Developing a Net Zero Citizens' Assembly for Devon

A Rapid Review of Evidence and Best Practice

Prepared for the Devon Climate Emergency Response Group and the

Devon Net Zero Task Force

Written by Professor Patrick Devine-Wright¹ and Dr Alice Moseley², University of Exeter

We are grateful for the research assistance provided by Jean-Pierre Roux³

November 2019



Joint-funded with



As a contribution to the



¹ Department of Geography, University of Exeter, UK

² Department of Politics, University of Exeter, UK

³ Department of Geography, University of Exeter, UK

The purpose of and background to this Report

This report is written for the Devon Climate Emergency Response Group and the Devon Net Zero Task Force. The aim of the report is to review previous research and practices on citizens' assemblies in order to help inform the design of the Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly, taking place in 2020.

The Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly is being convened in order to discuss and generate recommendations to feed into the Devon Carbon Plan which will set the course of action across Devon for reducing carbon emissions to net zero emissions by 2050 at the latest.

It is part of a broader process that begins with a Call for Evidence phase of activities, including a series of Expert Hearings that are being conducted (Nov-Dec 2019) prior to the Citizens' Assembly on key topics which have been identified by the Devon Net Zero Task Force as critical to achieving carbon emissions targets within Devon, notably 'Food, Land and Sea'; 'The Built Environment'; 'Mobility and Transport'; 'Energy and Waste'; and the cross cutting themes of 'Spatial Planning', 'Behaviour and Cultural Change' and 'Procurement/Industrial Strategy'. The purpose of the Hearings is to generate information and learning about possible policy options to be considered by the Citizens' Assembly to tackle Climate Change. A Youth Forum and a Public Call for Evidence are also being undertaken (Oct 2019-early 2020) in order to collect views from diverse sources, age and social groups about how best to decarbonise Devon⁴.

The first part of this Rapid Review introduces the concept of the citizens' assembly and focuses on principles and practices associated with conducting citizens' assemblies, including issues such as selecting participants, sustaining member involvement, the role of the advisory committee, the selection of experts and different assembly formats. Examples are provided throughout, including from previous citizens' assemblies on Climate Change and other topics, from different parts of the UK and elsewhere.

The second part provides more explicit advice and recommendations, flowing from the first part, to guide the design of the Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly. These set out how we think the assembly should be implemented and evaluated in some detail.

The report has been produced by academics at the University of Exeter. It draws on a variety of sources including peer-reviewed academic literature, 'grey' literature (i.e. reports produced by practitioners, think tanks or expert organisations in public involvement that are not peer-reviewed), and official documentation, evaluations and reports produced by previous citizens' assemblies. It also draws on the helpful advice and comments provided by a group of experts who attended a workshop on the design of the citizens' assembly that was held at the University on 14th November 2019.

⁴ For further details of the public engagement process see <u>https://www.devonclimateemergency.org.uk/</u>

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations arise from the rapid review of evidence and a stakeholder workshop conducted at the University of Exeter. Each summary recommendation is followed by the report section number where the full recommendation with accompanying actions can be found.

Oversight and Accountability (Section 2.1)

- The **Devon Climate Emergency Response Group** should have oversight and ultimate responsibility for the operation of the citizens' assembly.
- The **Devon Net-Zero Task Force,** as an independent body, should decide **how many** and **which witnesses to call**, following the guidance outlined in this document.
- The Devon Climate Emergency **Secretariat** (currently Devon County Council's Environment Group) should organise the assembly's delivery, including procurement of recruitment and facilitation services in close liaison with the Devon Net-Zero Task Force.
- A **Chair** should be recommended by the Devon Net-Zero Task Force and appointed by the Devon Climate Emergency Response Group to oversee the process and be present at all Assembly sessions.
- The **witnesses** called to give evidence should be diverse. This includes researchers and academics, representatives of stakeholder organisations and individuals with personal, lived experience of the issues under consideration.
- Assembly sessions should be **conducted in private**, with observers and evaluators present, and are recorded and live-streamed.
- The Task Force should be transparent about **how it has used the recommendations** of the Citizens' Assembly in writing the Devon Carbon Plan. Where its recommendations are not taken up in the Carbon Plan, the reasons for this should be clearly explained by the Task Force. (Section 2.9)

Which question should be deliberated upon? (Section 2.2)

• How can we achieve a net-zero Devon as rapidly and as fairly as possible? Responding to this, participants could be encouraged to register their informed opinions on: WHO needs to act; WHAT actions need to be taken by each of these groups/ levels; WHERE these actions should take place; and WHEN actions should be taken.

Who should take part?

- Participants should be aged **16 years and over** and be **representative of the entire Devon population** according to demographic characteristics. (Section 2.3)
- **100 citizens** should be recruited to participate in the first instance, with the expectation that some will drop out over the course of the Assembly meetings due to natural attrition (e.g. illness). (Section 2.4)
- Participants should be provided with a **£100 day rate** and **associated travel and childcare costs** should be paid. (Section 2.5)

How should deliberation be conducted?

- We recommend that the assembly meet in **different locations** that are representative of different areas in the county (for example Barnstaple, Plymouth, Exeter and Tavistock).
- We recommend that the assembly meets on **four separate days at weekends over a seven-week period. (**Section 2.6)
- Written and verbal **information** should be provided to all participants in varied formats, employing **ethical guidelines.** (Sections 2.7 and 2.8)
- The authorship of information presented to the assembly should be clearly cited (e.g. arising from the Thematic Hearings, submitted evidence, specific research studies) so that the **rigour of information presented is assured of its quality**. (Sections 2.7 and 2.8)
- Discussion should be structured around different formats and with **professional facilitation**. (Sections 2.7 and 2.8)
- Participants should have the opportunity to **vote on preferred actions** and recommendations.
- The **wellbeing** of participants should be taken in to account through various support mechanisms. (Section 2.7)
- Enhancing the legitimacy of the process requires dedicated communicative actions to ensure **transparency with the wider public**. (Section 2.11)

How should the Assembly be monitored?

- Monitoring and evaluation is essential in order to signal the legitimacy of the process, and to learn and share lessons. This requires consent for and participation in various methods of data collection. (Section 2.9)
- We recommend that the **Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly is rigorously monitored** and has sufficient resources to track the process and its outcomes across time. (Section 2.9)
- We recommend that the Evaluation Report is published online and shared across stakeholders, witnesses and citizen participants, as well as with any other body or organisation outwith Devon. (Section 2.9)

Contents

The purp	oose of and background to this Report	2
EXECUTI	VE SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS	3
PART 1:	CITIZENS ASSEMBLIES: PURPOSE, STRUCTURE & DESIGN	7
1.1	Citizens' Assemblies: What are they?	7
1.2	Deliberative democracy and the theory behind Citizens' Assemblies	8
1.3	How and where have Citizens' Assemblies been used before?	9
1.4	Citizens' Assemblies on Climate Change	11
1.5	Key principles and basic format of Citizens' Assemblies	13
1.6	Procuring the sample	15
1.7	Stratification	16
1.8	Selecting the Chair	19
1.9	Selecting and expert advisory committee	19
1.10	Selecting expert witnesses	20
1.11	The payment of honorariums	21
1.12	Assembly topics	21
1.13	Providing information to Assembly members	23
1.14	Collating information from public call for evidence	24
1.15	Assembly meetings	24
1.16	Producing Assembly recommendations	25
1.17	Communicating with the public	26
1.18	Monitoring and evaluation	27
PART 2:	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEVON NET ZERO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY	28
2.1	Oversight and accountability	28
2.2	What is the question to be deliberated upon?	29
2.3	Who should take part?	29
2.4	How many citizens should take part?	30
2.5	How should participation be recognized and rewarded?	30
2.6	How many days should the CA involve?	31
2.7	How should the deliberation be conducted?	32
2.8	Providing information to Participants – before, during and after the Assembly	34
2.9	Outcomes and Impact	34
2.10	Monitoring and evaluation	35
2.11	Communication with the public	36
2.12	What is the Citizens' Assembly likely to cost?	37
Referend	ces	

Appendix 1: Timetable of the Oxford Climate Change Citizens Assembly (weekend one of two)	.41
Appendix 2: Agreed list of actions following the Camden Climate Change Citizens' Assembly	.43
Appendix 3: Recommendations from the Irish Citizens Assembly on Climate Change (2017)	.44
Appendix 4: List of potential expert witnesses	.47
Appendix 5: Potential outline structure for Assembly meetings	.48

PART 1: CITIZENS ASSEMBLIES: PURPOSE, STRUCTURE & DESIGN

1.1 Citizens' Assemblies: What are they?

Citizens' assemblies are a type of 'mini-public'. Mini-publics are based upon ideas developed by Robert Dahl, a political scientist, who advocated using direct involvement of randomly selected citizens in policy making to consider different policy topics, based on principles of rotation and lot stemming back to Athenian Democracy (Dahl, 1989). Mini publics involve bringing together a group of citizens – selected randomly in order to be representative of the wider population – to 'deliberate' on a specific topic on which they are provided with information (by experts, and other stakeholders), to inform a decision-making process or public opinion. Deliberation, in essence, involves 'engaging with alternative arguments with an open mind' (Niemeyer, 2013: 435).

There are many types of mini-publics, varying in size and format, but all with the same basic underlying purpose. Examples of mini publics include citizens' juries, planning cells, consensus conferences and deliberative polls, as well as citizens' assemblies. These minipublics are part of a family of institutions designed to enhance citizen involvement in political decision-making, sometimes described as 'democratic innovations' (Smith, 2009). These innovations collectively belong to a form of governance known as 'participatory governance', which gives citizens a more direct role to feed into the public policy process.

Mini-publics like citizens' assemblies are used to complement rather than replace systems of representative democracy, and to improve the relations between citizens and decision-makers (Hendriks, 2006). They tend to be used in policy areas which are of high public interest, of constitutional importance, or which may be politically sensitive or divisive. They typically consider issues where decisions have to be made but where the different possible policy options involve difficult trade-offs (Renwick et al., 2017). Their purpose is to provide a citizen perspective on issues as part of a process in which participants have been given both the time and the tools to make considered judgements, following discussion and deliberation with fellow citizens. In this respect they differ from opinion polls or referenda. One of the main benefits of citizens' assemblies, according to proponents, is that their recommendations can command high public legitimacy. This is due to the rigour with which the participants are selected, the informed nature of the deliberations and variety of perspectives considered, and the richness of the debates that take place.

Citizens' assemblies have been described as 'potentially the most radical and democratically robust' type of mini-public (Escobar and Elstub, 2017), partly because of their size, the length of time that can be involved compared to other mini-publics, the informed nature of the deliberations, and their potential for influencing public policy. Citizens' assemblies are a relatively new form of democratic engagement, with the first assembly recorded in 2004 in Canada (the British Columbia Citizens Assembly, see box below). However their use is growing, most recently in connection with a need for new policies and approaches to tackle climate change. There is also increasing interest in using these mechanisms to improve the quality of public engagement in the political process, by allowing citizens the opportunity to

take part in more detailed and nuanced discussions than might occur otherwise, in an era of 'sound bite' news reporting and polarised political discourse.

