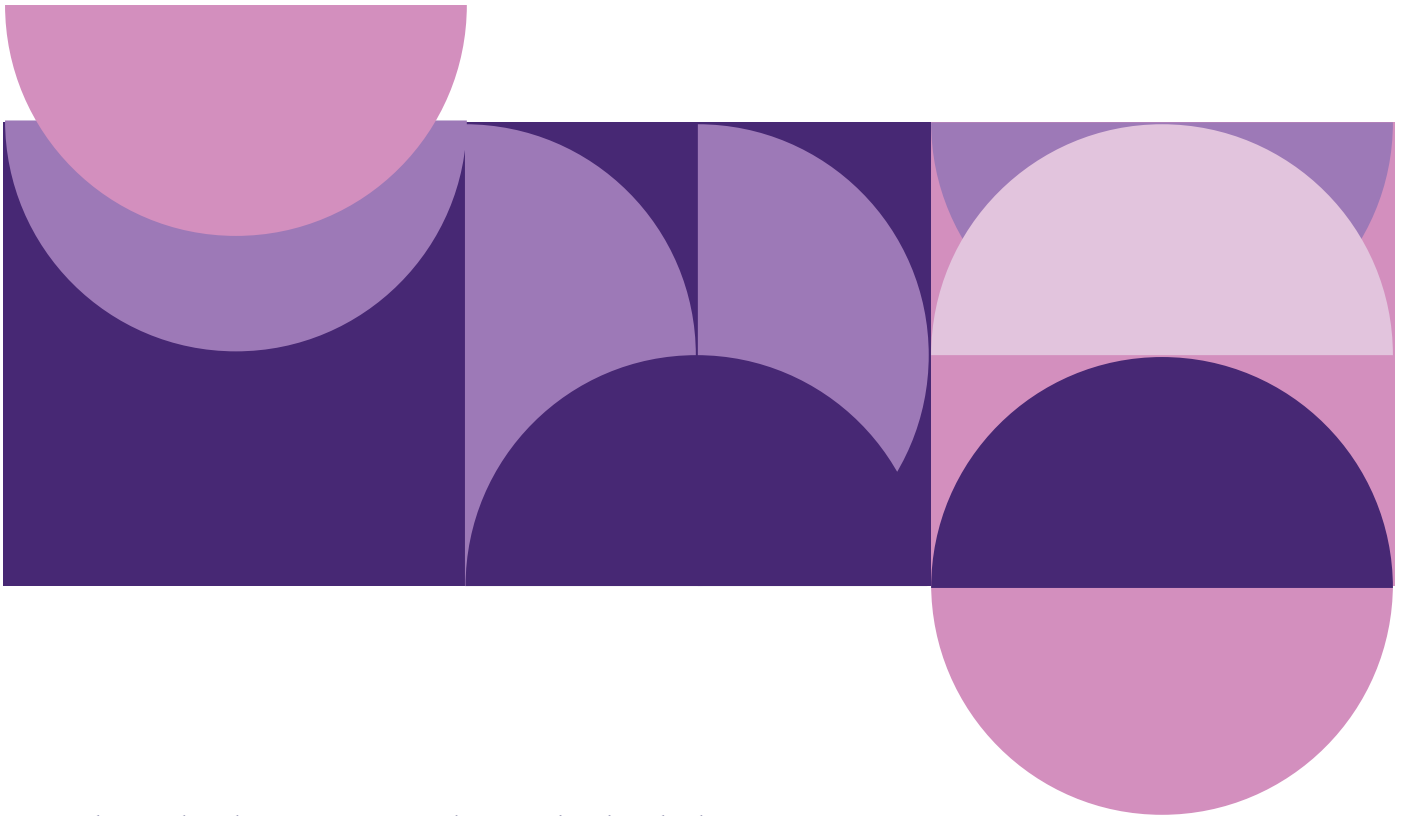


# Evaluation of the Scottish Parliament's Citizens' Jury on Land Management and the Natural Environment



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# About the Report

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# About the Authors

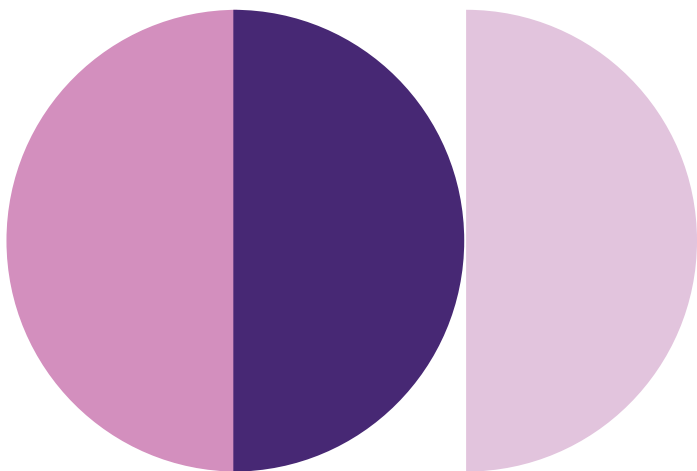
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# Executive Summary

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## Overview

- This report provides an evaluation of the Scottish Parliament's Citizens' Jury on Land Management and the Natural Environment that was sponsored by the Environment, Climate Change and Land Reform Committee (ECCLR) and organised the Committee Engagement Unit (CEU).
- The evaluation focuses on the process of the citizens' jury (CJ), and not its outcome and recommendations. It evaluates the CJ according to the norms of deliberative democracy.
- This evaluation is based on: a survey filled in by the 21 participants at the start and end of the Jury process; a survey of the expert witnesses after the Jury; and interviews with members and staff of the ECCLR Committee, and staff from the Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPiCe) after the Jury.

## The Jury Participants

- The participants were a diverse group of citizens in terms of gender, age, education, income, and party identification.
- Most of the participants had little prior knowledge about land management, and little prior experience of discussing the issue.

## Evidence provision

- The participants reported that they were content with the information provided and that there was a good diversity of styles of evidence provision.
- The expert witnesses reported they felt they were well prepared for the role, however, they noted a lack of time before and during the evidence sessions. They also reported that they would have welcomed more opportunities to stay and observe other evidence sessions.

## Deliberation and Learning

- Comparing the participants' pre and post deliberation survey responses shows a general increase in knowledge about land management by the end of the CJ process.
- There were mixed results about the change in participants' support for land management and environmental policies between the pre and post deliberation surveys, although there was a notable increase in support for policies that aim to prevent flooding across Scotland.
- There was an increase in the participants' external efficacy after the Jury, i.e. how much the participants believe politicians care about what people like them think.
- There were mixed results in the change of participants' views about political participation. There was no identified difference in political interest or ability to participate, however, there was an increase in how comfortable participants felt in expressing their views and all said they would participate in a CJ again.



## Impact on Parliament

- The parliamentary members and staff were overall in favour of the CJ as it gave them insight into informed public opinion. They also valued the consensus approach.
- There were concerns about the costs and staff time involved in organising the CJ. The novelty of the CJ approach in parliament disrupted their expectations of the outcomes and meant that their roles were unclear.
- The staff and members raised concerns about whether mini-publics challenge, rather than complement, the legitimacy of parliament, and the influence the CJ will have on the committee. However, they did express optimism that the CJ will bolster the influence of the committee over government, and consequently enhance scrutiny.
- They recommended that future mini-publics should have a narrower focus to enhance their effectiveness.

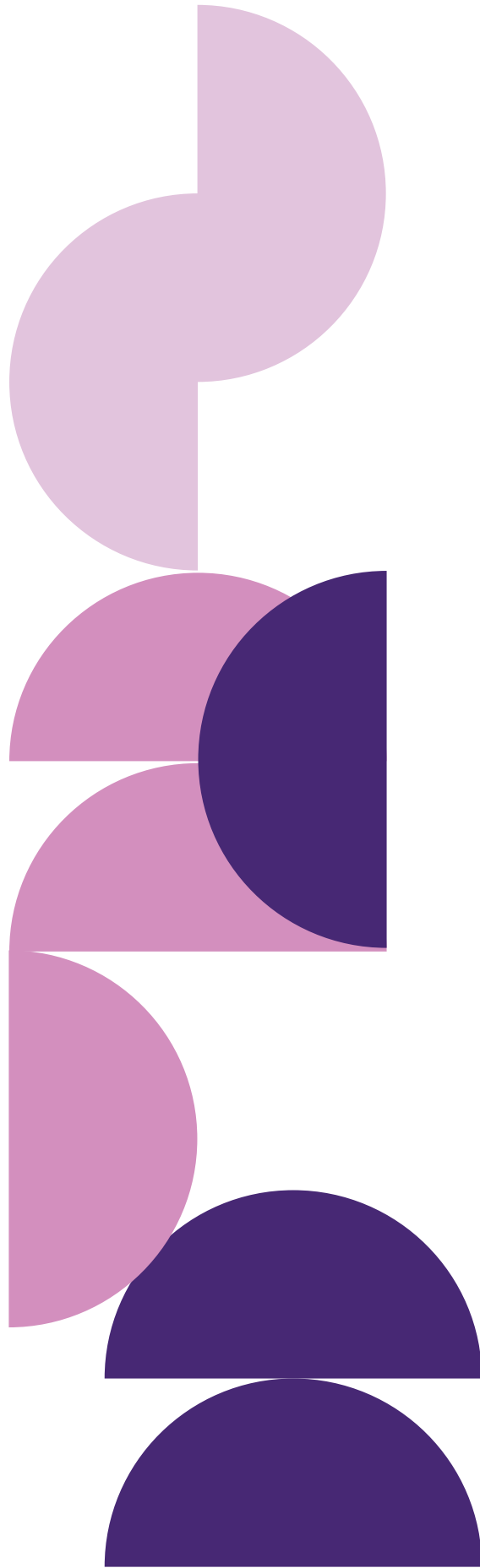
## Lessons

- There was insufficient time allocated to organise the CJ, and there was insufficient and unequal time allocated to the evidence sessions during the CJ.
- The task set for the CJ by the steering group was too broad, so that the learning phase of the CJ was too long and the deliberation phase too short.
- The quality of the facilitation was very good overall but inconsistent. The facilitators could have intervened more, especially to manage the time.

## Recommendations

- Staff training: this will address inconsistencies in the facilitation and increase the awareness of mini-publics to all committee staff.
- Mini-Public Review Group: to evaluate the suitability of mini-publics for particular committee inquiries and advise on their implementation to ensure best use of resources.
- Integrating Parliamentary Members and Staff: when a mini-public is held, members and staff should make a commitment to spend some time observing and being involved the process e.g. as part of a steering group.
- Resources: more investment is needed to fund and staff mini-publics.





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# 1. Introduction

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This report provides an evaluation of the Scottish Parliament's Citizens' Jury on Land Management and the Natural Environment that was sponsored by the Environment, Climate Change and Land Reform Committee (ECCLR) and organised by the Committee Engagement Unit (CEU). Further details about the process can be found in their report (Committee Engagement Unit 2019). The Citizens' Jury (CJ) was held on the weekend of 29th-31st March 2019 at the Scottish Parliament with the aim of agreeing a set of principles for the environmental impact of human land use. The Jury consisted of 21 ordinary citizens who were given the task to come up with a set of principles that the ECCLR Committee should consider when exploring the issue of funding for land management. This evaluation focuses on the process, and not the outcome and recommendations.

A citizens' jury (CJ) is a type of mini-public which takes a particular approach to public engagement informed by the theory of deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy stipulates that collective decisions are only legitimate if they are preceded by inclusive, reasoned and respectful deliberation. Mini-publics assemble small groups of randomly selected citizens to engage with each other in facilitated deliberation, and make recommendations on a policy issue having been informed by a diverse range of witnesses. Their aim is to show what the public would think of a policy issue, and what trade-offs they would make if they had time and resources to learn and deliberate about it in favourable conditions. CJs were first established in 1971 in the USA by Ned Crosby of the Jefferson Centre but have been employed in many other countries since. Approximately, 12-25 participants are assembled for 2 to 5 days to discuss an issue and produce a collective recommendation. CJs therefore have fewer participants than other larger mini-publics, meaning they aim to have a diverse (rather than a statistically representative) sample. However, the smaller number of participants also means that they aim at achieving consensus, rather than an aggregation of participant views (Elstub 2014).

It has been argued that parliamentary committees could make effective use of mini-publics to enhance their epistemic, representative, and deliberative functions and to enable the public to play a role in executive scrutiny. To achieve this, recommendations from the mini-publics should feed into committee inquiries (Beswick & Elstub 2019; Hendriks & Kay 2017; Setälä 2017). There are cases of parliamentary committees using mini-publics in this way in Australia (Hendriks 2016) and the UK (Elstub & Carrick 2019). However, these mini-publics were all outsourced and organised by organisations from the professional democratic sector. Following recommendations from the Commission on Parliamentary Reform (2017: 64) the Scottish Parliament is trialling the in-house organisation of mini-publics by the CEU; the Citizens' Jury on Land Management and the Natural Environment represents the first of these cases. The case therefore merits evaluation as it is important for the CEU, ECCLR and the Scottish Parliament to learn lessons from this pilot and, moreover, for anyone interested in linking mini-publics with parliamentary committees more generally.





## The Evaluation

The elements of the CJ process that will be evaluated, the criteria for their evaluation, and the methods used as the basis of the evaluation are outlined in Table 1 below. The methods used for the evaluation are elaborated on below.

Table 1: Approach to the Evaluation of the Parliamentary Citizens' Jury

CJ ELEMENT	EVALUATIVE CRITERIA	METHOD OF EVALUATION
Participant recruitment	Diversity	Participant survey & observation
Witness selection	Diversity & credibility	Participant & witness survey
Evidence provision	Pertinence, utility and balance	Participant survey, witness survey & observation
Facilitation	Deliberative quality (inclusiveness, reason-giving and respectfulness)	Participant survey, witness survey & observation
Impact on participants	Knowledge gains, opinion change & efficacy	Participant survey & observation
Impact on parliament	Influence on parliament, policy and participants	Interviews with committee members and staff

**Participant Survey:** The participant survey was issued twice: a pre-survey filled in by the participants at the start of the Jury process (which acted as a baseline), and a post-survey that participants completed at the end of the process. The surveys were voluntary and anonymous. Since respondents were asked to create an anonymous ID code to use in both the pre and post surveys, we were able to follow up on individual participants without breaking their anonymity. All comparisons between the pre and post surveys were carried out using difference in means tests – so called t-tests. These tests enabled the comparison of means between responses in the pre-survey and data in the post-survey. The t-tests also determine if the differences in means between the pre and post responses are statistically significant. We will follow common practice in social sciences and report statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels. In other words, we will assume that differences in means have not occurred by chance if there is at least 90% certainty that the difference is true, i.e. if the estimates are statistically significant at the 10% level.



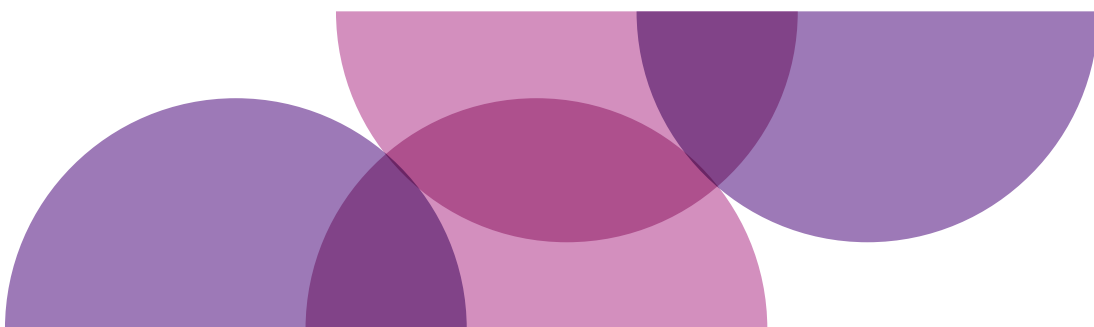
**Witness Survey:** all those that provided evidence, information and testimony in the CJ were sent an online survey to complete a few months after participation asking them about their experience. There was a combination of closed and open questions. The survey was voluntary and anonymous. Due to the small sample size, descriptive statistics are reported from the closed questions, and quotes are selected from the open questions to reflect the views of the sample.

**Parliamentary Interviews:** members and staff of the ECCLR Committee, and staff from the Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe) were voluntarily and anonymously interviewed a couple of months after the end of the CJ. The interviews were semi-structured, recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were coded according to the themes of the evaluation as set out above, but also to discern emerging themes. Quotes were selected for citation in this report to illustrate commonalities and differences across the sample.

**Observation:** the entire weekend of the CJ process was attended and observed by a member of the research team. A field diary was kept recording key observations on the evaluation elements and criteria as outlined in Table 1.

