

Legitimizing Public Policy: Citizen's Juries in Municipal Energy Planning

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the search for effective tools for public participation in general and public deliberation in specific in strategic environmental assessment (SEA) through an experiment with citizens' juries in municipal energy planning. The experiment with a deliberative democratic tool is thought to lead to more legitimate public policy decisions.

The experiment combines design principles of citizens' juries with scenario methodologies (Shell/GBN). The evaluation of the experiment is structured around a framework of analysis derived from Jürgen Habermas's notion of discourse as an ideal democratic procedure.

The results show that the citizens' jury enabled a constructive exchange of information and arguments and co-operation between ordinary citizens and experts. This indicates that citizens' juries is a participatory tool that can be used to reform SEA in a more deliberative democratic direction. But the analysis also reveal a number of distortions in the communicative process. These distortions indicate how the deliberative democratic potential can be further increased through revisions of the institutional arrangements of the decision-making process. Furthermore, regarding effects of deliberation, it is clear that the participatory process generated new and fruitful ideas and that the citizens increased their knowledge through participating in the process.

Preface

This article report findings from an experiment with citizens' juries in municipal energy planning within the national research programme *Tools for environmental assessment in strategic decision making*, funded by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency 2004-2009.

Hans Wiklund has designed the experiment and written the sections on deliberative democracy and deliberative planning. He is also responsible for choice of method and has provided a framework for analysis. Per Viklund has design the survey, collected the empirical material and written the section on staged deliberation in which the empirical material is presented. The two authors have jointly written the introduction and the summary and conclusions.

We also would like to thank professor Ghazi Shukur who help us with the sample calculation and Peter Henningsson who collected empirical data concerning the citizen's jury's impact on the proposed energy plan. Both are active at Jönköping International Business School.

Jönköping in November 2009

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1. Introduction: legitimizing public policy and public participation

The importance of public participation in public decision making in general (Pateman 1970) and community planning in particular has long been a central issue (Fagence 1977; Khakee 1999). Public participation today is often referred to as deliberative democracy or discursive democracy. This refers to a certain kind of public decision making that brings into focus the importance of public discussion of community issues. To be legitimate, political decisions must be the outcome of a deliberation about ends among free, equal and rational agents (Elster 1998: 5).

In this public discourse active citizens are invited to participate in a conversation between people with different social or cultural backgrounds, interests etc. Deliberation is believed to lead to more informed, innovative and legitimate decisions.

Deliberation theorists claim that this kind of deliberative practices can have a number of benefits. In general terms, these benefits are best described as producing better decisions or better citizens. As for better decisions, Fishkin and his colleagues, for example, argue that deliberation produces superior individual-level preferences (Acherman and Fishkin 2003, Fishkin 1991, 1997, Luskin, Fishkin and Jowell 2002). Alternatively, effective public deliberations, as an integral part of the agenda setting, aggregation and policy formulating stages of the policy process, will generate public decisions with significantly greater legitimacy than decisions reached without such public involvement (Arvai 2003). In addition, decisions that clearly embody informed public input of this kind should reduce the levels of public opposition which may allow for significantly improved implementation. In terms of better citizens, effective public deliberations, are thought to create civic and social learning opportunities for participants and observers that presumably add to the health of a democratic polity (Putnam 2000, Talisse 2001).

Public participation is also a key component of environmental assessment (EA); both of environmental impact assessment (EIA) of projects and strategic environmental assessment (SEA) of plans, programmes and policies. There are several standards of good practice of public participation in EA (e.g. André et al. 2004, Bond et al. 2004, Palerm 2000, Webler et al. 2001). Most of these standards have been developed for EIA while their guidance regarding the appropriate forms of public participation in SEA is more limited. This indicates a general need of searching for and implementing effective tools for public participation in SEA.

A recent trend regarding public participation in EA is the interest for deliberative democratic and deliberative planning ideals. EA has been described as a potential arena of democratic deliberation (Bond et al. 2004, Palerm 2000, Petts, 2000, 2003, Sager, 2001, Wilkins, 2003). As Petts puts it: 'EIA (including SEA) has the potential to be a decision process which includes deliberation, inherent learning and decision influence through stakeholder and public input' (Petts 2003: 373).¹ Richardson expresses a similar idea by stating: 'What has been described as the 'communicative turn' in planning seems to be repeating itself in EA' (2004: 24). There is also a still limited, but growing, number of empirical studies of deliberation in EA (e.g. Diduck and Mitchell, 2003, Fitzpatrick and Sinclair, 2003, Petts, 2000, 2001, 2003, Saarikoski, 2000, Sinclair and Diduck, 2001, Soneryd, 2002, Webler et al., 1995).

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the search of effective tools for public participation in general and public deliberation in specific in SEA through an experiment with citizens' juries in municipal energy planning. Citizens' jury is a public participation tool that

¹ Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is used on projects while Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) is used on plans and programmes.

has been developed with the intention of implementing deliberative democratic and deliberative planning ideals to enhance legitimacy.

2. Deliberative democracy and deliberative planning

Deliberative democratic ideals are very popular (e.g. Bohman and Rehg 1997, Dryzek 2000, Elster 1998, Gutmann and Thompson 2004), and several models of deliberative democracy have been formulated, e.g. ‘discursive democracy’ (Dryzek 1990), ‘contestatory democracy’ (Pettit 2000) ‘reasonable democracy’ (Chambers 1996), ‘communicative democracy’ (Young 1993), and ‘deliberative politics’ (Habermas 1996a, 1996b). In addition, there are several models of deliberative planning, e.g. ‘communicative planning’ (Forester 1993, Sager 1994), ‘collaborative planning’ (Healy 1997), ‘planning through consensus building’ (Innes 1996) and ‘deliberative planning’ (Forester 1999). In common for models of deliberative democracy and models of deliberative planning is the emphasis on the significance of voice, even though the models disagree about what forms of voice that should be enabled.

A key challenge for deliberative democratic and deliberative planning theorists is bridging the gap between theory and practice (cf. Klymicka 2002: 292, Uhr 1996). At what levels should arenas for deliberation exist – local, national or international? How should these arenas be integrated into the public policy-making process? Is the goal to make established decision-making and planning mechanisms more deliberative or to create novel arenas for deliberation?

In response to this challenge a number of deliberative tools have been developed, such as ‘citizens’ juries’ (Crosby 1995), ‘deliberative opinion polls’ (Fishkin et al. 2000), ‘planning cells’ (Daniel and Renn 1995), ‘consensus conferences’ (Joss 1998), ‘authentic dialogue’ (Innes and Booher 2003) and ‘deliberative mapping’ (Eames et al. 2004). There is also an increasing number of evaluations of experiments with deliberative decision-support tools (Erikson and Fossum 2000, Hajer and Wagenaar 2003, Premfors and Roth 2004).

Citizens’ juries is probably the most frequently used deliberative tool, and it has been applied in many different contexts, for example national health care reform, budget prioritising, elections, medical ethics, education and land use planning (Jeffersson Center 2000). The basic idea of citizen’s juries is that ordinary citizens, if they are given time, information and opportunity to discuss, are able to give qualified recommendations on complex problems of public concern.

3. Design of the experiment

The experiment combines design principles of citizen’s juries with scenario methodology. A jury of ordinary citizens have participated in a series of scenario workshops with the objective to formulate a local strategy for sustainable production, distribution and consumption of energy in a Swedish municipality.

The jury consisted originally of 12 participants, of which 9 participated on a regular basis. The participants were recruited through an advertisement in a local newsletter distributed to all households in the municipality.² In order to create a more diverse group, the advertisement was complemented by contacts with individual citizens. These contacts were managed by the municipality.

² According to the design principles for citizens’ juries the ideal method of participant selection is a process of stratified random sampling (Crosby 1986).

