also income to a lesser degree. All three juries were imbalanced in terms of gender and voting preferences, but our analyses presented in Section 8.2.2.3 find that voting preference and gender did not affect jurors' preferences and how they change, and so we do not consider these aspects here. Instead, it seems most likely that the observed polarisation of views in Helensburgh is a result of limited diversity of viewpoints on the topic in this jury, as shown in Chapter 3, due to recruitment issues. The jury contained fewer wind energy advocates expressing their perspectives during the group conversations which limited the deliberative quality of the process. This case offers an illustrative example of a statistical regularity that Sunstein (2002) attributes to 'enclave deliberation'. When individuals deliberate with like-minded individuals, their preferences tend to shift towards a stronger position in the direction of their pre-deliberation opinions. For example, at the end of Day 2 several Helensburgh jurors noted how '*group discussions and agreements backed up my opinions'.* When the 'pool of arguments' is more diverse, moderation often ensues (Sunstein 2009). In sum, we would argue that Aberfeldy and Coldstream moderated their overall positive views about the impact of wind energy in light of engagement with a diversity of perspectives, whereas Helensburgh developed stronger negative views as a result of lack of counter-arguments during deliberation (see Chapter 5 on group polarisation). This highlights the impact of group diversity of views, counter-argument and challenge during deliberation.

8.5. Conclusions

In this Chapter, we have presented evidence of preference change from three citizens' juries on wind farm development in Scotland. In particular, we examine jurors' feelings about the overall impact of wind energy development in Scotland – and their reasons for these views, and also their perspectives on different aspects of the topic, including wind energy policy, wind farm planning and policy, and the impact of wind farms on the local area. These analyses have offered important lessons about preference change in deliberative processes on contentious issues.

Before we summarise the overall findings, two notes of caution. Firstly, it is important to reiterate that the participants were not selected to represent the Scottish population at large, which cannot be done with a small sample. Thus, their perspectives are not representative of Scottish citizens. Secondly, the analyses concern jurors views about the overall impact of wind farms, or aspects of wind farm development – not about how they feel wind farms *should* be developed. These are captured in the principles outlined in Chapter 6. With this in mind, in this research let us consider how the work presented in this chapter has addressed our research aims:

What understanding have we gained about citizens' perspectives on wind farm development, and how these differ between groups?

- All jurors are largely supportive of renewable energy, reducing energy demand, and Scotland's goals to develop a low carbon energy economy in Scotland. Their opinions on many of these issues did not change throughout the process.

- Jurors show a range of different opinions about the impacts of wind farms for a range of reasons. In diverse juries, arguments on the same topic or issue are presented from opposing perspectives. Additionally, there were differences in the relative importance of particular values or perspectives between the jury groups. Thus, overall **opinions about wind farms are influenced, in a complex way, by a range of different aspects of the technology and its development.**

- Proximity to wind farm development may have had some effect on individuals' views on the topic, and how these evolved. Opinions in Helensburgh became more negative during the process on all aspects of wind farms. Opinions in Coldstream and Aberfeldy moderated on the overall impacts of wind energy, but remained similar – and broadly positive - on other aspects of wind energy.

- More crucial than location, however, was **the diversity of initial viewpoints** in the group, which affected the deliberative quality of the process (Chapter 5) and thus the evolution of the jurors' preferences.

What have we learnt about how jurors' opinions change during the citizens' jury?

- **Jurors revised their preferences the most in the Information Phase**. We postulate that such initial change in views is due to the experience of being exposed to different perspectives and information on a topic that they had previously given little thought to.

- **Experiences in the Information, Reflection, and Deliberation phases of the jury were each important for changing jurors' preferences**. Jurors revised their opinions on a range of aspects related to wind farms (including wind energy policy, wind farm planning and local impacts of wind farms) in all phases of the jury. However not all jurors revised their preferences on each measured aspect in each phase; instead these changes occurred in different individuals in all different phases of the jury, as different topics are touched on or addressed, and evidence and perspectives shared.

- In Coldstream and Aberfeldy, initial opinions were mixed, but slightly positive towards aspects of wind farms. The Information Phase caused the greatest number of jurors to revise their preferences, though there was no statistically significant net change in the group opinion. While no particular phase caused change in the group opinion on any particular aspect about wind farm development, the **jurors' opinions about the overall impact of wind energy were moderated at the end of the process compared the start, and a broader range of reasons were provided to justify the views that they held**. We interpret this in the light of Sunstein's 'law of group polarisation' (2002, 2009). Most jurors still felt Scotland had, all things considered, benefited from wind farms.

- In Helensburgh, initial opinions about wind farms were more neutral or negative. Significant negative opinion change occurred only in the Information Phase of the jury. There was some change in preferences in the Reflection and Deliberation Phase, too, though this led to no significant net change. As above, we interpret this in the light of Sunstein's 'law of group polarisation'; in particular the lack of counter-arguments and challenge to the emerging consensus.

What other aspects have we learnt about?

- There are challenges in measuring and assessing preferences and preference change in the process for small sample sizes that are intrinsic to citizens' juries and other small mini-publics.

- **The mixed methods research approach is fundamental** when gathering data about citizens' individual and group perspectives about issues around wind farms. The breadth of aspects about wind farms canvassed by the survey questions did not necessarily capture jurors' perspectives on the principles that mattered most to them when making *decisions* about wind farm development –but group deliberation to produce principles did (see Chapter 6). This highlights the **limitations of opinion polls used in consultations**. Assuming and predetermining what might be important to citizens will not give due attention to the full range of factors that influence public perceptions of contested topics such as wind-farms.

- For some jurors one of the highlights of the experience of the process was the realisation, or evolution, of their opinion on the topic. Thus, learning and sharing perspectives contributed to their enjoyment and engagement in the process.

- Recognising one's values and priorities, and also recognising that preferences can change, "*be swayed*", or develop as one's understanding of the subject deepens, are examples of valuable personal skills development. Thus, bringing awareness of jurors' opinions contributed to transferable skills, as well as self-efficacy.

In this light, we would argue that deliberative engagement presents the opportunity to tease out the full range of factors that influence public perceptions of (low-carbon) technologies and to give these factors the attention that they are due.

Chapter 9 - Experiencing the juries: Perspectives on public participation

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Read this chapter if you are interested in:

- the experience of the citizens' jury from the perspectives of all involved,
- whether participants learn civic skills in deliberative processes,
- how participants feel citizens should be involved in decision making,
- and how all involved in the project feel about the potential role for citizens' juries in decision-making.

Outline

9.1. Introduction

9.2. The experience of being involved in the jury

9.3. Fostering civic skills and attitudes

9.4. Jurors' perspectives on decision-making

9.5. Conclusions

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9.1. Introduction

One of the key aims of this research project was to understand how deliberative methods could be used to engage citizens on complex public issues. In this Chapter, we revisit the challenges faced by the participants. We then consider the jurors and witnesses' reflections on the experience, process design, and outcomes (Section 9.2), and explore evidence of skills development (Section 9.3). We then learn about how jurors felt citizens should be involved in decision making (Section 9.4) before we consider whether they felt methods like citizens' juries could be used – and how (Section 9.5).

9.1.1 Citizens' juries: A challenging feat

In Chapter 6 we learnt how, in a very short period of time, the jurors successfully agreed on principles for wind farm development. The jurors were supported in their task by careful, fair, facilitation, aided by the organisers' support, and also by the witnesses. The quality of the jurors' proposed principles demonstrated their capacity to engage in long-term thinking on a complex topic. Furthermore, when working together to complete their task, the jurors deliberated and found common ground even when there were diverse views in the group (see also Chapters 4 and 5). This is a remarkable and challenging feat, and their achievements reflect not only the jurors' hard labour, but also that of the facilitators,

organisers and the witnesses. Indeed, the exhaustion from these challenges, outlined below, were noticeable in jurors and organisers towards the end each day.

Table 9.1. Challenges of the main roles in the citizens' juries

Some of the challenges of the various roles in the jury	
Jurors	- Consider conflicting evidence from the witnesses and each other; - Work together with a mix of personalities and perspectives through challenging tasks; - Consider local and national issues on short and long timescales, and to take personal and group views into account; - Articulate perspectives and issues; - And to do all this over two long and tiring days.
Witnesses	- Effectively communicate their perspectives about wind farm development and evidence to support their perspective, in a very limited time (~10 minutes) and to a broad audience; - Answer questions on a range of issues related - to some degree - to the topic, and to do so in a clear and concise manner that is appropriately pitched and 'convincing' compared to the witness with counter perspectives; - To travel to the jury locations and perform their role on a weekend day; - To respond to the juror's remaining questions in the week following Day 1 of each jury.
Facilitators	- Encourage jurors to create and maintain an open environment where perspectives can be shared; - Communicate sometimes abstract or unfamiliar tasks; - Ensure that discussions or activities were inclusive, fair and on topic; - Sense and clarify confusion, and motivate jurors where necessary; - Mediate the witnesses Q&A; - Keep the activities and sessions to time.
Organisers	- Organise a process that is fair; - Manage the logistics of the day and jurors' activities; - Support the facilitators where required; - Ensure that the research data are successfully collected; - As Information Officers (IOs) - to provide information where necessary, or to identify where jurors are overlooking key counter-perspectives on contested issues, and to provide the evidence in a clear, balanced and fair manner.

Despite these challenges, we find evidence that the process fostered feelings of efficacy, and that jurors found the experience enjoyable and rewarding on several dimensions (Chapters 4 and 7). In light of this, it is useful to draw on the field observations and reflections to explore, in more detail, the participants' experiences and perspectives on the process to assess the strengths and limitations of approach that we adopted, and the wider applications of deliberative processes. Specifically, we consider:

- What did the participants think of the process?
- Does experiencing the process foster civic skills and attitudes?
- What did participants think about the prospects for the citizens' jury as a format for public engagement in decision-making?

9.2. The experience of being involved in the jury

9.2.1 The experience of being a juror

As we noted earlier, the days were long, challenging and demanding, and jurors experienced myriad emotions. Their collective resilience was remarkable; they maintained good humour appropriately while also attending to their task; maintaining morale in the citizens' jury, and thus the jurors sustained their participation, through to the end, even during episodes of silence as the jurors reflected individually, while completing questionnaires or working in groups. Indeed, the Helensburgh ethnographer notes how, during group work, "*there is lots of biting pens/hands on chins/quizzical concentrated looks. People are thinking and working hard*" and, later in the day, how "*people are still very engaged despite being tired*".

This was not always the case for everybody; ethnographers capture how some jurors look bored, or "*become inattentive, but others remain extremely attentive*". Importantly, "*the bulk of participants remain focussed*" throughout the days, and so none of the sessions or activities seemed to lose people. In Day 2, the plenary group work in the morning and afternoon was more lively, giving the jurors a chance to move around, for example, when the Helensburgh jurors are clustering points in the morning of Day 2, the ethnographer notes how there is "*lots of pointing/ agreeing/ helping/ touching the board/ moving things. The group is very tight together – both close in interaction and spatially*".

Unsurprisingly, given the jurors' hard work, there was a real sense of accomplishment during the process, particularly at the end of both days. This sense of common purpose led to a challenging, but largely positive experience for the jurors.

The intensity of the demands on the jurors is important, still, since exhaustion is a way in which participants can

Most jurors said they would take part in a citizens' jury again

become excluded from the process. The demands were particularly intense in Coldstream, which was under elevated time constraints, and Aberfeldy, due to the deliberative vigour in the group. As the Coldstream ethnographer noted '*the physical demands were clear as one of the older participants seemed to be taking catnaps, particularly later in the day*'.

The importance of good logistics and environment cannot be overestimated in creating a relaxed and welcoming space and maintaining morale. A series of questions also asked jurors about the practicalities of the process. We find that these were largely satisfactory, but that some aspects could have be improved:

- *Jurors were satisfied by the juries' organisation:* Most jurors felt the organisation generally good or excellent, though more jurors felt the organisation was "okay" in Coldstream. This is possibly because, as the organisers also noted, the process became more streamlined as more events were delivered (Chapter 4).

- *Jurors were satisfied by the jury program:* Most jurors felt the timing of the activities in both days were suitable, though several jurors felt that a little more time would have been useful for the witness talks, scrutinising the witnesses (particularly in Aberfeldy), and deliberations. Additionally, a quarter of the jurors would have preferred less time doing the questionnaires, and less time between the jury days. Several jurors would have preferred to have received the witness answers sooner.

- *A good venue and good refreshments matter:* The venues were different for each jury, and each had their limitations, either in light, warmth, and acoustics. The community center in Coldstream was most positively received. This venue had poor acoustics, but there was plenty of light and warmth and the refreshments were very good. The Helensburgh venue was dark and had little fresh air, and both the Helensburgh and Aberfeldy venues were very cold, affecting the jurors' feelings about these logistics.

The majority found Day 2, the deliberative day, to be more challenging and enjoyable, though that felt they learnt the most on Day 1.

Figure 9.1. Juror views about the two days of the jury
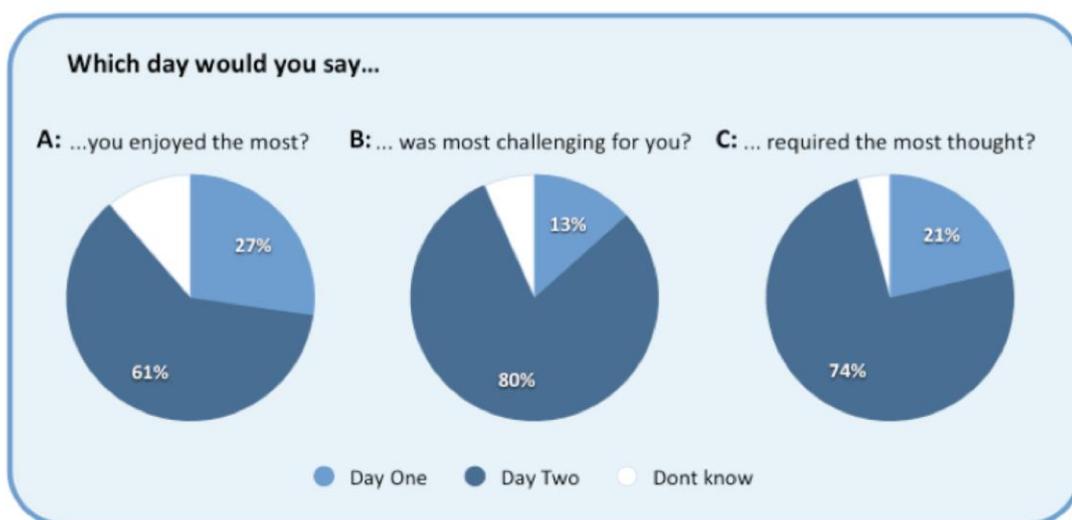
In the final survey, jurors were invited to consider how the experience differed from their initial expectations at the start of Day 1. The responses varied in all juries, but some key themes arise, as illustrated in Box 9.1. Some jurors were unsure what to expect, but most comments were about how they found the experience "*much more fun, relaxed and enjoyable*" and *"much more interesting"* than expected, they became "*more informed overall than* [they] *thought"*, and how it was interesting to see "*the diversity of people and their opinions*" and "*how opinions can change*", and learnt about themselves. Jurors' comments about the process in Box 9.1, together with the level of enjoyment and

involvement that they were surprised to experience, imply that they perhaps perceive other engagement practices to be limited in these respects, and do not allow for all types of people to take part – including those who are quiet, lack confidence, and don't necessarily have an opinion.