Example: British Columbia Citizens Assembly on Electoral Reform

In the case of British Columbia in Canada, where the assembly's job was to consider the case for electoral reform, members were involved in a process which took 11 months (Smith, 2009). For the first 4 months, over a series of weekends, participants learned about different electoral systems. A total of 50 hearings then took place over a period of 2 months, with evidence provided by fellow citizens and by interest groups. Over 1600 written submissions were also received. Then, over three months, members met to discuss and debate different options for electoral reform before making a recommendation, which was then put to the public in a referendum.

1.2 Deliberative democracy and the theory behind Citizens' Assemblies

Deliberative democracy is a strand of democratic theory which emerged in the 1990s that views the legitimacy of political decision-making as being bound up with the idea of deliberation between free and equal citizens. Citizens are considered to have relevant knowledge and perspectives to contribute to policy processes, free from the strategic and political considerations of elected decision-makers. Unlike elite and adversarial styles of policy making, deliberative and participatory approaches 'seek informed and considered input from people who have no particular knowledge of, or association with, the issue' (Hendriks, 2005: 3). Deliberative mini-publics also aim to provide a forum for minority viewpoints to be considered, since sufficient time and opportunity is given for these views to be aired, listened to and considered, rather than minority viewpoints simply being overruled by the majority (De Jongh, 2013). Finally, deliberative democrats argue that using deliberative processes such as mini-publics can enhance trust in the political process by improving relationships between citizens and policy makers.

Deliberative public spaces are considered to provide an arena where views and opinions can be transformed: there is argued to be a 'moralising' effect of public discussion, since people are forced to constrain their self-interest in public and consider the collective good (Miller 1992). According to Miller (1992: 62): "discussion has the effect of turning a collection of separate individuals into a group who see one another as co-operators". While there is debate around whether reaching consensus is a goal of deliberative democracy, finding common ground is certainly an important aim. There is evidence from research that preferences can shift during processes of public deliberation (Fishkin, 2009) and opinions de-polarised (Dryzek et al., 2019). However, the conditions must be right for preference shifts to occur.

There are a number of good practices surrounding the use of deliberation, including the following:

- Allowing everyone to be heard (equality of participation)
- Permitting a comprehensive range of perspectives to be considered
- Respectful listening and taking one another's perspectives seriously
- Avoidance of certain individuals dominating discussion through effective facilitation and moderation
- Reflection on one's own beliefs in light of others' views
- Sufficient time to undertake the deliberations
- Avoiding unnecessary conflict such as deliberatively provocative statements, also known as 'flaming'

Designing effective deliberative processes involves attempts to ensure the above conditions are met, as far as possible. However, there are challenges in achieving these ideal conditions for deliberation during citizens' assemblies (De Jongh, 2013). For instance, some assembly members may be more articulate than others, often those who are more highly educated or wealthy, which can lead to the views of these people dominating discussions and being given more weight. Moreover the manner in which the issues are considered can be influenced by group dynamics. The time required to listen carefully to the full range of perspectives can in reality be insufficient. Where time is insufficient, participants may end up feeling more uncertain at the end of the deliberation (John et al. 2019). More generally, deliberative processes can be costly, resource intensive and time consuming, and scaling up or institutionalising democratic innovations is challenging.

Despite these challenges, evaluations from citizens' assemblies generally show a series of very positive outcomes including high levels of satisfaction with the process amongst participants, an increase in knowledge and understanding, perceptions that deliberation was of high quality, and enthusiasm for the greater use of these mechanisms of deliberative democracy applied to other topic areas (Renwick et al., 2017; Pow and Garry, 2019; Devaney et al., 2019b).

1.3 How and where have Citizens' Assemblies been used before?

Citizens' assemblies have been used in countries such as Canada, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the UK (Fournier et al. 2011; Flinders et al. 2016; Renwick et al. 2017; Farrell et al. 2019). Table 1 outlines key features of a sample of Citizens' Assemblies in each of these contexts. In some cases the findings of the citizens' assemblies have been used to shape questions put to a national public referendum (e.g. topics on electoral reform in Canada and equal marriage in Ireland). In other cases they have been used on a smaller scale as 'pilot assemblies', such as in the UK, where there have been citizens' assemblies to consider issues such as English devolution (Flinders et al. 2016) and the type of Brexit that citizens would like to see (Renwick et al. 2017). In each of these latter cases the results of the assemblies have been fed into parliamentary select committees to inform ongoing policy development in these areas.

The Irish Citizens Assembly ran from late 2016 until early 2018, and followed an earlier minipublic, the Convention on the Constitution, which also ran in Ireland from 2012-2014 in a similar way to a citizens' assembly. Each of these mini-publics comprised 99 members and an Independent Chair. While the Convention was comprised of 66 members of the public and 33 members of parliament, the Irish Citizens Assembly's 99 members were regular citizens, not politicians. The two mini-publics considered a range of topics, including equal marriage, abortion, climate change, fixed term parliaments, and policy responses to an ageing population. Because of the way in which these two mini-publics (specifically the topics of equal marriage and abortion) were tied to national referenda, scholars have argued that there has been a degree of 'systematization' of deliberation into the Irish constitutional review process, although not full institutionalisation, as it remains to be seen whether these mechanisms will continue to be used in the future (Farrell et al., 2019).

In June 2019 the Scottish Government announced its future intention to create a citizens' Assembly to consider Scotland's future. A stratified random sample of up to 130 citizens (a minimum of 100) aged 16 and over will be selected reflect the adult population in terms of age, gender, socio-economic class, ethnic group, geography and political attitudes. Two independent convenors will be chosen to run the assembly, which is due to meet over six weekends. It will consider three topics: what sort of country the citizens' assembly members would like to build; how Scotland should respond to the challenges of the 21st century, including challenges in a post-Brexit context; and, what further work ought to be carried out to provide information to make informed choices about the country's future. The Scottish Government has made a public commitment to 'act on the recommendations of the Assembly within 90 days', by producing an action plan within this time period.

Topic (date)	Location	Format	Number of particip- ants	Honorarium paid (Y/N); amt /day	How findings were used/ impact on policy
Social Care (2018)	Northern Ireland (Belfast)	4 days (2 weekends)	75	Y (£50)	Presented to parliamentary select committee
Brexit (2017)	UK, conducted Manchester	4 days (2 weekends)	50	Y (£100) + travel/hotel expenses	Presented to parliamentary select committee
Long term Adult Social Care Funding for England (2017)	England, conducted Birmingham	4 days (2 weekends)	47	Y (£75)	
Electoral reform (2004)	British Columbia	Several weekends over 11 months	166	Not known	Assembly recommended change to STV system; proposal was put to a public referendum (change not passed)

Table 1: Details of a Sample of Previous Citizens' Assemblies

Topic (date)	Location	Format	Number of particip- ants	Honorarium paid (Y/N); amt /day	How findings were used/ impact on policy
Electoral reform (2006)	Netherlands	10 weekends	140	Y (€400 per weekend meeting)	Assembly made a recommendation to the relevant government ministry which was rejected following a change on govt; some of the supplementary recommendations were accepted
Eight amendment (abortion)	Ireland	5 weekends	99	N (Expenses only)	Considered by a special parliamentary committee; Govt accepted proposal for referendum; referendum passed May 2018
Ageing population	Ireland	2 weekends	99	N (Expenses only)	No reaction to date
Referenda	Ireland	1 weekend	99	N (Expenses only)	No reaction to date
Fixed term parliaments	Ireland	1 weekend	99	N (Expenses only)	No reaction to date
Convention on the Constitution (incl. equal marriage)	Ireland	10 weekends over 4 months	66 citizens & 33 MPs	N (Expenses only)	Govt accepted proposal for referendum; referendum passed
Future of Scotland (2019/20)	Edinburgh & Glasgow	6 weekends	Min 100 members	Y (£100)	To feed into Action Plan within 90 days

1.4 Citizens' Assemblies on Climate Change

Table 2 outlines recent citizens' assemblies focused on the topic of climate change. At the time of writing within the UK, assemblies on this topic have taken place in Oxford and Camden in London. Along with these cases, Devon will be amongst the first in the UK to conduct a citizens' assembly focused directly on Climate Change, and it will be the first higher tier authority to do so. Cambridgeshire County Council has recently conducted a citizens' assembly focusing on congestion and air quality (September, 2019). The national Irish Citizens Assembly considered climate change as part of its work, over the course of two weekends in Sept-Nov 2017. The topic of the assembly was 'how the State can make Ireland a leader in climate change' and it generated 13 recommendations which were sent to Parliament in a report in April 2018 and considered by a special parliamentary committee. Some local areas are using other forms of mini-publics to address the issue. For example, the Leeds Climate Commission with Shared Future CIC, for instance, has run a Citizens' Jury of 25 people which met from September to November 2019 over eight evenings and one full day to consider how to respond to the Climate Emergency. The jury has produced a final report with recommendations for the Leeds City Council's Climate Emergency Advisory Committee⁵.

In the UK at a national level, in June 2019 a group of six Select Committees of the House of Commons committed to conducting a Citizens Assembly on Climate Change to inform political debate and policy making, including input into future select committee activity⁶. The national Citizens' Assembly is due to take place in Jan-March 2020 over 4 weekends, with 110 citizens taking part, selected to reflect the demographic make-up of the UK. The Assembly will consider "the fair sharing of the potential costs of different policy choices". The commitment to a Citizens Assembly was made in the context of MPs' passing a motion to declare an Environment and Climate Change Emergency in May 2019, and the UK government's target of producing net zero carbon emissions by 2050.

Given that 261 District, County, Unitary & Metropolitan Councils in the UK have declared a Climate Emergency⁷, it is likely that interest in Citizens' Assemblies will grow. The 'third demand' of Extinction Rebellion has also created a swell of interest in their use. In section 2 of this report, we provide more detail on the types of topics addressed, the range of expert witnesses involved, and the formats used in the recent Climate Change Citizens' Assemblies and other deliberative public fora on climate change.

 ⁵ For more info, see https://www.leedsclimate.org.uk/leeds-citizens-jury-recommendations-published
 ⁶ <u>https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/business-energy-industrial-strategy/news-parliament-2017/climate-change-and-net-zero-chairs-comments-17-19/
 ⁷ Data at 21/10/2019, see <u>https://www.climateemergency.uk/blog/list-of-councils/</u>
</u>

Table 2: Details of Citizens' Assemblies on Climate Change

Topic (date)	Location	Format	No of members	Honorarium (Y/N); amt/day	How findings were used/ impact on policy
Climate Emergency (2019)	Oxford	4 days (2 weekends)	50	Y (£75)	Report to be published by Ipsos Mori for Oxford City Council, to inform new City Council Sustainability Strategy
Climate Change (Sept-Nov 2017)	Ireland	2 weekends	99	Ν	Considered by a special parliamentary committee; Report published March 2019
Climate Crisis (July 2019)	Camden	3 sessions (2 evenings, 1 Saturday) July 2019	50	Y (£150 voucher to cover all 3 sessions)	Developed Action Plan for Camden Council & wider community; presented to full Council meeting in Oct 2019; to set direction of the Climate Action Plan for Camden
Climate Crisis (Jan-March 2020)	UK Wide, to be held in Birmingham	4 weekends	110	Not known yet	Not known yet

1.5 Key principles and basic format of Citizens' Assemblies

Citizens' Assemblies incorporate a number of key principles: the provision of information (from experts, including different stakeholders), learning amongst participants, consideration of varied and diverse viewpoints, discussion, weighing up evidence, and making recommendations (often following a voting process). Another important element of Citizens' Assemblies is that members have an equal opportunity to speak and be heard during the Assembly meetings (one of the key principles of deliberative democracy). Trained facilitators assist to ensure that certain voices to not dominate discussions and that everyone is encouraged to speak and make a contribution. Even in well-conducted assemblies with fair and impartial facilitators present, there is a risk that certain members can dominate discussions, as some participants in the Northern Ireland Citizens Assembly felt had occurred at times during their assembly meetings on Social Care (Pow and Garry, 2019). The authors of the evaluation of the NI Social Care Citizens' Assembly recommended that future assemblies should instruct table facilitators to intervene more robustly if certain members dominate discussion.