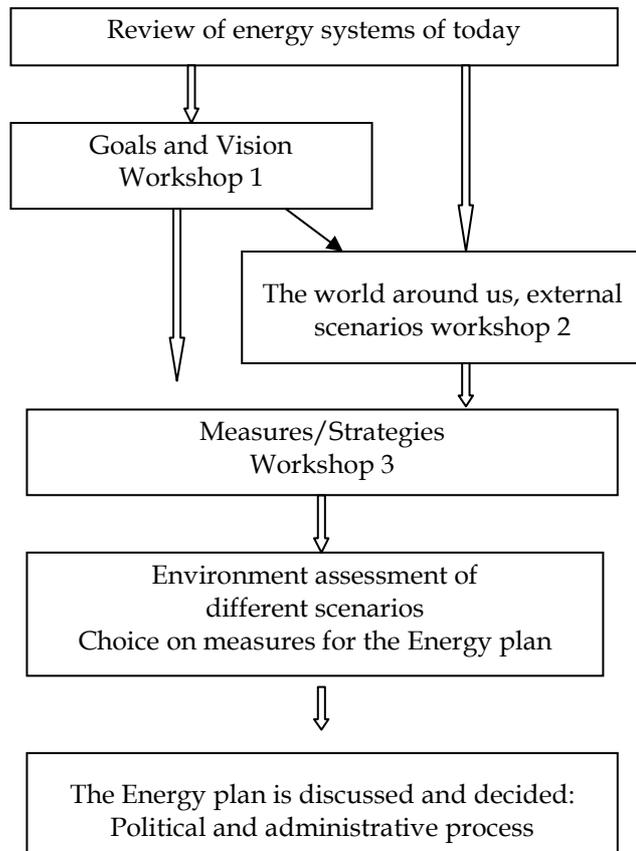
A core ambition of the experiment was to promote interplay between “ordinary citizens” and “experts”. Therefore experts, handpicked by the research team, attended the scenario workshops. The experts contributed with their expertise, while the citizens analysed and evaluated the information.

The scenario methodology used followed the Shell-GBN approach (Dreborg 2004). Three scenario workshops were conducted during the spring 2005. The aim of the first workshop was to generate a vision of a sustainable energy system. The goal of the second workshop was to formulate possible internal and external development scenarios. The objective of the third workshop was to develop robust strategies for realising the vision.

The workshops followed a structure consisting of six steps. First, the research team explained the rules for the workshop. Second, the research team and the invited experts provided background information, for example regarding energy consumption and environmental problems. Third, the participants generated ideas through structured brainstorming. The process leader asked the participants one by one to put forward an idea. This was repeated until the participants had no more ideas to contribute with. Fourth, the ideas were clustered into themes. Fifth, the participants prioritised among the ideas through voting. Sixth, the research team summarised the results of the workshop and submitted the results for comments to the participants.

The recommendations of the citizen’s jury was then processed by the expert group within the research project. The expert group estimated and assessed the impact the recommended measures would have on the environment. The last stage in the process involved the administrative and political institutions of the municipality of Finspång. The municipal administration prepared a draft energy plan and circulated it for comments. Finally, the revised plan was filed to the municipal council for adoption. The whole process is described in figure 1 below.

Figure 1. *Energy planning process*



Source: Björklund *et al*, 2006

4. Method and material

The evaluation of the experiment has been structured around a framework of analysis (Wiklund 2002, 2004, 2005a, 2005b) derived from Jürgen Habermas's notion of discourse as an ideal democratic procedure (Habermas 1990, 1996a, 1996b, 2001). The main reasons for focusing on Habermas's theory of deliberative democracy is that the theory is coherent and structured, and that most arguments for a more deliberative style of decision-making have been strongly influenced by his writings (Bohman and Rehg, 1997, Elster, 1998).

The four principles derived from Habermas's notion of discourse have been used as an ideal type. This is a conceptual construct which stylises a phenomenon, and an analytical tool that can be used for studying practice (Eliaeson 1982: 104-122). The difference between an ideal type and a hypothesis becomes clear when the two are confronted with empirical findings. While a hypothesis claims to describe and explain reality, the ideal type provides a perspective from which practice can be viewed. An ideal type, by definition cannot be falsified; it can only be found to be more or less useful in certain situations (Pettersson 1987: 30).

The analysis is based on a number of materials: minutes and background materials from project meetings (the research team and municipality representatives) and scenario workshops, participatory observation in the scenario workshops, and in-depth interviews with the nine ordinary citizens who participated on a regular basis. The minutes and background materials have been used to describe the formal structure of the experiment. The participatory observations have been used to explore the interaction between the individual citizens and between the citizens as a group and the experts in the workshops. The interviews have been used to document the experiences of the participants. Nine members of the citizen's jury participated in two or more workshops. All nine were interviewed. A survey targeting the citizens of Finspång has also been executed in 2005. A postal questionnaire was sent to 1000 randomly selected inhabitants in Finspång between 18 and 74 years old. The purpose of the survey was to collect data concerning citizens' trust in political institutions, interest in political and environmental issues, and to what extent the citizen's jury's proposals were representative of and supported by the public.

5. Framework of analysis

In his model of deliberative democracy, Habermas identifies discourse as an ideal procedure for rational and democratic decision-making.³ At the core of the notion of discourse is the view that the democratic legitimacy of an outcome is dependent on the soundness of the reasons provided for its support (Habermas, 1990: 43-115, 1996a: 157-168, 296-302, 1996b).

To fulfil the requirements of discourse, communication must be structured in a very special way. The notion of discourse specifies a number of conditions aiming at ensuring that the outcomes of public deliberations are nothing but the result of 'the forceless force of the better argument' (Habermas 1975: 108).

In the essay *Discourse Ethics: Notes on a Program of Philosophical Justification*, Habermas outlines the structure of discourse (1990: 43-115). More precisely, he identifies three sets of rules applying to three levels of rational argumentation (ibid., pp. 86-89). The first set is based on the premise that 'argumentation is designed to *produce* intrinsically cogent arguments with which we can redeem and repudiate claims to validity' and stipulates that participants in discourse must make use of the same logical-semantic rules, e.g. participants may not contradict themselves and they must use expressions in a consistent way over time as individuals as well as across individuals (ibid., p. 87, italics in original). The second set is based on the principle that 'arguments are processes of reaching understanding that are ordered in such a way that proponents and opponents ... can test the validity claims that have become problematic' and states that participants must follow certain procedural rules, e.g. participants must state and defend only what they believe, and they must provide reasons to justify their opinions (ibid., p. 87). The third set is based on the idea that 'argumentative speech is a process of communication that, in the light of its goal of reaching a rationally motivated agreement, must satisfy improbable conditions'. The set of process rules insulates the communicative process from coercion and inequality and specifies that no one with the competence to speak and act should be excluded from discourse, that everyone is allowed to question or introduce any assertion as well as to express his or her needs, beliefs and wants, and that no one should be prevented by external or internal coercion from exercising these rights (ibid., pp. 88-89).

³ For a thorough description of the model and derivation of the framework, see Wiklund (2002, 2004, 2005).

From the notion of discourse four principles can be derived against which institutional arrangements and practice can be assessed with regard to deliberative potential (cf. Chambers, 1996: 193-211, Kettner, 1993).⁴

First, generality: a principle derived from the first rule of the third set, stipulating that discourses shall be open to all competent speakers whose interests are, or will be, affected by a matter of common concern or the norms adopted to regulate a matter. The principle stipulates that all actors affected, or at least their interests, shall be included in the deliberative process.

Second, autonomy: a principle derived from the second rule of the third set, specifying that participants in discourse shall be granted the right to take sides with or against raised validity claims. They shall be granted the right to effective participation, i.e. equal opportunities to express and challenge arguments and counterarguments in the deliberative process.

Third, power neutrality: a principle derived from the third rule of the third set, stating that in discourse only 'the forceless force of the better argument' (or communicative power) shall be allowed to sway participants. In later works Habermas (e.g. 1996a) uses the term communicative power. However, the notion of communicative power does not refer to power in the same sense as administrative, economic and cultural power; it refers to the view that the better argument is a force to take into account in organising and regulating collective action.

To produce legitimate and rational outcomes, asymmetries of the three kinds of power with distorting effects on deliberation, which can be derived from Habermas's model of modern society as lifeworld and system, must be neutralised. Administrative power finds expression in formal organisation in general and the political system in particular, economic power follows the logic of market exchange and is represented by financial resources, and cultural power finds expression in values and norms generated in the lifeworld.

Fourth, ideal role-taking: a principle derived from the first set of logical-semantic rules and the second set of procedural rules, stipulating that participants in discourse shall adopt attitudes of reciprocity and impartiality. If participants do not adopt attitudes of reciprocity and impartiality the deliberative process, no matter how structurally equal, will not be productive. Reciprocity implies that participants talk and listen sincerely and that they do not act strategically. Impartiality means that participants engage in sincere attempts to view matters of common concern from the perspectives of others and against the background of this multitude of views try to find an independent stance.

⁴ For a more elaborated account of the four principles, see Wiklund (2002: 35-71).