> **Box 9.1 – Common themes to how jurors' experiences of the jury differed from their expectations.**
>
> **Unexpected quality of discussions:**
>
> [Coldstream] "I thoroughly enjoyed being on the citizens' jury and enjoyed the diversity of people and their opinions - and how they can change"; "I did not expect the wide range of views and the passion/beliefs expressed"; "We all have differences of opinion and values and they are not necessarily wrong"
> [Helensburgh] "All the people taking part got more involved in conversations"
> [Aberfeldy] "I was expecting everyone to come with a fixed opinion, but more people agreed on certain topics than I thought would".
>
> **Unexpected level of enjoyment:**
>
> [Coldstream] "It was a lot different than expected. Was expecting a lot of confrontation, but it was good fun"; "It was much more fun, relaxed and enjoyable - when is the next one and what is the topic?"
> [Helensburgh] "I feel that this experience was more light hearted and friendly than what I expected going into it"; "Much more enjoyable. Saw it as a bit of a chore beforehand however I have genuinely enjoyed being involved"
> [Aberfeldy] "Thought I would be bored - but far from it"; "It was much more interesting and much more fun than I imagined. I have learned a lot and am inclined to do more personal research on energy and climate change"
>
> **Unexpected personal gains:**
>
> [Coldstream] "more confidence in public"; "Reinforced my faith in human nature!"
> [Helensburgh] " I felt my opinion counted"
> [Aberfeldy] "I learnt a lot about myself"; "I was nervous of what might be expected of me and my limited knowledge. My fears were all unfounded and I found the whole experience enriching"
>
> **Unexpected process:**
>
> [Coldstream] "I was more impressed by the process and the reasonableness of those taking part across the spectrum of people present"; "Diverse groups can work together with appropriate support"; "I was not forced into speaking. I learnt a lot".
> [Helensburgh] "a diverse group of people can work well together on an emotive and challenging topic"
> [Aberfeldy] "there was far more input from us personally"; "Wasn't sure what to expect but I think the concept is a good one. It allows for all types of people to be part of something..."

9.2.1.1 What did jurors think of deliberation and its outcomes?

The juries' task was rather abstract and broad in scope. Additionally, most people are generally unfamiliar with the concept and conditions of 'deliberative participation'. Thus, to help the jurors, deliberation was explained at the start of Day 2, and the activities were designed to break the task down into stages.

The jurors' reflections on the experience, complemented by our observations, show how the deliberative processes in Day 2 were understood, inclusive, respectful, and helpful:

- *Jurors felt the deliberation process was clearly explained*. As noted in Chapter 4, the responses became more positive from jury to jury, as the process was refined.

- *Jurors felt that they and others in the group had largely been able to express their views* (see Chapter 5).

- *Jurors felt that their views had been respected by the group* (see Chapter 5).

- *There were largely positive feelings about how much jurors felt they had influence over the principles* (see Chapter 5)*.

- *Feelings of group identity were moderate,* except in Helensburgh, where feelings of group identity were strongest.

- *All juries felt that the principles reflected their views*. Responses were most positive in Aberfeldy and Helensburgh than in Coldstream (see Chapter 5).

- *The conversations in the groups were felt to be most useful in making up jurors' minds.* Helensburgh jurors felt conversations were particularly useful compared to Aberfeldy and Coldstream. Even so, the majority of jurors felt that conversations had helped "quite a lot" or "very much" as they made up their minds.

In these observations there is some indication that the diversity of opinions in a group may affect jurors' experience. Coldstream and Aberfeldy juries were diverse groups of jurors holding different views on wind farms. Helensburgh jurors' opinions of the deliberations and the process were more supportive than the other juries. This is likely because 'enclave deliberation' in Helensburgh served to reinforce majority views (see Chapters 5 and 8), creating a strong sense of group unity and shared values. Jurors' views were more moderate in the other locations – jurors reported weaker feelings of group identity, and that they had less influence over the principles.

These feeling are understandable when people with diverse views deliberate together; differences in perspectives will lead to more frequent conflicts and requirements for compromise, and no single 'voice' or argument will 'lead' or strongly influence the outcomes. Thus feelings of group cohesion may be damped and jurors may feel it is more difficult to make up ones mind, though deliberations can add nuance and insight into the views from various perspectives and as such be subtly helpful. Additionally, working through the issues could develop a greater sense of shared purpose, as well as enhance transferable skills development.

There may be a greater challenge for jurors and facilitators to manage vocal individuals (with strong opinions) in groups with more conflicting views, as we experienced in the small group work in Aberfeldy and Coldstream. These issues were, by and large, overcome (see Chapter 5).

Challenging arguments and perspectives in a group may not necessarily be an uncomfortable experience if the 'ground rules' are respected. Several comments in the surveys capture how jurors felt included in the deliberations, and the rewards of the

experience. For some, simply "*being able to take part in the group activities*", or "*not being forced to speak*" was a distinctly positive experience. Another juror found the "*level of individual involvement and commitment to ensuring everyone is given a voice*" particularly striking. There are many examples of the supportive environment that the jurors created, but the following vignette from Coldstream is illustrative:

> '*Female A reads out the principles for Group 1. She is not confident about reading the principles and looks to the group for clarification on what is meant, and to the facilitator to explain principles - but the group is encouraging and supportive and though she is quite nervous I don't think she feels uncomfortable.*'

The deliberations lead one juror to recognise "*the power of conversation between the people in our community*" and gave another "*confidence in the public*". Other comments reflect how jurors "*felt [they] had helped*" the discussions or "*felt [their] opinion counted*", and that "*everyone has an opinion, but don't need to agree*", or that it was remarkable how "*such a diverse group can easily form similar opinions*".

These reflections suggest that the conversations were facilitated in a manner that was deliberative, and rewarding. Jurors in all locations exhibited great resilience and camaraderie as they largely supported each other as they worked to complete the task.

9.2.1.2 Compensating the jurors

Jurors were compensated for their participation at the end of each day; £70 for Day 1 and £100 for Day 2. As made clear in Chapter 3, this not only provides an incentive to participate, but is also a way to make sure those with fewer resources are not excluded, and so is an important factor for enabling diverse engagement.

The final survey asked jurors whether they felt jury members should be paid for participating in these events if such methods were used to involve people in Scotland to decide about issues that affect them. The majority of jurors felt that jurors should be paid (89%), and that the size of the financial reward was appropriate (9% felt jurors should be paid less). This is important; the incentive needs to feel comfortable, and also needs to be enough that attendance is not restricted or limited on financial grounds. Indeed, the compensation was key for attracting several jurors; several responses in the surveys mention how "the money helped" when deciding to attend the process, and during a coffee break two young women mentioned to our evaluator that they only attended for the money. The ethnographers also captured conversations about renumeration in several of the juries.

> [Aberfeldy, final plenary] *Female juror 1...gazes at the floor as the facilitator asks what would make her participate in planning decisions, and utters one word in response while shaking her head. Money.*
> *Female juror 2 adds that the money was a big draw, but also because she was approached face-to-face rather than leafleting. Female juror 3 is a bit more cynical. "Sorry, but anyone saying they're not here because they're getting a hundred quid is lying".*

It seems that the financial reward was crucial for successful recruitment and inclusive participation. Importantly also is the fact that jurors engaged with the process and took seriously their task, regardless of their motivations for attending.

The vignette above also touches on the value of face to face recruitment, as advised by Ipsos MORI. Indeed, two of the jurors (who are both knowledgeable and have a lot to say about wind farms) said that if the jury had just been advertised in the paper they wouldn't have come and its only because they were "accosted in their driveway" that they did. There is also some indication from several conversations and comments that, for some, the personal value in attending the juries superseded the size of the cash reward:

> [Aberfeldy, conversation during lunchtime] *The group then talk about how much they are enjoying the citizens' jury, explaining it was good to learn something new and to think about something they didn't usually think about. "I would have done this even if we weren't being paid - but I'll still take the money now you've offered it!" declares one. "I'd do it for twenty-five pounds, or at least much less than you were offering," says another.*

9.2.2 The experience of being a witness

The role of the witnesses required considerable commitment; including hours of preparation and time spent answering the jury's leftover questions as well as travelling to and attending the juries - which was a demanding endeavour. Given their efforts, it is vital that the witnesses' experience is valuable, for them personally and for the project overall. As such, our witnesses' reflections tell us what they felt to be successful about the experience and the process, and what aspects require improvement or support, bearing in mind that they experienced an intense but limited window into the jury process.

The witnesses were interviewed following the three juries. In their interviews, several of the witnesses are supportive, enthusiastic and delighted to have been part of the process. These witnesses are knowledgeable about the deliberative process. However, a couple of witnesses were less effusive, and indeed had significant criticisms of the project.

All of the witnesses enjoyed their experience to some extent, but all felt there were improvements that could be made to the process. The majority of the witnesses particularly enjoyed the question and answer session, as one said, this was "*where experts could correct each other and interact with jurors*" and felt "*this was the most 'dynamic' part of the da*y". Another witness said he '*loved being put on the spot*' and '*experts should be kept on their toes*', while another reflected how "*[It was] good to have that live debate, it was a challenge, but it was … interesting and helped form my views as well*". Two other witnesses note how taking part in the citizens' jury and interacting with the jurors helped them reaffirm their own ideas, and that "*it is interesting to get lots of views but also useful*".

Two witnesses expressed disappointment in the experience (one pro-wind and one anti-wind). In these cases, the organisers failed to some extent to communicate clearly the purpose of the research project and their role as a witness. One witness found the process exhausting, and felt somewhat under-valued and that it wasn't fully recognised how much of

a burden this could be. The other witness felt that the Q&As were too broad, and detracted from the focus of the jury; wind farm development.

All but one of the witnesses felt that the jurors were able to understand the topic properly and that citizens are integral to the political decision-making process. One of the witnesses expressed that he was "*not sure about the actual value to the people…you might then find that the process you're doing in fact really materially has very little impact on their knowledge or understanding*". This comes to a point for discussion about the process; the point of the jury was not to "teach" the jurors, but to enhance their awareness of the diverse perspectives on the issue. It would not be possible for jurors to retain the information that they receive in the process, but the information helps them to map out what matters most to *them* on the topic. Information helps facilitate a full discussion, and to iron out areas of misunderstanding that could inhibit, limit or misdirect the discussions. These aspects were perhaps not made sufficiently clear to the witnesses.

9.2.2.1 Compensating the witnesses

The witnesses were not compensated for their contribution, besides reimbursing travel and providing some refreshments on the day. When asked, industry representatives felt that it wouldn't be appropriate to be compensated as they felt it was part of their salaried job to do this sort of work. The 'impartial' witness who is associated with a University felt it was his duty to relay information for free, and that universities should contribute to citizen engagement more generally, providing a link between communities and research knowledge. Other witnesses suggested £200 - £2,000 per day.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the issue of remunerating the witnesses is highly contextual and should probably be judged differently depending on the project and subject. What is clear, however, is that effort must be made to ensure that the witnesses are adequately briefed and prepared, and that they feel valued for their participation and contribution to the process (Chapter 3). This is not only fair on the witnesses, but also on the jurors; the process benefits from engaged and enthusiastic witnesses who see value in their role. Such an outlook would also aid witnesses' resilience to the demands of their role.

9.3. Fostering civic skills and attitudes

There is evidence that the deliberative experience enhances jurors' interest in policy making. A number of questions in the first and final survey solicited their views on these issues. We find that opinions were revised between the start and end of the process. We observe change on several aspects:

- *Perceived influence of Scottish Government* - jurors left with a stronger belief that government policy influences progress on issues such as low-carbon energy futures.

- *Understanding of political topics*: Jurors reported slightly higher levels of understanding of political topics in the final survey, and some also report being less open-minded. The latter is interesting, since several jurors comment on how the

experience had '*broadened [their] mind-set*' and jurors were aware of their changing perspectives. However, perhaps jurors had become more aware of their own values and political beliefs during the deliberative process, and thus realised what aspects they would be unlikely to modify if faced with a conflicting or complex decision. Indeed, as jurors commented in the final survey, the most striking thing about the jury experiences was, for some people, how they "*came with an open mind*" but the experience has changed this, for example one juror noted how their increased understanding has made them realise they are in fact '*not as green minded as [they] though*t'.

- *How much citizens can influence what the Scottish Government decides*. There were interesting and diverse changes in perspectives between jury groups, shown in Figure 9.2. In all juries it was made clear that this project would not inform decision making on wind farm development. Thus, participating in the jury should not change perspectives on how much citizens influence policy making, though jurors considered community involvement in decision making in the final plenary. Despite this, two juries (Coldstream and Helensburgh) felt more strongly that citizens have influence on policy making at the end of the process than they did at the start. The reasons for this are not clear. These survey questions are about democracy on the whole and not about decision-making about wind farms. However, from the start, Aberfeldy jurors felt more negative than the other locations about how much locals have a say in decisions about wind farms. Additionally, "*Local control*" was a theme for deliberations in Aberfeldy, where discussions tended to focus on how inconsequential jurors felt the public concerns are currently in decision making, for example expressing how '*consultation doesn't currently have tangible effect on policy',* and how "*the planning process is very precise, but that central government overrules it"*.

Jurors' prior engagement with consultation or decision-making processes was limited; half of the jurors had no previous experience with any form of civic activities. Indeed, we see above that starting interest and understanding in political issues is modest. Several of the jurors had never voted, and some argued that this was because all they get is "*propaganda, not information*."

However at the end of the process, 97% said that they would be willing to participate in similar activities in the future. Given that, in aggregate,

The process made citizens more interested in public policy and decision-making

the jurors' views on citizens' influence on decision making had not changed during the process, the main reason for such optimistic resolve must be because the jurors found the experience positive and rewarding.