## Structure of the Report

In this report, we will first give an overview of the key features of the CJ process. Secondly, we describe and assess the demographic composition of the Jury. Thirdly, we consider the selection and guidance provided to the expert witnesses and the information that they provided to the jurors. Fourthly, we consider the facilitation and deliberative quality of the jury discussions. Fifthly, we describe participants' knowledge and opinions about land management and the environment at the start of the process, and compare this to their knowledge and opinions at the end of the process. We also report whether the Jurors' attitudes to political participation changed through the process, how they experienced the CJ process, and if they would participate in similar activities in the future. Finally, we consider the extent the CJ has influenced the ECCLR Committee. We conclude with some lessons and recommendations for the Scottish Parliament, and others, to consider when using mini-publics in the future.



## 2. Overview of the Citizens' Jury Process

The Citizens' Jury (CJ) process is detailed in the Scottish Parliament report on the CJ for land management and the natural environment (Committee Engagement Unit, 2019). An overview of the process is provided here.

The CJ on land management comprised of 21 randomly selected Jurors from across Scotland and was held at the Scottish Parliament. Over the course of a weekend in March 2019, the 21 jurors were guided through a process of team building, learning about the topic of land management, questioning witnesses, deliberation and consensus-based decision-making.

The jurors were guided and supported through the weekend activities by a team of five facilitators (parliamentary staff), an academic lead and a range of expert witnesses. The facilitators were responsible for ensuring that the jurors had the opportunity to contribute to discussions and participate in the exercises. An academic lead, Professor Geoff Squire, Principal Research Scientist at the James Hutton Institute, provided background information about the topic and answered technical questions throughout the weekend. The role of academic lead and appointment of Professor Squire was recommended by a Steering Group. During the learning phase, summarised below, the jurors were also supported by a range of expert witnesses, including academics, land managers, and Government authorities.

An introduction and team building session was undertaken on the Friday evening, prior to the start of the CJ the next morning. The jurors gathered at the Scottish Parliament, where they met each other over a meal and were welcomed by Gillian Martin MSP, Convener of the ECCLR Committee. During the session the jurors were introduced to the CJ process, including principles of assessing evidence and applying critical thinking, by Dr Oliver Escobar, Senior Lecturer in Public Policy at the University of Edinburgh.

To initiate team building and the CJ process, the jurors worked together in small groups to create and agree a set of guidelines for evaluating the evidence and to ensure productive and respectful conversations. The 'deliberation tips' and 'conversation guidelines' were referred to throughout the process, supporting the jurors' work and allowing them to explore differences in opinion and work together well.

The learning phase began on the Saturday morning, with a tour of the Parliament building to connect the work of the CJ with the wider parliamentary process. For the rest of the day and Sunday morning, the jurors learnt about the topic from a range of experts including academics, policy professionals, campaigners and land managers. Six evidence sessions were delivered, comprising presentations, questions and discussions.

The first evidence session covered the reasons why the issue of land management and the natural environmental is important and was delivered by the academic lead for the process, Professor Geoff Squire. The jurors were able to ask questions throughout the presentation and it was followed by a plenary



discussion where the jurors were encouraged to explore why the issue mattered to them personally and why it mattered to Scotland.

The second evidence session was about land management and Scotland's multiple land-uses. It was delivered by Dr Kirsty Blackstock from the James Hutton Institute. The jurors asked questions during the presentation and worked in small groups afterwards to deliberate. They were encouraged to discuss the objectives, benefits, trade-offs and synergies in land management and land use systems, as well as the needs and challenges of land managers.

The third evidence session covered public goods and Scotland's natural environment and was delivered by Claudia Rowse, Head of the Rural Resources Unit at Scottish Natural Heritage. Ms Rowse gave a presentation on how land management impacts on Scotland's natural environment and the value of public goods. The jurors asked questions and challenged some points raised by the presenter. The jurors then discussed the impact of public goods on land managers and on Scotland.

The fourth evidence session provided information about different funding models from around the world. The jurors worked in small groups to review short briefing papers prepared by SPICe (the Scottish Parliament research service). They then discussed the pros and cons of the different models in groups.

The fifth evidence session took place on the Sunday morning and covered possible solutions to the issues raised during the day before. David Barnes, National Advisor on Agricultural Policy at the Scottish Government first gave a presentation on the current government position on future funding for land management. This was followed by presentations and a debate about different funding models from a panel of stakeholders: Steven Thomson, Senior Agricultural Economist, Scotland's Rural College; Daphne Vlastari, Advocacy Manager, Scottish Environment LINK; and Eleanor Kay, Policy Advisor, Scottish Land and Estates. The jurors questioned the panellists to gain a clearer understanding of the potential solutions and options available to inform their recommendations.

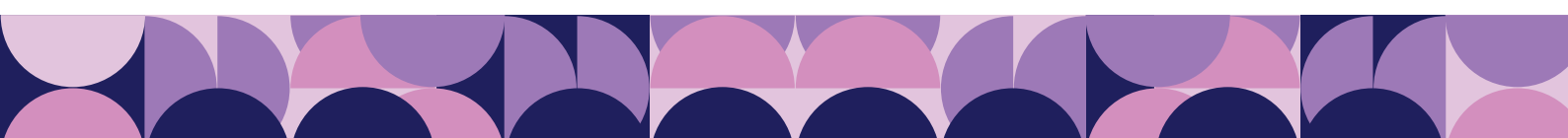
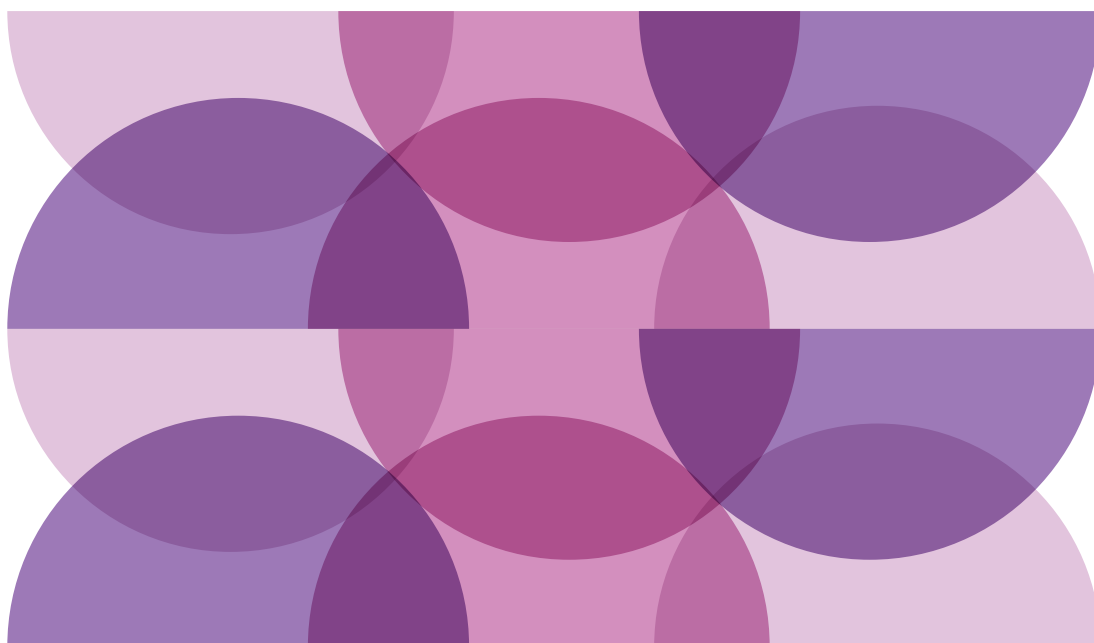
In the sixth and final evidence session the jury heard from a selection of land managers: Peter Ritchie, Farmer and Executive Director of Nourish Scotland; Billy Neilson, Crofter and Commissioner, Crofting Committee; Edward Baxter, Farmer, Gilston Mains Estate; and Chris Bailey, Conservationist and Advisory Manager at RSPB. The land managers spoke about their lived experience and understanding of how different funding models worked. The jurors worked in groups to agree on and ask questions of the land managers.

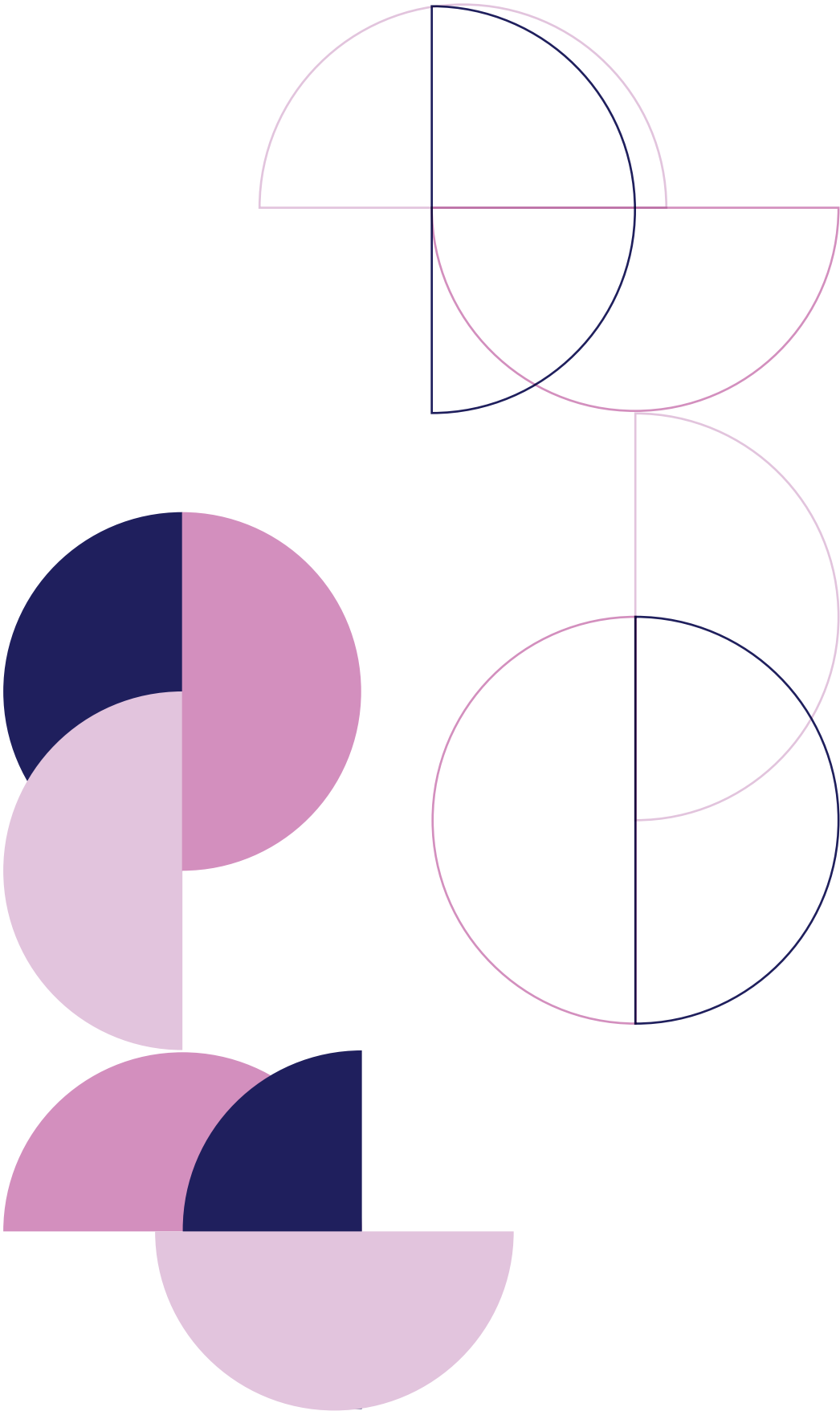
**Deliberation** followed the evidence sessions on the Sunday afternoon, where the jurors reviewed the evidence, discussions and ideas from the previous sessions. This was done in plenary, where the jurors worked round stations (sticky walls) where all the material that had been produced by the previous sessions was displayed. First, they reviewed the values guiding land use management policy they discussed on Saturday morning. The jurors then reviewed the evidence, highlighting and adding aspects that were important and removing anything that was not relevant. Finally, they discussed the different funding models in plenary.



**Consensus-based decision-making** was the final activity. The whole group suggested, reviewed, and agreed potential principles and recommendations. First, the jurors reviewed their initial ideas about why the issue of land management and the natural environment mattered to them personally and to Scotland. The ideas were grouped into three themes: protecting the environment for the future; how we treat our land managers; and food. The jury members then discussed how these principles might be applied to the creation of any new funding schemes. Each participant was given a red and green card to indicate their support or opposition to each proposal.

The jurors reached consensus on principles on the funding of land management and recommendations for issues that needed further consideration. The jury agreed that future funding support for land management should be based on principles including: outcome-based payments; availability of best practice options; a non-competitive scheme to benefit small farms; funding for bottom-up innovation; and mandatory accreditation. The findings have been submitted to ECCLR for their consideration as they consider future work in this policy area. As a result of the CJ, the Scottish Parliament commissioned a research project to support the ECCLR Committee's consideration of the jury's recommendations by providing background information and policy context on each of the CJ's recommendations to assess the gaps in Scottish Government policy, helping to inform the work of the committee.





## 3. The Participants

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Participant recruitment is particularly crucial to the logic of mini-publics as it is important that the participants are randomly selected for a number of reasons. First, random sampling offers an equal probability of being selected, and thereby an equal opportunity to influence political decision-making. Second, it makes participants more descriptively representative of the broader population, which ensures that different experiences and perspectives are heard and taken into consideration. Third, it means that stakeholder representatives do not have the opportunity to self-select themselves into the mini-public, meaning that participants are more likely to have an open mind, listen to the evidence, and reflect on their views in light of this evidence.

Full details of the recruitment process for this CJ can be found [here](#) (Committee Engagement Unit 2019). In summary, 3,000 Scottish households were randomly selected from the Royal Mail's address database and sent a letter from the ECCLR Committee asking them to register their interest in participating in the Scottish Parliament and to provide some basic demographic details about themselves. From the 205 that responded, stratified sampling was used to select a broadly representative sample of the Scottish population of 22 participants. One failed to attend, leaving 21 participants in total. Participants received £100 reward and all costs were covered.

In this section we evaluate whether the random sampling to the CJ was successful in creating diversity in terms of demographic characteristics, party allegiance, prior experience of political participation, and prior knowledge about land management and environmental issues. The evaluation is based on participant surveys, interviews with ECCLR Committee members and staff, and observations of the CJ by the research team.

### The Diversity of the Participants

20 out of the 21 members of the Jury provided demographic information in the participant survey. 12 of them were women and 8 were men. The youngest participant was 18 years old and the oldest was 73. The mean age of the Jury was 46 years. On these key demographics, it is clear that the CJ was diverse. However, this is unsurprising as these were some of the criteria on which they were stratified.

Party affiliation is also important, as it could indicate participants' views on a particular issue. Moreover, as parliamentary committees seek cross-party support in their inquiries, they may look less favourably on mini-publics that are not broadly representative of allegiance across the country. As Table 2 below shows, a majority of the participants (57%) identified with the Scottish National Party. Three individuals identified with the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats respectively. The Scottish Green Party had two sympathizers, while the Labour party had one. This means that all parties in the Scottish parliament had sympathizers in the Jury. However, as a comparison with the vote share in the Scottish Parliament Elections 2016 shows (Table 3), the supporters of the Green Party were overrepresented, while Labour Party



supporters were clearly underrepresented. Although the invitation letter sent to the 3,000 households did not mention the topic of the CJ, the fact that it was from the ECCLR committee would have indicated that it would be on an environmental issue, and supporters of the Scottish Green Party might have been more inclined to respond. However, it is not clear why the under-representation of the Labour Party occurred.

TABLE 2. PARTICIPANTS' PARTY IDENTIFICATION		
	FREQ.	PERCENT
Conservative and Unionist Party	3	14.29
Labour Party	1	4.76
Scottish Green Party	2	9.52
Scottish Liberal Democrats	3	14.29
Scottish National Party	12	57.14
Total:	21	100.00

TABLE 3. SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS 2016, CONSTITUENCY VOTE SHARE	
	PERCENT
Conservative and Unionist Party	22.00
Labour Party	22.60
Scottish Green Party	0.60
Scottish Liberal Democrats	7.80
Scottish National Party	46.50
Other	0.50
Total:	100.00

Research findings on participation repeatedly indicate that one of the key determinants of political activity is the level of education that people have achieved. Level of income also has a significant influence on participation (e.g. Verba et al., 1995). Table 4 shows the household income of the participants. Of those who knew their household income, about half stated a household income of £300 - £599 per week. This is comparable to the median household income in Scotland 2014-2017, which was £485 a week (Scottish Government, 2018). Table 5 below shows that half of the participants had studied beyond secondary school and 30% had a university degree – a figure that is close to the 22% degree holders in the Scottish population (Scottish Government, 2010). The participants were then broadly representative on these criteria.