Table 1. *A Habermasian framework of analysis*

Principles and conceptual definitions	Operational definitions
<p>Generality All those affected, or at least their interests, shall be included.</p>	<p>Is there a procedure for identifying the public concerned? Are the relevant stakeholders included? Are the interests of the public reflected in the definition of the environment issue and the description of its adverse impacts?</p>
<p>Autonomy Everyone included shall be granted the right of effective participation.</p>	<p>Are the participants (developers, authorities, citizens, etc.) provided equal opportunities to put forward and challenge arguments?</p>
<p>Power neutrality Distortions related to administrative, economic and cultural power must be neutralised to ensure that only the ‘forceless force of better argument’ affects the outcome.</p>	<p>How do formal regulations and organisation, participants’ financial resources as well as institutions and expert culture and citizens’ level of knowledge affect the process with regard to generality and autonomy?</p>
<p>Ideal role-taking Participants must adopt attitudes of reciprocity and impartially.</p>	<p>Do the participants listen and talk sincerely? Are they striving to find a collective solution (consensus)? Do they try to find independent stands based on their own and others’ views (preference transformation)?</p>
<p>Effects</p>	<p>Do participants change their opinions during the experiment? Do recommendations of the citizens’ Jury influence the municipal energy plan?</p>

6. Staged deliberation in municipal energy planning

Introduction

Citizens’ participation in municipal planning in general and in municipal energy and environmental planning in particular is not a substitute for professional planning, nor formal political decision making. In our research project citizens’ participation should instead be looked at as the first initial stage in an environment assessment process, forming visions, goals and proposed actions. This means that this study doesn’t cover the last two steps in the process, environmental impact assessment and procedures involving the municipality’s administrative and political institutions including the final political decision.

The material for this section comes from two sources: interviews and survey data. The citizen’s jury that participated in the three workshops mentioned earlier varied in number from about 10 to 12 persons. All of them were not present in all three workshops, so we decide to select for interviews respondents that have participated in at least two workshops. In this way we could interview those who had more experience of the project, compared to the rest of the jury. In total nine persons from the citizen’s jury was selected for interviews.

A survey, targeted citizens of Finspång, was conducted between November to December 2005. A random sample of 1000 citizen between the age of 18 and 74 years from the Finspång region received a postal questionnaire. For comparative reasons the selected nine persons for interviewing from the citizen’s jury was also invited to fill in the same questionnaire. In this way we could compare the citizen’s jury and ordinary citizens on relevant aspects. The return rate from the group citizen was 69,5%. All nine from the jury answered the questionnaire. The purpose of the survey was first of all to find out whether citizens in Finspång did support this form of experiment and also if they supported the results the project produced.

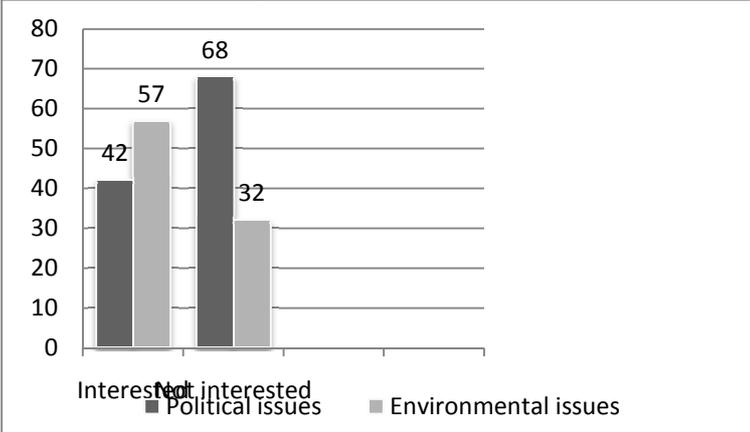
Presentation of research findings are structured as follows: first some general results from the survey are presented. After that we present some empirical findings concerning the question whether the citizen’s jury is representative to the people in Finspång. As a third section, the citizen’s jury’s impact on the proposal for community energy plan is analysed. The fourth section presents and analyse data from the citizen’s jury’s participation in the three workshops. The report ends with a general discussion.

Citizen in Finspång: attitudes toward politics, the environment and trust

To what extent citizens are active in community issues is of course dependent on how motivated they are to take action. In the experiment with citizen juries’ two basic topics of interest are of course politics and environmental issues. We have therefore asked citizen in Finspång to what extent they are interested in political and environmental issues.

In general citizens in Finspång find themselves more interested in environmental issues than in political issues. About 68% emphasised that they were interested in environmental issues. The citizens interest in environmental issues could be said to be quite high, even thou we do not have any good comparable data. On the other hand interest in politics is a bit lower, 42%. If we compare that figure with a national Swedish survey in year 2005, about 49% said they were interested in politics (Holmberg & Weibull 2006: 16). Table 2 below shows the result on the question on interest in political and environmental issues for the citizens of Finspång.

Table 2. Interest in political and environmental issues, in %

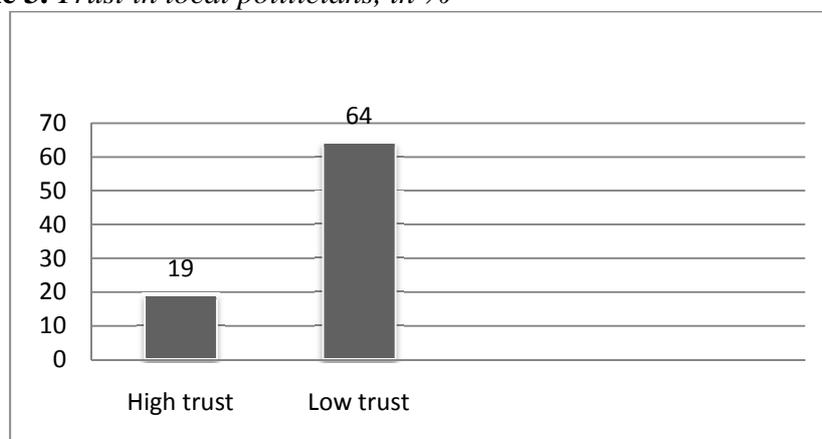


Question: a) “To what extent are you interested in politics?” . b) “To extent are you interested in environmental issues?” Answers: “Very much, quite a lot, not particularly and not at all interested”. N.B: Very much and quite a lot interested is recoded to “Interested”, and not particularly and not at all interested was recoded to “Not interested”.

Another important question concerns citizen's trust in political institutions. Citizens trust in political institutions is not just a kind of "glue" that keeps the political system together, it is also an integrative force in society. In political science in general and Habermas thoughts in particular, trust in political institutions, or legitimacy, has a central place. In particular Habermas ideas about deliberative democracy (Habermas 1996: 29, 110), the quest for legitimized political institutions is of most importance. Habermas has in this case a "procedural view" on legitimacy. However, in this part of his theorizing he has been interpreted in different ways. Many political scientists and others have understood this "procedural view" on legitimacy as that the *procedure* of political decision making more or less "automatically" creates a legitimate decision (Farrelly 2004). According to Eriksen and Weigård (2000: 21), however, this is not true. The procedure of a democratic decision-making as such is important, but it is not enough to create a legitimate decision. Also the *substance* of the decision-making process is of importance (Cohen 1997: 407). It is in the communicative part of deliberative democracy, that is procedures of argumentation or discourse, hopefully towards consensual decisions, that gives democratic decision-making its legitimized foundation (Habermas 1995: 88-89).

How about the citizen of Finspång, do they have trust in "their" local politicians? Table 3 below shows that a strong majority of citizen in Finspång has low trust in local politicians. That is, their trust, according to their own judgment, is low or no trust at all. About 64 % of the citizens found that they had low trust in their local politicians. Quite many, 16% in total, could not make up their mind on the question. On the other hand, about every fifth (19%) of the citizens has high trust in local politicians.

Table 3. Trust in local politicians, in %



Question: "To what extent do you have trust in local politicians?"

Answers: "Very high, quite high, quite low, no trust at all, don't know".

N.B.: Very high and quite high is recoded to "High trust", and no trust at all and don't now recoded to "Low trust".

Compared to a recent national survey the figures from Finspång are pretty much alike. In this case the question was about citizens trust in Swedish politician in general, not local politicians. This national survey shows that about 71% had low trust and 26% had high trust in politicians in the year 2005 (Holmberg & Weibull 2006: 22).

Interest might be linked to trust in that way that if you are very interested in politics then you also find high trust in local politicians. In the Finspång case this is true to some extent.

Table 4. *Interest in politics and trust in politicians, possible correlation, in %*

Trust in politicians:	High trust	Low trust	Do not know	Total %
<i>Interest in politics:</i>				
Very much	38	59	3	100
Quite a lot	28	63	8	100
Not particular	13	69	17	100
Not at all	3	55	42	100

Kendalls tau-b between variable “interest in politics” and “trust in politicians”: 0,308.
Spearman's rho: 0,347. Gamma: 0,466.