Figure 9.2. How much can citizens like you influence what the Scottish Government decides? Change in jurors' response to this question from the first and final survey.
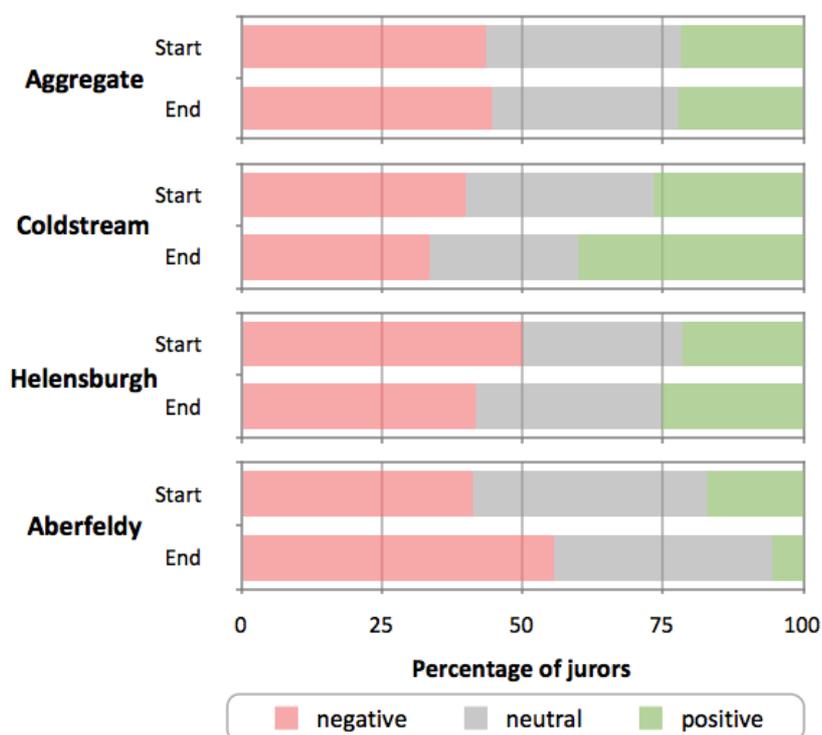
The evaluator for Coldstream commented how their notes suggest '*the process delivered deep learning, opinion change, consensus on a number of levels, while contributing to building of social capital*'. This is evidenced in the survey data. All the jurors reported that the experience was enjoyable, 87% were "very glad" that they participated in the jury, and many comments illustrate how the experience benefited them beyond the jury topic: '*it was great to discuss a subject that is not in my usual comfort zone and with people outwith my usual circle*', and '*gave me ideas for inclusive discussion techniques at my place of work*'.

The surveys found that jurors' self-efficacy increased during the process (see Chapter 7), and a number of jurors comment on self-discoveries. One juror brilliantly sums this up; "*I have found my mojo".*

As one witness commented *"democracy requires an enlightened public",* but arguably democracy also requires a public that is empowered so as to engage (see final section in Chapter 10). For the majority of the jurors, the experience of the citizens' jury certainly cultivated civic skills and interest, and had been an emancipating process in some respects. More than one juror asks, at the close of the jury, "*when is the next one and what is the topic?"* The extent to which these attitudes and skills are sustained and developed over time is an important question for further research.

9.4. Jurors' perspectives on decision-making

9.4.1 Who should be involved in decision-making, and how?

Concerns about, and perceived limitations of, current decision making processes are expressed throughout the juries. It is important to make clear here, as noted in Chapter 7, that jurors had no formal presentation or information on the planning process. This was a definite limitation of Day 1. However, jurors did hear some evidence on the process, from the witnesses and each other, since some participants had some experience of planning consultations and so shared their knowledge with the group in the deliberations. For example during Day 1, jurors ask the witnesses in the Wind Power session "*What is the point of this consultation/jury, if at the end of the day consultations are often not taken into account?*", "*Who has a more powerful lobby? Nuclear, coal or wind?*", "*how many wind farm applications have been stopped by public concern?*", and "*is it fair Loch Ness residents get a farm they didn't want*".

In the final session of Day 2, jurors are invited in plenary to consider, together, who they think should be involved in decision-making about wind farms (Chapter 4.3.6). It must be noted here that this was a brief and fast moving plenary conversation; pressed for time, and with increasingly fatigued jurors. Nevertheless, jurors were lively and engaged: this was a conversation many wanted to have.

Aberfeldy jurors had touched on this topic earlier in the day; as we note above, these jurors felt - more strongly than the other locations - that the views of the publics are inconsequential for decision making. When deliberating "Local Control" (Chapter 4) they expressed views that it was important that locals have more say than the current consultation process allows:

> Juror 1 exclaims "consultation should mean consultation!", Wendy and Jen press him to explain what it means - and Juror 2 proposes it means that there should be a tangible effect of consultation on policy. A discussion ensued, where another juror uses the word 'vote'.

In the plenary discussions, all juries proposed a stronger role for the communities affected. However they differed in terms of the methods to canvass or involve the public. In Coldstream, for example, some jurors proposed something like the jury they had just experienced, alongside "open days" and surveys. They want the decision-making process to be impartial, not involving anyone with a vested interest. Two male jurors emphasised the "*need for information and a representative sample – if you ask someone on the street you get yes/no but not an informed opinion*". Once the possibility of using surveys and/or referendums came up, another female juror added a caveat that met general agreement: "*if 51% say yes it should still be no – this needs a big majority*".

Aberfeldy also mentioned the possibility of using citizens' juries, but not immediately - they worked towards the concept:

> Female Juror 1 proposes an independent body overseeing the information we are given.

> *Who is in that body, Oliver wants to know?*
> *Male Juror says we as a society have to place trust in them, just as we do with the police and fire brigade.*
> *Oliver tries to get others into the discussion about who you trust.*
> *Female Juror 2 proposes people with differing opinions on the same committee "kind of like jury duty", waving her hands left, right, forward and back as she tries to articulate her suggestion.*

Prompted by the facilitator, they considered whether or not they would trust a citizens' jury, and brought the local/national dimension into the discussion: "*if you are local, you are still biased as you have a local stake, so would need people from elsewhere.*" Some jurors in Aberfeldy also defended existing consultation mechanisms, arguing that if local people want to get involved there are already channels through which to engage. However, other jurors denounce this, arguing that these methods are not inviting or inclusive:

> *Male juror says we have a very efficient process already…and asks how many of the group have gone to speak to their community councillor about issues.*
> *Female juror 2 says she works seventy-hour weeks and has children - hence she won't voluntarily participate unless someone made time for her.*
> *Female juror 4 adds animatedly. "Things like this are what the money for wind farms should be for, not making pretty football pitches. They should be using this money to find out what the community thinks and engage with them".*

In the comments in the survey, an Aberfeldy juror adds further nuance, that processes like the citizens' jury "*allows for all types of people to be part of something*" and that "*some people are still undecided after 2 days - and this is a reflection of society*". This is something seldom reflected in public forums (Escobar 2011a); that many people are not always directly "for" or "against" but somewhere in between and the juror feels that consultations should allow for this uncertainty.

In contrast, Helensburgh jurors suggest that consultations should be performed by traditional public consultation and petitions (to gather viewpoints in the most convenient manner). These jurors felt that decision-making should involve the general public and visitors, alongside conservation experts, energy companies, planning departments/councils, officials/representatives, The National Trust, and landowners.

9.4.2 What did the jurors, the witnesses and the Stewarding Board think about using citizens' juries in decision making?

At the end of Day 2, in plenary and in the final questionnaire, the jurors were asked about citizens' juries as a method for participation in policy-making. The perspectives of the Stewarding Board and the witnesses were also solicited in interviews. Together with the organisers' reflections, these perspectives provide some indication of the role that deliberative engagement could play when making decisions on contested issues.

Below, we consider the views and opinions on a series of themes: whether citizens' juries could be used to inform decision making; when it would be most appropriate to use these methods; and, would be achieved by doing so.

Some of the witnesses support the citizens' jury process, believing it is '*highly effective, and necessary to engage with the public on complex issues*' and '*can be utilised in effective ways*'. However two of the witnesses are not so positive. Following their experience, one initially sceptic witness felt deliberative forums have some worth, whereas another felt that citizens' juries are perhaps not an effective or useful method because '*we are taking ordinary people, literally off the street…and expecting them to take in pretty advanced material…what you can expect you can get over to these people needs rethinking'.* However this witness felt particularly strongly about 'educating' citizens, and that was key to an '*enlightened public'*.

Most jurors felt that citizens can work together to make decisions about complex issues, and expressed support for the citizens' jury as a format to inform decision making. It also is important to note that during Day 2 group discussions several jurors made these points unprompted. Not all jurors agreed that citizens' juries were more appropriate: in Helensburgh jurors generally preferred traditional methods of engagement and saying that "*ease and convenience is key to getting the public involved in political matters*" - despite the limitations of such methods. That said, these jurors still expressed support in the surveys about using citizens' juries as a format to support decision making, and in fact jurors' support is, on the whole, least positive in Coldstream – perhaps because it was the 'test site' and the process was not executed as tightly as the later juries (see Chapter 4).

Jurors felt strongly that deliberative methods such as citizens' juries should be used to guide decisions '*about issues that affect communities*', and there is broad support for using citizens' juries to inform decision-making on difficult issues. In plenary, Coldstream jurors were particularly supportive about using such formats on contested issues, as the evaluator notes "*they showed very high levels of acceptance for the citizen jury as a successful mechanism of conflict resolution*". The Helensburgh evaluator comments also how '*participants felt the process reflected their opinions, even if there was no consensus, which suggests that it offers one way to engage with citizens over complex, polarising public policy issues*'.

These methods were viewed as '*a good way to find out how citizens feel about issues that affect them*', and so decisions that respected these perspectives would better represent the views of the people. For example, a juror emphasised how '*by widening the approaches used you gain a more representative view'*, and so people '*would feel a more unbiased decision had been reached*'. Indeed, one of the witnesses felt that the juries "*provide a necessary level of transparency and a much needed cross-section from society [and] this interaction between groups is vital*".

There is some concern expressed about how to achieve such a representative view. For example, one of the Stewarding Board members commented how "*one jury would be much less representative than if you had a number of them because of wisdom of crowds*". The analyses in this report indeed show the value of holding multiple juries to draw the common themes from the outcomes proposed, which are most similar when juries are composed of participants with a range of different opinions (see Chapter 6). Indeed, jurors were willing to put considerable trust in their fellow citizens –in the survey they indicated that they felt that a different but diverse jury from their local area would come up with similar statements.

Nonetheless, an evaluator remarked that "*smaller mini-publics (such as citizens juries) are cheaper than larger processes, and it is understandable that this is an attractive attribute for policy makers*" but added "*the specific benefits that smaller mini-publics provide are currently not clear. It could be that citizens' juries produce better quality deliberation, but this claim needs to be tested empirically*".

In turn, one Stewarding Board member thought that, on contested topics, "*most of the time these activities will produce - perhaps not "right answers" - but they will produce answers that are reasonably representative and that most people can live with*". However, the suitability of these processes will also depend on their purpose or scope – and it is currently unclear what would be best. An evaluator felt that "*if the main role of a mini-public is to indicate to policy makers and the broader public the views of the 'informed and post-deliberative' public, then CJs are not appropriate*" and reflects that "*it is currently unclear at what stage in the policy process CJs would be best placed to have the most democratic input*". Some of the jurors discussed how the outcome would only be fair or worthwhile if '*the results of the* [citizens' jury]*... influence policy*' and felt that there should be clear '*reasons given if not*'.

9.5. Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined the participants' experiences and perspectives on the process to assess the strengths and limitations of the approach adopted, and the wider applications of deliberative processes.

The jury process was challenging but rewarding for the jurors. On the whole, jurors felt included, respected, and involved in the deliberations, which built social capital, fostered civic skills and encouraged self-efficacy amongst the jurors. The process also enhanced their interest and understanding of decision-making on these complex issues, and jurors are willing to engage in similar events in the future.

The refinement to the methods following experience of the Coldstream jury enhanced the deliberative outcomes and the jurors' opinions on the value of deliberative democracy. The jurors feel that the public should be involved in decision-making to some degree, particularly in Coldstream and Aberfeldy. These two juries felt that current decision-making processes were limited because the public were not inclusively invited in to contribute towards planning decisions at the crucial stage.

> **Box 9.2 - Concluding comments from the Coldstream evaluator:**
>
> "*the process can produce profound engagement that combines active critical learning with pragmatic focus on forming opinions in a fully open social/public context. The process seemed to deliver deep learning, opinion change, and consensus on a number of levels, and contributed to building of social capital by encouraging participation*".

Our analyses indicate that most participants, having experienced the format, support with cautious enthusiasm the role that mini-publics can play in decision-making. Furthermore,

there is strong support for using citizens' juries for complex and contested topics, with a view to making decision-making on these issues fairer and more representative. The evaluator's quote in Box 9.2 captures how the process we trialled in this project led to sophisticated deliberations, and successfully built social capital.

There are, however, notable caveats, as outlined in this Chapter and also lessons learned. Overarching recommendations for the process (not specific to the topic of wind farms) include:

- *A clear policy objective:* a clearer purpose for the jury, stipulating how the collective decisions could feed into policy making would improve the process, narrowing and focusing the scope of the jury and its remit.

- *The length of the process*: While one witness lauded the two-day process as an "*efficient way of consulting the public on prominent issues*", referring to its '*apparent compactness*', the organisers largely felt that *"it is necessary for the process to be longer than two days"*. An extra day – as a minimum – would be necessary. The days were demanding, which may have led some jurors to become disengaged due to fatigue, and time limitations meant the jurors could not fully complete their task. More time for the deliberations would have eased the time pressures on the jurors, and allowed more time to: (i) support the jurors to make sense of conflicting evidence and so scrutinise it more effectively' and (ii) fully unpack the principles statements and any conflicts they pose, perhaps shaping them so that the jurors feel they better reflect their views of the group.

- *The selection of citizens*: Compensation is crucial for enabling inclusive participation in the juries, and financial motivations to attend do not affect the level of jurors' engagement. The importance and value in selecting a diverse jury cannot be overestimated, as we have reiterated throughout the report. The cross-section of society represented in a citizens' jury is unique. However, if the jury does not contain a diversity of perspectives on the topic, this can have consequences for the results of the jury, the opinion formation that takes place through the process, the participants' experience, the skills they develop and also their views on how the process could be applied.

- *The role and purpose of the witness sessions*: The witnesses need to have "*buy in*" to the process, and must be supported to fully appreciate the demands and needs of their role. The witness selection should be moderated, so that the witnesses' representative bodies are more diverse. Finally, as an evaluator reflects, "*ideally jurors should also be able to select their own witnesses*" to ensure that they are hearing about topics they find most necessary to learn about, and from people they feel are appropriate.

- *The number of juries*: In research, to capture the range of representative values about complex and contested issues, it is beneficial to execute a number of juries with diverse composition. In real policy processes, however, the function of the mini-public may be different and one may suffice (see Chapter 10).

With these improvements, and other suggested throughout the report, deliberative processes such as citizens' juries can be valuable to advise decision-making on complex issues that affect communities.

Chapter 10 - Summary of findings and conclusions: Using citizens' juries in decision-making?

> **Read this chapter if you are interested in:**
>
> - an overview of current interest in citizen participation in Scotland,
>
> - a summary of core research findings and recommendations from the project,
>
> - and reflections on the role of citizens' juries in democracy and policy making.
>
> **Outline**
>
> **10.1.** Introduction: Public participation, policy and wind farms
> **10.2.** Research findings and recommendations
> **10.3.** Deepening democracy? Using mini-publics in decision-making

10.1. Introduction: Public participation, policy and wind farms

In this chapter we offer conclusions and recommendations based on the extensive research presented and analysed throughout the report. Firstly, we contextualise our research topic with reference to current policy developments that highlight increased attention to public participation in policy and decision making in Scotland. In this context, we outline the role of deliberative forms of participation, and how they compare to current community engagement processes on wind farms. In Section 2, we provide a summary of core research findings from this report and offer a range of recommendations. Finally, in Section 3, we reflect on the role that citizens' juries may play in policy making, and how to adapt them on the basis of lessons from this research.