The precise format of previous Citizens' Assemblies has varied (see figure 1 for a sample outline of a CA process). They typically entail providing information to Assembly participants both outside of and during the Assembly meetings. Information delivered outside of the Assembly can be provided as a pack and posted, can be provided online, or in extra meetings or hearings that take place in advance of or between the main Assembly meetings. The idea behind this is to increase the knowledge of the members on the key topics covered

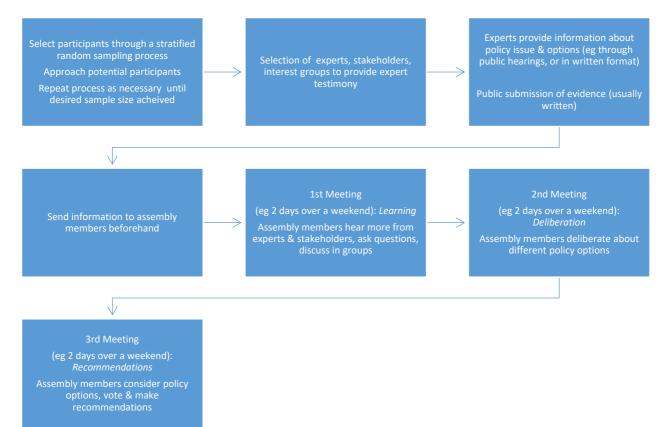
by the Assembly. In many cases (e.g. as happened the Irish Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change), members of the Citizens' Assembly are provided with a summary of key themes arising from a previously undertaken, wider public consultation or call for evidence. In an evaluation of the Irish Climate Change Assembly, it was noted by some members that there was limited use made of the public submissions during their deliberations (Devaney et al., 2019a). Finding effective ways to distil, synthesise and utilise information from public calls for evidence within Assemblies is an area for future Citizens' Assemblies to consider carefully.

Inside the Assembly meetings, presentations are given by a range of experts providing different perspectives on the issues under consideration, with members able to ask questions for clarification. Members break out at different parts of the day into small groups which are moderated by trained facilitators. These groups consider the evidence presented by the expert witnesses on the day, as well as any evidence collected as part of the wider process. They discuss the evidence, give their own perspectives, and listen to the perspectives of others in the group. The facilitators usually collect a summary of themes arising in the group discussions and feed these back to Assembly members, who then make recommendations about policy priorities and options, often following rounds of voting to refine and narrow the options.

Assemblies meet on several occasions, usually over a period of weeks or months, or even up to a year in some cases, making recommendations at their final meeting. There is always a written report of the Assembly's findings and recommendations, and this can be fed into the policy process in different ways. For instance, the report authors may present these to relevant policy making or scrutiny committees, or as was the case Ireland, can put options to a public referendum. Although one of the demands of Extinction Rebellion is that a UK national citizens' assembly should define policy on this issue, previous UK climate change assemblies have been given more of an advisory role (see Table 2). It is also the case that not all recommendations of citizens' assemblies have been subsequently implemented by policy makers (see Table 1). Ultimately the goal is to ensure that public authorities at minimum take account of the priorities and recommendations of the citizens' assembly in developing their policies or strategies.

A key principle for good practice is that in order for assembly members to feel their contribution is valued, and to ensure the process is seen to have been worthwhile, it is important that those who have commissioned an assembly report back to assembly members and the wider public about how the findings have been used to inform policy development. When recruiting assembly members and publicising the work of the assembly, it is important that it is made clear how the assembly's findings will be used.

Figure 1: Typical Citizens' Assembly process



1.6 Procuring the sample

An important principle of Citizens' Assemblies is the use of randomisation in sample procurement. Ideally, everyone should have an equal chance of participating, with a random sample selected from the entire population of interest (e.g. all adult citizens of a County or District, depending on the geographical unit of interest). Those who are randomly selected are then approached to take part on a voluntary basis. Of those who respond positively to the invitation, a subsample of the desired size is then selected with stratification conducted as appropriate. In the Oxford City Climate Change Assembly, the 2011 Census postcode address file was used to obtain the sample so that everyone is the city had an equal chance of being selected; a similar approach was used in the Irish Citizens' Assembly⁸. An alternative is to use the Electoral Register, which in the UK is updated annually by local authorities⁹. This approach was used in Citizens' Assemblies in Canada (British Columbia and the Netherlands) and the Netherlands. In these latter cases, an initial selection meeting was also conducted for those who expressed an interest, with the names of those attending

 ⁸ Appendix F: REDC 'Recruitment of the 99 Citizen Members and Substitutes of the Citizens' Assembly: Note on Methodology', An Tionol Saoranach/ The Citizens' Assembly (2018)
 ⁹ The drawback of an Electoral Register is that not everyone in a local authority area is registered to vote, or eligible to vote. The 'open' register excludes details of those who have opted out of the publically accessible register. The full register includes all registered voters but may be more difficult to obtain.

put in a hat with the required number of participants selected randomly (see Renwick et al. 2017, p18 for discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this approach).

However, resource constraints or practical difficulties with obtaining up-to-date details of the entire population of an area can make this population-based approach difficult. One alternative is for a survey company to be used to procure the sample from an existing survey panel of a large sample of members of the public, such as those already used by opinion polling companies. This was the approach used in the Citizens' Assembly on Brexit (Renwick et al., 2017). Here, a recruitment survey was sent to 5000 individuals selected by a survey company (ICM), with those who expressed an interest were then contacted and recontacted using a stratification grid, until the relevant quotas of participants has been achieved. As Renwick et al. suggest, this approach has the advantage of being cheaper than the population-based approach, but the disadvantage that only members of the survey company's panel have the chance to participate. An added advantage was that using a survey company allowed those conducting the Brexit Assembly to more easily construct a matched control group which they wanted to obtain as part of their research into the Assembly's effects.

Whichever approach it used, those selected must first be approached to participate, for example by post, online or on the doorstep (the latter process was used in the Irish and Scottish Citizens' Assemblies). Since some individuals will drop out over the course of a multi-day process (e.g. due to illness), it is important to ensure that sufficient numbers are likely to be present at the final meeting when policy recommendations are made. There are two ways to achieve this: by 'over-sampling' the total number of participants at the beginning or by recruiting a back-up panel of potential replacements, each with the same demographic characteristics as the sample of assembly participants.

It should be borne in mind that even when using random samples, there is an element of self-selection in the process of Citizens' Assembly procurement. Data indicate that those who accept the invitation to participate may be different to those that decline, for example having more of a civic orientation, more interest in and engagement with other forms of politics (Renwick et al., 2017). Those who attend may not therefore reflect the general population in terms of social and political attitudes. It is important therefore to collect data on these attitudinal variables, where feasible, to allow assessment of the generalisability and external validity of the Assembly's findings.

1.7 Stratification

Simple random sampling from a population or representative sample of a population via an existing survey may not achieve the necessary balance in terms of reflecting the wider population. The relatively small sample size involved (circa 100 for Citizens' Assemblies) makes chance imbalances statistically likely, even in a randomly selected sample. Stratified random sampling is commonly used for this reason. When conducting stratified random sampling it is important to define the key characteristics on which one wants to achieve balance, and this will vary according to the topic. Stratification is usually conducted by key demographic variables like age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, as well as to ensure geographical representation of the wider population. For example, the sampling

strategy of the Irish Citizens Assembly stratified according to age, gender, social class, and regional spread including urban/ rural split (with the population based on those registered to vote, as identified in the Census Data & QNHS Population Estimates). The Oxford Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change stratified on the key characteristics of age, gender, disability, ethnicity and area of the city.

Although less common, some Assemblies have also stratified to ensure representation in terms of political views (e.g. in the Brexit Citizens' Assembly members were selected to reflect the 52/48 Brexit referendum result, while the Adult Social Care Funding Citizens' Assembly members were selected to achieve a balance of opinion on whether government should cut, maintain or increase taxes). In the Oxford Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change, the variables socio-economic group, employment status, educational attainment and political viewpoint were *monitored* but were not used as selection criteria for inclusion.

The Irish Citizens' Assembly purposefully *excluded* those who had been involved with advocacy or interest groups on the topics addressed. However, advocacy and interest groups selected by the Advisory Committee were able to give their views as part of the presentations during the Assembly. Interest groups were also invited to give submissions to the public Call for Evidence. The Irish Assembly did not exclude people who had previously expressed views on the topics being considered by the Assembly, since it was assumed that the random process of generating the Assembly membership would result in a range of views being represented. However, as the Final Report of the Citizens' Assembly did ask that Members refrain from publicly commenting on issues while they are being considered as a mark of respect to their fellow citizen Members and to protect the integrity of the Assembly process."

Table 3 provides a sample of approaches used to recruit participants for citizens' assemblies, along with recruitment and attrition rates where these data are available. As shown in the final column on the right, achieving sustained involvement can be challenging. In the Irish Citizens Assembly none of the meetings achieved a full turnout, with an average 85% attendance rate of those who had been recruited (calculated from data provided in Farrell et al., 2019). It is possible that those who fail to turn up will be systematically different to those who attend (e.g. being less engaged in the issue, with caring responsibilities or in precarious employment). Some Assemblies have therefore created a waiting list of participants with demographic characteristics similar to the assembly members, to fill spaces at short notice if attrition occurs. All Assemblies should make efforts to sustain high levels of participation, for instance considering issues such as payment, accessibility, timing and length of commitment.

 Table 3: Sample of approaches used to recruit participants for citizens' assemblies, along with recruitment and attrition rates where these data are available

Area & topic of Citizens' Assembly	Number of households approached	Means of approaching participants	Number of positive responses	Number of people selected to attend (attrition)
Cambridgeshire (air quality/ congestion)	10,000	Letter	211	60 (7 dropped out before end)
Scottish Citizens Assembly (future of Scotland)	Not yet available	Doorstep invitation by survey company	Not yet available	Not yet available
Irish Citizens Assembly	Households visited until sufficient numbers were achieved	Survey company approached households on doorstep using data from the 2011 Census & Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) population estimates (Central Statistical Office)	99 members + 99 reserve members	99 members plus 99 substitutes (53 of the original sample dropped-out & were replaced during the course of the Assembly meetings)
Camden Citizens Assembly on Climate Change	Not available	Doorstep invitation by market research company	150	50
Oxford Citizens Assembly on Climate Change	Not available	Sample obtained by market research company using 2011 Census data	Not available	50
UK Citizens Assembly	30,000	Letter	Not yet available	110
English funding of Adult Social Care	5,501	Survey (polling company)	1,385	50 (3 dropped out)
Brexit Citizens' Assembly (UK)	5,000	Survey (polling company)	1,179	51 (5 dropped out, 3 of these replaced) & matched control group (non-assembly members)
British Columbia Citizens' Assembly	23,034	Not known	1715	Not known
Ontario Citizens' Assembly	123,489	Not known	7033	Not known
Netherlands Civic Forum Electoral System	50,000	Not known	4000	Not known

1.8 Selecting the Chair

The vast majority of Citizens' Assemblies have an appointed independent Chair. This person would often open the event and outline the parameters and purpose of the assembly, introducing the speakers, and ensuring the process runs smoothly and transparently. The Chair does not necessarily facilitate the Assembly meetings, and this may be delegated to expert public facilitation groups or researchers with expertise in citizen engagement or deliberative democracy. The chair may oversee the entire Citizens' Assembly process, including the appointment of its Advisory Committee, although this role may also be performed by an overarching Coordinating or Steering Committee.