The group of citizens in our study that are very much interested in politics also find the local politicians more trustworthy (high trust) compared to other groups of citizens. Expressed in another way, 38% of those who are very much interested in politics also have high trust in local politicians, while 59% of the same group (very much interested in politics) has low trust in local politicians. This could be compared to the result of the group that was not particularly interested in politics. In this group of respondents 13% have high trust and 69% has low trust in local politicians. Those who are not at all interested in politics, only 3% have high trust in politicians and 55% have low trust. In this group many (42%) could not make up their minds if they have trust or not in politicians. All put together, it looks like the more interested you are in politics, the more trustworthy you find local politicians. On the other hand if you are not interested in politics, then you either have low trust or cannot make up your mind about the issue. Correlation coefficients Spearman's rho and Kendall's tau-b, a correlation measure based on rank order (Blalock 1979: 434-439) support this conclusion. The Gamma coefficient also supports this. It shows that there are a significant number of pairs of arguments that are alike, that is the more interested you are in politics, the more trust you have in local politicians (Norušis 2005: 425).

Is this result, a majority of citizens in lack of trust in local politicians, bad or perhaps good? One line of reasoning says that this result is troublesome. If a substantial part of the citizens have no or low trust in local politicians it can be seen as an indication upon that representative democracy is put under stress. Lack of trust is also a lack of support and every political regime needs at least some support (Easton 1979: 278). Lack of trust in a political regime might lead to a sense of estrangement, but also apathy or passivity. The last consequence is the most frequent (Lane & Sears 1969: 9). On the other hand, there is also a more positive and possibly more promising interpretation to the problem. Lack of trust in local politicians can also be seen as something “healthy”. In this sceptical approach, the importance of trust is called into question (Möller 1998). In a representative democracy, questioning representative politician's actions is as sound and sensible as not doing it, if the publicly elected politicians have done a good job or not. We asked the citizen in Finspång: are the local politicians doing a good job?

Table 5. *Citizens evaluation of local politicians in Finspång: are they doing a good job?, in %*

Argument: “Politicians in the municipality of Finspång are doing a good job”.		
Answer:		Sum:
I totally agree	6	
I agree with some doubt	48	54

I disagree with some doubt	33	
I totally disagree	11	45

Not answering	2	

Total:	100	

Keeping in mind the lack of trust in local politicians citizens of Finspång have voiced in our study, it is a bit surprising that as much as a majority find that their local politicians are actually doing a good job. The majority do not trust local politicians, but a majority also find that they are doing a good job, not necessary the same majority.

Who are those people that have this attitude? Are they perhaps more interested in politics than others? The answer is no, they are not. In other words, not just those who are interested in politics, but also the group who lack interest in politics do find that local politicians are doing a good job. Those who think that local politicians are not doing a good job comes from those who are not interested in politics.

Table 6. *Citizens evaluation of local politicians in Finspång: are they doing a good job?, in relation to citizens interest in politics, in % of total*

		“Yes: Local politicians are doing a good job”	“No: Local politicians are not doing a good job”
Interest in political issues?:	Yes	28	2
	No	26	31

Somers’ d: 0,250 (“good job” as dependent variable), Gamma: 0,378.

An interesting result is also that those who find that local politicians are doing a good job are more interested in environmental questions than others. Table 7 shows that 40% of the respondents finds that local politicians are doing a good job are also interested in

environmental issues.⁵ High interest in environmental issues seems to correlate more with the attitude that local politicians are doing a good job, rather than high political interest. The conclusion is then that those who find that local politicians are doing a good job are more interested in environmental issues than others, while on the other hand those who find that the local politicians are doing not so good job comes from the group that lacks political interest.

Table 7. *Citizens evaluation of local politicians in Finspång: are they doing a good job?, in relation to citizens interest in environmental issues, in % of total*

		“Yes: Local politicians are doing a good job”	“No: Local politicians are not doing a good job”
Interest in environmental issues?:	Yes	40	27
	No	14	18

Somers' d: 0,190 (“good job” as dependent variable), Gamma: 0,287.

What about trust in local politicians? Is there a statistical correlation between trust in local politicians and the attitude that they are doing a good job? Do those that have trust in local politicians also find they are doing a good job? Logically speaking, we can expect that because of the lack of trust citizen of Finspång have shown (see table 3) in local politicians, they might not find them doing a good job. More than half of those who have low trust in local politicians also find that they are doing a good job, but only one third of those who have high trust in local politicians find that they are doing a good job, so trust and evaluating local politicians do not correlate.

Table 8. *Citizens evaluation of local politicians in Finspång: are they doing a good job?, in relation to citizens trust in local politicians, in % of total*

		“Yes: Local politicians are doing a good job”	“No: Local politicians are not doing a good job”
Trust in local politicians:	High	18	0
	Low	28	36

Somers' d: 0,432 (“good job” as dependent variable), Gamma: 0,613.

So far we have used three variables to explain citizens attitude to the proposition “local politicians are doing a good job”: interest in political issues, interest in environmental issues

⁵ Out of those 375 respondents that find the local politicians are doing a good job, about 64% are also interested in environmental issues and 25% are not interested in environmental issues. “Interested in environmental issues are in this case counted those who are answering “Very much” or “Quite interested in environmental issues”, while “Not interested” are those answering “Not particular” or “Not at all interested in environmental issues”.

and trust in local politicians. Which one of them do explaining this attitude in the best way? Table 9 below summarises the association measure of Gamma.

Table 9. Association measure of Gamma for variable “interest in politics”, “interest in environmental issues”, “trust in local politicians” in relation to attitude to proposition “local politicians are doing a good job”.

Independent variable:	Gamma:	Depended variable:
Interest in political issues	0,378	Attitude to proposition:
Interest in environmental issues	0,287	“local politicians are
Trust in local politicians	0,613	doing a good job”

Note: Gamma is measuring concordant and discordant pairs. If one variable (for ex. political interest) increases (or decreases) so do also the other variables (attitude to local politicians doing a good job). In this case Gamma will be high, closer to 1.

The Gamma measure shows that out of the three variables, the variable “trust in local politicians” explains best attitudes to the proposition whether local politicians are doing a good job. This means that if you have high trust in local politicians then you also find that they are doing a good job, and if you find that you have low trust in local politicians you also tend to value their job less good.

Another aspect of the relation between citizens and local politicians is whether the latter listens to “ordinary” citizens? Table 10 below shows the result on this question.

Table 10. Citizens evaluation of local politicians in Finspång: do politicians listen to people?, in %

Argument: “Politicians in the municipality of Finspång are sensitive to people’s needs and wishes”.

Answer:		Sum:
I totally agree	4	
I agree with some doubt	28	32

I disagree with some doubt	46	
I totally disagree	19	65

Not answering	4	
Total:	100	

In this evaluating question the politician of Finspång does not receive as good grades as in the question whether they are doing a good job or not. A strong majority, 65%, find that politicians in Finspång do not listen to citizens as they should be doing. On the other hand, about every third in Finspång think politicians listen to them. This result is similar to results

from a survey conducted by Umeå university. Citizens from the municipalities of Umeå and Norrköping, answered that they in about 25% respectively 27% agreed on the argument that “politicians listens to ordinary people” (Lidström 2003).

The experiment we are testing in this project and trying to learn from is based, as have been said, on citizens’ involvement. The citizen’s juries are supposed to bring into a discursive decision-making local knowledge. The first step in this process is of course to involve citizen’s of Finspång into the process. We know from previous research that active citizen’s involvement can be difficult to make (cf. Viklund 1996: 293-294). How do citizen in Finspång feel about this? Are ordinary citizens to be more frequently consulted in political issues?

Table 11. *Consulting more frequently ordinary citizens?, in %*

Argument: *“Should ordinary citizen be consulted more frequently before important political decisions”.*

Answer:		Sum:
I totally agree	66	
I agree with some doubt	23	89

I disagree with some doubt	6	
I totally disagree	4	10

Not answering	2	
Total:	100	

No doubt, citizen’s involvement is important, according to the citizens in Finspång. A very strong majority is for citizens’ involvement in local political decision making. Only about 10% take the opposite opinion. Also, it looks like the citizens want to emphasize that citizen involvements is of greater importance. About 66% totally agree in the statement. This means that a very strong majority is for more inclusion, increased public participation. Out of this we can probably conclude that lack of trust is primarily directed at local politicians and their activities, not on democracy as such. There is a strong support for democracy that makes the “problem” of lack of trust in local politicians less troublesome. In fact, the conclusion leans more on the promising and sound criticism above mentioned, than apathy and passivity.