10.1.1 Policy context: Building momentum for public participation and deliberation in Scotland?

When we started this project in 2013 there were clear signs that citizen participation was becoming topical in Scotland. A range of policy developments at national level clearly emphasised community engagement and empowerment. For example, the Christie Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services made citizen participation one of the four pillars for public service reform, and the Commission itself was informed by the work of a citizens' jury (Christie 2011). Soon after, the Scottish Government started to develop the Community Empowerment Bill, which is currently undergoing its final stage at the Scottish

Parliament. Other developments include the current Scottish Government programme on participatory budgeting (Harkins and Escobar, forthcoming), and successive reviews of Community Planning and Community Councils.

This increased attention has not been the preserve of the public sector, and indeed civic organisations such as the Electoral Reform Society, the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations, Voluntary Action Scotland, the Reid foundation, So Say Scotland and Common Weal have been vocal in their calls for a more participative and deliberative form of democracy. A particular area of concern has been local democracy, with some voices arguing that it is undergoing a 'silent crisis' (Bort et al 2012). In 2014, the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) set up an independent Commission on Strengthening Local Democracy, which called for a radical rethink of the role of citizens in local government, and proposed using a broader range of engagement processes including citizens' juries and participatory budgeting (Commission on Strengthening Local Democracy 2014).

Notwithstanding the momentum illustrated above, a key trigger for the current emphasis on 'participatory democracy' and 'democratic renewal' has been the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum. It hailed record levels of voter turnout and engagement with politics – far higher than any other election or ballot in the country's recent history[45]. Soon after, the Scottish Government Programme for Scotland 2014-2015, launched by the new First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, included a full chapter to "passing power to our people and communities" (pp. 74-90):

> *People's involvement in democracy in Scotland should not stop once they have cast a vote. We want to draw more people more deeply into the way that the decisions that matter to them are taken. We want Scotland to be an open and truly engaging country, where the creativity and wisdom of all its people help to shape our future. We will work collaboratively with COSLA, a range of existing experts in participative democracy, the wider public sector and communities to identify the best ways to achieve this. (p. 78)*

These policy developments have taken place against the backdrop of increased criticism of existing opportunities for citizen participation in policy and decision making. For instance, there is little evidence that non-mandatory frameworks such as the National Standards for Community Engagement (Scottish Executive 2006) have managed to reshape the bulk of practices on the ground. Successive evaluations of Community Planning Partnerships, for example, have highlighted a lack of community engagement in local governance (Audit Scotland 2006, 2011, 2013, 2014). It has also been argued that Scotland remains one of the most centralised countries in Europe, to the detriment of the quality of local democracy (Bort et al 2012). A recent survey for the COSLA Commission on Strengthening Local Democracy indicates that

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[45] Scotland turnout - all elections 1997 - 2011.
http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/Electionresults/2011%20election/5_Turnout_Region.pdf Scottish Parliament 2011. Accessed October 2014.

- 35% of Scottish citizens feel part of how decisions affecting their community are made,

- 77% would get more involved in their community if it was easier to participate in decisions that affect it,

- and 82% would like more say in how local services are provided in their area (Ipsos Mori 2014).

In this context, our research into citizens' juries as a mechanism for public engagement with complex policy issues seems timely.

10.1.2 Citizens' juries, deliberative engagement and wind farms

Citizens' juries are part of a broader family of democratic innovations called 'mini-publics'. Mini-publics are groups of citizens selected to reflect the diversity of a community, and brought together to engage in informed public deliberation on a policy topic. Citizens' juries have been the most widely used type of mini-public around the world, including countries such as the UK, Netherlands, Ireland, France, Australia and its country of origin in the 1970s, the USA (Crosby and Nethercut 2005).

In the UK, citizens' juries became a commonly used form of deliberative participation from the late 1990s (Delap 2001). Participation can be seen as 'deliberative' when it entails inviting citizens not only to participate but also to learn about and discuss different perspectives and evidence in order to make informed and considered decisions. Accordingly, as outlined in Chapter 5, 'deliberative democracy' is based on the idea that decision-making should be based on reasoned public debate, where no force other than that of the better argument should prevail (Habermas 1975; Dryzek 2010). Citizens' juries as a format combines the principles of both participatory and deliberative democracy – i.e. citizen involvement in public deliberation.[46]

Citizens' juries have been used to provide policy advice on environmentally relevant topics, such as waste management, GM food and crops, and nanotechnology (Davidson and Elstub 2013). Indeed, the world of environmental policy and politics has also been permeated by the ideals and practices of participatory and deliberative democracy (e.g. Fischer 2000; Smith 2003). There have been examples of mini-publics such as 'Deliberative Polls' used for public consultation by electric utility companies in Texas (Luskin et al 1999). More recently, there have been three symposiums about the siting of wind energy projects in Minnesota, Massachusetts and Michigan (Phadke et al 2011, 2012, 2012b). Citizens' juries have also been employed to advise on energy policy in Australia (Hendriks 2013).

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[46] Participatory and deliberative democracy can overlap but are not the same. There are instances of participatory democracy that are not deliberative (e.g. a boycott campaign), and there are instances of deliberative democracy that do not involve direct citizen participation (e.g. parliamentary committees). Mini-publics such as citizens' juries are a good example of mechanisms that are both participative and deliberative.

The use of mini-publics, and in particular citizens' juries, is not new to Scotland either. For example, they were used in the early 2000s in various Local Authority Areas to deliberate on topics including transport, drugs, education, facilities for young people, barriers to employment and community involvement (Stevenson et al 2004), although research on those processes is very limited. More recently, the Christie Commission featured a citizens' jury to inform its long-term plan to reform public services in Scotland. However, citizens' juries have not been used in the context of energy and environmental policy in Scotland, and in particular the widely debated topic of onshore wind farms. In this area, deliberative public engagement has been limited.

Interest is also increasing at European level, as demonstrated by the WISE Power[47] project. This EU-funded project is identifying ways to enhance local community participation in the planning and implementation of wind energy projects. Aitken et al (2014) recently reviewed community engagement practices on wind farms in Scotland, England, Wales, Germany, Denmark, France and Sweden. They distinguish three basic modes of community engagement:

- Awareness-raising, where information is provided to a public often conceived as passive.
- Consultation, where there is two-way interaction and limited public feedback.
- Empowerment, where participants have greater control.

Across their case studies, most community engagement takes the form of 'awareness-raising' and 'consultation', with instances of 'empowerment' being rare (Aitken et al. 2014, pp. 1-2). The authors argue that different forms of engagement influence the level of social acceptance:

> *The wind farms which encountered least public opposition had engagement which used dialogues with the community, changed the proposal in response, and gave feedback to the community on the ways in which their concerns had been taken into account. Additionally, where engagement was led from within the community, this had a further positive impact on acceptance.*

In their recommendations, the authors highlight the need to remove existing barriers to participation and the importance of methods that facilitate deliberative engagement rather than just transmitting information (p. 5). Our project addresses precisely those concerns.

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[47] http://wisepower-project.eu [Accessed 12 May 2005]

10.2. Research findings and recommendations

This report has presented findings and analysis from one of the most comprehensive studies of citizens' juries conducted to date. The uniqueness of this project is that it entailed 3 citizens' juries addressing the same task in different locations, and the research combined multiple sources of data to provide an in-depth account of the deliberative process and its outcomes (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 2 for details on our mixed methods approach).

In this report we have analysed some typical research dimensions in mini-publics (opinion change, learning), but we have also paid detailed attention to the operational side in order to explore the challenges of deliberative public engagement.

> **Box 10.1 - The public thinks…**
>
> The findings from these juries cannot be generalised to the locations involved or the broader Scottish population. They were not designed to be statistically representative, but demographically and attitudinally diverse. What we have presented is what a diverse group of citizens from the three locations agreed should be key principles to guide decision making about wind farms in Scotland. To be clear, this project was not designed to answer 'what the public thinks', but to explore the values and views of these deliberative mini-publics.

In the remainder of this section we provide a summary of key findings and recommendations from Chapters 3 to 9, thus answering questions such as:

1. What does it take to organise citizens' juries?

2. What have we learned about process design and facilitation?

3. What was the level of deliberative quality?

4. Did the jurors manage to accomplish the task? What principles did they agree?

5. What (and how) did the jurors learn throughout the process?

6. Did the jurors revise their prior opinions?

We then conclude the section with a summary of conclusions derived from considering all the evidence throughout the report.

10.2.1 Organising the juries

We have characterised the job of organising the juries as 'negotiating the tensions between politics and logistics'. As shown in Chapter 3, the manifold logistical aspects require political sensibility particularly in terms of assembling the Stewarding Board, deciding the task for the juries choosing the locations and selecting the witnesses who will speak at the jury. But even the choice of venue requires some thought: the symbolism of a community hall may not be the same as that of a government building. Our project highlights the importance of having a multifaceted team of organisers with a range of skills in terms of communication, coordination, mediation and political know-how.

Since these juries were a research project, rather than part of a real policy making process, the **Stewarding Board** had fewer responsibilities than it would otherwise, and the research team kept control over final decisions. Despite difficulties, the SB managed to find consensus on all the issues discussed (i.e. task, location, witnesses, recruitment criteria, handbook materials). Clearly, a key aspect is who gets invited to the Board. In this project, a prominent organisation from the renewable energy sector was not represented at the SB, which can be potentially problematic for the legitimacy of the juries. Nonetheless, they did contribute to the witness sessions, and other Board members provided a positive perspective on wind power. In this sense, representing the spectrum of views may be more relevant than representing particular organisations. However, when using citizens' juries in decision making this must be carefully considered, as the Stewarding Board should command respect from all sides of the debate. This is crucial for the Board to play its role in advising and overseeing that the jury is fair and balanced, and thus ensuring its integrity and legitimacy.

Deciding the precise **task** given to the jury also proved challenging, but was eventually agreed by consensus at the Board. In a real policy making process, the task should be carefully defined to ensure that there is clarity on how it will inform decision-making and at what stage of the policy cycle. The task will also depend on the scope of the issue under consideration. For example, if the jury's task is to do with a specific wind farm proposal, organisers will have to consider the scope of the geographic areas to be represented at the jury. However, the issue could also be framed as pertaining to strategic planning about the energy mix for the country. Therefore, organisers will have to consider whether the jury is addressing an issue of local, regional or national scope, and thus recruit jurors accordingly.

> **Box 10.2 - The Jury's Task**
>
> *There are strong views on wind farms in Scotland, with some people being strongly opposed, others being strongly in favour and a range of opinions in between.*
>
> *What should be the key principles for deciding about wind farm development, and why?*

It was particularly challenging to select and secure commitment from a range of speakers for the **witness sessions**. This was mainly due to the time commitment of doing 3 juries, as well as the difficulty of finding witnesses who would be acceptable to the Stewarding Board and had the necessary knowledge and communication skills. This project benefitted from the goodwill and hard work of 7 witnesses (3 attended all juries). The organisers assisted the witnesses in preparation for their role, and provided feedback after the first jury. Nonetheless, we would recommend having a witness-briefing workshop before the juries, although this would add to the time burden of the role. Being a witness is highly demanding, not just in terms of time and effort, but also because they must adapt their language, convey complex knowledge in accessible ways, and confront a variety of perspectives, sensibilities and ways of learning. Most witnesses found the task time-consuming but valued some aspects of the experience positively. Only two, however, said they would do it again.

Nonetheless, a real decision making process may provide stronger incentives to take part and, arguably, more candidates may be attracted. In addition, it would also be advisable to involve the jurors in selecting the witnesses, which is common practice in some mini-publics but couldn't be done here due to time constraints.

Recruiting jurors is one of the most important aspects in this kind of project. Citizens' juries must include participants with a diverse range of demographic and attitudinal characteristics. This is crucial for the quality of deliberation, as explored in Chapter 5. To ensure this, we worked with Ipsos MORI. The aim was to avoid the 'self-selection bias' usually at play in open forums, which tend to be populated by participants with higher income and education, and adept to getting involved (Ryfe and Stalsburg 2012). The recruitment strategy entailed 3 measures:

- concealing the specific topic of the juries to prevent over-representation of those already engaged with it;
- choosing accessible times and locations;
- and offering compensation (£70 for Day 1 and £100 for Day 2).

Compensation is crucial in mini-publics not only to value the hard work that jurors do, but also because it contributes to reduce barriers to participation (e.g. parents; self-employed; full time carers) and ensure that people with fewer resources are not excluded by their personal circumstances.

The recruiters deployed a face-to-face approach using both door-to-door and in-street methods, until they signed up a mix of participants conforming to pre-determined quotas (i.e. gender, age, income). In aggregate across the juries, the 47 participants represent a diverse cross-section of the population in terms of gender, age, education, voting preferences, working status, profession and income. However, while each separate jury was relatively balanced in terms of age, income and profession, this was not the case for the other categories. In particular, the gender mix for Helensburgh and Aberfeldy was skewed, with the former having considerably more men and the latter considerably more women. In terms of attitudes towards renewable energy and wind power, there was a mix of views across the juries, although the majority of participants expressed moderate to strong support (broadly in line with data for the Scottish population). The exception was Helensburgh where, due to recruitment difficulties, there was a lack of strong supporters of wind farms. This meant that Helensburgh was the least diverse of the juries, both in terms of demographic characteristics (i.e. gender) and attitudes to wind farms. This provided an excellent case for comparative analysis of the effects that the level of group diversity can have in jury dynamics, deliberation and outcomes.

This project illustrates the difficulty of gathering a diverse jury due to the low number of participants assembled, and justifies the logic of running several juries, or a larger type of mini-public, in order to increase the sample size. Nonetheless, a citizens' jury is not expected to be statistically representative but demographically and attitudinally diverse (Hendriks, 2005, p. 96; Goodin 2008:13). These juries were rather successful in this regard, particularly when compared to traditional public meetings and consultations.

Although a larger sample may make some of the results statistically representative (i.e. the survey results, but not necessarily the principles as these depend on deliberative dynamics), it may also make it more difficult to achieve the quality of deliberation that can be developed in smaller groups. Nothing in our project suggests that size was a problem in terms of ensuring robust deliberation – but as analysed in Chapters 5-6, lack of diversity was.

The recruitment difficulties in terms of ensuring diversity were partly due to the characteristics of the citizens who had signed up but didn't turn up. A possible solution would be to sign up substitute jurors with a similar profile, although this would increase the expense. Indeed, recruitment took up a third of our budget, and it is indeed an area that needs more research attention. Arguably, there may be some economies of scale that could be achieved if public institutions develop in-house expertise. Nonetheless, the value of having independent recruiters is clear. But there may be also opportunities to obtain assistance from local colleges or other higher education institutions who may provide expertise in return for research access. Another possibility is to train community volunteers, which offers the advantage of tapping into local knowledge and trust, although it may bring in other biases – and indeed the job entails considerable skill.

The merits of using random selection and stratified sampling are well documented (Carson 1998; Hendriks 2011, Location 882), and sortition (or selection by lot) is indeed gaining popularity as a way of ensuring equal opportunity to participate by all citizens. However, much is still to be done in order to adapt and adopt such methods for democratic governance. A key challenge is raising awareness about their democratic merits and contribution to community engagement, and discussing their acceptability with decision makers and citizens. The point we want to stress is that ensuring inclusion and diversity in participation requires careful and fair recruitment, and this needs investigation and development if mini-publics are to play a role in Scottish policy making.