In the Irish Citizens Assembly the Chair was a Supreme Court Judge whereas in the Scottish Citizens Assembly a former MEP and a third sector leader were selected as Co-chairs. In the Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change conducted in Oxford, the Chair was the leader of Oxford City Council. The most important attributes of a Chair are that they are impartial and seen to be so, that they have the time to be involved, and that they have good communication and inter-personal skills. Whilst unusual, it is possible for Citizens' Assemblies to be conducted without a Chair, providing there is a team of facilitators jointly responsible for delivering the Assembly. The Citizens' Assembly on the Funding of Adult Social Care was one such example. Here, a team of professional facilitators supported the process, with two lead facilitators and seven table facilitators at each weekend. Two academics were involved as Expert Leads over the course of the Assembly meetings.

Chairs or Lead Facilitators of previous Citizens' Assemblies have included:

- Former politicians
- Members of the judiciary
- Third sector leaders
- Local authority leaders
- Academics & public engagement specialist organisations (e.g. Involve)
- Theologians

1.9 Selecting and expert advisory committee

An advisory, or stewardship committee is established, to oversee the process of selecting the evidence, choosing speakers and monitoring the nature of the evidence presented to members, for instance ensuring that the evidence is balanced and communicated appropriately. The membership of this committee will typically include both independent experts and, sometimes, campaigners or activists from different perspectives (this, however, may depend on the nature of the topic and the aims of the assembly). Members of the committee should have the necessary expertise and knowledge of the topic to be able to select appropriate speakers to present evidence, and be impartial enough to ensure that balance is achieved in terms of different perspectives on the issues under consideration.

In the Irish Assembly, the expert committee on the topics of "the Manner in which Referenda are Held" and "Fixed Term Parliaments" was entirely comprised of academics, who had combined expertise in constitutional law, deliberative democracy, electoral behaviour, political institutions, and political communication. Similarly, the expert committee of the Dutch Civic Forum was comprised of academics specialising in topics that the assembly was considering, mainly political scientists. The expert committee for the Climate Change Assembly in the Irish Citizens' Assembly consisted of academics with research expertise in the following areas: political science and the politics of climate change; environmental law and sustainable development; climate science; adaptation.

Key attributes of the expert advisory committee considered by the Irish Citizens Assembly included (i) possession of relevant knowledge and expertise; (ii) impartiality/ objectivity in relation to the topics being considered by the Assembly; (iii) willingness and availability to participate.

The Irish Assembly's Terms of Reference for the Expert Advisory Group illustrate the nature of the work undertaken by this group:

- Supporting the Chairperson and Secretariat in constructing a fair, balanced and comprehensive work programme for the Assembly on each of the topics;
- Providing background expert advice on the issues being discussed;
- Advising on the criteria for selecting specialists/ experts to appear before the Assembly;
- Recommending names for the specialists/ experts to appear before the Assembly, for ratification by the Steering Group;
- Working with the Chairperson and Secretariat to select speakers from civil society and advocacy groups.

1.10 Selecting expert witnesses

This process of selection is normally undertaken by the Expert Advisory Committee. Here, it is important to ensure a wide range of perspectives, including experts with relevant specialist knowledge (e.g. academics, researchers or scientists), but also stakeholders with different perspectives on the issues being considered. This might include those with interests that will be directly affected by the policies being considered, including 'target groups' of a policy, such as citizens who are service users, or businesses that will be affected by policy changes or that will be expected to implement them. Speakers may also include activist groups that have a public role in influencing the policy agenda and advocacy groups who work on behalf of particular societal groups. In appendix 4 we provide a list of potential expert witnesses that might be relevant for a climate change citizens' assembly.

1.11 The payment of honorariums

The majority of the Citizens' Assemblies cited in this report have provided a small honorarium or 'gift' to compensate participants for their time, usually as a monetary reward or sometimes as vouchers. One of the reasons behind this practice is a simple acknowledgement of the significant time and commitment involved, and because payment can help sustain participant involvement. Importantly, it helps to deliver inclusivity, by ensuring that people on low incomes can participate and are not deterred by the prospect of foregone earnings; it may also increase the likelihood that those with caring responsibilities take part. This is line with current practice on citizen participation initiatives used in the health and social care sectors, where citizen participants are often paid for taking part in research activities like focus groups and interviews. A further reason for providing payment is that without this, only those who are intrinsically motivated by the topic may volunteer, resulting in a sample is biased towards those with more pro-social or communitarian views or with stronger views on the topic at hand. While citizens' assemblies involve random selection, citizens may then accept or decline the invitation to participate, meaning that there is a degree of self-selection (Smith, 2009). The flip side, however, is that some people may take part purely for the financial incentive, and may therefore not be committed to the process.

An exceptional case where no honorarium was paid was the Irish Citizens' Assembly (although in this case travel expenses were paid, as well as childcare costs for parents). It has been suggested that the lack of an honorarium may have contributed to the high turnover of participants (see Farrell et al., 2019)¹⁰. On the other hand, in a recent focus group with ten members of the Irish Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change, there was a view held amongst participants that non-payment of an honorarium was appropriate and should be continued. However, it is possible that members may not have wanted to express the view in the public context of a focus group that payment should be made. The Scottish Citizens' Assembly has recently taken the decision to provide an honorarium in light of concerns that the Irish Assembly's lack of may have contributed to higher drop-our rates amongst those with caring responsibilities and those on low incomes because of the financial burdens involved.

1.12 Assembly topics

It is important that there are clear and focused topics and questions for Citizens' Assemblies to address. The evaluation of the Irish Citizens' Assembly on climate change which drew on focus groups with Assembly participants (Devaney *et al.*, 2019b) revealed that citizens felt the main question of the Assembly¹¹ was too broad, making it difficult to address. Participants would have welcomed more focused discussion on specific topics such as

¹⁰ The turnover of membership of the Irish Assembly is however also likely to reflect the length of the process (12 months), and the Chair reflected the future assembly terms should be restricted to 6 months, see the 2018 Report of the Irish Citizens Assembly: *Report and Recommendations of the Citizens Assembly on the fourth and fifth topics: The Manner in which Referenda are Held & Fixed Term Parliaments*.

¹¹ The main question being "How to make Ireland a leader in tackling climate change"

carbon tax, public transport and issues associated with livestock and food production, in order to generate more meaningful recommendations.

The boxes below provide a basic outline of the topics considered in the recent Oxford and Camden Citizens' Assemblies on Climate Change. As can be seen, the Oxford Assembly took a thematic approach, focusing on topics such as buildings, transport, renewable energy, biodiversity & offsetting and waste. The Camden Assembly took a very practical, actionoriented approach, asking citizens to consider what actions could be taken at different levels: in homes, neighbourhoods, by the council and at national level.

Oxford Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change (Sept 2019)¹²

The Oxford Climate Change Citizens' Assembly comprised 50 citizens, each provided with a pre-briefing pack summarising key areas The overall topic the Assembly addressed was to consider "measures to reduce Oxford's carbon emissions to net zero and, as part of this, measures that reduce Oxford City Council's own carbon footprint to net zero by 2030".

The key question was as follows:

"[The UK Government has legislation to reach 'net zero' carbon by 2050]. Should Oxford be more proactive and seek to achieve 'net zero' sooner than 2050 and what trade-offs are we prepared to make?"

This question was broken down into the following topics: buildings, transport, renewables, biodiversity and offsetting, and waste reduction.

Buildings: how do we ensure our buildings are fit for the future?

Transport: How do we develop a sustainable transport system for net zero?

Renewables: How do we transform our energy system to ensure it comes from renewable sources?

Biodiversity and offsetting: the role of biodiversity and offsetting on the journey to net zero

Waste reduction: How do we reduce our waste to deliver net zero?

Source: Oxford City Council (2019): *Participants Briefing Pack: Oxford Citizens Assembly on Climate Change*. www.oxford.gov.uk/citizensassembly

¹² Appendix 1 provides a detailed breakdown of the specific topics and timings across the Assembly meeting dates in Oxford.

Camden Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change (July 2019)¹³

The Camden Citizens' Assembly included over 50 randomly selected citizens from Camden who met over two evenings and one Saturday, and was facilitated by the public engagement organisation *Involve*. The broad question addressed by the Assembly was as follows:

"We are now facing a climate and ecological crisis. How can the council and the people of Camden help limit the impact of climate change while protecting and enhancing our natural environment? – What do we need to do in our homes, neighbourhoods, council and country?"

The Assembly was tasked with developing recommendations at three levels of action: home, neighbourhood, and the city council. Three panels discussed each of these themes during the course of the Assembly, with presentations and discussion on each of these.

The Assembly discussed and considered a sample of 200 ideas that had been generated by a public consultation using the Council's 'Commonplace' platform as well as evidence collected from engagement events with schools.

According to the official report of the Assembly, the Assembly's findings will "set the direction of a new Climate Action Plan for Camden to be published in 2020".

1.13 Providing information to Assembly members

The format of information provision to Assembly members can vary. There is no single best way to provide information to assembly members and the approach taken will depend on the topic, the time and resources available, and the number and geographical spread of members. However, important principles would include the following:

- Allow sufficient time for Assembly members to read, view and process information;
- Provide information in digestible formats, minimising unnecessary jargon and explaining key terms (e.g. including a glossary);
- Ensuring information is focused around the topics to be addressed by the Assembly, and not burdening participants with excessively long documents;
- Providing information in a range of formats, being mindful of issues such as the need for inclusivity (e.g. people with learning needs or visual impairment, those with first language is not English)

Most of the information for Assembly members is provided at the main Assembly meetings themselves, but these are sometimes supplemented with hearings or events taking place outside of these, particularly for longer running Assemblies that take place over several months or over the course of a year. Information can also be posted in advance of, or

¹³ Appendix 2 provides a list of recommended actions generated following the Camden Assembly. See also Appendix 3 for the recommendations of the national level Irish Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change.

between meetings, such as summaries of themes that have arisen from wider consultation or at the Assembly meetings themselves.

1.14 Collating information from public call for evidence

Evidence from the public may be used to complement the Assembly's work, as an additional source of evidence to be used as part of a wider consultation process in which an Assembly is embedded, or it may be fed into the Assembly for discussion. Most publically documented Citizens' Assemblies have used a public call for evidence of some kind, with details and findings publicised online.