A more inclusive public participation would result in a more legitimised public decision making, according to many theorists of deliberative democracy (Benhabib 1996). What perhaps first comes to mind is the public involvement into formal political decision making processes. But perhaps the legitimizing procedures also could be transferable into another arena, to that of the public administration (Rothstein 1992: 49). If so, legitimizing procedures could counterbalance lack of trust in politicians in the political systems input side.

An interesting question to ask citizens in Finspång is how they prioritize environmental issues compared to other issues the municipality is responsible of. We know from the above presentation that citizen are very much interested in environmental issues, according to their own opinion. The ideas behind the experiment with citizen juries also reveal that the involving citizens need to have at least some interest in environmental and political issues. But how important are environmental issues in relation to other political issues? What single

political issue is of particular importance? Is it perhaps environmental issues, given the fact that citizens having a very high interest in environmental issues compared to political issues in general? We have asked citizens what kind of political issues publicly elected politicians in Finspång should give extra attention to. In our survey, citizens were asked to give priority to six different political areas or issues. They were asked to give first, second and third priority to these issues: the environment, (local) economy, develop trade and industry, child care, elderly care and last schools. The result is shown in table 12 below.

Table 12. *Citizens' priority of political issues, in %*

Political issues that publicly elected politician in the municipality of Finspång should prioritise:

<i>First priority</i>		<i>Second priority</i>		<i>Third priority</i>	
schools	46	schools	28	child care	24
elderly care	24	elderly care	21	elderly care	24
economy	16	child care	20	schools	14
develop. of trade/ind*.	14	develop. of trade/ind*.	10	economy	13
child care	9	economy	10	environment	9
environment	6	environment	6	develop. of trade/ind*.	8

* = development of trade and industry.

Citizens of Finspång want to give schools first priority as a political issue. Nearly half of the respondents find schools as the most important subject to prioritise. About every fourth of the citizens find elderly care as the most important political issue. Although the citizens think they have a very strong interest in environmental issues (see table 2), the issue as such is not very much prioritised compared to other issues. Quite the contrary, out of six possible alternatives to pick, they chose to give environmental issues the least prioritised position. In other words, other areas are more important if the citizens need to prioritise between them. How can this be understood? Compared to the results of a national survey in 2005, people in Sweden find schools/education and elderly care more important than environmental issues (Holmberg & Weibull 2006: 24). This means that attitudes towards environmental issues, the citizens in Finspång are giving them about the same prioritised position as people in general in Sweden. Environmental issues are not on the highest prioritized positions, which is a bit surprising if we consider the citizens strong interest in such questions.

Are the citizen's jury representative to the people in Finspång?

The success of citizens participation in community planning, like energy planning, is partly depending on the individuals representing the citizen of the region. The individuals brings with them certain qualities like knowledge, interest for the issues, social competence etc. that is of most importance for the final outcome of the process. The participants need to be representative, at least to some extent, for the public concerned. However, we can't expect that the participants are representative on every possible aspect, because such a small group of 12 to 15 members can only include a few criteria for representativeness. What does the survey

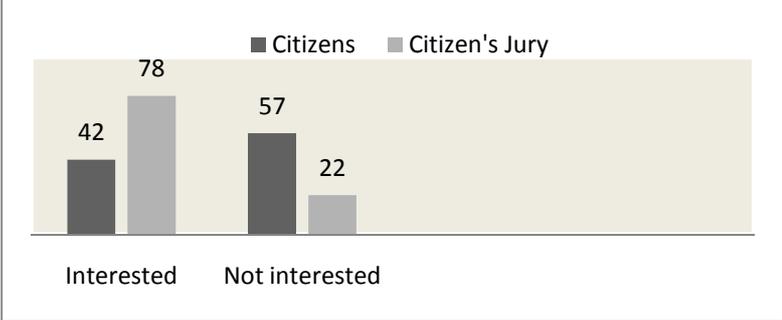
data tells us about this issue of the citizen’s jury representativeness? In this section we will compare data from the members of the citizen’s jury with survey data from the citizens of Finspång with respect to:

- interest in political issues,
- interest in environmental issues,
- how the two groups prioritize between different political topics,
- to what extent the citizens support proposed measures suggested by the members of the citizen’s jury.

All aspects put together will hopefully create a good picture of to what extent the citizen’s jury-members are representative to the public at large in Finspång by focusing on similarities and differences in attitudes of the two groups.

Comparing the two groups, citizens and citizen’s jury, concerning their general interest in political issues, shows a very remarkable difference between them. The citizen’s jury interest in political issues is very much higher than the citizens. About 78% of the citizen’s jury, but only 42 % of the citizens is very or quite interested in political issues. See Table 13 below.

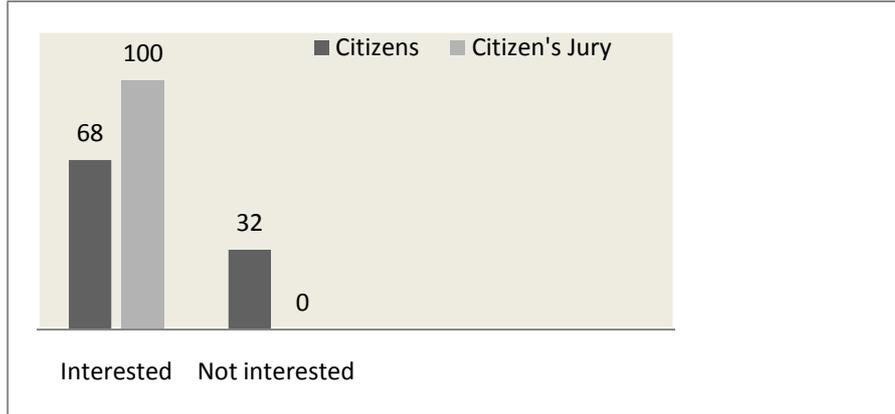
Table 13. Interest in political issues, in %



N: Citizen = 685, Citizen’s jury= 9.

The two groups differ also concerning the interest in environmental issues. Perhaps not that surprising, the nine persons participating most frequently in the research projects workshops (the nine we interviewed and sent survey questions to), claims to have very much stronger interest in environmental issues, compared to the public at large. In Table 14 below we can see that two out of three representatives from the public claims to have a strong interest in environmental issues.

Table 14. *Interest in environmental issues, in %*



N: Citizen = 685, Citizen's jury= 9.

However, as we have concluded previously the environmental issues are not the issues most prioritized by the public. In this study, political issues concerning schools, elderly care, the economy, the development of local business and child care services are all looked upon as more important than environmental issues. In table 15 below citizens' and representatives of citizen's jury figures are compared.

Table 15. *Citizens' and citizen's jury's priority of political issues, in %*

Political issues that publicly elected politician in the municipality of Finspång should prioritise:

<i>Citizens - First priority</i>		<i>Citizen's jury - First priority</i>	
schools	46	environment	33
elderly care	24	schools	22
economy	16	economy	22
develop. of trade/ind*.	14	develop. of trade/ind*.	22
child care	9	(no alternative prioritised)	
environment	6		
<i>Total:</i>	<i>100%</i>		<i>100%</i>

* = development of trade and industry. N: Citizens= 685, Citizen's jury= 9.

As we can see from the table 15 the jury wants to prioritise environmental issues first of all. This corresponds of course to their strong interest in environmental issues, if you are interested in environmental issues you will also see that these issues are focused. Citizens in general also find environmental issues of interest, but not as much as it should be prioritised above other issues of interest. Social service of different kinds and economically related issues are of more importance for citizens. We can conclude that citizens in general and representatives of the citizen's jury differ in what political issues should be prioritised locally.

Compared to the public in general we also find some slight differences in respect of sex and education. The jury is composed of more men and has also on average higher education. This indicates of course at least a slight bias in representation.

As a result of the activities within the project and in particular the three workshops, the citizen's jury "developed" and put forward their suggestions on visions and goals concerning energy use and environmental impact for the municipality of Finspång. To what extent correspond the citizen's jury's ideas (values, visions etc) to that of the public? Table 16 below shows how the sample of citizens together with the nine participants from the citizen's jury reflects on some of visions and suggested policies that were brought forward in the workshops.