### 10.2.2 Designing and facilitating the juries

Chapter 4 provided an in-depth account of how the process unfolded in each jury, giving rare insight into many facets of interaction and facilitation. As it is customary in deliberative mini-publics, the juries featured an Information Phase and a Deliberative Phase – to which we added a Reflection Phase for research and logistical purpose. See Figure 10.1

10.2.2.1 Information Phase

According to the evaluators, the Information Phase worked relatively well despite numerous limitations noted in Chapter 4 and Chapter 7. The purpose of this phase was to expose the jurors to evidence and arguments from 5 witnesses: one providing an impartial overview on energy and climate change, two offering arguments for wind power and wind farms and two against. The jurors enjoyed the sessions and particularly the debates, although they were often puzzled by the contested nature of the evidence provided. This made the task of scrutinising the witnesses crucial, and this was effectively carried out in all juries, although rather unevenly in Helensburgh (where 'anti' wind farm arguments received less critical scrutiny from the jurors than 'pro' arguments). The format used for the cross-examination

session (explored at length in Chapter 4) worked particularly well and ensured that all jurors participated in the scrutiny of the witnesses.

Figure 10.1. Phases of each jury's process

Day 1

Information phase:

Introduction to the process and witness sessions.

2 - 3 weeks:

Reflection Phase:

Jurors take away information pack and receive witness responses to outstanding questions from Day 1.

Day 2

Deliberative phase:

Jurors set the agenda and work together on the task.
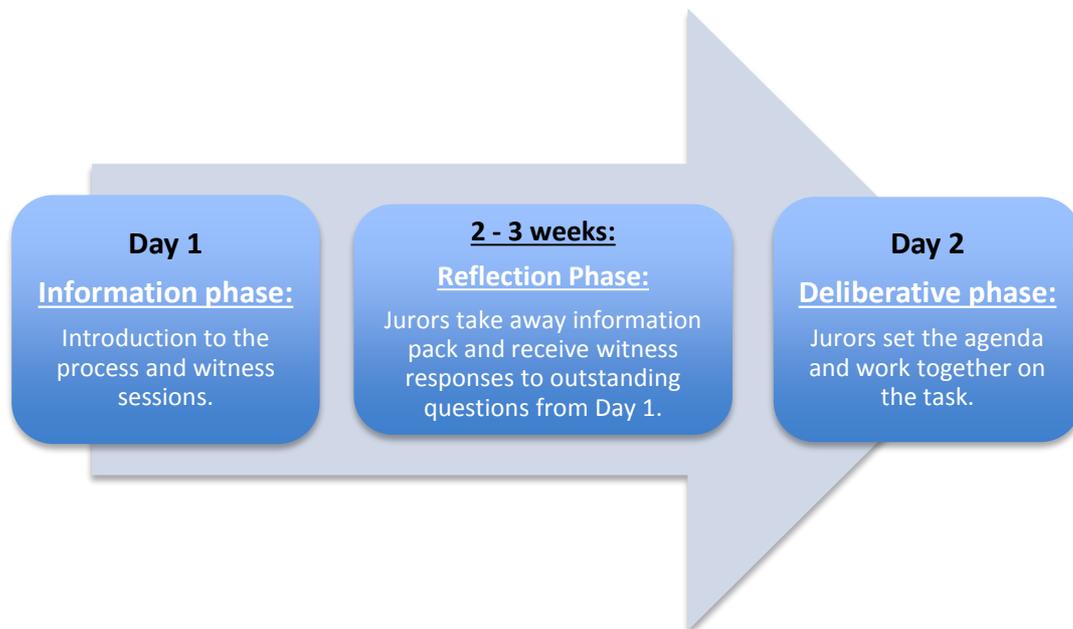
Based on lessons from the Information Phase across the 3 juries, we make the following recommendations:

- **Jurors' induction day.** There was little time to ease the jurors into their role and offer opportunities to reflect about how they may go about it, and how they may be best supported by facilitators and fellow jurors. In this project, this had to be learned on the go. An extra day for induction could have enable the following:
  - **Time for dialogue** on the different values and experiences of the jurors beyond the topic of the jury. Apart from building understanding and collaborative relationships in the group, this could help to better identify the personal challenges that some participants faced (e.g. tendency to dominate the conversation; lack confidence in public speaking). Emerging issues were generally well managed by the facilitators, but dedicating more induction time would have helped to better support the jurors.
  - **A session to reflect on how to interpret evidence** before hearing from the witnesses. An external 'critical friend' with a research and policy background could have facilitated this session. The contested and contradictory nature of the evidence presented by the witnesses was apparent to the jurors. The importance of the credibility of different sources was not clearly addressed, although some jurors argued that evidence is seldom straightforward and can be manipulated. Therefore, the jurors could have been better supported to carry out the job if they had the opportunity to think together about how to critically unpack and interpret evidence. Moreover, this could have included an introduction to the types of biases that individuals and groups are prone to

(Sustein 2002, Ryfe and Stalburg), in order to invite a reflective approach to the juror role. Overall, this session could have also contributed to develop individual and collective capacity beyond the jury process.

- **A session to select witnesses and evidence**. Time constraints prevented us from giving jurors control over the selection witnesses and the range of evidence to be heard, which is common in other mini-publics. This could be addressed in two ways depending on available resources:

    o On induction day, jurors are presented with a 'menu of witnesses' put together by the Stewarding Board, and explaining their perspectives, experiences and/or expertise. This could include a range of profiles: activists, decision makers, planners, academics (social and natural sciences), wind farm workers, industry spokespeople, community wind farm owners, residents nearby wind farms, etc.

    o On induction day, jurors briefly interview a range of potential witnesses, including different profiles as outlined above. The witnesses would explain their perspectives and priorities, and how they are going to help the jurors to make sense of the issues at hand. This would enable jurors to select not only the profile of the witnesses (i.e. perspective and expert or experiential knowledge), but also a combination of engagement styles (e.g. presentation, storytelling, dialogue), which could support different learning modes at the jury.

In both cases, jurors would need an initial introduction from a witness capable of providing a balanced overview of the debates, so that the jurors can decide what kind of witnesses and information they want to hear in order to address the jury's task. It would also be advisable for the Stewarding Board to engage in discussion with the jury to provide advice on achieving a balanced range of witnesses.

- **Vetting the quality of evidence.** Securing the contribution of suitable witnesses was a difficult task (see Chapter 3), and the organisers were clearly indebted to those who kindly gave their time – which was also appreciated by the jurors. However, there was no attempt to check the quality of the evidence presented and both evaluators and ethnographers found questionable some of the data, sources and interpretations. It could be argued that it was the jurors' job to scrutinise this, although without support to do so that seems an unfair expectation (another reason for 'induction day'). A potential solution would be to ask the Stewarding Board to provide some level of quality control in advance.

- **Supporting the witnesses.** Although the organisers prepared briefs for the witnesses, this proved insufficient. Some witnesses did not seem aware that they would have to engage in 'live debate' on whatever issues the jury deemed relevant. It could have been more clearly explained that their role was not only to convey evidence but also to present persuasive arguments that would help the juries to make sense of it. To be sure, some witnesses managed to do both, and this improved considerably as they adapted their contributions from jury to jury. In addition, some presentations also had

room for improvement in terms of making complex information accessible, e.g.: appropriate use of graphs and figures, avoiding or unpacking jargon, making slides easy to read and digest, an introductory slide with a clear outline, a final slide with a summary of key points. Some presentations disregarded the guidelines issued by the organisers, and perhaps this is another area were the Stewarding Board could be involved.

The Information Phase could have been greatly improved following the recommendations above – albeit the scope of these proposals exceeds what was expected and achievable in this research project. Our findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 7, however, support the argument that citizens' juries can provide a more suitable space to carefully consider evidence than standard public meetings.

10.2.2.2 Deliberation Phase

After having the opportunity to consider different perspectives and evidence, jurors are expected to engage in reasoned deliberation in order to accomplish the task. In this project, this was the purpose of Day 2. The design was more complicated than in the previous phase, with no repetition of sessions or formats, which made it more challenging for jurors and facilitators. Accordingly, techniques and ways of working had to be refined incrementally based on ongoing learning from jury to jury. The overall design worked well, but there were clear limitations documented throughout Chapter 4, namely:

- Day 2 was even more **taxing** than the previous, particularly given the speed needed to accomplish the task. This meant that considerable effort had to go into ensuring that the quality of deliberation was of a good standard despite time constraints.

- The facilitators' **allocation of jurors to small groups** during morning sessions was only partially successful, which highlights the limitations of trying to 'engineer' group composition. The criteria used by the facilitators were demographics (i.e. gender and age), viewpoints and communication styles. In one jury, this led to a group lacking diversity of opinions and in another it resulted in two outspoken jurors hindering group work. An alternative might have been the random allocation of participants, as in Day 1. However, we are not persuaded that that wouldn't result in other shortcomings – i.e. lack of demographic diversity given the small size of the juries – or indeed still present the problem of combining strong voices in unproductive ways.

- There was a lack of clarity in the design about the **voting procedure** to be used when consensus could not be reached. This problem emerged during the first jury, and was subsequently addressed. This is a straightforward lesson for designing mini-publics: such rules must be devised in advance by the Stewarding Board and/or discussed and agreed by the jurors.

- The jurors were not given enough **time to develop, review and refine the principles**, nor to unpack assumptions, deal with contradictions and flesh out details. Therefore, the opportunity to consider trade-offs and deliberate about how to put their principles into practice was limited. The problem was accentuated by placing such an

important session at the end of an intensive day. Evaluators, ethnographers and organisers agreed that a third day could solve this problem.

- Having **Information Officers**, and introducing a **'devil's advocate' function**, proved useful to the jurors (as there were not witnesses in Day 2) but entailed risks. Information Officers answered questions on demand, and occasionally challenged 'uncritical consensus' thus helping the jurors to articulate and justify arguments. The evidence in Chapter 4 suggests that they did a good job. This was a very demanding role that included:

    o providing adequate information and presenting contested evidence and debates in a balanced manner;

    o conveying complex information in accessible language;

    o working in tune with the facilitator; and

    o judging when it may be constructive to throw in a challenge to disrupt uncritical consensus.

Clearly, this role carries considerable power and responsibility, and must be monitored closely. It entails a fine balance: helping to deepen the jurors' understanding and ability to grapple with complexity while avoiding telling them what to think. To make the job easier, it may be advisable to separate the role of informing from that of challenging. Mixing both roles in these juries did not create confusion, or elicit negative reactions, which suggests that both Information Officers were remarkably effective at playing both functions.

The Deliberative Phase presented specific challenges, but once again they seem far from insurmountable.

10.2.2.3 Overall process

Our research has also highlighted three overarching lessons for future practice:

- **Time.** It seems clear that conducting a process like this in two days has considerable limitations, and it would not be advisable in real decision-making processes. Time constraints were indeed at the heart of most shortcomings in this project, and a third jury day would have made a considerable difference to the process and the outcomes.

- **Improvisation.** No matter how much preparation is carried out, improvisation will be needed and the organising team must be ready. It is always difficult to anticipate the unexpected, but having a team with a diverse range of experience and expertise on both the process and the topic is a good starting point. A positive team vibe and responsive attitude is also crucial, as this will likely colour the environment created for the jurors.

- **Social space.** At the jury, the social space (breaks, lunch) can be as crucial as the working space (sessions). On the one hand, people can build trust and relationships that will become important in developing resilience and goodwill to work collectively. On the other, this social space is also a space for deliberation in informal ways that can further enhance understanding of issues and perspectives, as well as enable the inclusion of those less inclined to speak in the formal sessions. This can bring up

viewpoints that otherwise may not be expressed, and they can become part of the pool of arguments that other jurors can draw on during formal sessions. Consequently, it is advisable to ensure that breaks are long enough for participants to be re-energised and develop a productive social space.

The level of detail offered in Chapter 4 is unusual in this type of study, and has revealed numerous challenges and learning points. To conclude this section, we also summarise **key achievements** documented throughout the chapter:

- The jurors took their role very seriously and demonstrated an outstanding level of **effort and commitment** to the process.

- The groups also demonstrated clear ability to **engage with complex debates** in a short period of time, on issues new to most jurors, and despite the challenge of facing contradictory, and sometimes questionable, evidence.

- The importance of good **facilitation** skills, exhaustive preparatory work and ongoing reflective practice has also been highlighted.

- Together, the organisers, facilitators and jurors managed to create a **collaborative atmosphere** were everyone felt safe to participate and work together, and where considerable consensus was reached without suppressing differences and disagreements.

- The **witnesses** managed to make the topic interesting and relevant to the jurors, and to convey some of the complexity of current debates.

- The **overall design** of the process was effective in taking citizens, many of them with limited knowledge of the issues and no experience of the jury format, through a deliberative process that accomplished its main goals.

- Successful implementation of the process also required **attention to detail** in the planning and organisation, backed up by careful and responsive facilitation and support on the day.

It is worth noting that discounting breaks, introductory and closing sessions and survey time across both days, the jurors only had a total of 8 hours to actually hear the evidence and formulate the principles. It seems striking that a group of strangers can work together so effectively despite their diversity and the complexity of the task. This makes us wonder what might have been accomplished if they were given a longer timeframe and the shortcomings above were addressed. We would argue that in a real decision making process, a longer process would be well justified since the stakes will be higher and thus worth the extra cost. There is indeed a very good reason why citizens' juries are usually 3-5 days.

10.2.3 Deliberative quality

Despite the boom in deliberative studies over the last two decades, our knowledge is still limited in terms of the dynamics that take place within deliberative processes (Talpin 2014). Chapters 4, 5 and 7 in this report offered detailed accounts and analysis that are rare in this field. The purpose was to illuminate the micro-politics and dynamics at play during

participation and deliberation. This highlighted practical lessons from Chapter 4 outlined above and reflections on deliberative quality in Chapter 5. Drawing on standards from the literature, we analysed five dimensions in order to assess the deliberative quality in these juries:

- **Un-coerced deliberation.** The jurors felt able to express their views and did not feel pressured into adopting a particular position. This deliberative ideal was therefore approximated to a very high standard.

- **Other-regarding deliberation.** The large majority of jurors respected and listened to each other. Two juries put substantial effort into considering different perspectives and keeping an open mind. Lack of diversity of views in the other jury was a key factor preventing a more balanced consideration of perspectives. Nonetheless, appeals to the common good, rather than self-interest, largely formed the basis for deliberation across all juries.

- **Reasoned deliberation.** Across the juries, participants offered reasons to support their views particularly on Day 2. Indeed, the trend towards justification increased as the process advanced. There were, nonetheless, limitations in terms of how much the jurors scrutinised each other and discussed potential contradictions and trade-offs implied in the principles they agreed. The reason for this was time constraints.

  In public deliberation, justification is central because it opens up for scrutiny the reasons behind the participants' views. Our research has documented many instances where jurors engaged in reasoned exchanges of arguments. The level of scrutiny between jurors, and between jurors and witnesses varied from jury to jury. For example, of diversity of perspectives in one jury skewed the scrutiny in favour of anti-wind witnesses and jurors. We have argued that this constitutes an illustrative case of Sunstein's "law of group polarisation" (2002, 2009) – i.e. lack of diverse perspectives limits the pool of information and reasons that can be considered during deliberation, which further reduces the diversity of the group by polarising more moderate views.