The Irish Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change used information from the Public Call for Evidence to feed into the Assembly. Assembly members were provided with a 'Signpost document' in advance of their first meeting which contained a summary of the themes emerging from the public consultation process which had invited submissions. 1205 submissions were received, including from individuals and 153 different NGOs, commercial entities, advocacy and interest groups and academics. Nearly all the submissions (excluding duplicates or irrelevant submissions) were published online. The signpost document itself contained a summary of a randomly selected sample of 100 submissions of evidence, rather than a summary of all the submissions.

1.15 Assembly meetings

Citizens' Assembly meetings typically involve the following stages as outlined by the Electoral Reform Society (Cowan, 2019), although in practice some of these phases may overlap:

- i. Learning phase participants get to know one another, learn about the aims of the Assembly and how it will work; they are provided with information about the topics at hand and given the chance to question experts;
- ii. Consultation phase different stakeholders (e.g. activists, campaigners, individuals with direct, relevant personal experience, different interest groups) present arguments. This often happens alongside a public consultation phase to gain the views of the wider public
- iii. Deliberation phase members discuss with one another the different arguments and information presented, weighing these up. Recommendations are made at the end of this phase.

Assembly meetings typically feature a number of key aspects, including the following:

Presentations by experts and stakeholders - Citizens' Assembly members are lay people, and no prior knowledge of the topics should be assumed. People also possess different learning styles and preferences (see Willingham et al., 2015; Coffield et al., 2004), so using a range of media, formats and different styles of presentation, is likely to ensure greater inclusivity. It should also be recognised that some people may have special educational needs or disabilities, and it is good practice to identify any individuals who might need

support to assimilate information or to have information provided in particular formats (such as large print, braille, or BSL). Consideration should be given to whether people whose native language is not English may require information provided in alternative formats, or translation. Engaging presentations make the content more meaningful and relevant to participants, including the use of personal stories and narratives. Research from psychological and behavioural science indicates that people can often relate more easily to personalised stories and individual examples than to numerical information about large numbers of people (or animals or objects) or to hypothetical examples that may seem distant and remote, and therefore more difficult to comprehend (Slovic, 2007; Cohen *et al.*, 2015).

Small group work is used to allow participants to explore issues in depth with their fellow assembly members. Group work is facilitated by people who are trained to moderate discussions and deliberations, who aim to ensure that participants are given an equal chance to contribute to discussions. Moderators do not give views or take part in the discussions but may take notes and keep a record of deliberations. Groups are arranged carefully to ensure they are balanced demographically and that a variety of views and perspectives are included in each group. It is good practice to rotate the groups, to ensure members discuss issues with a range of other members, and not the same people every time.

Silent or quiet time to reflect individually on the issues at hand and generate ideas. Reflection on the evidence and expert presentations and individual testimonials is as important as the deliberations themselves. An example of this was conducted in a Scottish deliberative Climate Emergency Summit (Robinson et al., 2019), in which participants were asked to silently write down 5-6 ideas for responding to the Climate Emergency. Each person passed their ideas to the person on the right, and read the ideas of those from the person on the left, and then wrote down further ideas in response to these. This process was repeated several times in order to generate a list of themes.

Recording views expressed. This can be done in a variety of ways: one method is to use post-it notes for participants to write down their views, which are then assembled together to gather themes, concerns and issues raised by participants. These can be collated and then narrowed down in terms of priorities. In the Scottish Climate Emergency Summit, participants using this process managed to narrow over 500 ideas to a priority list of 35, covering 8 core topics. Flip charts, mapping tools, and digital approaches can also be used to gather and collate ideas (see Parsons 2019 for ideas on the use of digital tools within citizens' assemblies).

1.16 Producing Assembly recommendations

Citizens' Assemblies usually involve the members making recommendations of some kind. The recommendations themselves are often generated following votes which take place in the concluding phases of the assembly. The recommendations could be about key principles for policy, or more concrete policy options, or both. As an example, the box below provides detail on the key principles and recommendations endorsed by the pilot Citizens' Assembly on options for Brexit. Appendix 2 outlines 13 recommended generated by the Irish Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change. It is acknowledged in research that the standing and weight that should be attached to citizens' assembly recommendations can sometimes be unclear.

Example: Brexit Citizens Assembly principles & recommendations

The Brexit Citizens' Assembly (Renwick et al. 2017) produced Policy Guidelines with respect to Trade Policy which indicate that the members endorsed the following key principles:

Minimise harm to the economy Protect the NHS and public services Maintain living standards Take account of impacts on all parts of the UK Protect workers' rights Avoid a hard border with Ireland

Members were then asked to consider a range of policy options concerning the 'type' of Brexit they preferred, i.e. (the largest number voted for option C, although there were also substantial numbers voting for options A and B). This indicates that Citizens Juries do not always generate consensus, and views may differ at the end of the process.

Option A: Stay in the Single Market, at least as it relates to goods and services. Option B: Leave the Single Market, and seek a comprehensive trade deal. This would keep trade with the EU as open as possible by maintaining zero tariffs and minimising non-tariff barriers through harmonisation or mutual recognition.

Option C: Leave the Single Market and seek a limited trade deal that would maintain zero tariffs but not address non-tariff barriers.

Option D: Do no trade deal with the EU.

1.17 Communicating with the public

Wider communication with the public about the aims of individual Citizens' Assemblies, their processes and their findings helps to enhance the transparency and legitimacy of assemblies. Assemblies are a concept not well known to the majority of members of the public and so publicity and information about their purpose and processes is important to aid public understanding and foster learning about the potential for the tool to be used in different areas of public policy. Greater transparency is likely to positively impact on the perceived legitimacy of citizens' assemblies and their findings.

Recent assemblies such as those in Ireland, and the climate change assemblies in Oxford and Camden as well as the Brexit Assembly, exhibited high degrees of transparency. For example, Camden and Oxford published the timetables, speakers and presentations on their local authority websites. The Brexit Assembly website also includes these details as well as reports about media coverage of the event alongside presentation materials and a full evaluation of the event. Several assemblies, including the Brexit Assembly, the Irish and the Oxford City Assembly included video footage of the presentations on their websites, and many include additional information such as the materials supplied to participants, and the composition of the Advisory Committee (see Parsons 2019 for an overview of how digital tools can be used to enhance Citizens' Assemblies). Councils such as Camden have publicised the details and voting results of council meetings where the recommendations of the Citizens' Assembly were endorsed¹⁴. This kind of practice can show participants and the wider public how the exercise feeds into the broader democratic process, and build support for, and discussion about, the wider role of citizens' assemblies in democratic politics. Communicating the findings and recommendations of a citizens' assembly and information about the responses of Councils and public authorities to these, can help enhance citizens' sense that their commitment to participation is worthwhile and makes a difference and potentially help to build trust in democratic processes in an era of political disaffection.

1.18 Monitoring and evaluation

Evaluation of how an assembly takes place and what outcomes it leads to is a key aspect of best practice on public deliberation (Involve, 2019). Effective evaluation can enhance the legitimacy of the process and ensure that lessons are learnt, feeding into the local use of public deliberation for other topics and to the design of citizens' assemblies conducted elsewhere. Much of the evidence base reviewed in this report stems from evaluation research (e.g. Farrell et al., 2019; Renwick et al., 2017) and it is important that methods of evaluation used are rigorous, for example use of both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis (Devine-Wright and Cotton, 2017). Evaluation research has addressed key questions at different levels, including specific aspects of process (e.g. were participants given appropriate evidence or sufficient time to consider the issues) and outcome (did the process lead to greater knowledge and increased trust amongst participants?) as well as more general assessment of the impact of the process upon policy making and public discourse (Devine-Wright, 2017).

¹⁴ <u>https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/blog/news/camden-citizens-assembly-recommendations-unanimously-supported-full-council</u>

PART 2: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEVON NET ZERO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

These recommendations arise from two sources. The rapid review of evidence, as documented above, and a stakeholder workshop conducted at the University of Exeter on November 14th. The workshop was attended by representatives of local authorities, activist groups, researchers and a variety of community-based organisations, and sought to gather participants' views on the format and nature of the Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly, including the questions addressed and the general approach taken. Below, we distil key recommendations for the implementation of the assembly.

2.1 Oversight and accountability

Other citizens' assemblies have used an Assembly Advisory Committee to oversee the delivery of the assemblies in order to demonstrate separation between the organisations that have commissioned the assembly (in Devon's case, the organisations on the Devon Climate Emergency Response Group) and their operation.

It is recommended that the Devon Net-Zero Task Force, as an independent body, adopts the role of the Assembly Advisory Committee. In doing so, the Devon Net-Zero Task Force would decide **how many** and **which witnesses to call**, following the guidance outlined in this report. In line with other citizens' assemblies, we recommend that the witnesses called should include researchers and academics as well as representatives of stakeholder groups that have relevant expertise, including those with lived experience of the issues under consideration. See Appendix 4 for a list of possible types of expert witnesses that could be drawn upon.

The Devon Climate Emergency Response Group should have oversight and ultimate responsibility for the delivery of the citizens' assembly. The Devon Climate Emergency Secretariat (currently Devon County Council's Environment Group) should organise the assembly's delivery, including procurement of recruitment and facilitation services in close liaison with the Devon Net-Zero Task Force.

We recommend that an independent **Chair** is appointed to oversee the process, someone who will garner respect and be present at all sessions of the Assembly. The Devon Net-Zero Task Force should recommend a chair to be appointed by the Devon Climate Emergency Response Group.

We recommend that the Assembly sessions are **conducted in private**, with observers and evaluators present, and are recorded and live-streamed.

2.2 What is the question to be deliberated upon?

The challenge is to coin a question that is general enough to encompass the net zero challenge, that is accessible and communicable to the public and that registers key aspects of a process of systemic change (e.g. futurity, emergency, fairness). Stakeholders at the workshop felt that an emphasis on both mitigation and resilience in the over-arching question was unnecessarily complex and negatively framed. It was also felt that explicit mention of a time-frame was not necessary, but could be explored in more specific sub-questions. Comparatively, there was a feeling that other UK climate change assemblies had posed questions with too much complexity. Taking on board this advice and the rapid review findings, we recommend the following over-arching question for public deliberation:

How can we achieve a net-zero Devon as rapidly and as fairly as possible?

Responding to this, participants in the Devon Citizens' Assembly could be encouraged to register their informed opinions on:

- i. WHO needs to act (e.g. councils, businesses, communities, citizens),
- ii. WHAT actions need to be taken by each of these groups/ levels (e.g. councils, businesses, communities, citizens)
- iii. WHERE these actions should take place; and
- iv. WHEN With the aim to deliver mitigation both rapidly and fairly.

The WHERE question ensures that both local and non-local dimensions of mitigation are discussed in the Assembly. Devon's emissions from consumption occur elsewhere (e.g. purchase of products manufactured overseas) and some consideration of the impacts of external actions in Devon, and Devon actions elsewhere, is necessary. The outcome could be a vision of what life in Devon in 2030 (or equivalent date) could look like – how people are cooking, eating, traveling, staying warm and cool, earning a livelihood etc. – which can be shared more widely across the county as part of a process of social transformation.