Table 16. Citizen's and the Citizen's Jury on visions and goals, in %

	<u>Balanced measure: agree - disagree*</u>	
	Citizen	Citizen's jury
Environmental visions		
a. Clean and environmental friendly fuels are used in all vehicles	53	78
b. Six-hour work day is implemented	- 4	33
c. The local industry has developed into a world leading business in environmental and energy technique	43	100
d. Increase of doing exercise in peoples day life	50	56
Suggested actions		
a. Continued expansion of distant heating	60	100
b. Increased use of solar collector	43	56
c. Investing on combined power and heating plants	38	78
d. Individual measure and invoicing electricity and heat in block of flats	33	78
e. Establish an eco-tourism plant by a big lake (i.e. Tisnaren or Ormlången)	- 31	11
f. Free public transport in the municipality	34	33
g. Support cooperation in energy issues between the municipality and the industry	88	78
h. Develop track bound traffic in the region, i.e. trains	0	33

*N.B: a *balanced measure* has been used. In this case *pro* arguments and *con* arguments are subtracted. In this way the two diverging types of arguments will "balance" each other. For example if everyone agrees on a certain argument the figure will be +100, and if everyone disagrees it will be -100.

In table 16 shows that the citizens of Finspång, with some exceptions, support the citizen's jury's visions and suggested actions for the energy and environmental system. For example the vision a) "Clean and environmental friendly fuels are used in all vehicles" is supported by the citizens as well as the nine persons in the citizen's jury, where as vision b) "Six-hour work day is implemented" doesn't have the citizens approval.

Most of the suggested actions put forward by the citizen's jury were supported by the citizens at large. In particular the citizens supported the argument g) "Increased cooperation in energy issues between the municipality and the industry". However, two suggested actions, e) and h), was not supported by the citizens. On the other hand these two suggestions did not have strong support by the nine in the citizens' Jury either when they some six month later got the chance to re-evaluate them through the survey.

All aspects considered, we can conclude that the citizen's jury differs on a couple of characteristics compared to the citizen at large. The members of the citizen's jury is more interested in political and environmental issues then the public and diverging the public the jury gives more priority to environmental issues in relation to other political topics. We also know from the survey that the citizen's jury compared to the public at large were over represented by men and also had a higher formal education.

Obviously, as a group of just nine persons we can't expect full representation on every possible criterion. However, focusing on visions and suggested action we can conclude that the citizens of Finspång to great extent support the jury's proposals. Visions that the jury found important, the citizens also found important. Suggested actions that the jury find important are also important for the citizens. We conclude therefore that the results of the experiment with citizen's jury its attitudes towards visions and suggested actions for the local community do have support by the citizens of Finspång.

On one hand the citizens of Finspång supports the vision and suggested action that the jury produced, as we have said above, on the other hand they are not representative in full on social-political criteria, like gender, education and interest in environmental and political issues. Within this group of nine persons in the citizen's jury there are, however, some important resources that the members can dispose that somewhat could counter-balance these asymmetries. They were students, pensioners or employees supported and sponsored by their employer. They all had knowledge and interest in political and environmental issues. All this put together created important prerequisites to participate; they had possibilities (time and/or other resources) and motivation (interest, knowledge) to participate. These two factors are of course of most importance if we are expecting people to participate on a free will basis. If not, participating in this kind of human processing activities is in need of some other sort of incentives.

Experimenting with citizens' juries: empirical findings

In this section we will present some findings from interviews of nine of the members of the citizens' jury that participated in two or more workshops. Focus is on their views on participating in workshop activities. The evaluation below is structured according to the four principles to be used to assess the deliberative potential of the experiment: generality, autonomy, power neutrality and ideal role taking.

Generality

The principle of generality stipulates that all those affected, or at least their interests, shall be included in the process. The generality potential of EA is estimated in terms of access to and scope of the EA process. Questions to be discussed in this section are: Are all legitimate stakeholders included? Is there a systematic procedure for identifying the public

concerned? Are the interests of the public concerned reflected in the definition of the environmental issue and the description of its adverse impacts?

In this analytical category, as an estimate, we have included how participants got involved into the project, but also some background data like gender, age, education, occupation and what their major motives were to participate.

As noted above, participants were recruited through an advertisement in a local newsletter which was distributed to all households in the municipality. This procedure for recruitment of participants is inclusive and random. But it should be noted that it requires an initiative from potential participants in the sense that they had to contact the municipality and announce their interest to participate. This circumstance is likely to explain why few citizens volunteered to participate. The procedure seems thus to have a quite limited ability to mobilize less easily mobilized citizen groups. The limited response to the advertisement forced the municipality which was responsible for recruiting participants to adopt a more offensive strategy. The contact person at the municipality asked citizens that he and his colleagues expected to have an interest to participate to join the experiment. In these two ways about a dozen “ordinary people” was recruited.

In socio-economic terms, the ordinary citizens can be described as follows. Two are women and seven men. Their age varied between 18 and 73 years. At the time of the experiment three of the participants were pensioners, two students, two employed by the municipality, one had his own company and one was employed by a private company. Nine of them attended two or three of the workshops. All of those nine persons have been interviewed in this study.

What basic motive to participate in the experiment did they have? The interviews showed that their motives varied. Four said it was about energy matters, three that it was environment issues and two that the most important motive was about their home regions well being. None of them were active in political parties, but all of them thought they had a greater interest in political issues than most other “ordinary people”. Nor did they have any specific area of interest concerning energy or environment sectors. But just like their views on political issues, they thought that they had a greater interest in energy and environment issues than most other people.

This leads to the final question whether the group of ordinary citizens is representative of the population of the municipality. It should be noted that the objective was not to create a representative group in a statistical sense. Such a small group cannot be expected to fully represent a population of 21 000 persons in socio-economic terms. Instead, the ambition was to create a diverse group. A guiding principle was Patsy Healy’s idea of identification of ‘stakeholder communities’ (Healy 1997: 271). It is clear that the group had a diverse composition with regard to occupation. However, it was more difficult to recruit representatives of companies and citizens working. The citizen’s jury also had considerable variation with regard to age and attitudes.

In sum, it is clear that the citizen’s jury cannot fulfill the requirement of representativeness. Instead, diversity or inclusiveness is the guiding idea. In this connection, it is also important to note that there is a generality dilemma. On the one hand, a large number of participants are likely to obstruct the deliberative process (the scenario workshops). There is thus a need of balancing the idea of representativeness with the instrumental need of workability.

Autonomy; effective participation

The autonomy principle states that it is not enough that those affected are included; they shall also be granted the right of effective participation. This raises the operational question

whether the participants are provided the opportunity to put forward and challenge arguments and counterarguments in the various stages of the EA process, i.e. in screening, scoping, prediction and evaluation, drafting of environmental statement.

There is a variety of public participation tools that can be applied in EA (Petts, 1999: 161-168), and various tools have different autonomy potential. The differences in potential can be illustrated through the 'ladder of participation' developed by Sherry R. Arnstein (1969). The ladder provides a typology including eight levels of participation, and higher level on the ladder corresponds to a greater autonomy potential. Levels one and two (manipulation and therapy) are denoted as non-participation since they assume passive citizens who are given information, levels three to five (information, consultation and placation) are referred to as symbolic participation since individual citizens are provided the opportunity to hear of a matter or submit comments but not given influence over decision-making, while steps six to eight (partnership, delegated power and citizen control) are referred to as 'real' participation since citizens are given the opportunity also to discuss and debate matters or even have decision-making power (ibid).

The public participation tools that are normally used in EA, such as public hearings and information meetings, have a limited autonomy potential. These tools are primarily designed for information provision from the developer to the public (Almer and Koonz, 2004; Petts, 1999: 163-164; Petts, 2003).

A core ambition of the experiment with staged deliberation was to provide a ground for critical dialogue between "experts" and "ordinary citizens". In the interviews all but one of the participants said that there were no problems of expressing one's ideas and arguments. Many of the participants said that the scenario workshops created a situation in which everyone was free to speak. In the structured brainstorming each and everyone was asked in turn to express his/her opinion. For the participants this made it clear whom that had the right to speak. It also gave the participants time for reflection. In other words, the structure of the process created a situation which gave the participants equal possibilities to express arguments and counter arguments. As one of the participants put it: 'At one moment the university professor was speaking and at the other little Lisa was saying what she had in mind'.

However, two minor complications of a more general nature were brought up in the interviews. First, the ideas generated in the brainstorming had to be summarized into a few keywords and written on post-it notes. The notes were then put on a whiteboard. The procedure led to some loss of information. The original meaning of the idea expressed was sometimes missed. Second, a couple of the participants found a group of 20 persons to big. They thought it would have been more convenient to speak and discuss in a smaller group.