  In the absence of counter-arguments, groups tend to move towards stronger positions in the direction of their pre-existing views (Delli Carpini et al 2004: 325; Sunstein 2002: 176-177). In our study, some Helensburgh jurors shifted towards strongly negative views about wind farms, while others reinforced pre-existing negative views. In Aberfeldy and Coldstream, which featured more diverse viewpoints, the effect of deliberation was moderation of their (on average) initially stronger positive assessment of the impact of wind energy in Scotland. The effect of mixing can be to produce moderation (Sunstein 2009: 48), which highlights the impact of diversity, but also the importance of reasoned counter-argumentation and challenge.

- **Inclusive and equal participation.** The juries provided a supportive environment where jurors helped each other to participate. Many felt growing confidence and trust as the process advanced. Not all the jurors participated equally across all the sessions, but everyone participated at some stage and in one form or another. Therefore, it is useful to distinguish between participation and inclusion. That is, some jurors may not

visibly participate in a particular session and yet feel included in the outcomes. For example, they may agree with what's been said and feel represented by other jurors' contributions, or they may prefer to focus on listening and thinking and express their views by other means (e.g. votes, written cards, prioritising exercises). This highlights the importance of providing ways of participating beyond speech, which was well accomplished in these juries. However, quality deliberation still requires that jurors justify their views and hence such 'silent' ways of participating may only be deliberative if others actually articulate those arguments during the discussions that lead to the decisions. In these juries, the majority of participants said that the agreed principles reflected their views to a very large extent, and that they felt included in influencing the outcomes of the juries.

- **Unbiased facilitation.** Our analysis has showed that facilitation contributed to ensure the effectiveness, fairness and impartiality of the process. Given the demanding task and time constraints, facilitation was instrumental in supporting the jurors by creating a safe environment for deliberation where both consensus and disagreement were valued and engaged. Undoubtedly, no amount of process design and facilitation skill can prevent the need for improvisation and the unavoidable mistakes that facilitators can make 'live' as they try to navigate the complex dynamics and relationships at play. In particular, there were instances in which the facilitators struggled to distribute airtime effectively and manage the relationship between dominant participants and the jury. Chapter 5 also offers a unique analysis of different types of outspoken participants (i.e. 'the contrarian', 'the professional', 'the sage'), the value and nuisance they can bring to deliberation, and the distinct evolution of their role in the juries. In sum, there was a high level of satisfaction by jurors with the assistance provided by the facilitators. The key lesson is that despite mistakes and shortcomings, if the jurors perceive that organisers and facilitators have done their best to keep the process fair, enjoyable and interesting then they will often do their best to make it work.

An important point fleshed out in our analysis is that to foster deliberative quality **facilitators must be impartial, but not neutral**. They must be impartial about the topics discussed, but not neutral about the process of discussion. Citizens' juries offer a high quality deliberative space where desirable rules of communication and interaction can

The venues for the juries had to accommodate different types of facilitation and interaction

be, to a large extent, effectively implemented. It can be argued that this is an 'artificial' space 'engineered' to foster certain communication

patterns. And we would argue that that is precisely the point. Often, 'natural' spaces for public discussion can be hindered by the problems that deliberative design and facilitation seek to avoid (e.g. coercion, disrespect, lack of listening, lack of inclusion, dominant voices, etc). In this sense, those 'natural' spaces can be also seen as 'engineered', but by the inequalities of participation and influence that characterise the broader society. Accordingly, they can produce undesirable and unproductive dynamics and, in that light, these 'artificial' designs seek to disrupt the status quo (Escobar, 2014, Ch. 6). The high standards of deliberative quality achieved within citizens' juries may be difficult to replicate in more conventional public forums, which are not necessarily designed to enable high quality deliberation.

Chapter 5 also showed that some indicators of quality improved from jury to jury, perhaps due to the refinement of the process as facilitators and organisers incorporated ongoing learning. This highlights the importance of experience, developed by replicating and refining a particular process design, and has clear implications for adapting this type of forum for actual policy-making. Despite certain characteristics common to all citizens' juries, there is variation with regard to the type of task, the sequence of sessions, the formats and techniques used and so on. Therefore, it is difficult to judge the worth of a particular design until the organisers have developed it through successive iterations. This adds a note of caution with regard to deciding about mainstreaming deliberative processes on the basis of a single pilot in a particular policy area. Therefore, and rather unsurprisingly, we suggest that if public authorities want to foster high quality deliberative processes, they should build capacity through sustained practice over time.

10.2.4 Mission accomplished? The juries' principles

Each jury was tasked with developing a set of principles to guide decision-making about wind farm developments in Scotland. The jurors were not given instructions on what dimensions these principles should include. By the end, each jury as a whole had agreed its final principles – built through a process that went from each juror's individual priorities at the end of Day 1, to collective statements based on deliberation on Day 2.

Three **caveats** must be mentioned:

- These principles cannot be considered to represent the views of the towns where the juries were conducted. Citizens' juries feature a small sample of citizens and thus the aim is not statistical representation but demographic and attitudinal diversity. Put simply, these juries should not be seen as speaking for their towns.

- All participants were clearly informed that the task of generating the principles was for the research purposes of testing the citizens' jury format in this policy context, and not to determine current policy or decisions on wind farms.

- The principles reflect what these juries agreed should be key principles to guide decision-making on onshore wind farms. This does not reflect the views of the researchers and organisers of the project.

Despite the broad and complex task they were presented with, and the demanding process they were put through, all the juries demonstrated striking resilience and ability to complete the task working collectively. Chapter 6 addressed two important research questions in this project, namely: what principles for decision making would a diverse group of citizens propose if they had the opportunity to learn and deliberate about onshore wind farm development? And would different groups, going through the same jury process, generate similar principles? This second question is crucial because it can present a dilemma for decision makers – i.e. how to interpret and use the results if different juries produce different verdicts?

Although the juries succeeded in formulating and agreeing a set of principles, they did not have the time to work through potential contradictions, trade-offs and implementation details, nor to provide a written articulation of the reasons behind each principle. Those reasons – the 'why' in the task – were nonetheless shared along the process. To be clear, these limitations reflect shortcomings in the design and implementation of the juries, rather than in the capacity of the jurors. As previously argued, the jurors could have taken the task further if they were given a more realistic timeframe.

Our survey data indicates that the jurors' individual opinions evolved differently in each jury (Chapter 8). This highlights the significance of the finding that all the juries focused their efforts on a few, largely common, themes (see Chapter 6). This suggests that, despite their differences, there was significant overlap in terms of what mattered most to each jury when thinking about decisions on wind farm development. The majority of principles across the 3 juries correspond to **6 themes:**

- the desirable energy mix for Scotland,
- the characteristics of the evidence needed for decision-making,
- the range of negative and positive impacts that should be taken into account for decision-making,
- the role of public responsibility i.e. reducing energy consumption,
- the limits to wind farm development,
- and the question of who should benefit from this energy source.

The principles generated by Coldstream and Aberfeldy shared many similarities, both in terms of the themes covered and the statements within them, while Helensburgh was very similar on the former and distinctive on latter.

The **differences between the principles**, when considered in the light of analysis in Chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8, reflect the idiosyncrasies of each jury's composition (i.e. diversity of views) and evolution throughout the deliberative process (i.e. impact of witnesses, scrutiny of evidence), as well as the context of their location (Coldstream: no wind farm nearby but several large wind farms in the Borders region; Helensburgh: proposed wind farms nearby; Aberfeldy: an existing wind farm nearby).

Interestingly, despite rejecting onshore wind power in favour of other energy sources (e.g. hydro, nuclear), the Helensburgh jury spent time and effort outlining principles related to

the quality of evidence, measurement of impacts and energy mix considerations to be assessed when deciding about wind farm developments. Accordingly, the jury took a pragmatic approach to the task and set out parameters for practice beyond normative arguments about the desirability of this energy source.

Our analysis of the voting and ranking of principles across the juries shows how citizens with diverse perspectives and backgrounds can deliberate, find common ground and decide on complex issues in a very short period of time (see also Chapters 4 and 5). This seems remarkable given that these citizens had never worked together before, and half of them had never taken part in a public policy forum.

All juries managed to agree principles on the basis of consensus or large majorities (see details in Chapter 6). In the case of Helensburgh this may have been expected given the homogeneity of views in the jury. However, this was also the case in Coldstream and Aberfeldy, which were more diverse in terms of views. This illustrates how diversity and difference of opinion can form a basis for finding common ground and agree principles which is as strong as homogeneity and like-mindedness. The importance of this cannot be overstated, and indeed echoes decades of learning on dialogue and consensus-building (Escobar 2011, Forester 2009, Susskind et al 1999). This highlights that difference and disagreement are not only important democratic goods, but also crucial deliberative ingredients for robust decision-making. Indeed, as Chapter 6 has shown, the two more diverse juries agreed sets of principles containing a more balanced consideration of the negatives and positives of wind farm development.

In the end, should we conclude that 3 citizens' juries on the same topic in 3 different locations reached different verdicts, and is this problematic in terms of using this process in policy-making? This task did not entail a yes-or-no verdict, and therefore comparing the results was not straightforward. Nonetheless, our analysis finds similar verdicts in the two juries (Coldstream and Aberfeldy) that featured higher diversity and deliberative quality (see Chapters 3, 4, 5), and a somewhat different verdict in the jury that lacked robust deliberation in terms of considering a range of perspectives and arguments. Another factor may have been that Helensburgh was the only jury with 'live' wind farm proposals, although half of the jurors had not heard about them.

Different citizens' juries dealing with the same topic may therefore produce different results depending on various factors. This can be accentuated by the fact that citizens' juries involve a very small sample and therefore are not statistically representative of their population. This makes each jury somewhat unique, and the results may depend on the jurors' diversity (demographic but more importantly attitudinal) and how this influences the deliberative process, as well as other crucial factors such as the quality of the evidence presented (see Chapter 7). In any case, as Smith argues (2009:101), expecting otherwise from citizens' juries seems unrealistic: "All we can reasonably hope is that they come to considered judgments that reflect the demands of their particular context". The same logic applies to elected bodies, which can also reach different conclusions on the basis of their composition, and deliberative work, at a given time.

In our view, the problem in terms of using citizens' juries in policy making is not necessarily whether different juries in different locations may come up with different verdicts. The point of using locality-based citizens juries is precisely to tap into local knowledge, values and priorities with regard to the issues at hand. More challenging is the question of what is the **appropriate level of engagement** for a particular policy topic (i.e. local, regional, national, international). Citizens' juries must be populated by participants from across the appropriate level. For research and logistical purposes, we chose to mix two levels, and ask locality-based juries to take on a national question (i.e. principles for wind farm development). The challenge for policy makers is to determine the appropriate level for a given issue taking into account its scope and the local and national interests at stake.

10.2.5 Jurors' learning

If mini-publics are to lead to considered judgement, then participants need to be given the opportunity to become informed about the subject, with information errors being corrected. Throughout these three citizens' juries, participants were exposed to a range of evidence; either formally via the witnesses and the organising team, or informally via their own reading in the Reflection Phase, and the sharing of evidence in the conversations during both jury days. In this chapter we have examined the evidence provided to jurors and explored their subsequent learning, drawing on a wealth of data to do so – including witness presentations, materials used and produced in the juries, evaluations and ethnographies, and interviews and qualitative and quantitative survey responses.

In the Information Phase, the jurors were provided with evidence in the presentations and in the Q&A sessions from different perspectives on the topic. Thus most evidence formally presented by the witnesses was contested, although the source of dispute was rarely distilled. Imbalances between witnesses in their rhetorical work to convey evidence and arguments had an important impact in how the presentations were received. In addition, little information was formally provided to the jurors on planning, regulation and monitoring of wind farm developments, and models and options for financing wind farms. These are important limitations in terms of providing the jurors with enough support to address the task.

Despite these limitations, jurors show knowledge gains on some climate change and energy topics, and overall the witnesses successfully helped jurors to understand issues central to wind power and decisions around onshore wind farm development in Scotland. During deliberation, on the whole, jurors worked together using the evidence and perspectives on a range of topics to contextualise and make sense of the issues and conflicts at hand – although, as analysed, the quality of information sharing was slightly limited in Helensburgh.

Jurors gained knowledge particularly during the Information and Reflection phase, and felt that they learnt from the witnesses, the discussions in facilitated groups and informal conversations. In the Reflection Phase, most jurors sought additional information using the materials provided to them and other resources – stimulated by the Information Phase and encouraged by the incentive of having to express and justify their views during the

Deliberation Phase (echoing Goodin 2008; Goodin and Niemeyer 2003). This illustrates how learning in deliberative processes is a response to various stimuli and incorporates discursive and reflective processes. Furthermore, the jurors showed greater retention of knowledge gained during this phase, which is an important indication of the value of self-directed learning – and an important finding for designing citizens' juries and other mini-publics.

These citizens' juries have thus allowed us to explore whether, how and when participants learn in deliberative processes. To summarise:

- *What did jurors learn?* There is evidence of knowledge gains on several aspects related to the topic, whether or not they were directly covered by the witnesses. Improvements on assessed knowledge were similar for all juries, although performance was different for different questions. There is evidence that many jurors picked up the nuances and complexities of the debate, thus learning about complex concepts and trade-offs. Jurors also developed deliberative skills and self-efficacy (see Chapter 9).

- *When did they learn?* Jurors gained assessed knowledge about climate change and energy generation in the Information Phase, and learnt more about the former in the Reflection Phase also. There were no assessed knowledge gains in the Deliberation Phase, and indeed it seems there were some instances were incorrect information was shared in this phase. Jurors also learnt about concepts and debates in the Information Phase, but explored trade-offs and nuances more in the Deliberation Phase. The jurors thus felt they had more knowledge about wind farms and related issues after each jury day. Interestingly, jurors did not feel more knowledgeable about climate change after the Reflection Phase, despite showing greater assessed knowledge following this phase.

In the Chapter there are also several lessons to refine the design of the Information Phase; we highlight three here:

- The scope of the evidence must be carefully considered: in these juries, the absence of context setting about wind farm planning and development was a disadvantage. Likewise, there is a challenge in deciding whether to cover alternative energy sources or not – and if so, to do this in sufficient detail without distracting from the task.

- Witnesses should be selected to represent a range of bodies, institutions and organisations. In these juries, the pro- witnesses were perhaps disadvantaged because they were associated with industry bodies, whereas the anti- witnesses affiliations were more generally trusted (cf. Hendriks 2011).

- There is a case to include more interactive learning in the jury. Witnesses may not be needed for some of these activities. For example, there are games that can help to explore the energy mix or the current planning system by active learning. Nonetheless, 'artefacts' do 'have politics' (Winner 1980; Law 1994) and therefore critical scrutiny must also be applied to them by the jurors, which, as above, may require support.

All in all, for the jurors, the experience of learning was one of the highlights of the process, and a fundamental reward for their participation.

10.2.6 Jurors' opinion change

In Chapter 8, we examined the jurors' feelings about the overall impact of wind energy development in Scotland – and their reasons for these views– and also their perspectives on different aspects of the topic, including wind energy policy, wind farm planning and policy, and the impact of wind farms on the local area. These analyses have offered important lessons about preference change in deliberative processes on contentious issues.