TABLE 4. HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
	FREQ.	PERCENT
Up to £299 per week	2	10.53
£300 - £599 per week	8	42.11
£600 - £999 per week	5	26.32
£1000 and over per week	2	10.53
Do not know	2	10.53
Total:	19	100.00

TABLE 5. EDUCATION		
	FREQ.	PERCENT
University Degree	6	30.00
Other Further Education	4	20.00
Secondary School	5	25.00
Primary School	4	20.00
Other	1	5.00
Total:	20	100.00

Mini-publics aim to remove barriers to political participation by using random and stratified sampling for recruitment, and providing financial incentives to ensure that those who do not normally engage are heard, and to prevent the most politically active and interested dominating the forum. According to the participant survey, the most common forms of political participation among the Jury members were signing a petition, boycotting certain products, and posting political content on social media. This is shown in Table 6. There were also experiences of electoral forms of political participation, such as contacting a politician and working in a political party, but these were much more unusual. Taken together, the frequencies of previous experiences of political participation indicate that the Jurors were diverse with respect to their experience of political participation, and that the Jury did not consist solely of politically active and interested citizens. This is further supported by the research team's observation of a discussion between two of the participants during the CJ weekend. During lunch on Saturday, it was noted that Juror 1 said, "I'm not political", to which Juror 2 replied, "Me neither. I don't vote. I say people died so I have the choice not to. I know it's important but ... I just don't think about it."

TABLE 6. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION DURING LAST 12 MONTHS			FREQ.	PERCENT
Contacted a political or government official	4		4	19.1
Worked in a political party or action group	2		2	9.5
Worked in another organisation or association	3		3	14.3
Posted political content on social media	8		8	38.1
Signed a petition	16		16	76.2
Taken part in lawful demonstration	1		1	4.8
Boycotted certain products	13		13	61.9

Finally, it is also important that mini-publics do not only include participants with high stakes and a strong interest in the particular issue at hand. According to the participant survey, 25% of the respondents (5 of 20) were a member of an environmental or conservation group or charity. These were Friends of the Earth, Game & Wildlife Conservation Trust, Greenpeace, WaterAid, The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, and the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society. Furthermore, as shown in Figures 1 and 2 below, most participants’ previous information and experience of discussing land management was limited to “only a little” or “nothing at all”. Thus, it can be concluded that most participants were unfamiliar with the topic. However, according to observations by the research team two of them did work in land management. One was a land manager and the other a crofter. This prompted another participant to speculate about “how participants were rigged” as “so many were working in agriculture.” However, given that the land manager and crofter constituted a small proportion (two) of the jury participants, this was clearly not the case. This was a significant concern for Interviewee 6 who believed the CJ would only recruit those who identified with the topic and who had therefore “already formed a strong opinion” on this issue. Our data suggests that this was not the case.

Figure 1. How informed participants were about land management

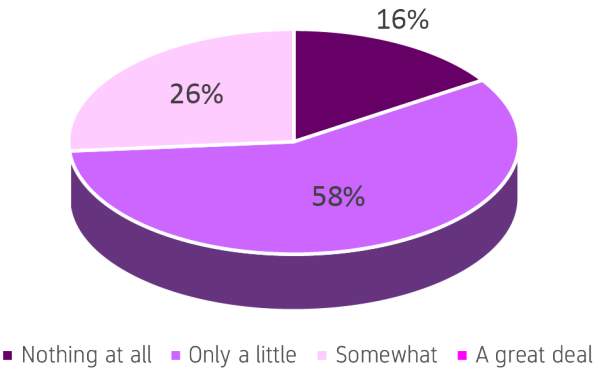
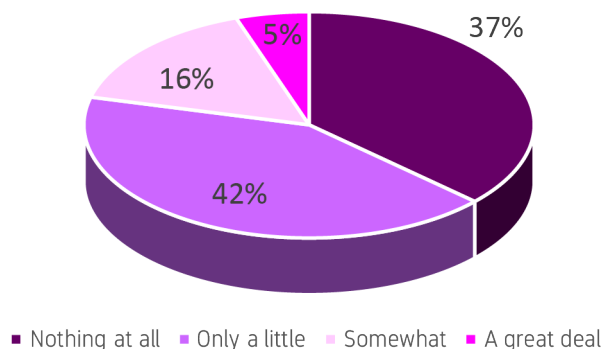


Figure 2. Extent participants have previously discussed land management



The ECCLR Committee members and staff acknowledged that one of the main strengths of the CJ was the representation of “diverse views ... reflective of all the different types of demographic” (Interviewee 1). Considering that “you usually get the same people providing evidence or coming to the committee hearing”, the interviewees recognised that the land management CJ reached out to “people who would not normally engage or be relatively quiet” (Interviewee 3) and to those “it would impact on the ground” (Interviewee 2). The interviewees recognised that reaching out beyond those who usually engaged and who “obviously have an agenda” (Interviewee 3), benefits the committee’s decision-making process. Interviewee 1 stated that “stripping out all of the interest ... is tremendously valuable, to hear from people who have got no ulterior motives” and interviewee 3 agreed, stating that “completely unbiased outsider perspective ... brings something new to the table”.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the members of the CJ were a diverse group of citizens in terms of gender, age, education, income, and party identification. Most of them had little prior knowledge about land management, and little prior experience of discussing the issue. The inclusion of such citizens is vital from a deliberative democratic perspective and was also of great importance to the parliamentary committee.

## 4. Evidence Provision

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One of the key aims and justifications of mini-publics is that participants become much more knowledgeable about the issue at hand by the end of the process. This is because participants in mini-publics are given information and evidence by a range of witnesses to support their deliberations in a learning phase. Indeed, research indicates that it is the information provided to the participants that has the greatest influence on their opinions (Goodin and Niemeyer, 2003, Thompson et al.). From our interviews the parliamentary committee members and staff really appreciated that the land management CJ provided participants with “access to the expert voices” and evidence (Interviewee 1) and “were subjected to lots of expert presentations, they were informed” and had the opportunity to learn (Interviewee 1). This in turn enables “informed decisions” (Interviewee 3), which can be useful to a committee inquiry. As a result, it is important that mini-public participants receive balanced information from a diverse range of perspectives and that they find this information and evidence useful and accessible (Roberts et al. 2020). For the expert witness to do this effectively, they need good guidance and support from the organisers so they can understand their role and the expectations of them. We evaluate these aspects of the Land Management and Natural Environment CJ in this section of the report. The evaluation is primarily based on observation of the process from the research team and a survey of the expert witnesses, supplemented with some data from the survey of the participants.

### Observing the Learning Phase

Full details of the evidence provision process can be found in the resulting parliamentary report (Committee Engagement Unit 2019). In summary, there were evidence sessions throughout the Saturday and the Sunday morning of the CJ weekend. On the Saturday the topics included: why the issue is important, current land use and land management in Scotland, Scotland’s natural environment, public goods, and examples of different land management funding models from around the world. On the Sunday morning there were two evidence sessions on a range of policy solutions to the issue of land management and the natural environment, including the Scottish Government’s strategy. In the second of the Sunday sessions the Jurors had the opportunity to discuss all these solutions with a range of active land managers. This schedule and the selected witnesses were agreed with a steering group, which consisted of a collection of notable experts on the topic.

The evidence sessions were preceded by a ‘critical thinking’ session on the Friday evening. This session encouraged the participants to think about what constituted ‘good’ evidence and how to scrutinise evidence, and is considered to be good practice in mini-publics (Roberts et al. 2020). Although this session could have perhaps been more interactive, time was limited. It appeared that this session was very useful, with Jurors mentioning it a few times throughout the weekend as they discussed the issues and evidence.

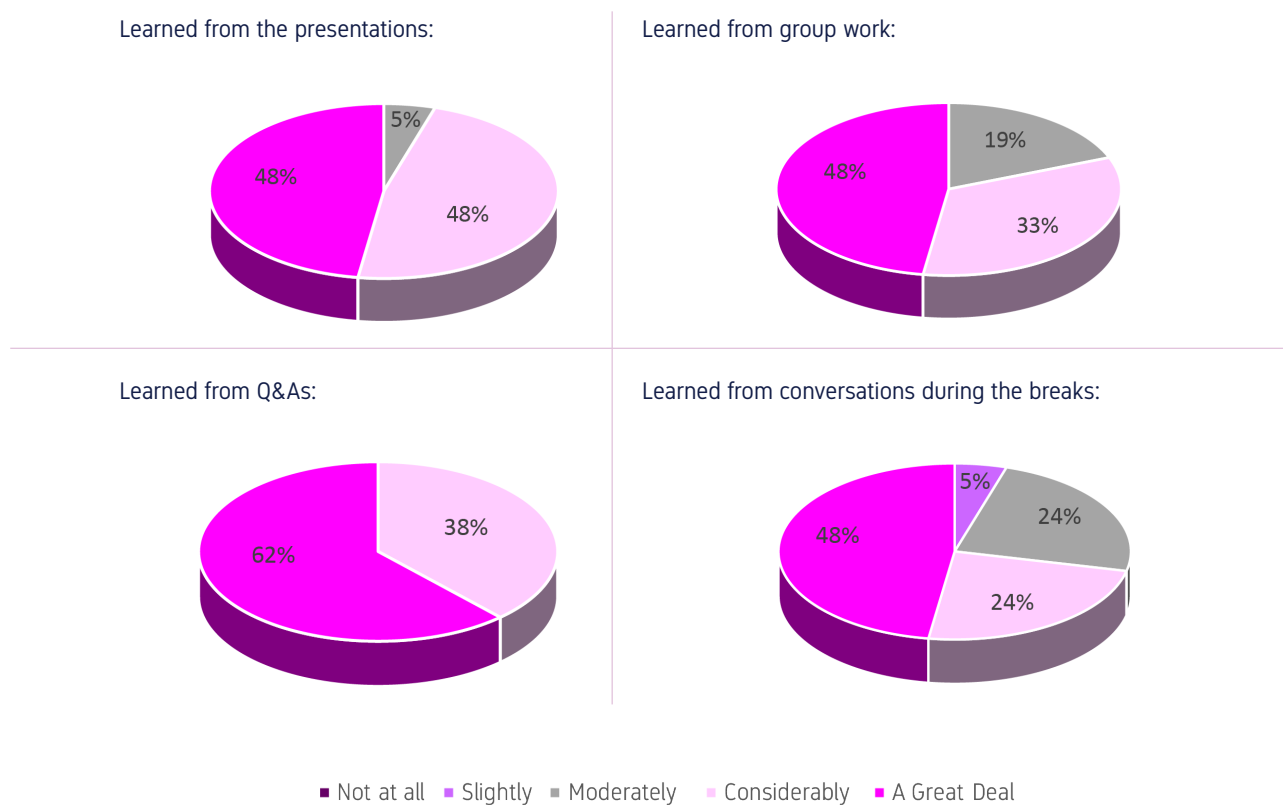
After each presentation the Jurors discussed and agreed questions to ask the experts in three small groups. The witnesses then responded to these in plenary. This is an inclusive way for questions to be



decided as it means that quieter participants can still ensure their questions are asked. These sessions were also deliberative, enabling the participants to learn from each other, and not just the witnesses.

Another virtue of the approach of evidence-giving adopted in this CJ was that there was a variety of ways that information was provided. For example, some of the sessions had one presenter followed by Q&A. In contrast, the different funding model sessions required each small group to read, discuss and learn about a particular country's approach from documentation provided by SPICE. They then gave an overview of this to the other groups. The Sunday sessions were also different. The policy solutions session was convened as a panel of experts with each panel member giving brief overviews of their position, followed by an extended Q&A. This enabled the Jurors to consider these solutions alongside each other, making comparison easier. There was a lot of interactive discussion amongst the panel rather than isolated presentations and a lot of agreement across the panel was demonstrated. Finally, the session with the land managers enabled each small group of participants to question each land manager individually. This variety of methods in information provision is crucial as different people learn in different ways (Roberts et al. 2020). Figure 3 below shows that the participants benefited from multiple sources of knowledge. A vast majority responded that they learned "considerably" or "a great deal" from the presentations, the group work following each talk, and the question and answer sessions. In addition, the conversations in the breaks also constituted an important source of knowledge.

Figure 3. Sources of knowledge in the Citizens' Jury



An additional source of information was the 'Academic Lead' who had an established expertise on the issue of land management and the natural environment, and unlike the other experts, was present throughout the weekend. As with the other expert witnesses he had been recommended by the steering group. His role was to help answer jurors' questions throughout the weekend, including those addressed to other experts but for which there was insufficient time to answer, and to 'fact check' statements from the other witnesses, which has been highlighted as good practice (Roberts et al. 2020). Neutrality was therefore important for the Academic Lead. This requirement was adhered to for most of the weekend, however, there were occasions where the Academic Lead divulged his own opinions on the topic emphatically. For example, advocating that all food consumed in Scotland should be produced in Scotland. Nevertheless, the jurors did hear contrary opinions to this from some of the other experts over the weekend. Moreover, the recommendations that the participants agreed at the end of the process were not particularly reflective of the stated views of the Academic Lead. Nevertheless, it remains a consideration for future mini-publics organised by the Scottish Parliament. In sum, having a neutral academic lead is an excellent initiative, supported by evidence (Roberts et al., 2020), but the facilitators need to emphasise to them their neutral role.

Another issue with the facilitation of the evidence provision was that all the presentations ran over time. This meant the schedule was not adhered to, and ultimately meant less time for the deliberation phase on the Sunday. Relatedly, the final evidence session with the land managers seemed to last disproportionately longer than the other evidence sessions. Each land manager moved around the three small groups of Jurors in turn, answering their questions. It was also followed by a plenary Q&A with the land managers which seemed a bit unnecessary. The participants kept referring to the land management session during the subsequent deliberation phase, indicating it was influential. It is not clear if this was because they were able to empathise more with land managers, because the session was the longest, or because it had been the last and was therefore more in their minds as they moved to agreeing recommendations. However, during the deliberative phase the land management session was criticised by one of the participants as being 'unbalanced ... there was a bias there' (Juror 1). This led to a flurry of comments about this panel: 'a real bias' (Juror 2), 'different perspectives?' (Juror 3), 'I didn't say perspectives, I said bias' (Juror 1), 'farmers panel was brilliant' (Juror 4), 'not diverse' (Juror 5), 'all had an environmental bent' (Juror 6), 'last people we spoke to were farmers and we're focusing on farmers' (Juror 7). It was the only all-male panel, but as the land managers spoke synchronously to different small groups, it was hard for the research team to ascertain if this panel did represent a range of perspectives. The plenary Q&A session with the land managers suggested not. However, the exchange between Jurors, detailed above, does again demonstrate that they were thinking critically about the information they were receiving, individually and collectively.

The expert witnesses on the Sunday were also critical of what had and had not been covered up to that point in the CJ process. Some complained that 'cross compliance' hasn't been covered yet: 'I thought they would have covered the basics' (Witness 1). Another complained about the question the jury has been set: 'there's nothing natural about the environment other than the mountain tops ... I'm going to tell them it's about making money' (Witness 2).



For most of the process participants listened intently, paying attention and remaining focused throughout the evidence sessions. The survey that was distributed to the participants at the end of the process measured how they experienced the evidence provision in the CJ. The feedback was in general very positive. As can be seen in Figures 4 and 5 below, 16 (80%) of the participants either agreed or strongly agreed that they had enough information to participate effectively, and 19 (95%) of them stated that they had understood almost everything presented by the speakers.