As indicated above, one participant was critical. In particular, he was critical to the result of the first workshop, in which the participants formulated a vision of a sustainable energy system for the municipality. He did not find the vision realistic and after the workshop he formulated an alternative vision. At the following workshop, he was given opportunity to present his alternative vision, but turned down the offer. He chose not to speak. Maybe he thought that it would disturb the work of the group or that presenting would make no difference, or maybe he felt lacking support from the other participants.

In sum, it is clear that the scenario workshops created good conditions for dialog and that the citizen's jury as a public participation tool consequently has a significant autonomy potential. The example of the alternative vision illustrates the ambitions of the process leaders to create conditions for unrestricted communication. But, at the same time, it indicates the difficulties of creating such communicative conditions. Despite the fact that the participants did not identify any significant barriers to talking, the openness had limitations.

Power neutrality

Discourse prescribes that nothing but ‘the forceless force of the better argument’ shall affect the outcome of the deliberative process. In the EA literature, the importance of resources for participation is emphasised (Bond *et al.* 2004). Power neutrality is measured in terms of how EA as a decision process affects the generation and distribution of administrative, economic and cultural power.

Administrative power finds expression in formal regulation. The EA legislation has been identified as a major barrier to public participation and deliberation. As noted above, the legislation is criticised for requiring too weak forms of participation in too late stages, the EA process (Adomakai and Sheate, 2004; Almer and Koontz, 2004; del Furia and Wallace-Jones, 2000; Diduck and Sinclair, 2002; Palerm, 1999, Palerm and Aceves, 2004; Petts, 2003).

The experiment with staged deliberation takes place early in the EA process. It is best described as a screening exercise with the goal of formulating a first definition of a sustainable energy system. But that public participation takes place at an early stage of the EA process does not have to mean that the impact of participation is great. The citizen’s jury had no formal decision-making power. The task was to provide a background material. If the goal is great public influence over decision-making, the need of combining different participation tools is indicated. In this case, the citizen’s jury ought to be combined with another public participation tool in the decision-making stage. The energy plan will be finally decided on by the member of the municipality council.

The experiment, and the three scenario workshops, can be viewed as an expression of administrative power. It is clear that administrative power in the form of the selection procedure restricted access for participating actors. The interviews indicate that the participants had a quite vague picture of the structure of the scenario workshops and the effects of the structure of deliberation. But the participants who commented on the structures expressed the option that they contributed to creating communicative conditions that allowed the participants to participate on an equal basis.

Cultural power is informal in nature and finds expression in values and norms. Institutional and expert culture has been identified as a significant obstacle to participate (Emmelin, 1998, 2000; Petts, 2003).

The citizen’s jury included people with various backgrounds. It included students, pensioners, public and private employees and an entrepreneur. In addition, at the gatherings of the citizen’s jury sessions handpicked experts from the Royal Institute of Technology, Linköping University, the Swedish Defence Research Agency and Jönköping International Business School participated. In the material, there are different interpretations of how this asymmetry of cultural power affected the communicative process. Most participants did not view the various backgrounds as a barrier. In contrast, they saw it as enriching. Others found the various backgrounds to have represented a significant asymmetry of cultural power. They put it like this: “possibly researchers has it easier (to reason) then we more ordinary people”, “we technicians did understand (but others did not)”, “people who has knowledge and great interest have better possibilities to influence a decision or issue than others”, and “some work for XX-company, they have lots of background information”.

Economic power is expressed in financial resources. In EA, different participants tend to have different financial resources at their disposal (Adomakai and Sheate, 2004; Diduck and Sinclair, 2002). Economic power seems only to a very limited extent have affected the experiment with staged deliberation. The only indication of economic power is that it was harder to participate for people working.

In sum, it is clear that there were significant asymmetries of administrative and cultural power. Administrative power had a considerable impact on both the generality and the autonomy criterion, while cultural power mainly affected the autonomy criterion. The limited

asymmetries of economic power affected mainly the generality criterion. Interestingly, the administrative power, as expressed in the structure of the scenario workshops, seems to a large extent to have neutralized the asymmetries of cultural power, as expressed in various backgrounds. This neutralising of power asymmetries created a communicative situation in which the young, the shy or the amateur was not subordinated to the old, the expressive or the expert.

Ideal role-taking

The principle of ideal role-taking stipulates that participants must adopt attitudes of reciprocity and impartiality. Ideal role-taking focuses on qualities in practice and that does not challenge the fact that the design of EA systems is of great importance. Systems can facilitate *reciprocity* and *impartiality*, and different participation tools have different role-taking potentials.

An institutional precondition for reciprocity is that tools allow for two-way communication. The need for two-way communication is also stressed in the literature on public participation in EA (Bond *et al.* 2004). But, as noted above, the public participation tools most frequently used in EA assume passive citizens who are given information by the developer. A precondition for impartiality is that tools allow for public communication. This indicates the need of the EA process to be transparent (Bond *et al.* 2004). However, the structure of the traditional participation tools tends to further conflict and strategic action rather than dialogue and consensus (Fitzpatrick and Sinclair, 2003).

The structure of the scenario workshops restricted the opportunities for two-way communication. In the brainstorming phase, the participants were forced to express their views. But they were not allowed to challenge the views expressed by others. Despite this restriction, it is clear that the workshops provided opportunities for dialogue. Furthermore, all the participants interviewed claim that they talked and acted sincerely in the scenario exercises.

Strategic versus communicative action

Strategic action means that the actor violates the principle of reciprocity by not being sincere or having a “hidden agenda”. In the interviews, some participants expressed suspicion regarding that other participants acted as representatives of interest groups or employers. This suspicion was verified by other participants who stated that they acted as representatives, for example for the Tenants Association. One participant mentioned that he felt that he was supposed to take his employer’s interest into consideration. However, during the course of the experiment he adopted a wider perspective, and in the last workshop he did not act as a representative for his employer, but as a citizen concerned with the development of the municipality. This indicates that he tried to adopt an independent stand, based on a multitude of views expressed in the process.

One step of the scenario workshops involved prioritising between different alternatives through voting. This exercise illustrates the tension between communicative action and strategic action. Three models of voting behaviour can be identified in the empirical material:

1. Prioritise own arguments/ideas.
2. Prioritise first own arguments/ideas, second friends’ arguments/ideas, and third the arguments/ideas that others prioritise.
3. Prioritise the most convincing arguments/attractive ideas.

In the first model, the actors priorities only their own ideas. When this happens it will lead to violation of both principles of reciprocity and impartiality. Reciprocity is violated if an actor does not listen and talk sincerely, impartiality when an actor is not trying to adopt an independent stand.

In the second model, a voting strategy based on social relations is present. The question guiding the actors' behaviour is: "Who deserves my vote"? The actor's priority goes first to one self's arguments, then to his/her friends and last to the majority, that is the argument/s that got most votes. Like model 1 the actor do not find his/her independent position, nor is he/she taking into consideration others argument "neutrally" and thereby violate both principles reciprocity and impartiality.

In the third model, there are similarities with theories of ideal role taking or communicative action. Actors in this model do not have an hidden agenda. Instead, they listen to others' arguments, evaluate their arguments and find their own position.

In sum, it is clear that the experiment provides institutional preconditions necessary for ideal role-taking. At the same time, it is obvious that there are elements of strategic action. The constructive climate that seems to have characterized the experiment in general suggests that the importance of the elements strategic action should not be overestimated. All the interviewed participants found the experiment stimulating and interesting. New insights, valuable information and stimulating discussions contributed to this.

Influence of citizens' jury on proposal for Community Energy Plan

The logic of deliberative democracy claim that the citizen's jury has at least some impact on the final decision, in this particular case the final Energy Plan for the Municipality of Finspång. It would not make any sense if their recommendations was completely ignored. In this possible impact from the citizens Jury on public policy rests also the legitimizing effect of public participation. However, the plan has not yet reached that final stage. Our options in this article is thus to assess the impact of the citizen's jury on the *proposal* for Energy Plan. The "input" from the citizen's jury has been processed by experts within the research group (calculating on suggested measures on the environment and for some measures doing a qualitative assessment) and civil servants at the municipality of Finspång. At the moment the proposal for Energy Plan has been circulated for comments by the public and political parties in Finspång. The key question is then: to what extent did the citizen's jury have impact on the proposed Energy Plan?