1. What understanding have we gained about citizens' perspectives on wind farm development, and how these differ between groups?

- All jurors are largely supportive of renewable energy, reducing energy demand, and Scotland's goals to develop a low carbon energy economy. Their opinions on many of these issues did not change throughout the process.

- Jurors show a range of different opinions about the impacts of wind farms for a range of reasons. In diverse juries, arguments on the same topic or issue are presented from opposing perspectives. Additionally, there were differences in the relative importance of particular values or perspectives between the jury groups. Thus, overall opinions about wind farms are influenced, in a complex way, by a range of different aspects of the technology and its development.

- Proximity to wind farm development may have had some effect on individuals' views on the topic, and how these evolved. Opinions in Helensburgh became more negative during the process on all aspects relating to wind farms. Opinions in Coldstream and Aberfeldy moderated on the overall impacts of wind energy, but remained similar – and broadly positive - on other aspects of wind energy.

- More crucial than location, however, was the diversity of initial viewpoints in the group, which affected the deliberative quality of the process (see above and Chapter 5) and thus the evolution of the jurors' preferences.

What have we learnt about how jurors' opinions change during the citizens' jury?

- Jurors revised their preferences the most in the Information Phase. We postulate that such initial change in views is due to the experience of being exposed to different perspectives and information on a topic that they had previously given little thought to.

- Experiences in the Information, Reflection, and Deliberation phases of the jury were each important for changing jurors preferences. Jurors revised their opinions on a range of aspects related to wind farms (including wind energy policy, wind farm planning and local impacts of wind farms) in all phases of the jury. However not all jurors revised their preferences on each measured aspect in each phase; instead these changes occurred in different individuals in all different phases of the jury, as different topics are touched on or addressed, and evidence and perspectives shared.

- In Coldstream and Aberfeldy, initial opinions were mixed, but slightly positive towards aspects of wind farms. The Information Phase caused the greatest number of jurors to revise their preferences, though there was no statistically significant net change in the group opinion. While no particular phase caused change in the group opinion on any particular aspect about wind farm development, the jurors' opinions about the overall impact of wind energy were moderated at the end of the process compared with the start, and a broader range of reasons were provided to justify the views that they held. Most jurors still felt Scotland had, all things considered, benefited from wind farms.

- In Helensburgh, initial opinions about wind farms were more neutral or negative. Statistically significant negative opinion change occurred only in the Information Phase of the jury and this overall negative stance towards wind farms remained consistent for the rest of the process. There was some change in preferences in the Reflection and Deliberation Phase, too, though led to no significant net change.

10.2.7 Overarching conclusions

The project had two overall research aims:

- To understand **how deliberative processes can be used to engage citizens on complex public issues** and inform decision makers about how such processes may be used in public policy.

- To **learn about citizens' views on wind farms before and after the deliberative process**, and explore what the citizens involved think about wind farm development in Scotland when given the opportunity to learn and deliberate on the topic.

The findings summarised above address different aspects of these project aims, but considering all the evidence we can distil some overarching conclusions (see also Chapter 9):

- Participants felt that the citizens' jury model provides an **ideal space for informed and inclusive deliberation on complex policy issues**, and should be used for decision-making.

- Participants not only learned about the topic, but also **enjoyed learning**. They not only expressed views, but also **developed views**.

- The key **organisational challenges** were: securing suitable witnesses, balanced juror recruitment, monitoring the quality of evidence, assembling a trusted Stewarding Board, and strategic choices on the juries' location, scope and task.

- The process **fostered civic skills and attitudes**, and thus can be seen as a school of democracy where participants develop deliberative capacity that is transferable to other contexts.

- Multiple factors influenced the **quality of participation and deliberation**, but two were prominent: **facilitation** (the craft of supporting groups to have meaningful, inclusive conversations), and **diversity** (the variety of views, perspectives, experiences and backgrounds present in the group).

- In terms of the jurors' **views before and after the deliberative process:**
  - They deepened their understanding of the topic, learning about the complexity and tradeoffs involved in making decisions about wind farm development.
  - They developed strong views about the importance of credible evidence, and called for trustworthy mechanisms to support informed community engagement.
  - They were open to review and change their opinions, and in this process the majority of jurors developed nuanced views about wind farm development. Three factors seemed influential:
    - *Evidence* – the jurors revised their views in light of the information and opinions presented by the witnesses.
    - *Group diversity* – juries featuring a range of perspectives moderated their views (i.e. from very positive to slightly positive); in contrast, a more homogeneous jury shifted strongly in the direction of its pre-deliberation views (i.e. opposing wind farms).
    - *Local context* – i.e. proximity to wind farms or other energy sources; history of local projects and community engagement.
  - They also developed strong views about the importance of considering 'who benefits' from wind farm development, and the idea that citizens can help decision makers to explore and discuss this. Consequently, they argued that community participation should be central in decision-making.

We conclude the report with reflections on how such processes may be used in public policy, and the implications for democracy.

10.3. Deepening democracy? Using mini-publics in decision making

> *"we already have a good deal of evidence to show that citizens can do much more than they are normally credited with. Moreover, a failure to participate is often as much a manifestation of institutional processes that either hinder it or render it meaningless."* Fischer (2000:144)

Our research findings resonate strongly with a core message from decades of research[48] on mini-publics and other deliberative processes. Namely: when citizens are given the time,

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[48] For example Renn et al. (1995), Dietz and Stern (2008), Bierle and Cayford (2002), Dienel (1999); Fishkin (2009); Grönlund et al. (2014), Elstub (2014), Delli Carpini (2004).

resources and support to learn and deliberate about public policy issues, they can engage with complex debates and collectively make considered judgements.

If citizens' capacity is not in question, how about institutional capacity? Are our institutions fit for involving communities in the business of governing? Here we face **the problem of scale**, or what Dahl (1998:109) calls the "law of time and numbers": "The more citizens a democratic unit contains, the less that citizens can participate directly in government decisions and the more that they must delegate authority to others". This partly explains why our democracy relies so much on intermediaries – i.e. people who speak on behalf of others invoking various "representative claims" (Saward 2010).

This is not a problem in the case of elected representatives insofar they are deemed to have a democratic mandate (cf. Latour 2003; Escobar 2014b). However, there are myriad other influential players involved in contemporary policy-making (Warren 2009),

> **Box 10.3. Reflections by an organiser with a policy background but no previous experience with deliberative public engagement**
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> *"In terms of how our juries were facilitated and how people were guided through the process, I think what we did could be directly transferred to the decision making arena. My overwhelming conclusion from all three juries is that CITIZENS CAN DO THIS -–i.e. it is not beyond the wit of the man and woman on the street to get to grips with these issues and to formulate considered and robust conclusions. With some more guidance, evidence and sense-checking, their conclusions could certainly be used in a real decision making process."*

including those who claim to speak on behalf of certain publics or communities of place, practice and/or interest. Their role makes consultation somewhat easier because it provides identifiable interlocutors that can be brought around a table. Another advantage is that they can develop **specialist knowledge and expertise** on the relevant issues. How else can the undefined and (sometimes) uninformed public be brought into the process? In this democracy of intermediaries, the public is an abstraction that can be 'spoken for' by a range of actors with varying levels of perceived legitimacy (Dewey 1927; Escobar 2014c: Chapter 5; Hendriks 2011: Location 750). Decision makers willing to collaborate directly with citizens and communities thus face the challenges of scale and expertise.

Mini-publics, such as the citizens' juries studied in this project, are one of many democratic innovations that seek to overcome those challenges. Mini-publics address the problem of scale by involving small but diverse groups of citizens. They are selected by lot, so that everyone has an equal probability of participating, which reduces the self-selection bias that advantages certain sections of the population (see Ryfe and Stalsburg 2012).

Mini-publics also address the challenge of expertise by including an Information Phase to enable participants to develop an understanding of the issues to engage in informed

deliberation. These features, and others explored throughout the report, give mini-publics a democratic edge over traditional public consultation forums.

To assess their merits, we must reflect more broadly on **mainstream public engagement with decisions about energy developments**[49]. If people feel distanced or excluded from decisions that affect them, this can encourage suspicion and hostility towards those decisions (Jobert et al. 2007; Gross 2007). Indeed, a lack of communication between citizens, developers, and decision makers is the "perfect catalyst" for converting local scepticism and negative attitudes towards developments into actual actions against specific projects (Wolsink 2007; Aitken 2009).

It is also important to consider the auspices under which public engagement is carried out, and the effect that this has (Haggett, 2009). A model of engagement as "information provision" is the most widely used, but tends to be the least effective (Breukers and Wolsink 2007; Agterbosch et al 2009; Haggett, 2008). Chilvers et al (2005:28) describe how this "bottom-line" approach to engagement ignores the success of, and importance accorded to, more thorough forms of engagement. Sometimes engagement can be conceptualised instrumentally as a means to an end (e.g. as a mechanism for overcoming or avoiding public opposition) rather than as an opportunity to open up debate, understand local sentiments or improve outcomes (Aitken 2010, 2012). Indeed, there are at least two ways of thinking about public engagement, namely: as a way of managing publics or as a way of enacting democracy.

Citizens in democracies around the world are becoming more educated, more critical and less deferential to traditional notions of authority – the level of civic aspiration and expectation seems on the rise (Norris 2002, 2011). In this context, managerial approaches to public engagement can be the source of public distrust and frustration. Citizens may feel unrepresented or misrepresented in a democracy mainly reliant on intermediaries.

> **Box 10.4. Facilitator's reflections**
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> *"For me, [these juries'] task is a classic example of precisely the kind of challenges which require citizen engagement and deliberation: it involves judgements about complex trade-offs and contested technical knowledge on a topic which has both local and wider salience."*

Furthermore, the **role of experts** in policy making is also under increased scrutiny, as it becomes apparent that evidence and expertise cannot be untangled from the realm of the political – i.e. the values and worldviews that underpin judgement (Fischer 2000, 2003, 2009).

Policy contexts typically require making collective sense of evidence, and considering complex trade-offs, in the light of competing values. Deliberation in this context may thus best take place in "hybrid forums" that involve "experts and lay people in joint discussion

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[49] Thanks to Dr. Mhairi Aitken and Dr. Claire Haggett for articulating this paragraph for Escobar et al (2014).

about the various values, interests, and scientific claims that shape their assessments of the issue at hand" (Brown 2014:66; Callon et al 2009). Public deliberation thus helps to place the interpretation of evidence within the broader frame of values that citizens hold about the kind of world they want to live in. This warrants a democratic, rather than managerial, approach to public engagement, and we would argue that mini-publics could contribute to this (but see Lafont 2015 for counterarguments).

To be clear, we are not proposing that mini-publics should make final policy decisions, but rather that they can play important roles in the decision making process. Our view is that they can provide a unique bridge between communities, experts and decision makers. On the one hand, mini-publics can work as a direct **advisory body to decision makers**, articulating judgements and recommendations based on deliberation that draws on diverse views, knowledge and experiences.

On the other hand, mini-publics can support communities to engage with decision-making in at least two ways. Let us take as an example citizens' juries. As part of the process, jurors could be supported to act as facilitators of public forums in their communities, thus bringing into the jury a range of local perspectives. In this way, the deliberative process is expanded beyond the small group of people serving at the jury. The mini-public thus becomes **a catalyst for a broader public engagement process**, which contributes to enrich the pool of arguments considered at the jury, while stimulating deliberation in the community. A similar logic has been applied in other mini-publics (e.g. Warren and Pearse 2008).

Mini-publics can also support communities by functioning as "trusted information proxies" (MacKenzie and Warren 2012; cf. Lafont 2015). That is, acting as **an "honest broker"** of evidence (Pielke Jr 2007) that clears the ground by distilling the pros, cons and tradeoffs of policy options into balanced information that can be shared with local communities as a resource and stimulus for participation. A similar logic has been applied in Oregon as part of their ballot initiative system (Gastil et al 2014). Of course, this depends on people trusting that the mini-public will seek to represent the public interest. As Brown (2006) puts it:

> *"Because [participants] are not beholden to interest groups or political parties, and because the process encourages participants to defend their views with reasons potentially acceptable to all, [mini-publics] are arguably well suited to identify ways of addressing public problems that accord some conception of the public interest."*

The trust that citizens may place in mini-publics will depend on multiple factors, and this requires further research. Nonetheless, Cutler et al (2008) argue that mini-publics can elicit public trust because some citizens see them as representing ordinary people, while others value that participants became informed on the topic.

In our research (see Chapter 9), the citizens involved became enthusiastic supporters of citizens' juries. This is no indication of what non-participants may think, but suggests that using mini-publics more frequently may foster a virtuous circle of support for using mini-publics. In our survey, after experiencing the process, 93% of respondents thought that citizens are able to make decisions on complex issues such as wind farm development. The jurors highlighted three necessary conditions for their trust in the process: diversity of views,

quality of evidence and effective facilitation. These are conditions that can be approached to a high standard in citizens' juries, although we have also shown the challenges.

Interestingly, our survey results show that the jurors had confidence that another group of citizens involved in a similar process would produce similar recommendations. The jurors placed great trust in fellow citizens and also indicated that if authorities used mini-publics in decision-making the outcomes would be fairer. This resonates with a study of renewable energy in Australia by Gross (2007), which highlights a link between perceived procedural fairness and outcome fairness. It appears that people may well accept an outcome which they did not agree to if they have confidence that it was reached through a fair process. Similar findings are seen in experimental research on (court) jury deliberations, which indicate that "procedural justice" – i.e. the perception that the decision-making process was fair – leads to increased support for the group's decision (Delli Carpini et al 2004:327).

This **triple function (advisor, catalyst, honest broker)** may be a starting point for institutional design. We avoid being too prescriptive here, because adapting and embedding mini-publics into existing democratic procedures will require the know-how of institutional entrepreneurs grounded in the policy context in question. However, using the example of wind energy development here, we can imagine **potential roles** for mini-publics at different stages of the policy cycle and at different levels of decision making–for instance the may be used:

- locally in the spatial planning or pre-application planning stages, to decide what considerations should guide decision makers when deliberating on options;
- to work out the merits of a specific proposal, and prepare balanced and accessible information to share and discuss with affected communities, thus enhancing the deliberative quality of the broader consultation process;
- at national level, when considering large-scale developments, or to create long-term plans (i.e. on the desirable energy mix for Scotland);
- or perhaps regionally, to inform decisions covering several Local Authority Areas.

Like other engagement processes, mini-publics can be seen as lacking real power if they are used to simply choose amongst a narrow set of options. There are strong arguments to support their role early on, at the agenda-setting stage of the policy process, when their contribution can be meaningful **before key decisions are made** (Boker and Elstub 2015; Johnson and Gastil 2015; Escobar 2013). This resonates with Aitken et al's (2014:3) analysis of good practice in wind farm development:

> "n the UK case studies, developer-led community engagement was usually conducted during pre-application planning; when many of the key decisions about design and location have been made. This limits the range of possible outcomes from the engagement and the opportunities for community members to influence aspects of the proposed development.
> This contrasts with the mainland European cases, which give evidence of public engagement in early planning and/or spatial planning processes which leads to substantive changes (for example to the locations or size of developments)."