Figure 4. Adequate information to participate

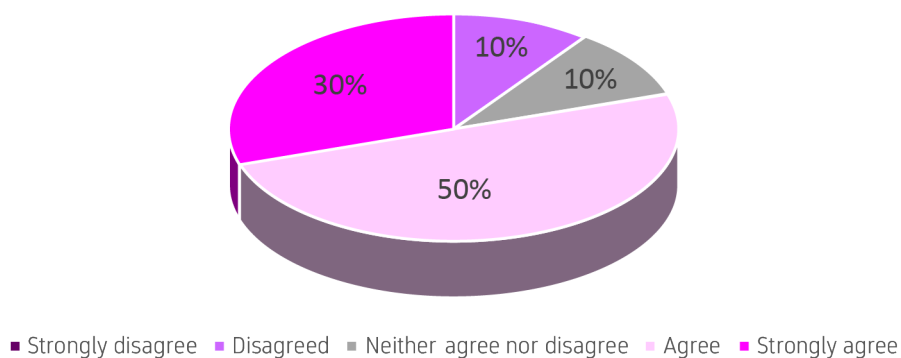
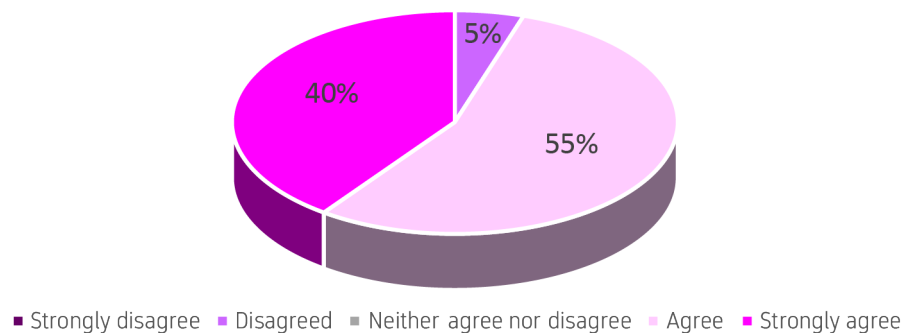


Figure 5. Extent participants understood the speakers



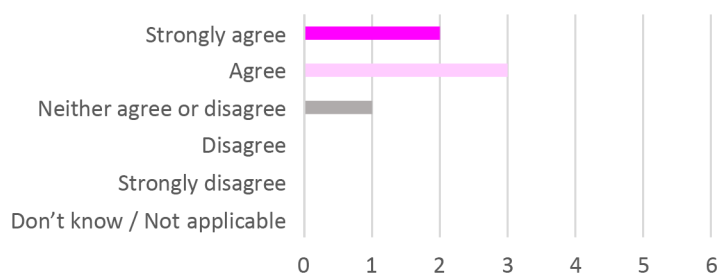
This finding is further confirmed by expert witness comments (recorded by the researcher) over the weekend: ‘I’ve learnt a lot’, ‘good question’, ‘I’m amazed by the questions they’re asking’, and ‘they’ve really understood the issue.’ We now move to a more in-depth analysis of the expert witness views of the evidence giving process.

Views of the Witnesses

In response to an open-ended question about what makes a good expert witness, most of the experts highlighted the ability to present clearly, concisely and engagingly to the jurors. One respondent stated a good expert witness needs to present “the facts in a concise way; concluding with a few clear, major points; using examples that most people can relate to (rather than citing policy documents, for example).” “Limited jargon and difficult terms; ready to engage with people from a range of backgrounds and experiences and respecting their views” was a further suggestion here. Another respondent highlighted that a good expert witness needs to have a “clear understanding of the requirements”.

It is then vital that expert witnesses understand their role in the CJ process. The experts were asked a closed question about how informed and prepared they were before they attended. Most of the experts strongly agreed (4) or agreed (1) that ‘the purpose of the Citizen’s Jury was clearly explained’, and most agreed (3) or strongly agreed (2) that their role was explained to them, as shown in Figure 6 below. One respondent answered neutrally, neither agreeing nor disagreeing with both statements, which indicates that there is room for some improvement in preparing expert witnesses with clear instructions.

Figure 6. How clearly the role as an expert witness was explained in advance of the Citizens’ Jury

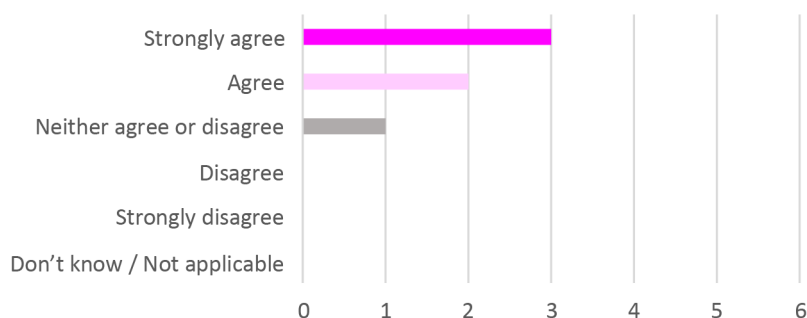


In response to an open question about what the witnesses found least rewarding about their role in the CJ one suggested that they were not given enough time to prepare. The experts were all asked about the time they spent attending and preparing for the CJ. The number of hours the experts spent attending the CJ ranged from 5 to 24 hours. This time included travelling, so the range could reflect how far they were based from Edinburgh. The event occurred over 2 days, and one of the respondents stated their attendance equated to “24 hours plus sleep”. The time spent preparing for the CJ ranged from 1 hour to 20 hours, and one respondent answered: “a lifetime”. Interestingly, the respondent that was neutral about how informed they felt about CJs and their role, spent the smallest amount of time preparing for (1 hour) and attending (5 hours), the event.



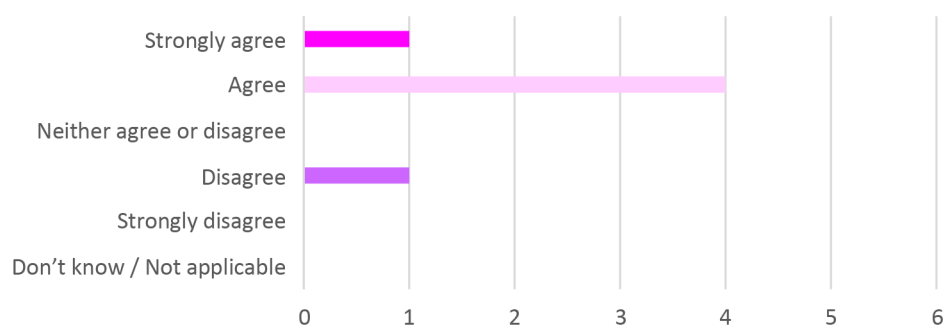
When asked to consider their expectations of the role of expert witness, all respondents agreed (2) or strongly agreed (3) that the experience has met their expectations (Figure 7). None of the respondents felt they had not satisfactorily fulfilled their role, although one respondent was neutral, neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

Figure 7. How satisfied the expert witnesses felt about fulfilling their role in the Citizens' Jury



Thinking about what they learnt from the experience of being an expert witness at the CJ, most agreed that they learnt a lot from presenting and answering questions from the public, as shown in Figure 8 below. However, the same respondent that was neutral about feeling informed about the event and their role and spent the least amount of time attending and preparing for the event, disagreed that they learnt a lot from presenting and answering questions. In contrast, the respondent that spent the longest time attending strongly agreed that they learnt a lot from presenting and answering questions from the Jurors.

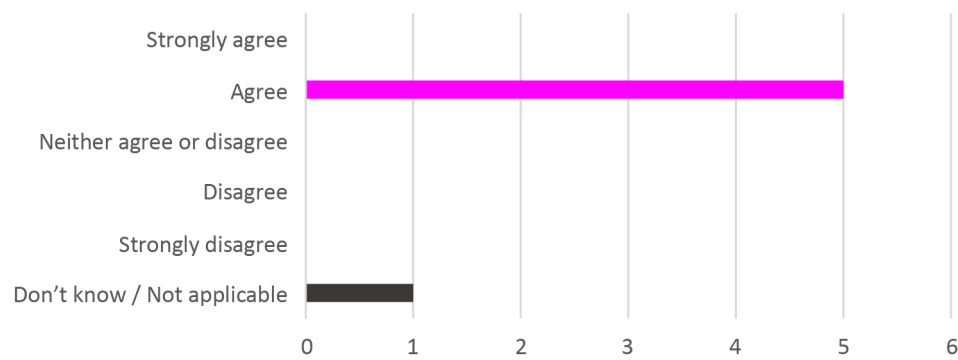
Figure 8. Extent the expert witnesses agreed that they had learnt a lot from participating in the Citizens' Jury about how to answer questions from the public



It is vital that the participants in a mini-public are provided balanced information from a range of perspectives, therefore we also asked the witnesses whether they felt that the participants received balanced and sufficient information and all agreed, except for one who did not know as shown in Figure 9. However, in response to the question 'what aspects of being an expert witness were least rewarding', one respondent expressed

frustration that other witness evidence was not balanced. This could also be associated with insufficient time to prepare, where experts complained they were unable to check the scope of each other’s presentations.

Figure 9. Extent the expert witnesses agreed that from what they saw the participants received balanced information



The experts were asked an open-ended survey question about what aspect of being an expert witness they enjoyed the most and found rewarding. All the respondents reported that they enjoyed interacting with and presenting to public the most. Similarly, the respondents reported that they found interacting with the participants most rewarding, and that the process of preparing their presentations and responding to the questions raised by the participants encouraged them to “rethink” their topic. One respondent stated they were “stimulated to explore different aspects with fresh ideas”. They also found observing the deliberation of the issues by the participants fulfilling and appreciated the resulting “informed decisions”.

Only three of the respondents identified aspects of the CJ they found demanding. Two reported that responding to the jurors’ questions was demanding, indicating they were frustrated that some of the questions were beyond their area of expertise and could not be fully answered. The third respondent reported that “learning when to back off and let the jury debate among themselves” was demanding, because as an expert they had their own opinions on the topic. This again shows the need for the facilitators to intervene with the expert contributions, as they can find it difficult to self-regulate their own interventions due to their passion for the subject.

The expert witnesses were asked what could be done differently to improve evidence giving in future CJs. Two of the respondents stated that extra time would improve the event, particularly more time for “in-depth questions, which would allow people to follow through on points raised”. Linked to the lack of time, two of the respondents considered that “the starting questions as given were too broad”, suggesting that there could be “more targeted questions” and the presentations could be more focused. From the expert witness perspective, two of the respondents referred to the limited time spent attending the event; one respondent stated that they “did not see the entire picture” and another suggested that the experts should be able to “attend/stay for the whole event”. One respondent noted that the use of case studies was very good and should be included in future events.



## Conclusion

On the whole, the evaluation indicates that the provision of evidence in this CJ was robust, balanced and provided crucial information to assist the Jurors in answering the question set. The participants certainly seemed content with the information provided. One of the particular strengths was the variety of ways evidence and information was provided, which accommodates a diversity of learning styles. Other important aspects were the inclusion of a critical thinking session that schooled the participants about how to scrutinise the evidence provided. There were also a number of opportunities for the participants to deliberate together after receiving evidence, and collectively devise questions to ask the experts. According to the witnesses, the presence of an Academic Lead was a useful resource for the Jurors to utilise throughout the weekend. Testimony from the expert witnesses indicates that their role and purpose, as well as the CJ format itself, were clearly explained in advance. There were some issues with the facilitation of the experts, as most presentations exceeded their allocated time, and the Academic Lead strayed from the neutral remit. A greater level of intervention from the facilitators was then required in these instances. Finally, the witnesses would have welcomed more time in advance of the CJ to prepare, and more opportunity to stay and observe the sessions that they were not directly involved in.



# 5. Facilitation

The norms of deliberative democracy are widely recognised to be very difficult to achieve in practice. The closer discussions get to promoting these norms, the better the deliberative quality. Mini-publics have been developed, primarily, to help achieve this goal. Participant discussions in mini-publics are facilitated to ensure they keep to deliberative norms e.g. the discussions should be inclusive with all having an opportunity to have their views heard, participants should justify their views, listen to the views of others, and respect the views of others. At the end of the process the Jury participants were surveyed and asked questions to evaluate their views on whether these norms were present in the discussions. The Jury sessions were also observed. The witness survey and committee interviews also touched on the issue of deliberative quality and facilitation from their observations. These data sources are combined in this section of the report to evaluate the deliberative quality of the Scottish Parliament’s land management and natural environment CJ. If the participants’ discussions had been recorded we would have been able to code these and provide a more objective assessment of deliberative quality, but in the absence of this, we rely on subjective assessments.

On the Friday evening, at the start of the Jury process, the participants agreed principles that would regulate their discussions over the weekend, which reflected core principles of deliberation. It is important and good practice to have the participants agree the conversation guidelines, as they are then more likely to heed them, making the role of the facilitators easier. The agreed guidelines were visible throughout the process and participants and facilitators regularly referred to them if they thought others were not adhering to them.

The survey that was distributed at the end of the process measured how the participants’ experienced the deliberative quality of the CJ. The feedback was in general very positive. As can be seen in Figures 10 and 11, all of those responding to this section of the survey agreed or strongly agreed that they had been given the opportunity to express their views, and that their fellow participants had respected what they had to say.

Figure 10. Participants felt that others respected what they had to say

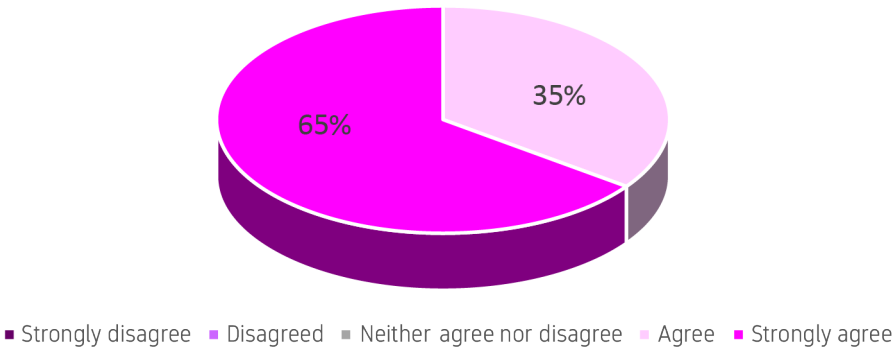
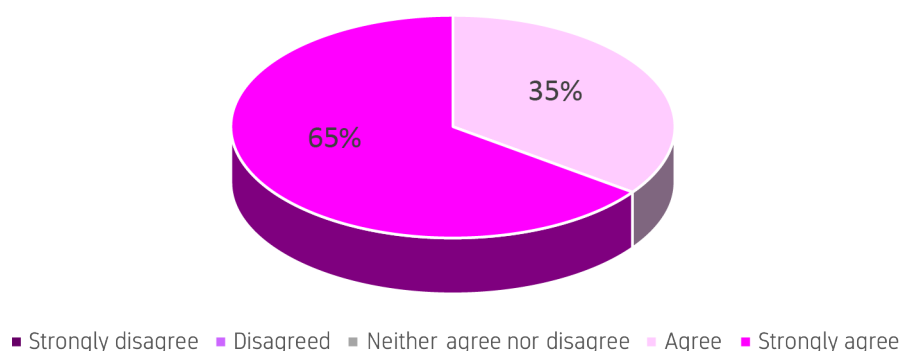


Figure 11. Participants had opportunity to express their views



This indicates that the process was very inclusive and that the discussions were respectful. This finding is further supported by the views of the expert witnesses. They were asked about the facilitation and the information provided to the participants. All agreed or strongly agreed that the facilitation of the jury was fair. The expert witnesses also asked about the participant debates. All agreed or strongly agreed (except one that didn't know) that the debate was reasoned and focused. This indicates that from their observations of the event the experts respected the participants work. The parliamentary members and staff, who observed parts of the CJ, also agreed. Interviewee 5 thought that there was “a good atmosphere” and they were “quite impressed with ... a lot of outputs ... and it seemed like the discussion was going well, and there was lots of different people contributing.”

Lots of examples of good facilitation practices were also observed through the weekend. For example, at the start of the CJ, initially, participants sat with those who they felt most comfortable with, leading to a lack of diversity at the small group tables, but the facilitators resolved this by mixing everyone up. In the small group discussions table facilitators frequently encourage quieter members to contribute. In the final decision-making phase of the CJ there was some good facilitation with lots of reason giving by the participants, and the facilitators urged the participants to give reasons when they made claims without justification.

Some exceptions were also observed by the research team. For example, in the session at the end of the Saturday, on funding options from around the world, there was a particularly high quality and insightful discussion by those involved in it, suggesting they had genuinely understood the models. However, most of the participants did not engage in this discussion. Admittedly, it was the end of a long day and energy levels were low amongst the participants, but the facilitators missed an opportunity here to encourage the

quieter Jurors to speak. This is not to undermine the importance of participants listening to each other, as this is a pivotal aspect of deliberative quality. During the break after evidence session one on the Saturday, one of the participants said to another juror (who works as a land manager) 'you're very quiet', to which he responded, 'I like listening.' However, there were other examples too, primarily from the Sunday afternoon deliberative phase. In the final session on Sunday, as the Jury moved to agreeing final recommendations, one woman speaks for the first time in any of the plenary sessions but is interrupted and she does not speak again. Again, on the Sunday afternoon when the Jurors agreed on the values to inform their more specific recommendations, a few voices are starting to dominate, and 7 participants didn't speak in this plenary session. However, there are supportive comments from those who do e.g. 'that's a good idea'. There was much more disagreement as the Jurors attempted to agree on policy specifics than there was on the values e.g. over accreditation and training requirements for farmers. This led to lots of people speaking at once, with one participant saying, 'everyone's talking over each other.' One participant sat at the back excluding himself from the discussions. The closer they got to the end of the process, the more a few voices dominated, and the less the facilitators intervened. Therefore, the facilitation was not always consistent, particularly in the plenary sessions.