Below you find some data collected from the structured brainstorming activities held at workshop nr. 3. The citizen's jury's suggested measures for environmental protection, "deliberated" at workshop 3, is categorist into four classes, depending on how much the panel's members has valued or priorities them. Highest priority are suggested measures that the panel gave four or more "points", semi-priorities suggested measures has been given two to three "points" etc. The classification is shown below:

Classification:	Class A: 4 points or more classified as highest priority
	Class B: 2-3 points, classified as semi-prioritized
	Class C: 1 point, classified as important but not prioritized
	Class D: 0 points, interesting, but secondary

Table 13. *Number of suggested measures from the citizen's jury that is mentioned in the proposed Energy Plan*

Priority class:	Number of suggested measures from the citizen's jury	Number of suggested measures from the citizen's jury also in the proposed Energy Plan	Total in %
A: highest priority	8	8	100
B: semi-priority	18	9	50
C: important but secondary	20	16	80
D: interesting	26	15	58
Total	74	48	65

From table 13 we can see that out of 74 suggested measures the citizen's jury put forward 48 was included in the proposed plan, or 65%. All of the highest prioritized measures is also included in the proposed plan, but only half of the semi-prioritized ones are included. Also, nearly all (80%) of the proposed measures the we classified as class C: important but secondary, is taken into consideration in the proposed plan. Also proposed measures of class D is to a significant degree present in the proposed plan.

The drop of number of proposed measures was because some of the proposals were of similar kind and therefore combined into one, others were to utopian or unrealistic to be implemented. A couple of the citizen's juries proposals were also for the expert group hard to assess its environmental impact and therefore not further commented and later dropped in the process.

7. Summary and conclusions

In this report an experiment with strategic deliberation in municipal energy planning has been assessed against an ideal standard, derived from Habermas's notion of discourse as an ideal, rational and democratic procedure. Other important aspects of the deliberative quality has been analysed and discussed. Moreover, different aspects of the citizen's jury's impact on the energy plan and the representativeness of the recommendations of the citizens' jury of the general public have been analyzed. The purpose of this report has been to contribute to the search for effective tools for public participation in general and public deliberation in strategic environmental assessment (SEA) in particular through an experiment with citizen's juries in municipal energy planning.

The image of an ideal, democratic and discursive procedure consists often of a group of people participating in a conversation, discussing topics in order to reach a consensual decision. The general idea behind deliberative democracy is to formalise, clarify and universalise the presumption that behind every legitimate norm (or decision) stands good reason. The norms formulated through deliberation are socially validated by reason. The image is of a single decision making process, an unconstrained process in which the participants can express their arguments, change their minds, find new arguments and also be swayed by the arguments of others. This ideal process stipulates a decision rule saying that norms are reached through rational argumentation. The participants produce a decision, a

validated norm, that everyone agrees on, because “no force except that of the better argument is exercised” (Habermas 1975: 108). In real life, however, agreements can never be fully universal. Discourses are never really closed or finalised, but open-ended. Norms can thus always be challenged and revised. This means that we need to look upon discourses as *a web of conversations*, that is a gradual fragmented and incomplete process. Looked upon in this way discourse is a long term consensus-forming process, rather than a single decision making procedure (Chambers 1995: 243-250).

The results show that the citizen’s jury functioned as an arena for deliberation and that it can be a measure for reforming the strategic environmental assessment in a deliberative direction. Not surprisingly, it did not fulfil the criteria of an ideal democratic and discursive procedure of course. But it created an arena for a fairly good one. The citizen’s jury enabled not only an exchange of ideas, arguments and counterarguments, but also to some extent produced collectively formulated proposals which also found support of the general public. These proposals were used to develop an municipal energy plan. From the discursive arena of the citizen’s jury the “web of conversations” also reached other, perhaps more traditional stakeholders settings. The planning procedure did not involve only the participants within the experiment, but also the administrative and political institutions of the municipality. All in all, this suggests that the citizen’s jury is a participatory tool that can be used to reform strategic environmental assessment in a deliberative democratic direction.

The distortions identified indicate, however, how the institutional arrangements of the environmental assessment process as well as of the decision-making process in a wider sense can be changed to increase the deliberative potential. That distortions are identified is not surprising, given the fact that practice is assessed against an ideal normative standard.

First, regarding *generality*, it is clear that the citizen’s jury did not fulfill the ideal of representativeness. It is impossible to create a jury of 12 citizens that fully reflects the socio-economic structure and the attitudes of a large population. From the survey it can be concluded that the citizen’s jury compared to the general public had a an overrepresentation of men, a higher level of formal education and a greater interest in political and environmental issues. On the other hand, many of the proposals of the jury found support among the citizens of Finspång. Instead of forming a statistical based representative jury, a more reasonable guiding principle is *inclusivity*, that is to create a diverse citizen’s jury – a jury of many voices. However, it is not ideal that some of the participants were recruited by the municipality based on personal contacts. The weakness with this method of selection is that it is open to manipulation. Nevertheless, the mix of people of different backgrounds, views and opinions in the jury seems to have enriched the planning process.

Second, concerning *autonomy*, a core ambition is to provide a ground for critical dialogue. By “critical dialog” is meant an exchange of arguments between the participants, for example regarding an environmental issue or intervention. Included in the concept of “critical dialog” is not only the possibility to say what you have in mind, but also the possibility to explain yourself (Räftegård 1998: 209; Duffield Hamilton, Wills-Toker, 2006). The public participation tools that are normally used in EA, such as public hearings and information meetings, have a limited autonomy potential. They are primarily designed for information provision, from the developer to the public. It is clear that the scenario workshops created fairly good conditions for dialogue. The preparing workshops 1 and 2 gave the participants opportunity to reflect on possible goals and visions and on future scenarios. This suggests that citizen’s juries have a significant autonomy potential. On the other hand, if we reflect on the possibility of further improving the design of the experiment it is important to find ways to increase the possibility of producing more validated outcomes. The experiment was structured in such a way that the participants had limited opportunities to challenge others arguments. This lead to a lack of dialog. The deliberative procedure as such did not support enough vali-

dity claims. In other words, the participants did not have to clarify the reasons behind a certain argument or proposition. Arguments were in other words not questioned and thus not an element of the validity procedure that is based on “no force except that of the better argument” (Habermas 1975: 108). This might perhaps look like an efficient institutional arrangement, but it will not create a collective understanding of, for example, a proposed environmental measure or norm. This violates the presumption that discursive or deliberative democracy is about collective understanding of a certain topic and a validation of norms based on reason. However, the experiment was not design with the purpose of being a substitute for a formal political procedure, but rather an additional participatory mechanism of deliberative character in a wider decision-making process including experts, civil servants and elected local politicians.

Third, regarding *power neutrality*, it is clear that there were significant power asymmetries. Administrative power expressed in the design of experiment and the form of the wider decision-making process had a considerable impact on both the generality and autonomy criterion. Cultural power in the form of knowledge and social status affected mainly the autonomy criterion. Economic power expressed in the circumstance that some people had difficulties participating in the workshops because they had to work, effected the generality criterion, but only to a very limited extent. Interestingly, administrative power, as expressed in the structure of the scenario workshops, seems to have neutralised the asymmetries of cultural power, as expressed in various educational, professional and social backgrounds. This balancing of powers created a communicative situation in which the young, the introvert and the layperson was not subordinated to the old, the expressive and the expert. The relative lack of critical dialog may also have reduced for the influence of economic and cultural power.

Fourth, concerning *ideal role-taking*, it is clear that the citizen’s jury provided institutional preconditions for reciprocity and impartiality. At the same time, it is obvious that there are elements of strategic action. Some participants found themselves being representing “their” organisation in the procedures. However, the constructive climate that characterised process in general, suggests that the importance of the elements strategic action should not be overestimated.

Last but not least, what possible effects did citizen participation have on the final energy plan? Did the experiment led to a more legitimate decision? First of all, the final formal political decision on the energy plan has not yet been made. Nonetheless, some things can be said about is the impact of the jury on the draft plan. It can be concluded that the jury had a substantial impact. Most of the proposed environmental measures from workshop 3 were incorporated into the plan. Regarding legitimacy the relative lack of dialog is a weakness. More dialogue between representative citizens could have created a more consensual decision. Perhaps a fourth workshop, with a stronger focus on dialog, discussion and consensus should have been added to the experiment. As Habermas argues: “that only those statutes may claim legitimacy that can meet with the assent (...) of all citizens in a discursive process” (Habermas 1996: 110).

In total, even though there were some shortcomings, a quite positive picture of the experiment with staged deliberation appears. The citizen’s jury seems to have provided fairly good communicative conditions and have functioned as an arena for deliberation. The deliberation seems also to have generated new and fruitful ideas. Some of the participants had before the experiment doubts that ‘ordinary citizens’ would have anything of value to contribute with. But after the experiment, the same participants were surprised over the many valuable contributions. Furthermore, many of the participants claim that they also increased their knowledge as a result of the experiment which indicated that it functioned as a social learning process.

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