Another key aspect of mini-publics is that they seek to **recast the role of interest groups** in decision-making. The goal of public deliberation is "to improve the legitimacy of democracy by making democratic institutions systematically responsive to reasons, not just the weight of numbers or the power of interests" (Parkinson 2012:170). As demonstrated in this report, citizens' juries provide a space for high deliberative quality that is difficult to replicate in more traditional public meetings (e.g. Escobar 2011: 10-15). A key factor is that they use random selection to ensure diversity and thus "reduce the influence of elites, interest advocates and the 'incensed and articulate'" (Hendriks 2011: Location 945).

However, mini-publics **should not be seen as a way of bypassing, co-opting or placating activists and advocates**. Indeed, interest advocates play a central role in this type of process, as Board members and/or as witnesses who present evidence and arguments. What changes in mini-publics is the interactive setting where advocates scrutinise each other, and with it, potentially, the mode of engagement between advocates and citizens (see Box 10.5).

Sometimes advocates on the various sides of a policy issue can struggle with deliberative public engagement (Hendriks 2002, 2006, 2011). For example, it may be seen as co-option or a distraction, or they may feel that their agenda is not well served by engaging in deliberation, and that other strategies may be more effective (e.g. negotiating, bargaining, campaigning). Mini-publics do not preclude other forms of public participation, and ideally they should be part of a broader public engagement process as suggested earlier. Equally, mini-publics should be designed to include mechanisms for activists, advocates and other community members to be heard as part of the proceedings (see Boker and Elstub 2014:13-14).

> **Box 10.5. Stewarding Board member (interview)**
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> *"I'm a strong believer in democracy and subsidiarity … so I was quite drawn to citizens' juries as a model of decision-making … Whatever you think about [anti-wind farm group], whether you're with them, against them or anywhere in between, it is difficult to take forward policies if there is a very vocal minority against them so you do have to do what you can do to integrate their views. So I thought it provided an interesting alternative to bashing each other in the media which is what tends to happen most of the time".*

By the same token, mini-publics should not be seen as isolated bodies, but as spaces that connect broader networks of participatory activity to institutional decision-making processes. That is, a nodal point in a vibrant "deliberative system" (Parkinson and Mansbridge 2012). This can minimise some of the **deficits of mini-publics in terms of democratic legitimacy** (Lafont 2015) – at least while selection by lot is not mainstreamed as a principle for democratic representation (see Carson and Martin 1998; Stone 2009). Therefore, mini-publics must be placed within a broader system that capitalises on their strengths and compensates for their weaknesses (Parkinson 2012; Boker and Elstub 2015:15). In particular, we would argue that they should be **clearly connected to existing representative institutions**, as has been the case for instance in the Danish parliament (Joss and Durand 1995; Hendriks 2005).

Elected representatives, whether at national or local level, have a crucial role to play in working closely with mini-publics. In the case of wind farm development, for instance, elected members may commission a mini-public as the advisory body and focal point of a broader public engagement process. The planning committee could work with the mini-public at various stages of the planning process, and elected members would be responsible to take the recommendations into the council chambers to inform deliberations and final decisions.

Another option is to actually include representatives working alongside citizens in the mini-public. However, this may present risks to the quality of interaction and deliberation. For instance, the risk that politicians would dominate the discussions, that citizens would feel less comfortable contributing and that interaction could become characterised by party competition and rhetoric rather than meaningful deliberation. Some evidence that this may work in certain contexts has been found in mini-publics in Italy (Fiket and Memoli, 2013:139) and Ireland (Honohan 2014), but this is an area that deserves further research.

This may offer **welcome assistance to elected members** facing the multiple challenges of representing citizens in the increasingly networked world of policy making (e.g. Narud and Esaiasson 2013; Warren 2009; Latour 2003). Collaborating with mini-publics may add transparency, accountability and deliberative power to their work, and potentially build public trust and perceived legitimacy for their decisions. There is some indication that elected representatives can have electoral and reputational gains from leading on democratic innovation (e.g. Lerner 2014). Deliberative public engagement may also help to overcome the challenge of ensuring that citizens judge decisions on their merits, rather than on partisan cues. As Ford (2014: Location 497) explains: "Attaching policies to politicians can … short circuit entirely any rational consideration of their costs and benefits, replacing them with ideological and tribal loyalties". Arguably, mini-publics could increase deliberative quality by functioning as "honest brokers" that communities can rely on to evaluate competing arguments – and this offers an additional resource to the cues that citizens may already receive from their preferred political party.

But is it democratic to give such powers (e.g. agenda-setting, knowledge brokering, advice to legislatures) to citizen forums without traditional lines of accountability? Deliberative democrats understand accountability as a matter of "giving an account" for the reasons that underpin a policy decision (Gutmann and Thompson 1996: Chapter 4). Accountability is thus underpinned by the principle of justification, which presses those engaged in

Time, facilitation and trusted evidence can help 'mini-publics' to grasp complex issues and collectively make considered decisions.

deliberation to make decisions that can be reasonably justified to those bound or affected by them.

If mini-publics are used as part of a decision making process, at least four lines of accountability can be at play. Firstly, participants scrutinise each other's arguments and reasons thus holding each other accountable (Brown 2006:211). Secondly, they can also be made accountable to their communities by having to publicly justify the mini-public's conclusions. If, as proposed earlier, participants are supported to facilitate forums in their communities, and feed broader views into the mini-public, then a crucial step is to return to the community and give a reasoned account of the results. This publicity and transparency thus makes the mini-public more accountable. Thirdly, organisers and facilitators can be accountable to the Stewarding Board that oversees the fairness of the process. Finally, the Stewarding Board and the participants are ultimately accountable to the convening body – and if this is a representative institution (or connected to it), then the circle of accountability can be formally closed.

Therefore, **mini-publics can be designed to ensure accountability**, both in deliberative and representative terms. Nevertheless, the lack of traditional accountability (i.e. a principal-agent bond between an individual and a constituency) can actually give an advantage to mini-publics in terms of deliberative quality: "randomly selected participants have few or no obligations to a constituency and are therefore free to consider the arguments on all sides of the debate" (Hendriks 2011: Location 950; Dienel and Renn 1995:126).

Ultimately, the perceived legitimacy of mini-publics as democratic bodies will depend greatly on how the story of legitimacy is told. And here is where the **role of the media** is essential. Unfortunately, there has been scarce attention to the importance of the media for building a deliberative system (but see Smith 2009: 102,104; Chappell 2012:159; Coote and Lenaghan 1997: 92). New democratic practices require new media narratives, and these may be prevented if mini-publics are covered using the tropes of traditional political reporting (i.e. 'winners and losers', 'governing by focus group', citizen involvement as an 'abdication of responsibility'). The value of mini-publics is amplified when their work and conclusions can become a stimulus for broader public deliberation via the media (cf. Ratner 2008). Otherwise they can be rendered as isolated instances, rather than integral parts of a deliberative system. Moreover, the media have an important role to play in terms of scrutiny – but again, the standards for this must be appropriate for deliberative processes, rather than simply borrowed from the world of partisan politics.

> **Box 10.6 Back to the future? Quote from Coote and Lenaghan (1997)**
>
> *"A citizens' jury can bring significant benefits to the commissioning authority. It can help to resolve a dilemma and to reach a better decision. It may do this by bringing new ideas and experience to the decision-making process. But it may also encourage the authority to think more carefully about what it wants to achieve and why, to scrutinise its own assumptions and to be more open about its own deliberations. A jury may… help to avert conflict and build consensus. It can boost the authority's confidence in the capacity of local citizens to participate constructively in the decisions. And it can help to build the trust of local people in the integrity and competence of the authority.*
>
> *On the other hand, a jury may 'backfire' and compound the authority's problems if the model is used inappropriately, or if it is poorly prepared, or thought to be rigged in any way, or subject to bias, distortion or manipulation."*

Another difficult issue in mainstreaming mini-publics is **who should sponsor, design, implement and evaluate** them. Again, we want to avoid being prescriptive, as they can be adapted to a broad range of policy contexts, and follow bottom-up or top-down approaches (Boker and Elstub 2015). In Denmark, for example, the task of convening was given to a parliamentary division (Hendriks 2005). In Tuscany, a Law[50] from 2007 created a new institution – the Regional Authority – to fund, oversee and manage participatory and deliberative processes at local government level (Lewanski 2013). More ad hoc arrangements were put in place for large-scale mini-publics in Canada and Netherlands (Fournier et al 2011). In terms of facilitation, it is important that it is professional and impartial – and sometimes this can be done in-house or independently (for pros and cons see Cooper and Smith 2012; Lee 2015; Escobar 2014c: Chapter 10). Currently, there seems to be a critical mass of facilitation expertise across the public and third sector in Scotland[51].

Mini-publics, in particular citizens' juries, have been used in the UK before, but have not become part of mainstream public engagement. As Smith (2009:106) explains, there was some enthusiasm at the start of the 1997 New Labour government, but the Cabinet Office responded to increasing calls for mini-publics arguing that **they are too expensive**. In 2001, the House of Commons Select Committee on Public Administration reiterated support for mini-publics arguing that the government's argument "fails to take account of the cost – sometimes a very high cost – which can be attached to rushed government decisions based on contested scientific judgements" (quoted in Smith 2009:106).

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[50] Law no. 69 defines Rules on the Promotion of Participation in the Formulation of Regional and Local Policies, "an innovative legal provision explicitly aimed at pro-actively promoting citizen engagement in local and regional decision making" (Lewanski 2013:1).

[51] E.g. Escobar et al (2014); Scottish Community Development Centre http://www.scdc.org.uk; So Say Scotland http://www.sosayscotland.org; Community Development Alliance Scotland http://www.communitydevelopmentalliancescotland.org; Scottish Health Council http://www.scottishhealthcouncil.org/home.aspx.

One citizens' jury can cost anywhere between £10,000-£20,000. They are the cheapest mini-publics (cf. Fournier et al. 2011; Warren and Pearse 2008; Dienel 1999), but they are considerably more expensive than standard public engagement processes.

However, price must be placed in the context of value. If mini-publics are framed and designed as 'add-ons', rather than as integral part of the democratic system, then they can be seen as expensive. Their price/value ratio seems thus relative to the political context and their purpose in the institutional landscape. The difference with previous waves of support may be the current level of civic aspiration in Scotland. It may well be that the value placed in building a more participatory and deliberative democracy is now more widespread. If that is the case, the empirical question will be **how much are we prepared to pay for fair and inclusive participation, and high quality deliberation**, in democratic decision-making?

There are, nonetheless, ways of reducing the price of mini-publics. They are so costly partly because they are rarely used. If they are mainstreamed, there are economies of scale and savings to be made by developing in-house (e.g. public authority) expertise and resources on the most expensive aspects (e.g. recruitment; facilitation; design; logistics). Besides, it may be also a question of shifting the overall approach to public engagement – i.e. instead of carrying out hundreds of consultations, resources could be shifted to fewer but higher quality deliberative processes on the issues that communities prioritise. Moreover, if they are proven to help improve decision-making, as the House of Commons Public Administration Committee argued, **the price tag may become small compared to the return on investment**. In this vein, institutional entrepreneurs may be able to reframe 'price' as a matter of 'investment' in deepening democracy to achieve better policy outcomes.

Deliberative public engagement is increasingly central to substantial decision-making processes in countries around the world[52] (Gastil and Levine 2005; Fung and Wright 2003; Fung, 2003; Johnson and Gastil 2015; Grönlund et al. 2014; Geissel and Joas, 2013). Like any mechanism for public participation, however, mini-publics **can be used for manipulative purposes** (Boker and Elstub 2015:12). We would argue that this risk can be accentuated by using them as an add-on, instead of as part of a deliberative system with the checks and balances suggested earlier – i.e. combining participatory and representative democracy in a system of deliberative accountability. In terms of other **basic conditions**, mini-publics are best used when:

- decisions have not been made, and options are genuinely open;
- there are appropriate resources to ensure the quality of the process;
- the issue is characterized by high stakes and competing evidence and values;
- decision makers genuinely need and want assistance from a diverse group of citizens;

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[52] See hundreds of examples from around the world in www.participedia.net.

- and there is a clear connection between the mini-public and the ultimate decision making body.

Arguably, in Scotland, there is a lot of public engagement, but much less 'empowered participation', defined by Fung (2003a: 118-119) as entailing "the expectation that citizens' participation and deliberation will directly affect public action". A criticism of mini-publics is that, despite decades of research and experimentation, most of these processes are rarely directly connected to decision-making (Chappell 2012: 159). We thus agree with with Boker and Elstub (2015:14) that a

> *"way to guarantee uptake in the formal political process would be a legal commitment to a transparent, public response to the citizens' recommendations and demands, coupled with a range of accessible channels for citizens to hold politicians accountable for their response… "*

This applies to using mini-publics in any policy area, but seems particularly relevant in wind farm development. As Aitken et al (2014: 2) note:

> *"Within the UK case studies we found only limited evidence of substantive changes resulting from community engagement processes, whereas in the European case studies there is clear evidence of the impact of community engagement. Examples from the UK of where people were informed of tangible changes resulting from their comments were rare."*

All in all, as shown in this report, mini-publics will unavoidably fall short of the high standards set by deliberative democrats. However, their benefits become apparent when they are compared to mainstream consultation practices. Well designed, and institutionally anchored, **mini-publics may help to overcome three key challenges in public engagement, namely: inclusion and diversity; quality of dialogue and deliberation; and impact on decision-making**. Nevertheless, only when mini-publics become embedded in actual decision making processes can we more clearly learn about their worth to policy making in Scotland. We would argue that the pressing problems of our time demand new political spaces that bring into policy deliberation the voices of those seldom heard – and mini-publics may provide some of those spaces.

10.4. Coda

In Scotland, the 2014 independence referendum symbolises a turning point in terms of public participation. Its aftermath may be one of those rare windows of opportunity for democratic renewal and innovation. There is an ongoing research debate about the extent to which citizens are actually willing to participate more actively in politics and policy making –or whether they rather leave the business of governing to trusted elites and intermediaries (see Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 2002; Neblo et al 2010). Sometimes 'public apathy' is invoked to justify the status quo although, as Eliasoph (1998) argues, public apathy is not a natural occurrence and takes hard work to produce. From this perspective, the problem is not necessarily that citizens are apathetic, but rather that some institutions are proficient at generating apathy.

Our research has shown that citizens of all backgrounds can enjoy addressing complex policy issues when they are adequately supported to do so as part of a fair and engaging process. This echoes research showing that people "really do like politics, if given the chance to properly engage with it, at least under deliberative contexts" (Curato and Niemeyer 2013:375). Scotland has a vibrant public sphere, rich in political talk across civic networks, public forums, church halls, pubs, kitchen tables... The question is whether the benefits of public deliberation can and should be harnessed more systemically to improve governance, public policy and decision-making.

Our study has sought to offer insight into the practice of deliberative public engagement. We have built on decades of international research into the dynamics of mini-publics, and shown in detail how they can be facilitated in a Scottish policy context. The question is whether social and institutional entrepreneurs will deem mini-publics as valuable additions to democratic life in Scotland. If so, we may be in a good place to move from a phase of experimenting, to one of developing and bedding in new citizen-led institutions. Only time will tell, and thus this research project is far from finished…

Glasgow and Edinburgh, May 2015

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