2.3 Who should take part?

To ensure legitimacy, participants should be representative of the Devon population as a whole. In practice, this involves selection by stratification, using the following characteristics: age, gender, ethnicity, disability, socio-economic status and location of residence (as monitored by the District Council areas). To ensure sufficient youth representation – a key aspect of the assembly's legitimacy - we recommend that the minimum age of participants should be set at 16 years. We do not think that it is appropriate to select participants on the basis of their views on climate change. Instead, we recommend that a monitoring approach is undertaken, identifying pre-assembly beliefs and opinions on issues such as environment and climate change concern, natural or anthropogenic causality, active participation in environmental organisations and occupation (with particular reference to land and agriculture related pursuits). This will allow us to fully

understand the backgrounds of those participating, and to capture baseline measures to assess whether beliefs and opinions change over time.

Participants should be aged 16 years and over and be representative of the wider Devon population according to characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, disability, socio-economic status and location of residence.

As discussed in section 1, there are two main methods for obtaining the sample, a population-based approach or to use an existing online sample of a survey company. Either approach would be legitimate but if resources permit, we suggest the former approach. To achieve this, an experienced survey company should be engaged to recruit from the Devon population using 2011 Census Data supplement by more up-to-date household or population registers. This is the most commonly used approach for obtaining Citizens' Assembly samples, and would ensure that every adult in Devon who appears in these public registers has an equal chance of participating.

2.4 How many citizens should take part?

The overall number needs to be sufficiently large to deliver a diverse and representative sample, yet small enough to be practically feasible and affordable. A small number is likely to involve a preponderance of urban dwellers from Exeter and Plymouth, reducing the rural reach of the assembly, which would be a major deficiency given the importance of land use and agriculture for mitigation in Devon. Since best practice ranges from 50 to 160 participants (see Part 1), we recommend that the Devon Citizens' Assembly should aim to recruit 100 participants in the first instance, given that this total number of participants may be 5-15% less than this on any one specific occasion (e.g. due to illness, caring responsibilities). We do not think that a back-up sample offers value to the process, since it will involve inputting individuals into latter stages of the deliberations who have not taken part in, and had the opportunity to learn from, the earlier stages. We believe that a larger initial sample, but without a back-up match, will bring more value to the process in comparison to a smaller initial sample (e.g. n=60) with a pre-arranged back-up.

100 citizens should be recruited to participate, with the expectation that some will drop out over the course of the Assembly meetings. A back-up sample is not necessary.

2.5 How should participation be recognized and rewarded?

Given the necessity to recruit individuals who may not normally take part in public consultations or take an interest in environmental issues, it is essential to ensure participants experience no financial cost that might deter attendance at assembly sessions, and have a financial incentive to participate. Therefore, we recommend that travel (and child care, if necessary) costs of citizens are fully met, alongside an honorarium payment that *at least* matches the minimum wage (e.g. £9.30 per hour of time inputted including

travelling time to and from the venue¹⁵). For practical purposes, we would recommend this is rounded up to suggest a day rate is paid for each participant of approximately £100.

Participants will be provided with a day rate which is at least equivalent to the minimum wage for their time inputted, and that associated costs are also paid (e.g. travel, childcare).

2.6 How many days should the CA involve?

We recommend that the Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly meets on 4 separate days: one 'introduction' half-day, two and a half 'content' days and one 'concluding' day.

The spacing of days can be organised in a number of ways, but our recommendation is that the optimum design is to hold each assembly meeting on a single weekend day (e.g. a Saturday) to avoid conflicting with workdays. We also recommend that the days are spaced out across a 7 week period of time, with one week break in between the 4 meetings. This will avoid deterring those who would be unable to give up an entire weekend, provide a sufficient amount of contact time to engage with the complexities of the topic and the process, as well as ensuring time for reflection and learning in between attended sessions.

We recommend each day to involve the following activities:

Day 1 Morning (3hrs)	Welcome and introductions: to participants, to the process of deliberation (including the role of expert witnesses, plenary and small group discussions, and the process of evaluation), to the main question and to the expected outcomes of the process in terms of feeding into the Carbon Plan.
Day 1 Afternoon (3hrs)	Introduction to climate change adaptation and mitigation, referencing the IPCC 1.5 degree special report (2018); the concept of 'Net Zero emissions' and how it differs from zero emissions; the Climate Change Committee report (2019) and Devon-relevant information, based on the Centre for Energy and Environment's analytic work (2019)
	One week break
Days 2 and 3	Two full days of specific mitigation content can then be delivered. Options include half-day (i.e. 3 hour) sessions on four key topics, or one-third day (i.e. 2 hour) sessions on six key topics. Each topic would require a minimum of two expert witnesses, aiming for a diversity of gender and style of communication (i.e. abstract/academic and concrete/personal experience). The final decision on the subdivision of this time should be made in January 2020 by the Task Force, following an evaluation of how

¹⁵ For the recommended minimum wage, see: https://www.livingwage.org.uk/

well the structure of the Thematic Hearings managed to capture all of the relevant issues, including cross-cutting themes.

In between days 2 and 3, a week's break should occur, as above.

One week break

Day 4 A final day should consist of the following elements:

- i. reminding participants of the primary goal of the process and what a useable output would look like;
- ii. summarising the learnings of the preceding sessions, including the costs/impacts and benefits/opportunities of identified policies and actions, who should lead on their implementation, and where this should take place;
- iii. discussing the synergies and tensions between different policies and actions;
- iv. discuss synergies and tensions with climate adaptation and resilience;
- v. considering different timeframes for action,
- vi. encouraging final deliberations and the prioritisation of different actions;
- vii. voting on preferred options.

Because synthesis is a complex topic for deliberation, each session during days 1-3 should conclude with a summary of key points raised and discussed, as well as potential overlaps and tensions between different topic areas. This can then be returned to and consolidated on Day 4.

We recommend that the assembly should meet in **four different locations** that are representative of different areas in the county (for example Barnstaple, Plymouth, Exeter and Tavistock) provided that suitable locations (e.g. with webinar facilities) can be identified in each place.

For details of a suggested draft template for the assembly days, see Appendix 5.

2.7 How should the deliberation be conducted?

Aim:

The purpose of the deliberation, specifically how findings are to inform the Devon Carbon Plan, should be clearly communicated to participants beforehand and throughout the process.

Ethics:

Ethical guidelines should be followed, for example that participants give informed consent to participate and for their views to be recorded and monitored over time; to be assured of their anonymity if requested, and to have the freedom to withdraw at any stage.

Communication:

Written information should be provided to all participants in advance and in between sessions, to ensure informed consent and encourage learning, reflection and deliberation. Information should also be provided to participants at the end of the process, including details of Assembly recommendations and how the finding are being used to inform the Devon Carbon Plan.

The authorship of presented scientific information should be clearly cited (e.g. arising from the Thematic Hearings, submitted evidence, specific research studies) so that the rigour of information presented is assured of its quality and relevance.

All information provided, whether presented verbally or in writing, should be communicated in plain English in order to be widely accessible¹⁶.

All citizen participants should have the opportunity to hear from and to question witnesses on key themes.

Discussions:

- The deliberation should be structured to include plenary and small group discussions (circa 8-10 participants in the small groups).
- Small group membership should be rotated to allow participants to engage with different people over the course of the Assembly meetings.
- All discussions should receive expert facilitation and notes of all discussions should be taken (2 facilitators on each group).
- Discussions to be facilitated to allow everyone to be heard (i.e. equality of participation) and to avoid certain individuals dominating discussion.
- They should aim to permit a comprehensive range of perspectives to be considered.
- All participants should listen respectfully and take one another's perspectives seriously, even if very different from their own.
- Participants should be encouraged to reflect on their own beliefs in light of others' views.
- Sufficient time should be provided to undertake the deliberations.
- Unnecessary conflict, for example arising from deliberatively provocative statements/ 'flaming', should be avoided.
- Participants should have the opportunity to vote on preferred actions and recommendations.

Wellbeing:

Clear signposting to break-out spaces and counselling services should be provided, for example if the material being deliberated upon proves anxiety producing.

¹⁶ For more information on clear communication, see

http://www.plainenglish.co.uk/campaigning/examples/before-and-after.html

Individuals with specific needs required (e.g. breastfeeding mothers, people with a disability) should be allowed to bring a non-participating aide.

Allow participants should be given opportunities to move around, circulate and meet other participants, including possibly some time outdoors and in break-out rooms.

2.8 Providing information to Participants – before, during and after the Assembly

When the sample is being procured, those being invited to participate should be provided with a pamphlet or booklet explaining the aims of the assembly and detailing what participation entails.

It is recommended that summaries of themes emerging from the Expert Hearings and from the Public Call for Evidence are provided to participants either before or at the appropriate stages of the assembly (e.g. when each of the different topics are being deliberated). The formats for information provision during assembly meetings should be varied, taking account of the different learning styles of participants and to ensure high levels of engagement with the content. Examples could include:

- Presentations given by expert witnesses and stakeholders a range of presentation styles used, including facts and figures and findings from research but also personal stakeholder testimony delivered in creative and personalised ways
- Panel discussions of these presentations with Q&A
- Display boards containing key findings and themes from the public submission of evidence, the Thematic Hearings, and additional consultation events taking place as part of the wider process, for members to view during breaks
- A display or summary with findings from the schools and youth engagement day on climate change undertaken at the Devon Youth Parliament in Nov 2019
- Space for post-it notes to be displayed; flipcharts around the room
- Short, creative exercises to break up the group work (eg whole room activities, one-to-one discussions, and individual moments of reflection)

2.9 Outcomes and Impact

The Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly will play an advisory role, with recommendations feeding into the Task Force in writing the Devon Carbon Plan. The Task Force should be transparent about **how it has used the recommendations of the Citizens' Assembly.** Where recommendations are not taken up in the Carbon Plan, the reasons for this should be clearly explained, in order to ensure the legitimacy of the process. There may be other policies, regulations or strategies alongside the Carbon Plan that act as 'entry points' for the CA findings and recommendations to feed into local policy. Any of these additional policy impacts should also be communicated to the public.

2.10 Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation is essential in order to signal the legitimacy of the process, to learn and share lessons that could be applied both locally and elsewhere in future deliberative occasions. This requires the cooperation of stakeholders, witnesses and citizen participants to grant consent for and participate in interviews, surveys or other necessary methods of data collection to track opinions over time.

We recommend that the Devon Net Zero Citizens' Assembly is rigorously monitored and has sufficient resources to track the process and its outcomes across time.

Research questions could include:

- How did the citizen participants find the experience of taking part? For example:
- Was the time provided to discuss and reflect on the topics considered to be sufficient?
- Was the information provided considered trustworthy and accessible?
- Did it lead to an increase in trust in stakeholders and the broader process?
- How did stakeholders assess its contribution to the Net Zero process?
- Is the CA method likely to be valuable to DCC for other policy topics?
- What lessons can be learnt and shared with other councils that are considering implementing a CA on climate change?

Specific actions should include:

- i. Citizens
 - a. Surveys distributed to all participating citizens in advance of the Assembly to collect baseline data on knowledge of and attitudes toward climate change, political engagement and trust in stakeholders;
 - b. Assess whether these beliefs change over time through repeat surveys distributed during off weeks and after the final session;
 - c. Short form surveys distributed at the end of days 1-3 to get quick response and feed into the design of subsequent days;
 - d. In-depth interviews with a diverse subsample following the end of the Assembly.
- ii. Witnesses
 - a. Short form surveys distributed via email after each day to get quick response and feed into design of subsequent days;
 - b. Follow up interviews with a subsample;
- iii. Stakeholders
 - a. In-depth interviews with a subsample of Task Force and DCERG representatives both before and after the CA has taken place.