It was also observed that the inclusiveness of the plenary debates could have been improved if the tables around the room had been put together to create a more inclusive atmosphere. However, the main reasons why the inclusiveness of the discussions dropped towards the end of the process on the Sunday was that time quickly ran out, leaving much for the CJ to agree on in order to fully address the question set. The point is not that the time for deliberation was not used well, but rather that the deliberative phase was too short. The expert witness raised this too. Two of the witnesses identified that time constraints restricted the opportunities to debate and adversely affected decision-making. This was also a theme identified by the Committee members and staff that were interviewed. The limited timeframe was criticised by Interviewee 3 who stated that "the deliberative part ... was too short" and they "didn't have time to debate". Interviewee 5 similarly remarked that "it was quite a short amount of time at the end for those deliberations", which was a shame as "it just felt like it was really getting going and that there are really interesting things still coming out".

To the credit of the facilitators, the lack of time did not lead them to deviate from the consensus approach. This is an important aspect of smaller mini-publics like CJs and was valued by the Committee members and staff. Interviewee 1 was "impressed that they came to a general consensus" especially as "in all committees it is very hard to have a consensus". The interviewees considered that "consensus is obviously always desired" (Interviewee 3) because it demonstrated that "you have compromise in there" (Interviewee 1). Interviewees noted that "if you can come to a consensus ... then those recommendations are more likely to be the right ones that people will generally be happy with" (Interviewee 1) increasing the credibility of the outcomes.



In the final decision-making phase, each participant was given a red and green card to indicate their support or opposition to each proposal. The discussions of each proposal continued until the wording was agreed by all through a show of green cards. According to the observations of the research team a genuine consensus was reached on the final recommendation, but due to time constraints the final recommendation only covered some aspects of the question set. Figures 12 and 13 below show the participants' views on the result of the Jury process. 19 of 20 respondents stated that the Jury recommendations reflect their own views, which supports the view that genuine consensus was reached. However, only 55% of them agreed that they themselves had an influence over the Jury recommendations. The other 45% neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement.

There are perhaps ways that the facilitation of the process could have been improved to ensure all participants had some influence on the process. During many of the small group sessions, table facilitators were recording suggestions. There was a tendency for every suggestion to be written down, without seeing if others on the table agreed with it. However, one table 'collected' suggestions and then 'filtered' these suggestions, by making sure others on the table agreed with them, before committing them to writing. This could improve participants' sense that they were involved and should be considered in future CJs.

Figure 12. Extent participants approved of recommendations

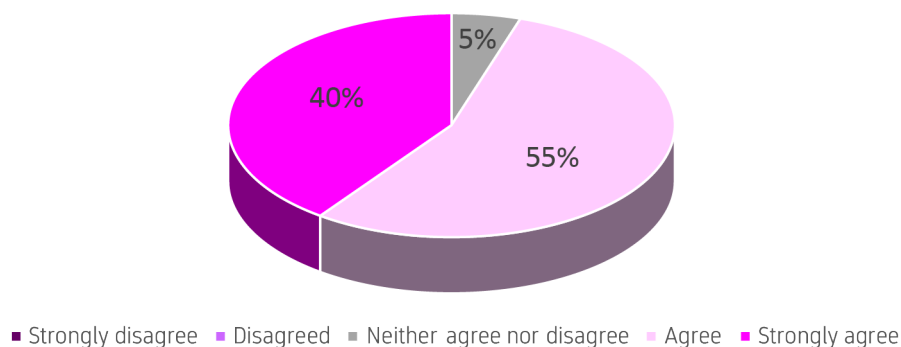
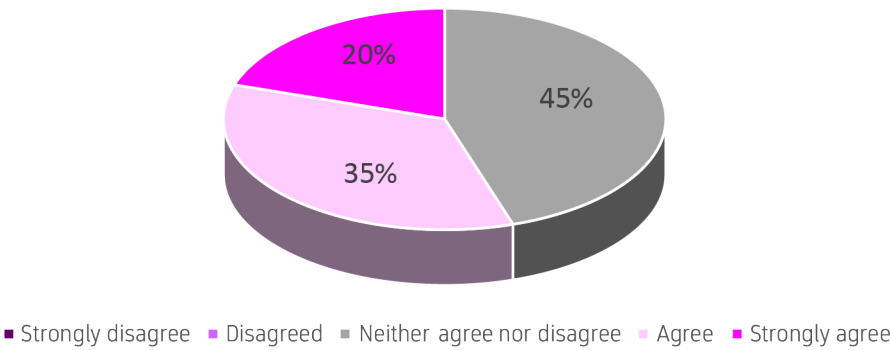


Figure 13. Extent participants felt they had influenced the recommendations

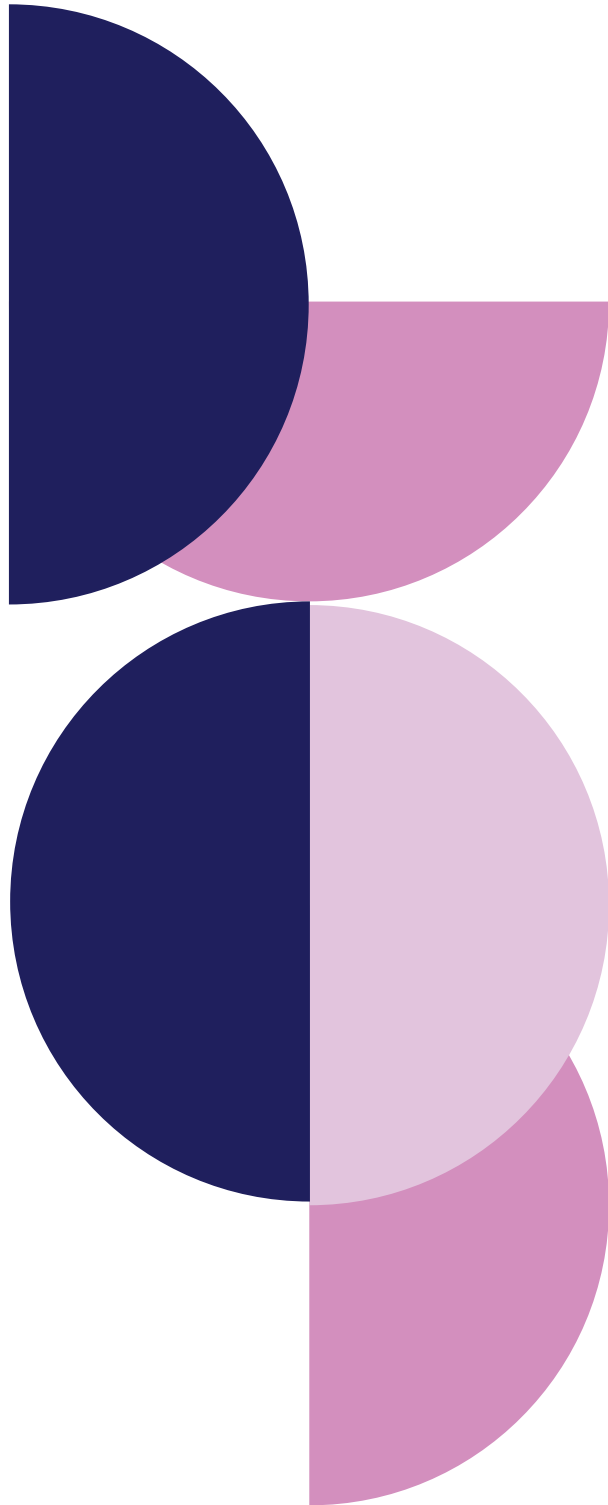


Conclusion

Overall, the facilitators implemented the key deliberative norms of justification, listening and respect, while also allowing all to contribute, with lots of examples of good practice. In regard to the participants’ experiences of the process, the post deliberation survey shows that most participants felt that their opinions were heard and respected. Most participants approved of the Jury recommendations. The participants’ views were, in the main, supported by the witnesses and parliamentary members and staff. There were times when the quality of facilitation was not completely consistent. Towards the end a few Jurors began to dominate. However, it was noted that lack of time for the deliberation phase adversely affected the ability of the facilitators to intervene and balance the discussion at that time.







## 6. Influence on the Participants

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A key deliberative principle, not considered thus far in this report, is open-mindedness and reflexivity. Participants in deliberation are expected to listen to their fellow Jurors and the information provided by the witnesses, so they can reconsider their views and preferences on the issue at hand. This process creates expectations of knowledge acquisition and opinion transformation. In addition, the opportunity to deliberate is expected to increase participants' political interest, and perceptions of the responsiveness of the political system (Mansbridge, 1995; Nabatchi, 2010). In this section of the report we evaluate whether these effects on the participants occurred in the Scottish Parliament's CJ on land management and the natural environment. This evaluation is primarily based on comparison between the pre and post deliberation participant survey, with some supplements from the observation of the process from the research team conducting the evaluation.

### Knowledge Gain

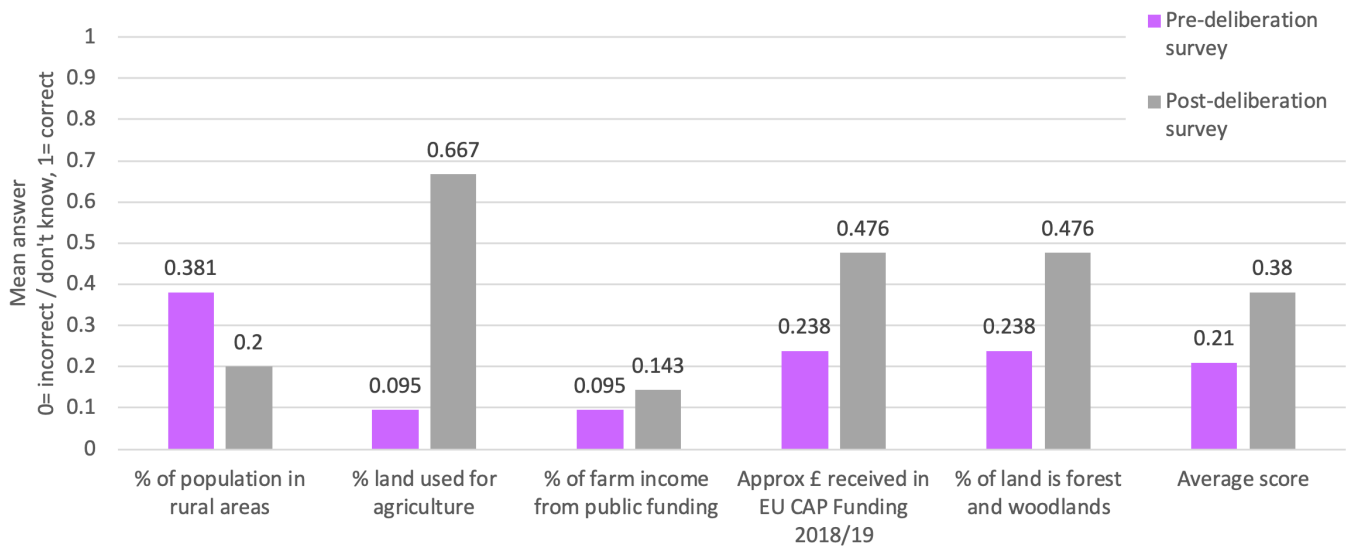
The participant surveys contained 5 multiple-choice questions measuring participants' knowledge on land management. The variables were coded to take the value of 0 for wrong or "don't know" answers, and 1 for correct answers. The average score for the group of participants for each question was calculated, so if everyone answered a question correctly the mean score would be 1, if half of them got the question right the mean score would be 0.5, and so on. The mean scores for the questions in the pre and post deliberation surveys were calculated and are presented in Figure 14, and are tabulated in Appendix I.

Figure 14 indicates that there are in general more correct answers in the post-deliberation survey. Especially noteworthy is the increase in correct answer for the question on the percentage of land area used for agriculture; the mean difference is statistically significant at the 1% level, which means that we can be 99% certain that there is a difference between the pre and post responses.

The mean differences for the other questions presented in Figure 14 are not statistically significant. However, the difference of the average score for the five questions together is statistically significant at the 5% level; there is a statistically significant difference overall in the average correct score pre deliberation compared to post deliberation.

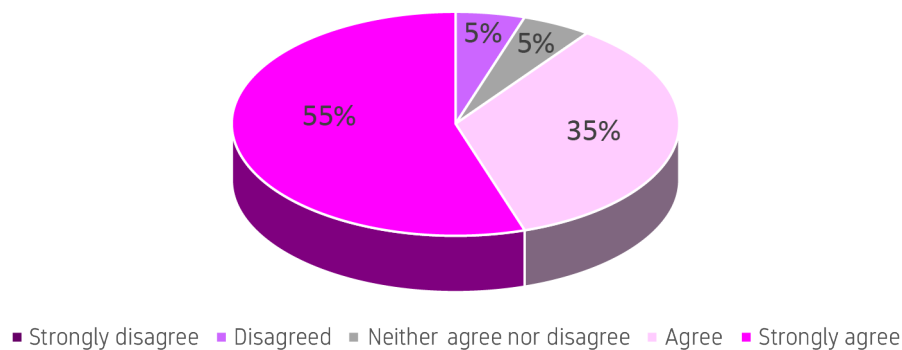


Figure 14. Comparing participant knowledge gain on land management, pre and post deliberation



The increase in knowledge is confirmed by the participants' self-reported knowledge gain. As Figure 15 shows, 18 (90%) of the 21 participants agreed or strongly agreed that they had learned a lot about land use during the Citizens' Jury. Self-reported knowledge could be an unreliable measure of knowledge gain. Factors other than an increase in knowledge (e.g. social desirability bias) might have affected participants' positive answers about their knowledge gain. However, since the five knowledge questions above are quite specific, it is interesting to consider the self-reported knowledge gain, which does not specify the content of the acquired knowledge.

Figure 15. Participants' self-reported knowledge gain



It should be noted that some of the ‘facts’ given in the expert witness presentations that directly related to questions asked in the survey to test levels of knowledge differed slightly from the ‘correct’ answers listed in the survey options. For example, one presenter mentioned that 20% of Scotland is forestry and another that it was 19%, but the correct answer in the survey was 18%. Another expert told the participants that Scotland received £450 million of EU funding, but the correct answer in the survey was £564 million. The ‘correct’ answers from the survey were derived from the SPICe report on the topic. But the discrepancy from what the experts informed them could have led to some confusion.

Opinion-change

The surveys also measured the participants’ opinions about the environment in general, the environment in Scotland, and land funding in Scotland. Participants responded to statements about the environment and land use funding, shown in Figures 16 to 18.

Figure 16, below, indicates that there are no trends between the pre and post responses for opinions about the environment in general – neither for the environment-friendly statements nor for the two more environment-specific statements. No statistically significant differences between the means were identified.

Figure 16. Comparing participants’ opinions about the environment, pre and post deliberation

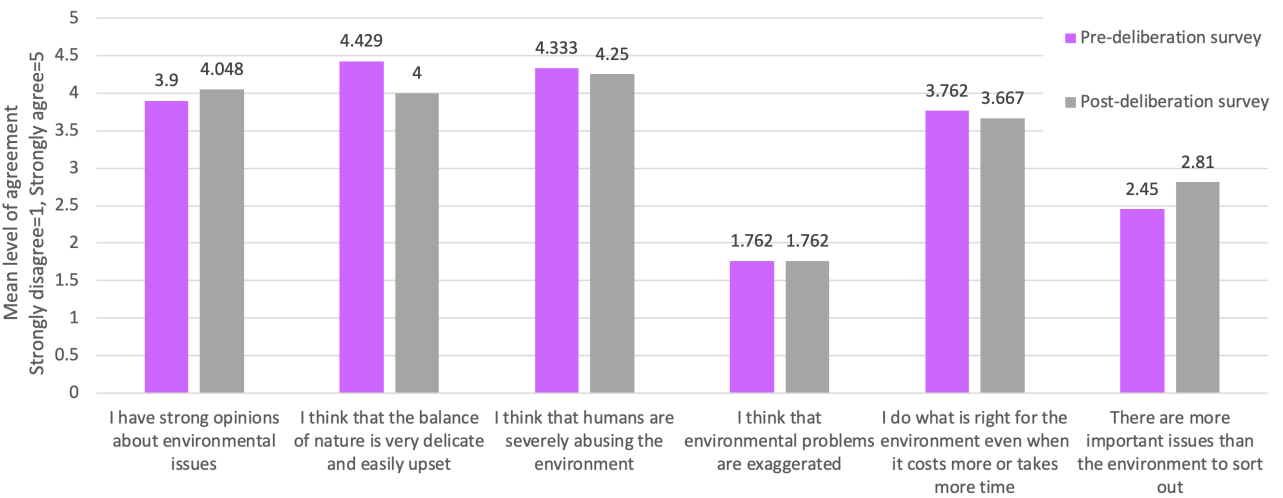
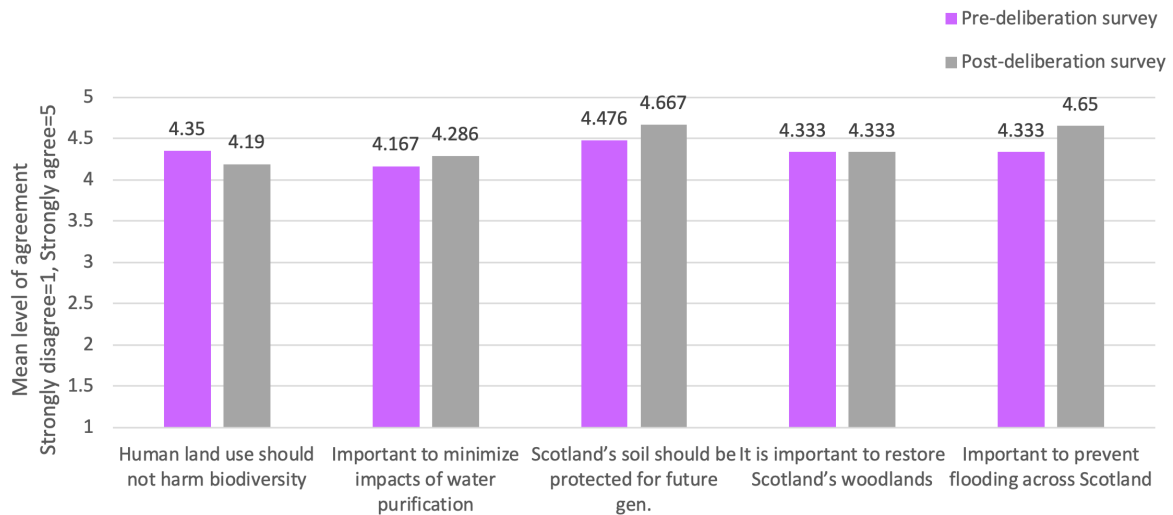


Figure 17 presents the mean in opinions about the environment in Scotland specifically, pre and post deliberation, indicating that opinions are slightly more environment-friendly post-deliberation. However, only one of the mean differences is statistically significant; there was more agreement for the statement that it is ‘important to prevent flooding across Scotland’ post deliberation, and the difference is statistically significant at the 10% level.

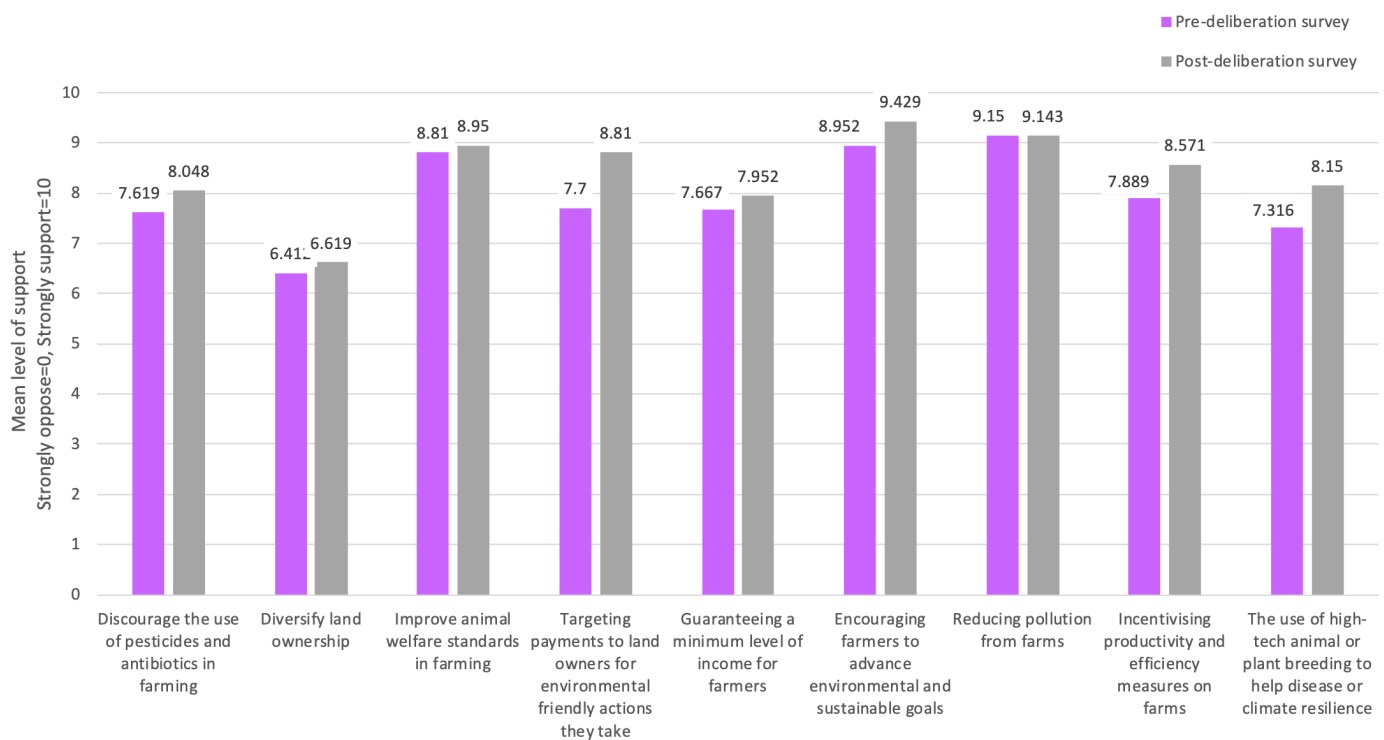


Figure 17. Comparing participants' opinions about the environment in Scotland, pre and post deliberation



Participants' opinions on how to best fund land use in Scotland (Figure 18) were more supportive of the measures proposed post deliberation. However, the only statistically significant mean difference is the increase in support for targeting payments to landowners for environmentally friendly actions, which is statistically significant at the 5% level.

Figure 18. Comparing participants' support for land use funding, pre and post deliberation



In summary, Figures 16-18 show limited opinion-change about the environment and land use. It should be kept in mind that these results may be due to the choice of measured opinions, and that opinion-change might have occurred around other issues. In this regard, it is interesting to look at the participants' own perceptions of opinion-change. As Figures 19 and 20 below show, 18 (90%) participants agreed that the Citizens' Jury helped them clarify their views about land use funding, and 15 (75%) participants agreed that their views about land use funding had changed. 35% of the participants strongly agreed with these statements. These perceptions of opinion-change could be interpreted as a confirmation of the small changes in opinion-change identified in the tables above. However, given the strong agreement, it is more likely that these answers relate to changes in opinions about issues that are not measured by the statements in the survey. It is also recognised that self-reported opinion-change could be associated with factors other than actual change of opinion – e.g. expectations from oneself or from others to form new opinions about land funding as a result of participating in the Jury.

Figure 19. CJ helped participants clarify their views

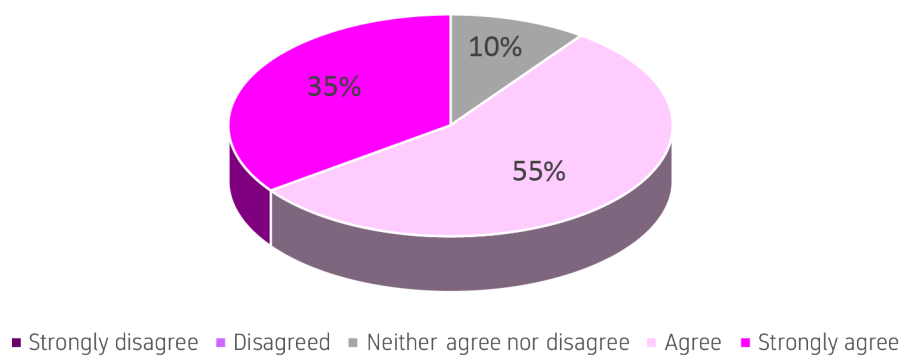
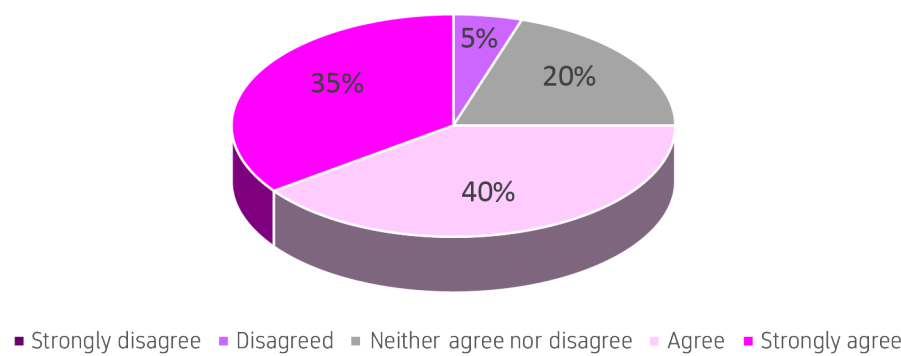


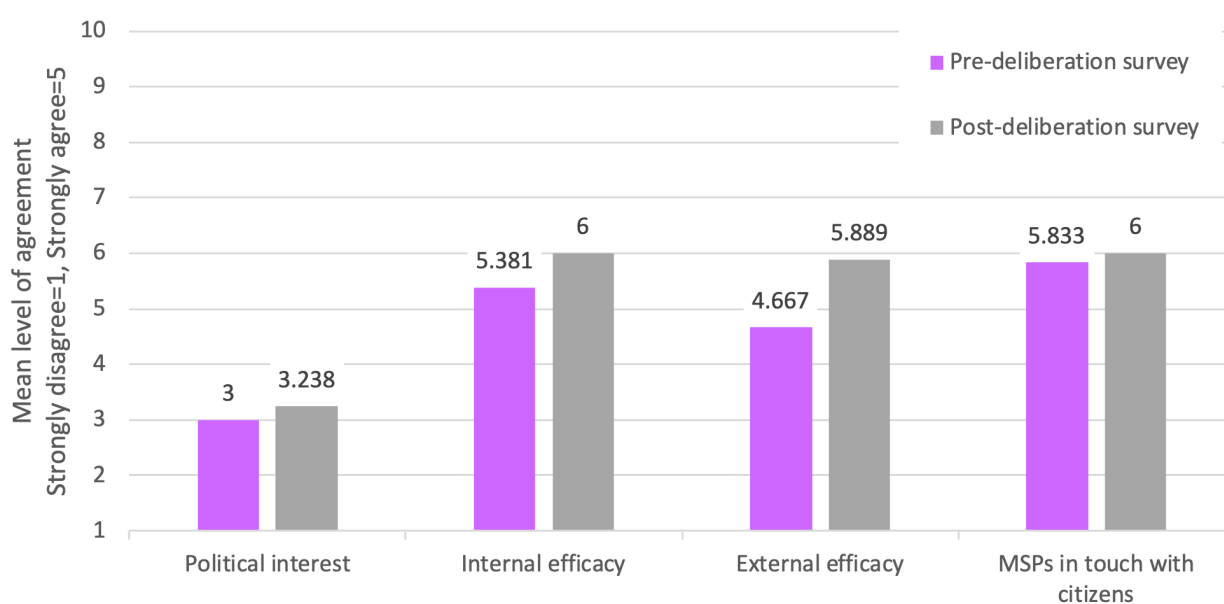
Figure 20. Participants' self-reported opinion-change



## Attitudes towards Political Participation

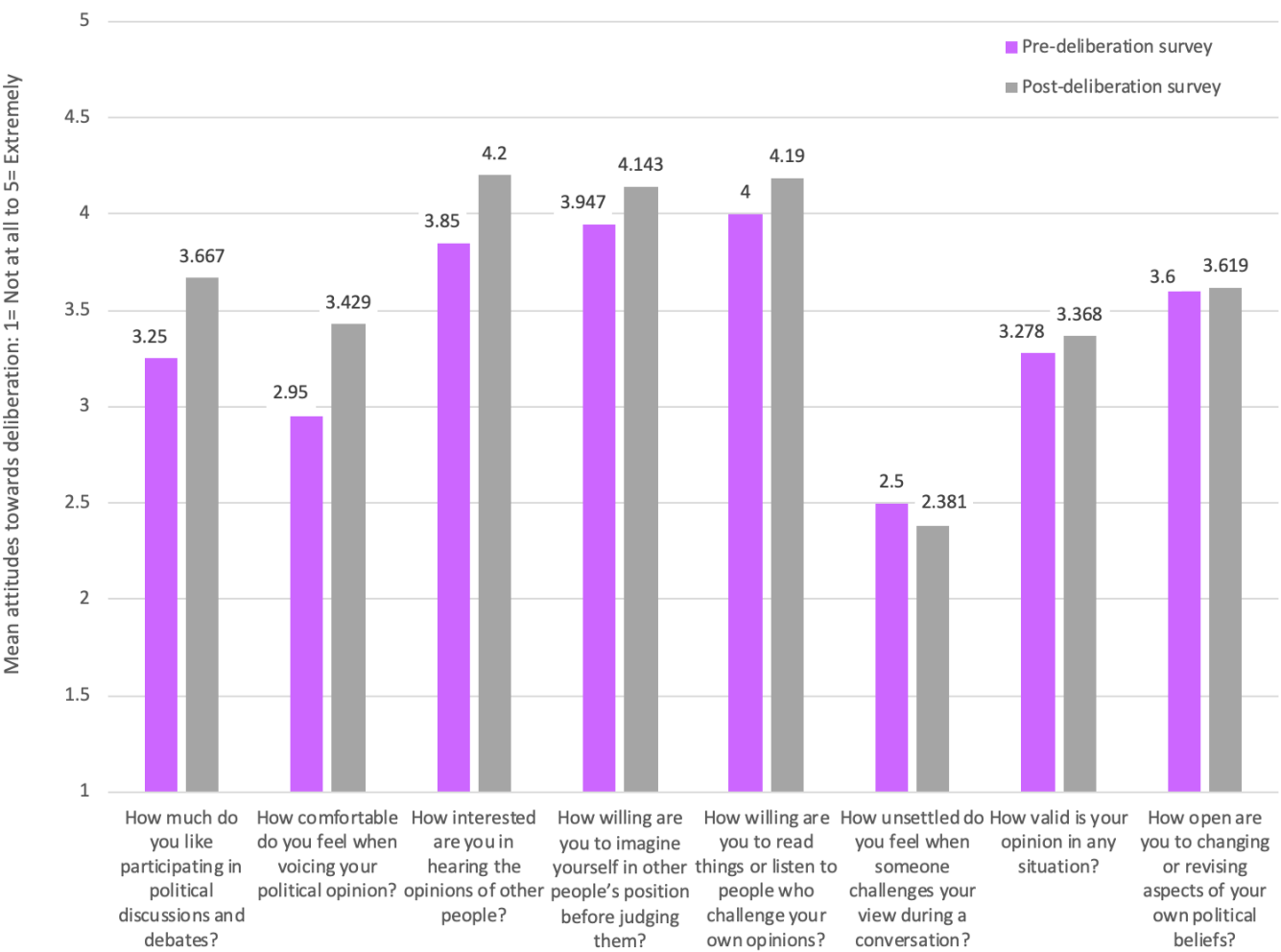
The surveys contained four questions about the participants' political interest and efficacy. We followed common practice and measured both internal and external political efficacy i.e. we asked how confident the respondents are in their own ability to participate in politics (internal efficacy), as well as how much they believe politicians care about what people like them think (external efficacy). The respondents could agree to statements on political efficacy on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 = Not at all and 10 = Completely. Political interest was measured on a 4-point scale, where 1 = Not at all interested and 4 = Very interested. Figure 21 indicates that the participants' expressed higher political interest and efficacy in the post deliberation survey. However, only the mean difference for external efficacy is statistically significant, indicating that having participated in the CJ they are more likely to believe politicians care about what people like them think. This increased optimism towards politicians' responsiveness is particularly gratifying given that many participants expressed negative feelings about the Scottish Parliament in an exercise at the beginning of the process.

Figure 21. Comparing participants' political interest and efficacy, pre and post deliberation



The surveys also measured the participants' attitudes to deliberation – their so-called deliberative stances. These are broadly about the willingness to express and explain one's own opinions, carefully listen to understand other people's opinions, and being open to revising or changing one's initial standpoints. These attitudes towards deliberation were measured on a scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Extremely). Figure 22 shows that the participants' attitudes towards deliberation were generally more positive in the post deliberation survey. They expressed a greater comfort to voice their political opinions, and a higher interest in hearing the opinions of other people. Their willingness of perspective-taking and opinion-change increased, and they expressed a lower discomfort of being challenged during a conversation. However, the only statistically significant mean differences are the increase in comfort to voice opinions and the interest in hearing the opinions of other people, at the 10% level.