The outputs could include the following:

- i. A webinar of 'lessons learnt' for other local authorities (November 2020)
- ii. Liaison with UK Citizens Assembly
- iii. A final report submitted by December 2020

We recommend that the Evaluation Report is published online and shared across stakeholders, witnesses and citizen participants, as well as with any other body or organisation outwith Devon.

2.11 Communication with the public

As noted in section one, transparency is an important principle of Citizens' Assemblies, as this helps to enhance wider public involvement and legitimacy of the Assembly itself and decisions which are taken consequently. In order to enhance transparency, we recommend that a number of key principles are followed with some suggested actions:

- Ensure clarity of purpose and manage expectations communicate with the public about the aims and objectives of the Assembly, including a clear statement about how the Assembly findings will be used
- Ensure clarity of process provide public information about the process that is undertaken, including information provided to participants, the structure of the days, and any voting rounds and results, the composition of the advisory group and how expert witnesses were selected
- Transparency in the process of evidence gathering at different stages of the process, e.g. through:
 - *Public Call for Evidence:* Publishing all (anonymised) submissions of evidence from the public call on the Assembly website and a summary of themes
 - Expert Hearings:
 - Livestream the proceedings of the Expert Hearings which are used as part of the wider process, and post the recordings on the Assembly website.
 - Opening up the expert hearings to observers, allowing the public to pose questions, and provide information about the topics of hearings and speakers on the Assembly website
 - Assembly Meetings:
 - Provide material on the website about the timetable of the Assembly meetings, the key topics addressed and the speakers, their presentations, and the conclusions drawn by the Assembly
 - Live stream the presentations and panel sessions from the Assembly meeting days and retain these on the website for posterity
- Communication with the wider public:
 - Keep the public up-to-date via media, social media, website
 - Share learning with other local authorities undertaking similar exercises and take advantage of opportunities for peer-to-peer learning

 Contribute to the wider public debate on carbon emissions and debates around net zero, including feeding in lessons to the national Citizens' Assembly process on climate change

2.12 What is the Citizens' Assembly likely to cost?

This review was not charged with providing a detailed estimate of costs; however, our review suggests that, assuming a Citizens' Assembly with 100 participants, 12 witnesses and an independent chair, it is likely to cost in the region of £150,000 (see Table 4).

Table 4: Estimated	l cost of Devon	Citizens' Assembly
--------------------	-----------------	--------------------

ltem	Estimated costs (£)	Notes
Venue hire	0	Council buildings
Catering	4520	113 x 4 x 10 (assuming lunch at £5 and 2 x teas/coffees at £2.50 per person)
Expenses	4520	113 x 4 x 10 (assuming each person's travel costs average £10 per session)
Recruitment, facilitation and honorarium for participants	100,000	Based on a quote from YouGov for a panel sample
Evaluation research	35,000	Based on estimates provided by the University of Exeter
Total	144,040	

References

An Tionol Saoranach/ The Citizens Assembly (2018). *Report and Recommendations of the Citizens Assembly on the fourth and fifth topics: The Manner in which Referenda are Held & Fixed Term Parliaments*. Accessed on 22/10/2019.

https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/Manner-in-which-referenda-are-held/Final-Report-onthe-Manner-in-Which-Referenda-are-Held-and-Fixed-Term-Parliaments/Final-Report-on-Manner-in-which-Referenda-are-Held-Fixed-Term-Parliaments.pdf

An Tionol Saoranach/ The Citizens Assembly (2018). *Third Report and Recommendations of the Citizens' Assembly: How the State can make Ireland a Leader in Tackling Climate Change.* Accessed 05/11/2019.

<u>https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/How-the-State-can-make-Ireland-a-leader-in-tackling-climate-change/Final-Report-on-how-the-State-can-make-Ireland-a-leader-in-tackling-climate-change/Climate-Change-Report-Final.pdf</u>

An Tionol Saoranach/ The Citizens Assembly (2018). Submissions to the Citizens' Assembly on the third topic for consideration: How the State can make Ireland a leader in tackling climate change. Signpost Document for Assembly Members: Key issues raised and themes covered. Accessed 06/11/2019.

https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/Submissions/How-the-State-can-make-Ireland-aleader-in-tackling-climate-change/Signpost-Document/

British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (2004). *Making Every Vote Count: The Case for Electoral Reform in British Columbia: Technical Report*. Vancouver: Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform.

Coffield, F., Moseley, D., Hall, E. & Ecclestone, K. (2004). *Learning Styles and Pedagogy in Post-16 Learning: A Systematic and Critical Review*. London: Learning and Skills Research Centre.

Cohen, G., Daniels, N. & Eyal, N. (Eds). (2015). *Identified versus Statistical Lives: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, Oxford Scholarship Online.

John, P., Cotterill, S., Moseley, A., Richardson, L., Smith, G., Stoker, G. & Wales, C. (2019). Nudge Nudge Think Think: Experimenting with Ways to Change Citizen Behaviour. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cowan, D. (2019). 'What is a Citizens Assembly?' Electoral Reform Society. Accessed 22/10/2019: <u>https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/what-is-a-citizens-assembly/</u>

Dahl, R. (1989). Democracy and Its Critics. Yale University Press.

De Jongh, M. (2013). *Group Dynamics on the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform*. PhD Thesis, University of Arhuus.

Devaney, L. Coleman, M., Torney, D. and Brereton, P. (2019a). *Enhancing Citizen Engagement on the Climate Crisis: The Role of Deliberation.* Citizens' Climate Research Project. Dublin City University, September 2019.

Devaney, L. Torney, D., Brereton, P and Coleman, M. (2019b). *Deepening public engagement on Climate Change: Lessons from the Citizens' Assembly*. EPA Research Report. Prepared for the Environmental Protection Agency by the Citizens' Climate Research Team, Dublin City University.

Devine-Wright, P. and Cotton, M. (2017) Experiencing citizen deliberation over energy infrastructure siting: a mixed method evaluative study. In Stefan Bouzarovski, Martin J Pasqualetti, Vanesa Castán Broto (Eds.) *The Routledge Research Companion to Energy Geographies*. Oxford: Routledge, pp. 165-177.

Devine-Wright, P. (2017) Environment, Democracy and Participation. In *International Encyclopaedia of Geography*, ed. D. Richardson, N. Castree et al., Oxford and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell. DOI: 10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg0613

Dryzek, J.S. et al. (2019). *The crisis of democracy and the science of deliberation*, Science, 363 (6432): 1144-1146.

Escobar, O. & Elstub, S. (2017). *Forms of Mini-Publics: An Introduction to Deliberative Innovations in Democratic Practice*, New Democracy Foundation, Research and Development Note.8th May 2017.

Farrell, D.M., Suiter, J. & Harris, C. (2019). *Systematizing' constitutional deliberation: the 2018-18 citizens' assembly in Ireland*. Irish Political Studies, 34(1): 113-123.

Fishkin, James S. (2009). *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Flinders, M., Ghose, K. Jennings, W. Molloy, E. Prosser, B., Renwick, A., Smith, G. and Spada, P. (2016). *Democracy Matters: Lessons from the 2015 Citizens' Assemblies on English Devolution*. London: Electoral Reform Society, with the Crick Centre at the University of Sheffield, Constitution Unit at University College London, the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster, and the Centre for Citizenship, Globalisation and Governance at the University of Southampton.

Fournier, P. Van der Kolk, H. Carty, R.K. Blais, A. Rose, J. (2011). *When Citizens Decide: Lessons from Citizen Assemblies on Electoral Reform*. Oxford Scholarship Online.

Hendriks, C. (2005). *Participatory storylines and their influences on deliberative forums*. Policy Sciences, 38, 1-20.

Hendriks, C. (2006). *When the forum meets interest politics: Strategic uses of public deliberatio*. Politics & Society, 34, 571-603.

INVOLVE (2019) When is a Citizens' Assembly not a Citizens' Assembly? Towards some standards. Available at the following website (last accessed 28th November 2019): https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/blog/opinion/when-citizens-assembly-not-citizens-assembly-towards-some-standards

John, P., Cotterill, S., Moseley, A., Richardson, L., Smith, G., Stoker, G. & Wales, C. 2019. *Nudge Nudge Think Think: Experimenting with Ways to Change Citizen Behaviour*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Miller, D. (1992). *Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice*, Political Studies, XL, Special Issue, 54-67.

Niemeyer, S. (2013). *Democracy and Climate Change: What Can Deliberative Democracy Contribute?* Australian Journal of Politics and History, 59(3), 430-449.

Parsons, A. (2019). *Digital tools for Citizens' Assemblies*. mySociety, June 2019.

Pow, J. & Garry, J. (2019). *Citizens' Assembly for Northern Ireland: Summary of Participant Evaluations*. Involve/ Queen's University Belfast. (March 2019).

Renwick, A., Allan, S., Jennings, W., McKee, R., Russell, M. & Smith, G. (2017). *A Considered Voice on Brexit: The Report of the Citizens' Assembly on Brexit*. The Constitution Unit, University College London.

Robinson, J., with Robinson, M., Pepper, J. & Caldwell, A. (2019). *Climate Emergency Summit: Shaping the World You Want to See*. Report of An Event hosted by the Royal Geographical Society. Report date: 26/08/2019.

Slovic, P. (2007). *If I look at the mass, I will never act: Psychic numbing and genocide.* Judgement and Decision Making. (Vol 2, No 2) University of Oregon.

Smith, G. (2009). *Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Willingham, D.T., Hughes, E.M., Dobolyi, David G. (July 2015). *The scientific status of learning styles theories*. Teaching of Psychology. 42 (3): 266–271.