Figure 22. Comparing participants' deliberative stances, pre and post deliberation



The post deliberation survey also contained questions about participants' willingness to participate in similar activities in the future, as well as their views on the desirability of processes like the CJ they had participated in. Regarding future participation in similar events, Figure 23 shows that all respondents stated that they would participate in similar activities in the future. Furthermore, as can be seen in Figure 24, all except one respondent agreed that the Scottish Parliament should run more processes like the CJ.





Figure 23. Participants' intentions of future participation

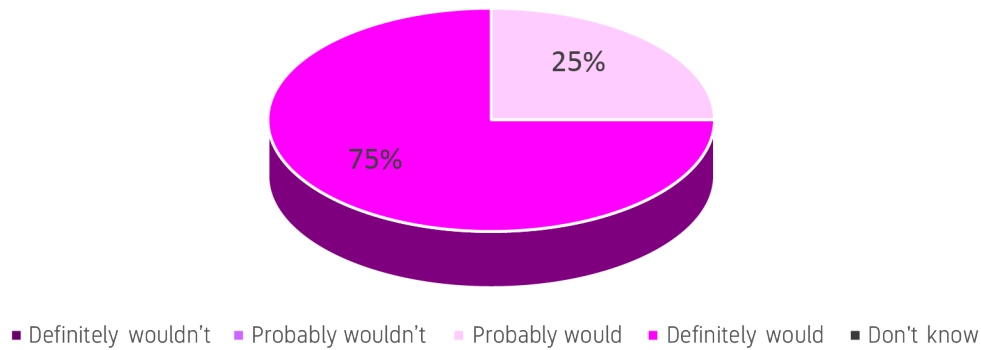
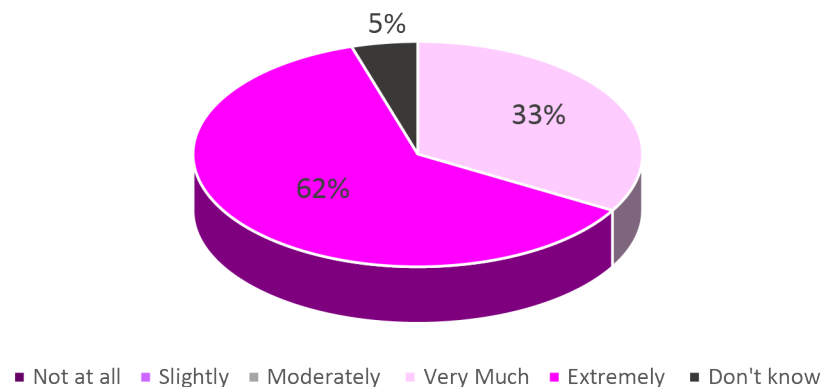


Figure 24. Extent participants agree there should be more processed like this



## Conclusion

A comparison of answers to multiple-choice questions between the pre and post deliberation surveys shows a general increase in knowledge about land management at the end of the Jury process. Differences in opinions between the pre and post deliberation responses are not as clear. The two most obvious changes in opinions are an increased support for preventing flooding across Scotland, and a greater compliance with targeting payments to landowners for environmentally friendly actions they take.

Comparisons of the pre and post deliberation surveys also show an increase in participants' external efficacy i.e. how much the participants believe politicians care about what people like them think. There are no statistically significant differences in political interest and confidence in one's own ability to participate in politics. However, when it comes to attitudes to participation in political discussions, there is a statistically significant increase in how comfortable participants feel to voice their political opinions, and how interested they are in hearing the opinions of other people. Further, all respondents stated that they would participate in similar activities in the future, and all except one respondent agreed that the Scottish Parliament should run more processes like the CJ in the future.

## 7. The Impact on Parliament

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Mini-publics should be organised for a purpose. They should be used to inform public debate or opinion, policy, and in the case of the CJ on land use and the natural environment, the ECCLR committee and their inquiries and their ability to scrutinise government. Therefore, in this section of the report, we evaluate the impact of the CJ on the committee and their views of the strengths and weaknesses of the process, through semi-structured interviews with parliamentary members and staff.

### Strengths of the CJ

The interviewees were generally positive about the land use and natural environment CJ, stating that it was “useful”, “really helpful” (Interviewee 2) and “a successful event” (Interviewee 3). It was therefore recognised that mini-publics would be particularly suitable to tackling “really complicated, big questions that the government are struggling to answer” (Interviewee 3). For example, mini-publics were thought more suitable to achieve “long-term thinking” due to the short-termism politicians and parties tend to adopt due to electoral cycles (Interviewee 6). Ultimately, it encouraged committee members to “think more” (Interviewee 2).

For mini-publics to be credible and have influence the parliamentary members and staff need to be satisfied with their design. In previous sections of this report we have already highlighted that the parliamentary members and staff saw great value in the selection method of the CJ, as it enabled them to hear from a diverse group of people that would not usually engage with a committee inquiry. They further welcomed the fact that the Jurors were exposed to balanced information and were encouraged to reconcile their differences and reach consensus. These are all core features of a CJ process.

The relatively small sample size (compared to online surveys, consultations, and larger mini-publics) is also a core feature of the CJ design. However, the interviewees were generally satisfied with the sample size of the land management CJ. Interviewee 1 stated that “21 is fine ... they all had the opportunity to engage with one another to get to know one another and they weren’t stuck in the same groups all the time”. The smaller sample size in this CJ was then actually perceived to be advantage, with the deliberative quality being potentially greater than in larger groups: “if you make it too large, they don’t gel” (Interviewee 1); “the difficulty with increasing the numbers is you drown out the people that are less confident” (Interviewee 3).

One of the key novelties of this CJ was that it was organised by the CEU, rather than being outsourced. The interviewees were generally positive about the use of the in-house staff to organise the land management CJ. Interviewee 1 stated that “they are fantastic”, while Interviewee 2 stated that use of in-house staff was their “preference” compared to an alternative of using an external organisation. Interviewee 6 agreed stating that the CJ was “run very well.”



The interviewees that attended parts of the CJ were more positive about the process than those who did not attend. Indeed, the interviewees agreed that their attendance was valuable as it helped them to appreciate the value of the Citizens' Jury. For example, Interviewee 3 reflected that they "could hear lots of people with lots of really good ideas" and was "pleasantly surprised about how engaged most of the participants were." However, there was some uncertainty about the extent and appropriateness of members' attendance. Interviewee 3 recognised the risk that "members might want to intervene in a conversation .... that might manipulate thinking and steer the conversation". Interviewee 1 agreed, considering that members' "presence would pervert the way things were going", instead, stating that members presence should be limited to "a symbolic gesture of 'thanks' then ... let them get on with it".

### Weaknesses of the CJ

The interviewees also noted some limitations of the CJ, particularly with respect to the resources involved. The interviewees were generally worried about the "cost element" and "value for money" of running the CJ, which was a "genuine concern" (Interviewee 2). Observing that the land use CJ was "quite an intense process ... a lot of time involved ... to properly consider the issues", Interviewee 2 wondered "whether you couldn't get what you wanted in some other less expensive way". In addition to concerns of the financial cost, there was some caution raised about the effective use of parliamentary staff time, with Interviewee 2 stating that they needed to be more "understanding how much time is involved in it from a staff point of view" and Interviewee 5 thought there were "questions around delineation of roles".

On the issue of roles in the process, Interviewee 5 reported that the roles and responsibilities of the Academic Lead were unclear and potentially overlapped with some of the SPICe team's usual function, presenting a challenge: "I kind of saw the academic lead in delivering that aspect that might sort of remove a need for maybe SPICe to be delivering some of those things". It was also thought that there was a lack of clarity of the roles of the parliamentary staff and the steering group, with Interviewee 3 commenting that it "can probably be clearer" and "we probably need to iron that out a bit more". The relationship between SPICe researchers and the Steering Group was identified as a significant challenge. Interviewee 5 stated that it's "not totally clear to me how that [SPICe's] advisory role fits in with the steering groups' advisory role". This confusion was illustrated at various points during the interview where Interviewee 5 asked: "Is it now completely up to the steering group?", 'Is it now the steering group's role to take that and agree that ...' and "Is the steering group now taking on ... ?". This challenge was linked to the "very tight timeframe", indicating there was insufficient time to have the roles and relationship between SPICe researchers and the Steering Group to be defined. Similarly, Interviewee 1 thought that there "was maybe too wide a topic ... could have been narrower and more focussed." The blame for this was attributed to the Steering Group as "they broadened out the question" (Interviewee 5).

The interviewees all agreed that the time allowed for the organisation of the CJ was insufficient: "very tight timeframe" (Interviewee 5); "time is the main lesson, having more time" (Interviewee 3). Interviewee 2 agreed and suggested that future events were "not [done] in such a tight timescale".



Considering the outcomes from the CJ, Interviewee 3 was concerned that “they [mini-publics] can be a bit waffley and not got quite clear direction” and Interviewee 2 worried “whether we would get anything that we hadn’t heard anyway”. These concerns were realised by Interviewee 3 who stated that: “when the report initially came back, we were quite disappointed because we were like, well this is just saying things we already know and it’s not really saying much”. However, after reflection they acknowledged that but “we had to reframe our thinking” (Interviewee 3). Similarly, Interviewee 6 was not sure what the CJ had achieved that the ECCLR committee could not. To address this point Interviewee 2 suggested that more time is taken to manage the expectations of the committee when implementing a novel engagement tool such as a CJ. Many of these weaknesses were associated with mini-publics being novel and unfamiliar tools. Interviewee 2 corroborated this by stating the committees are “really trying to get their head around how does it fit with our work”.

As a novel public engagement tool, members had expressed scepticism about the use of CJs in two ways. First, members were worried about the amount of influence the CJ would have; “they think it compels them to do something” (Interviewee 1). Second, members were worried that the CJ undermines their role: “We speak to people all the time, that’s what we do” (Interviewee 2); and “I am the one they have elected to make decisions” (Interviewee 1). So, while parliamentary members and staff see mini-publics as useful for their inquiries, as outlined in the previous section, they also see them as a threat to their legitimacy.

### Influence of the CJ on the Committee

To satisfy the concerns of the members and become useful and deployable, the outcomes of mini-publics must strike the right balance between influencing the committees enough to be valuable, while not undermining their work. It should be noted that the degree of influence the CJ will have on the committee remains to be seen because they will not address the issue of land management and the natural environment until 2020 at the earliest. As Interviewee 5 suggests there was still “some work” to capture the “detailed recommendations” of the CJ.

The interviewees did recognise that the outcomes of the CJ “won’t dictate” (Interviewee 6), “doesn’t compel us to do anything” and “weren’t telling us what to do” (Interviewee 1). Interviewee 2 agreed, stating that “most members are quite relaxed that it’s something that will inform them”. Clarifying the extent of the influence of the CJ, Interviewee 2 stated that “it doesn’t mean that you would accept it all” or “act on all of the recommendations, but they (the committee) do have to ... say how they have or they haven’t taken account of that”. However, it was thought that the CJ “will influence” committee decisions (Interviewee 6).

Interviewees considered that having the evidence of public opinion from the CJ gave “more strength to the committee, pushing the government to scrutinise legislation effectively” (Interviewee 3) as the inclusion of citizens’ voices was “really powerful” (Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 2), which “is harder ... to brush ... off” (Interviewee 1). They also identified that as the CJ sought consensus, “it’s harder to ignore” (Interviewee 2) because “if you can have a 100% agreement, then you have a real strong evidence” (Interviewee 3).



Interviewee 1 suggested that the land use Citizens' Jury could have had more influence on the committee if it was arranged "ahead of or part of an inquiry ... that's where I think the value of a citizen's jury would be. For the practical aspects of the policy we wanted to pursue or the policy or bill we were scrutinising the citizen's jury might flag up things ... a citizen's jury as part of an inquiry that would add another string to our bow in terms of the questions we have to ask of the policy makers". The fact that the committee has subsequently commissioned research to explore the policy context of the Jurors' recommendations shows there is an intent and commitment by the committee to make use of the CJ outputs in scrutinising government.

## Conclusion

The parliamentary members and staff were overall in favour of the CJ. In particular, they valued the fact that it gave them insight into the informed public opinion of people they would not normally hear from. The consensus approach adopted was of integral importance to them, and they were very happy with the fact that it was run in-house. There were concerns about the costs and staff time involved. However, most of the perceived limitations of the CJ were attributed to it being a novel approach that they were not used to, such as expectations of the outcomes and delineation of roles, particularly in the case of the steering group. A more fundamental concern was whether mini-publics challenge, rather than complement, the legitimacy of parliament. The level of influence the CJ will have on the committee remains to be seen, and they feel no obligation to adopt all the recommendations. However, they do feel compelled to give account in the instances that they would not follow the recommendations. Moreover, they are optimistic that the CJ will bolster the influence of the committee over government, and consequently enhance scrutiny. This would require future mini-publics to have a narrower focus, more time for organisation, and to be part of a live inquiry.



## 8. Lessons and Recommendations

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Overall, we conclude that the Scottish Parliament's pilot of running an in-house mini-public for the ECCLR committee was successful in enabling the public to participate in executive scrutiny in a deliberative democratic manner. The process met the core procedural requirements of a mini-public and it was appreciated by the participants and parliamentary members and staff. A diverse sample of citizens was successfully assembled. Balanced and pertinent information was provided to the participants from a range of expert witnesses, in a variety of formats, and the Jurors were given resources to help scrutinise this evidence. The participants' discussions were well facilitated ensuring key deliberative norms were adhered to. Through participating in the CJ process the Jurors became more informed about the issue of land management and the natural environment. While we did not see as much preference change on these issues as we might expect, consensus was achieved on some key recommendations, which the Jurors were unlikely to have agreed on at the start of the process. The Jurors' perception of being able to influence politics increased and they welcomed the opportunity to participate in future mini-publics. Moreover, they thought Parliament should organise more mini-publics. The committee members and staff agree and appreciated the fact that the CJ gave them access to informed public opinion, from members of the public that they rarely hear from. The consensus approach adopted in the CJ was also greatly appreciated. While the committee members did not feel obligated to accept all of the recommendations provided by the CJ, they did anticipate it would influence future inquiries. Crucially, they believed it would assist them in scrutinising the government. If and how the CJ will have an impact on the committee remains to be seen, but the commissioned research suggests there will be some degree of influence at least. Some of the committee members were sceptical of the CJ's added value and influence, but most considered the CJ to be helpful in their work, and were positive about running more mini-publics in the future. As a result this section of the report outlines the key lessons that can be learnt from the pilot and makes recommendations for how these can be addressed going forward.

### Lessons

The primary lesson to take from our evaluation is that the CJ pilot was successful in enabling the public to play a role in executive scrutiny. While there were many examples of good practice, there is also scope for improvement and important lessons to be learnt from the process. Here we highlight the key take home lessons:

- **Timing:** this was an issue for three reasons. Firstly, there was insufficient time in the lead-up to the CJ for the organisation of the process. This had ramifications for the workloads of the CEU, the committee staff and SPICe and meant the expert witnesses did not have sufficient time to prepare for the process. It also meant that there was not enough time for the Steering Group to meet, and they operated via e-mail correspondence, which may have adversely affected how the group operated and the decisions that it made (a point that is picked up below). Secondly, there was insufficient time over the CJ



weekend to complete the task. In particular, there was not enough time for the deliberative phase and for the Jurors to agree on final recommendations on all aspects of the task. The level of facilitation deteriorated as a result of the time pressures and consequently the deliberative quality declined. Thirdly, some of the information sessions were longer than others, which meant the Jurors were given more opportunity to hear from some perspectives than others.

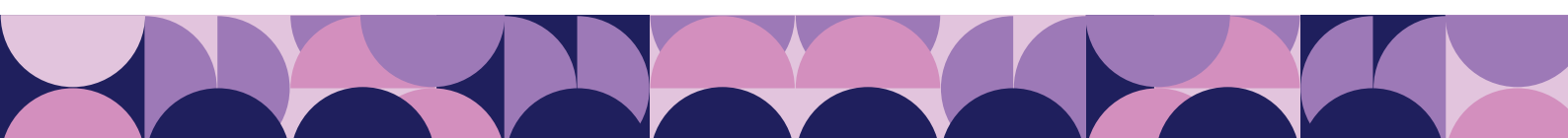
- **Steering Group Management:** the timing problems can be traced back to the operation of the steering group. The task set for the CJ by the steering group was too broad to be completed in one weekend. This meant that too many information sessions were required to cover all the issues the CJ needed to address. As a result, the learning phase of the CJ was too long and the deliberation phase too short. It is possible that if there had been more time in the run-up to the CJ the Steering Group could have met and some of these issues could have been resolved in a more immediate and free flowing discussion than was available to them. This was something picked-up in the interviews with parliamentary members and staff. Interviewee 3 stressed the importance of “getting them to meet”. The broadening of the CJ question by the Steering Group also meant that the recommendations were of less relevance to the committee’s work, and thereby potentially reducing the impact of the CJ.
- **Facilitation:** as highlighted throughout the report the quality of the facilitation was very good. However, there were though a few key instances where the facilitators could have intervened more. All expert witness presentations exceeded their allocated time. This enhanced the time pressures mentioned above. A clearly visible timer could help the presenters self-regulate the timing of their presentations. However, the facilitators should still issue timing warnings to prevent excessive over-running. In addition, the Academic Lead exceeded his remit and ceased to be neutral. Again, more interventionist facilitation could help prevent this.

## Recommendations

Following these lessons, and other issues raised in this report, we make the following recommendations:

1. **Staff Training:** This was the first mini-public organised by the CEU. As far as we know, it is the first in the world organised by a parliamentary body. As highlighted throughout this report, it records many elements of good practice in the mini-public. However, we have also identified scope for improvement. One of these areas was with the facilitation of the process. While, in the main, the facilitation reached a high standard, there were some inconsistencies. The CEU team are likely to become more consistent as they run more mini-publics. However, some additional training to refresh skills could also be useful.

Moreover, training about the logic, rationale and practice of mini-publics should be made available to all committee staff; particularly Clerks and Assistant Clerks. One of the issues with embedding the CJ into the committee’s work was the novelty of the process. As they testified in the interviews, this meant the committee’s expectations were out of kilter with what could be realistically delivered by a CJ.

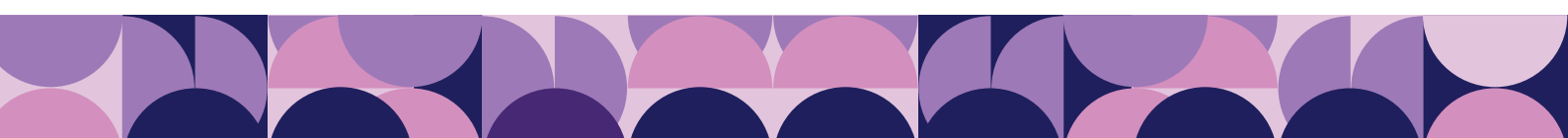




They expected new suggestions and proposals to emerge from the CJ, but their role is to review existing proposals. Mini-publics can ensure committees have rigorous evidence on the considered views of a representative sample of the public. Training could realign Committee expectations with achievable outcomes. The Committee Clerks are also best placed to inform Committee Convenors and members about this option for public engagement that is now available to the Scottish Parliament. Training would give them the resource to do this. Furthermore, it would mean awareness and understanding of mini-publics and how they can be useful for committee inquiries would become prevalent across the committee system, meaning that requests to CEU for this type of public engagement would be based on a better understanding of the advantages and limitations of the process. Committee staff would also be more aware of the time they would need to invest.

2. **Mini-Public Review Group:** As not all committee inquiries will be suitable for a mini-public, and because there will inevitably be a limited budget in parliament to fund them, a Review Group could be set up that holds and administers an annual budget for parliamentary mini-publics. One of the key concerns of the ECCLR committee members and staff was the cost of the CJ, so it is vital that the available resources are used for the most appropriate committee needs in the Scottish Parliament. The Review Group could include members and parliamentary staff (not connected to any particular committee), academics with expertise on mini-publics, and/or practitioners with experience of organising them and a representative from the CEU. One of the findings of the evaluation was that mini-publics are best used as part of a committee inquiry. Committees who would like to support their inquiries with a mini-public could then apply for funding to the Review Group. The requirement to apply would help ensure that there was the necessary commitment to considering the results of a mini-public as part of the inquiry and give the committee the opportunity to demonstrate cross party support for the forum. This would increase the chances of the mini-publics having influence on the committee. This would give the process of topic selection a good degree of independence and make best use of available budgets for mini-publics. The Review Group could also advise on the best format of mini-public given the issue to be considered. This would also help with CEU time management and workload planning. Ensuring that there is enough time to organise a mini-public is important, as this was one of the issues raised with the land management and natural environment CJ.
3. **Integrating Parliamentary Members and Staff:** the committee members and staff that attended part of the CJ were far more positive than those who did not. This was the same as the Citizens' Assembly on Social Care commissioned by two House of Commons Committees in 2018 (Elstub & Carrick 2019). If a committee would like a mini-public to be held, they should then make a commitment to spend some time observing the process. Our evidence would suggest that this enhances their understanding of the qualities of a mini-public and means they are more likely to heed its recommendations.

One aspect of good practice about the land management and natural environment CJ was the presence of a steering group to help frame the question and suggest suitable expert witnesses. This

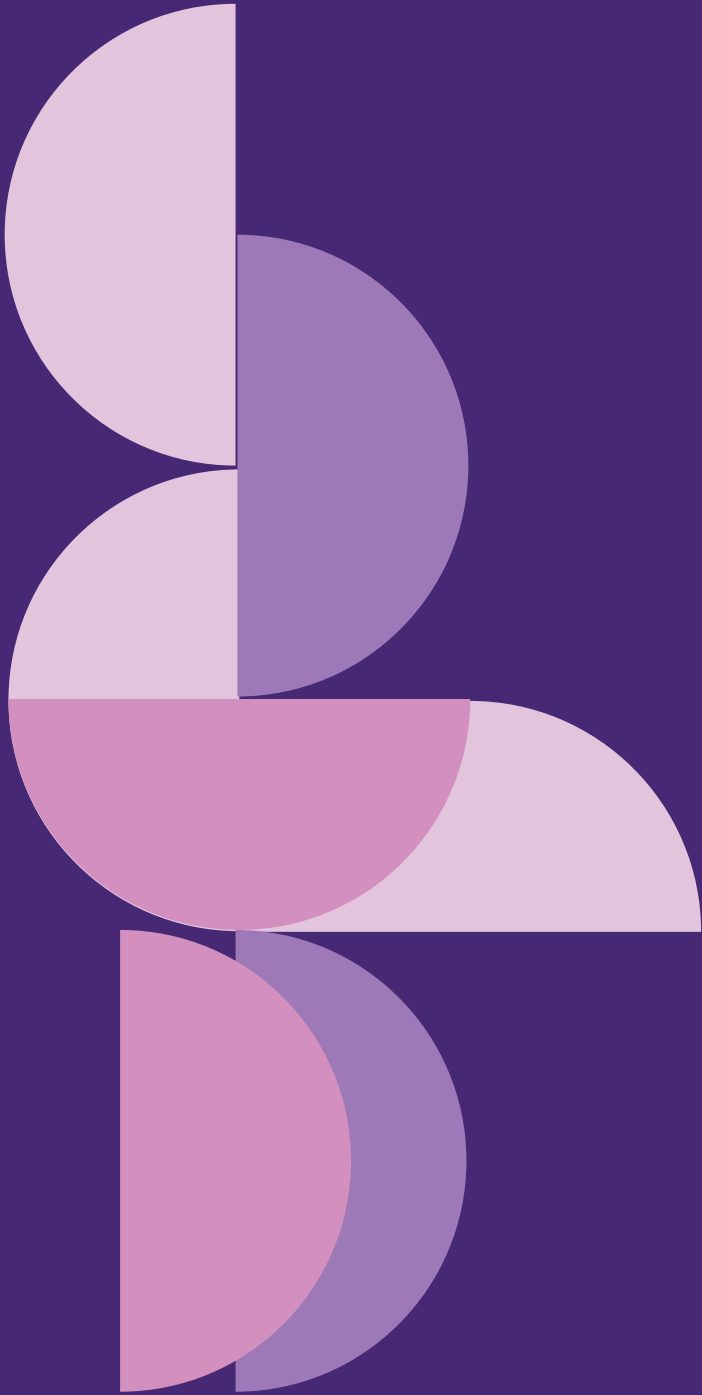




is good practice as it ensures some independence and balance to the process (Roberts et al., 2020). This is of particular importance when mini-publics are being embedded in powerful institutions like parliament, which suffer from a lack of trust amongst the public. However, in this particular CJ the steering group did not operate entirely effectively. Ultimately the topic they selected was too broad for the CJ to be able to address it in one weekend and to be of most use to the ECCLR Committee. For future parliamentary mini-publics we recommend that the Steering Group include a member of the CEU team who can advise on process; a Clerk from the relevant committee to ensure that the mini-publics is of most relevance to their inquiry; and a representative from SPICe with topic specialism who can advise on question framing and suitable witnesses to be used, along with the external topic specialists in the Steering Group. In developing mini-publics that are narrow and relevant to the inquiry, the Steering Group has a responsibility to ensure an opportunity for participants to influence the agenda and deviate from the concerns of the committee members and staff.

4. **Resources:** in response to the concerns in parliament about the costs of the process it is clear that more investment in public engagement is needed if there are to be more mini-publics, and if the Scottish Parliament is to meet the recommendation of Commission on Parliamentary Reform (2017: 64). We recommend a discrete budget to be allocated for committee mini-publics administered by the Mini-Public Review Group. In addition, the increase in Committee and SPICe staff time will need to be resourced.





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# Appendix A - Data tables

Table A1. Mean correct answers to knowledge questions, pre and post deliberation

	Pre (1)		Post (2)		T-test
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)
1. Percentage of population in rural areas	2 1	0.381 [0.109]	2 0	0.200 [0.092]	0.181
2. Percentage used for agriculture	2 1	0.095 [0.066]	2 1	0.667 [0.105]	-0.571***
3. Percentage of farm income from public funding	2 1	0.095 [0.066]	2 1	0.143 [0.078]	-0.048
4. EU Common Agriculture Policy Funding	2 1	0.238 [0.095]	2 1	0.476 [0.112]	-0.238
5. Percentage of forest and woodlands	2 1	0.238 [0.095]	2 1	0.476 [0.112]	-0.238
Average score	2 1	0.210 [0.047]	2 0	0.380 [0.058]	-0.170**

Note: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups.  
 \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level

Table A2. Comparing participants' opinions about the environment, pre and post deliberation

	Pre (1)		Post (2)		T-test
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)
I have strong opinions about environmental issues	20	3.900 [0.191]	21	4.048 [0.212]	-0.148
I think that the balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset	21	4.429 [0.213]	21	4.000 [0.258]	0.429
I think that humans are severely abusing the environment	21	4.333 [0.199]	20	4.250 [0.190]	0.083
I think that environmental problems are exaggerated	21	1.762 [0.217]	21	1.762 [0.217]	0.000
I do what is right for the environment even when it costs more or takes more time	21	3.762 [0.217]	21	3.667 [0.174]	0.095
There are more important issues than the environment to sort out	20	2.450 [0.285]	21	2.810 [0.264]	-0.360

Note: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups.  
 \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level

Table A3. Comparing participants' opinions about the environment in Scotland, pre and post deliberation

		Pre (1)		Post (2)		T-test
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)	
Human land use should not harm biodiversity	20	4.350 [0.131]	21	4.190 [0.112]	0.160	
Important to minimize impacts of water purification	18	4.167 [0.185]	21	4.286 [0.140]	-0.119	
Scotland's soil should be protected for future gen.	21	4.476 [0.131]	21	4.667 [0.105]	-0.190	
It is important to restore Scotland's woodlands	21	4.333 [0.187]	21	4.333 [0.174]	0.000	
Important to prevent flooding across Scotland	21	4.333 [0.126]	20	4.650 [0.109]	-0.317*	

Note: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups.

\*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level

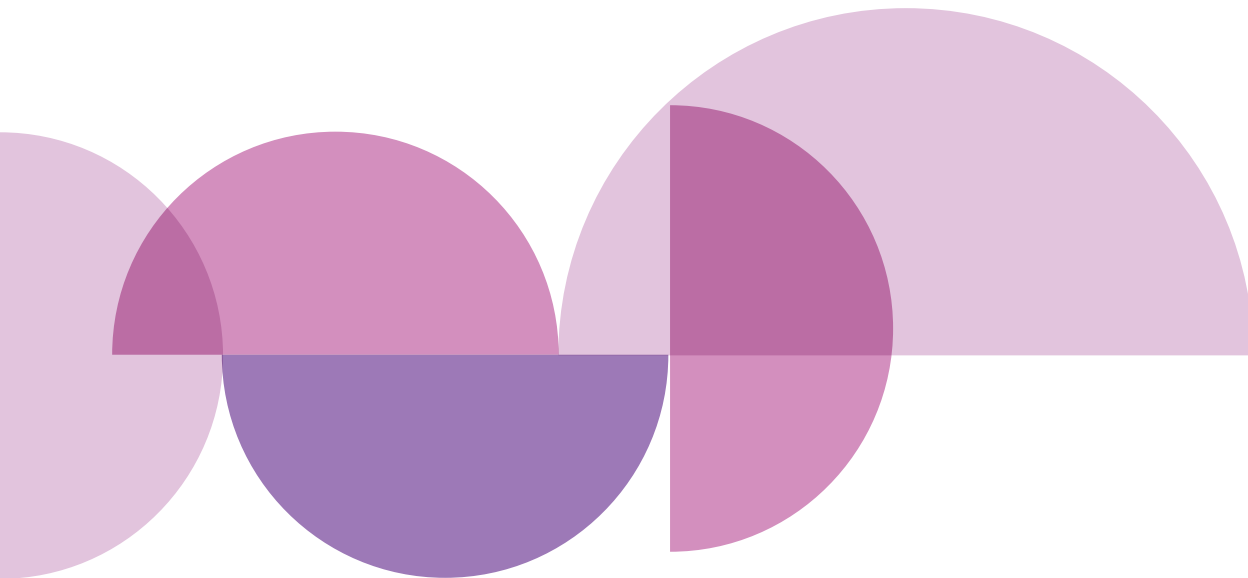


Table A4. Comparing participants' support for land use funding, pre and post deliberation

	Pre (1)		Post (2)		T-test
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)
Discourage the use of pesticides and antibiotics in farming	21	7.619 [0.528]	21	8.048 [0.495]	-0.429
Diversify land ownership	17	6.412 [0.478]	21	6.619 [0.567]	-0.207
Improve animal welfare standards in farming	21	8.810 [0.423]	20	8.950 [0.366]	-0.140
Targeting payments to land owners for environmental friendly actions they take	20	7.700 [0.424]	21	8.810 [0.306]	- 1.110**
Guaranteeing a minimum level of income for farmers	18	7.667 [0.548]	21	7.952 [0.495]	-0.286
Encouraging farmers to advance environmental and sustainable goals	21	8.952 [0.327]	21	9.429 [0.245]	-0.476
Reducing pollution from farms	20	9.150 [0.293]	21	9.143 [0.398]	0.007
Incentivising productivity and efficiency measures on farms	18	7.889 [0.478]	21	8.571 [0.369]	-0.683
The use of high-tech animal or plant breeding to help disease or climate resilience	19	7.316 [0.472]	20	8.150 [0.455]	-0.834

Note: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups.

\*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level



Table A5. Comparing participants' political interest and efficacy, pre and post deliberation

	Pre (1)		Post (2)		T-test (1)-(2)
	N	Mean/S E	N	Mean/S E	
Political interest	2 1	3.000 [0.154]	2 1	3.238 [0.181]	-0.238
Internal efficacy	2 1	5.381 [0.417]	2 1	6.000 [0.512]	-0.619
External efficacy	1 8	4.667 [0.428]	1 8	5.889 [0.387]	- 1.222* *
MSPs in touch with citizens	1 8	5.833 [0.506]	2 0	6.000 [0.391]	-0.167

Note: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups.  
 \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level



Table A6. Comparing participants' deliberative stances, pre and post deliberation

	<b>Pre (1)</b>		<b>Post (2)</b>		<b>T-test</b>
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)
How much do you like participating in political discussions and debates?	20	3.250 [0.216]	21	3.667 [0.222]	-0.417
How comfortable do you feel when voicing your political opinion?	20	2.950 [0.185]	21	3.429 [0.202]	-0.479*
How interested are you in hearing the opinions of other people?	20	3.850 [0.131]	20	4.200 [0.117]	-0.350*
How willing are you to imagine yourself in other people's position before judging them?	19	3.947 [0.235]	21	4.143 [0.210]	-0.195
How willing are you to read things or listen to people who challenge your own opinions?	20	4.000 [0.205]	21	4.190 [0.148]	-0.190
How unsettled do you feel when someone challenges your view during a conversation?	20	2.500 [0.224]	21	2.381 [0.223]	0.119
How valid is your opinion in any situation?	18	3.278 [0.158]	19	3.368 [0.157]	-0.091
How open are you to changing or revising aspects of your own political beliefs?	20	3.600 [0.197]	21	3.619 [0.176]	-0.019

Note: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups.  
 \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level