Appendix 1: Timetable of the Oxford Climate Change Citizens Assembly (weekend one of two)¹⁷

Saturday 28 th September				
Duration	Time	Activity		
30 min	9.00	Arrival, check in, breakfast		
10 mins	9.30	Tom Hayes – Welcome 2mins.		
20 min	9.40	Ipsos MORI - Seated at tables, plenary introduction from chair – outline aims and		
		objectives, ground rules, etc. Reiterate we are not discussing whether climate change is		
		happening; make reference to debunking the myths material. Reference to not discussing		
		emergency responses/adaptation, focus on reducing our emissions.		
20 min	9.50	Introductions on tables, reiterate ground rules, ice breaker discussion - what issues matter		
		to assembly members and how important is climate change to them.		
		Introduction to Climate Change		
10 min	10.10	 Myles Allen, Environmental Change Institute - What are the impacts of climate 		
		change? The scale of the problem global to local		
10 min	10.20	 Linnet Drury, Oxford Spires Academy - Why is climate change important? 		
10 min	10.30	 Tara Clarke, Climate Outreach - What impacts will we experience? 		
55 min	10.40	Assembly Members reflect on what has been discussed so far and feedback		
15 min	11.35	Break		
		What can we do about it?		
10 min	11.50	 Jenny Hill, Committee on Climate Change - What does net zero actually mean? 		
10 min	12.00	 Asad Rehman, War on Want – Inequality and climate justice – a global perspective 		
10 min	12.10	 Barbara Hammond Low Carbon Hub - Oxford's response to climate change so far 		
10 min	12.20	Tim Sadler, Oxford City Council - Oxford City Council's priorities and responsibilities		
		for supporting our citizens and shaping our environment		
40 min	12.30	Assembly Members reflect on what has been discussed so far and feedback		
45 min	13.10	Lunch		
20 min	13.55	Reconvene and outline next session		
60 min	14.15	Theme 1 (Waste Reduction)		
		 Speaker - Trewin Restorick, Hubbub, 10 minute presentation 		
		Panel discussion		
		 Assembly members have hard copies of presentations, plus post-it notes, in order 		
		to make notes during presentations		
		Individual reflection, table discussion, clarifications – including plenary Q and A		
15 min	15.15	Break		
1h 50 min	15.30	Theme 2 (Buildings)		
		 Speaker – Alex Baines, The Design Buro, 10 minute presentation 		
		Panel discussion		
		 Assembly members have hard copies of presentations, plus post-it notes, in order 		
		to make notes during presentations		
		Individual reflection, table discussion, clarifications – including plenary Q and A		
10 min	17.20	Ipsos MORI - Reflections on Day 1, reiterate basic plans for Day 2		
	17.30	Close		

Schedule Weekend One

¹⁷ <u>https://www.oxford.gov.uk/downloads/download/1101/citizens_assembly_weekend_one_schedule</u>. Accessed: 06/11/2019

Sunday 29 th September					
Duration	Time	Activity			
30 min	9.00	Arrival, check in, breakfast Assigned new tables			
10 min	9.30	Ipsos MORI – Introduction			
1h 55m	9.40	 Theme 3 (Transport) Speaker - Oxfordshire County Council, 10 minute presentation Panel discussion Assembly members have hard copies of presentations, plus post-it notes, in order to make notes during presentations Individual reflection, table discussion, clarifications – including plenary Q and A 			
15 min	11.35	Break			
1h	11.50	 Theme 4 (Biodiversity and Offsetting) Speaker – Prof Kathy Willis, University of Oxford, 10 minute presentation Panel discussion Assembly members have hard copies of presentations, plus post-it notes, in order to make notes during presentations Individual reflection, table discussion, clarifications – including plenary Q and A 			
45 min	12.50	Lunch			
2h 5m	13.35	 Theme 5 (Renewable Energy) Speaker – Nick Eyre, Environmental Change Institute, 10 minute presentation Panel discussion Assembly members have hard copies of presentations, plus post-it notes, in order to make notes during presentations Individual reflection, table discussion, clarifications – including plenary Q and A 			
15 min	15.40	Break			
50 min	15.55	Ipsos MORI - Reflection and overview summary of five themes that have been presented			
30 min	16.45	Ipsos MORI - Reiterate plans for second weekend			
	17.15	Close			

Appendix 2: Agreed list of actions following the Camden Climate Change Citizens' Assembly¹⁸

The Home	The Neighbourhood	The Council
1. Encourage low carbon dietary choices	6. Plant more trees and create more allotments	12. Establish a Climate Emergency scrutiny panel made up of experts and residents
2. Make all new homes carbon zero	7. Pilot a community energy heating scheme	
3. Create more green space on residential streets	8. Install more segregated cycle lanes	13. Make all council properties fossil fuel free
4. Fit solar panels on as many homes as possible	9. Promote and trial car free zones and days	 14. Improve council communications and engagement on climate change 15. Mobilise existing community groups to work on tackling the climate crisis
5. Campaign to make CO2 reduction fun	10. Enable electric transport with infrastructure and incentives	
	11. Developers to fund energy efficient retrofits of old buildings	
		16. Green the council's operations
		17. Plant trees and retain public spaces

¹⁸ Camden Citizens' Assembly on the Climate Crisis (2019). *Recommendations For Tackling The Climate Crisis In Camden*. Accessed 06/11/2019

Appendix 3: Recommendations from the Irish Citizens Assembly on Climate Change (2017)¹⁹

The recommendations were reached by ballot paper voting and follow two weekends of deliberation which focussed on the energy, transport and agriculture sectors, international best practise and existing national policies and activities.

A total of 13 questions appeared on the ballot and the recommendations were reached by majority vote.

The following recommendations were made by the Assembly;

- i. 97% of the Members recommended that to ensure climate change is at the centre of policy-making in Ireland, as a matter of urgency a new or existing independent body should be resourced appropriately, operate in an open and transparent manner, and be given a broad range of new functions and powers in legislation to urgently address climate change. *
- ii. 100% of the Members recommended that the State should take a leadership role in addressing climate change through mitigation measures, including, for example, retrofitting public buildings, having low carbon public vehicles, renewable generation on public buildings and through adaptation measures including, for example, increasing the resilience of public land and infrastructure.
- iii. 80% of the Members said they would be willing to pay higher taxes on carbon intensive activities **
- iv. 96% of the Members recommended that the State should undertake a comprehensive assessment of the vulnerability of all critical infrastructure (including energy, transport, built environment, water and communications) with a view to building resilience to ongoing climate change and extreme weather events. The outcome of this assessment should be implemented. Recognising the significant costs that the State would bear in the event of failure of critical infrastructure, spending on infrastructure should be prioritised to take account of this.
- 99% of the Members recommended that the State should enable, through legislation, the selling back into the grid of electricity from micro-generation by private citizens (for example energy from solar panels or wind turbines on people's homes or land) at a price which is at least equivalent to the wholesale price.
- vi. 100% of the Members recommended that the State should act to ensure the greatest possible levels of community ownership in all future renewable energy projects by encouraging communities to develop their own projects and by requiring that developer-led projects make share offers to communities to encourage greater local involvement and ownership.
- vii. 97% of the Members recommended that the State should end all subsidies for peat extraction and instead spend that money on peat bog restoration and making proper

¹⁹ From An Tionol Saoranach/ The Citizens Assembly (2018). *Third Report and Recommendations of the Citizens' Assembly: How The State can make Ireland a Leader in Tackling Climate Change.*

provision for the protection of the rights of the workers impacted with the majority 61% recommending that the State should end all subsidies on a phased basis over 5 years.

- viii. 93% of the Members recommended that the number of bus lanes, cycling lanes and park and ride facilities should be greatly increased in the next five years, and much greater priority should be given to these modes over private car use.
- ix. 96% of the Members recommended that the State should immediately take many steps to support the transition to electric vehicles. ***
- x. 92% of the Members recommended that the State should prioritise the expansion of public transport spending over new road infrastructure spending at a ratio of no less than 2-to-1 to facilitate the broader availability and uptake of public transport options with attention to rural areas.
- xi. 89% of the Members recommended that there should be a tax on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from agriculture. There should be rewards for the farmer for land management that sequesters carbon. Any resulting revenue should be reinvested to support climate friendly agricultural practices.
- xii. 93% of the Members recommended the State should introduce a standard form of mandatory measurement and reporting of food waste at every level of the food distribution and supply chain, with the objective of reducing food waste in the future.
- xiii. 99 % of the Members recommended that the State should review, and revise supports for land use diversification with attention to supports for planting forests and encouraging organic farming.

Question 1* Such functions and powers should include, but not be limited to those outlined below.

- To examine any legislative proposals, it considers relevant to its functions and to report publicly its views on any implications in relation to climate change; the relevant Minister must respond publicly to the views expressed in a report prior to the progress of the legislative proposal;
- To propose ambitious 5 year national and sectoral targets for emissions reductions to be implemented by the State, with regular review and reporting cycles;
- To pursue the State in legal proceedings to ensure that the State lives up to its legal obligations relating to climate change.

Question 3** Subject to the following qualifications

- i. Qualification 1: Any increase in revenue would be only spent on measures that directly aid the transition to a low carbon and climate resilient Ireland: including, for example, making solar panels more cheaply and easily available, retrofitting homes and businesses, flood defenses, developing infrastructure for electric vehicles.
- ii. Qualification 2: An increase in the taxation does not have to be paid by the poorest households (the 400,000 households currently in receipt of fuel allowance).
- iii. Qualification 3: It is envisaged that these taxes build year-on-year.

Question 9*** Electric Vehicles

- i. Develop an expanded national network of charging points;
- ii. Introduce a range of additional incentives, particularly aimed at rural communities, to encourage motorists towards electric vehicle ownership in the short term. Such measures should include, but not be limited to, targeted help-to-buy schemes, reductions in motor tax for electric vehicles and lower or free motorway tolls.
- iii. Measures should then be introduced to progressively disincentives the purchase of new carbon intensive vehicles such as year-on-year increases in taxes on petrol and diesel, motor tax and purchase taxes for petrol and diesel vehicles.

Appendix 4: List of potential expert witnesses

Sector-based representatives:

- Farmers (conventional farmers as well as organic farmers, including livestock, arable & vegetable farmers, and those engaged in carbon capture activity such as agroforestry)
- Local aviation industry
- Public transportation companies (buses, trains, taxis)
- Businesses, large and small, including those that have been engaged in offsetting and in carbon reduction
- Energy companies

Third Sector/ Activist groups:

- Social purpose organisations/ social enterprises engaged in projects which support carbon reduction, reduction of waste, etc.
- Activist and campaigning groups, political groupings or parties

Public and elected officials:

• Elected members and officials with relevant expertise from within Devon County or Devon's District Councils, with responsibilities for environment and climate, transport, planning, food, recycling and waste, energy

Key stakeholder groups:

- Young people (e.g. youth activists such as Fridays for Future, Devon Youth Parliament representatives)
- People with disabilities (e.g. disability charities)
- Older people (e.g. older people's charities)

Researchers and academics:

- Climate scientists, soil scientists, agricultural researchers, bio-scientists (local or regionally based research institutions, e.g. Rothamsted Research, Centre for Rural Policy Research, Environment Agency)
- Environmental policy experts, including those focused on mitigation and adaptation, energy policy, transport policy, food, land use and rural policy, urban policy
- Social scientists with expertise in globalisation, consumption, global inequality, political communication, local governance, human geography and public policy, deliberative democracy
- STEM scientists with expertise in technological solutions, innovations, carbon sequestering.
- Economists with expertise in de-carbonising the economy
- Academics from across disciplines with expertise in topics such as leadership, innovation, behaviour change, community engagement and transformation, communications, systems thinking, complexity and spirituality

Appendix 5: Potential outline structure for Assembly meetings

Structure of day 1

Morning: Introduction

- Welcome to the process
- Introductions and ice-breakers (small groups)
- The position of the CA in the wider process
- How will the CA work in practice with questions from citizens

Lunchbreak (with lunch provided at no cost to the participating citizens)

Afternoon:

- Introduction to Climate Change
- Introduction to mitigation
- Reaching Net Zero from a Devon perspective
- Introducing the key themes for deliberation
- (expert witnesses x 3 2 hours)

Structure of days 2-3: Thematic sessions x 4 or 6

Morning:

- Introduction to the theme (15 min)
- Expert witnesses (n=3) present to the full group including Q&A (3 x 20 minutes)
- Small group discussions (1 hour 4 topics x 15min)

Lunchbreak

Afternoon:

• Plenary – feedback from each group + voting on recommendations related to each theme (45min)

Structure of day 4: Conclusion

Morning: Synthesis – looking across all preferred policies/actions (45min)

• Discussion – plenary and small group (1.5 hours)

Afternoon:

- Voting (45min)
- Conclusions and next steps
- Final activity, celebration and thanks