Centre for Agroecology, Water and Resilience (CAWR)
Citizen Juries: Enhancing our understanding of animal welfare and organic farming through science-society dialogues

Seminar on involving citizens in deliberative processes,
Organised by Consumption Research Norway, Oslo Met, Oslo 2019

Adrian Evans and Rosa van Kesteren
I would like to start with a picture quiz – as I go through the images I would like you to think about what they all share in common.
(A) Flooding
(B) Organ Donation
(D) Radioactive Waste
And several other issues:

Gene therapy; GMO; Genetic testing for common disorders; Gene technology in industry and agriculture; Mapping the human genome; Human cloning; Databases of human biological samples; Avian Flu; BSE; Asbestos; Tobacco; Cell phone towers; Irradiation of food; The data protection act; IT in transport; EU Single Market; Social security; Household waste management; Farm animal welfare ...
The answer is that all these topics have been the subject of **public engagement exercises** – where members of the public have been consulted on issues that have in the recent past been dominated by experts.

- Flood protection – hydrologists, engineers
- Organ transplants – medics, bio-ethicists
- Energy provision – economists, engineers, environmentalists
- Radioactive waste – nuclear physicists, geologists, health experts
Why has there been such a growth in these types of public consultations?

- In democratic societies decisions which impact society cannot be restricted to the domain of experts – no matter how ‘technical’ the subject area appears to be.

- There is a growing realisation that science alone cannot cope with the types of complex, uncertain and ethically/politically laden problems that we face in the 21st century.

- There is an increased appreciation of the value of alternative knowledges – lay knowledges, practitioner knowledges, embodied knowledges, local knowledges, spiritual knowledges.
Aligned with these factors there has been a call from within the social sciences and especially within SSK (The Sociology of Scientific Knowledge) and STS (Science and Technology Studies) to develop new forms of public engagement, public participation and knowledge making. Two particularly influential approaches to engaging citizens in science-society dialogue include Latour’s (2004) notion of a ‘parliament of things’ and Callon’s (2009) notion of ‘hybrid forums’.
In his book ‘Politics of Nature’, Latour argues that rather than scientists presenting undisputed facts about a singular and knowable nature; we should instead listen to a plurality of different ‘spokespeople’ – scientists, poets, artists, indigenous people, farmers.

We should also challenge scientists to speak openly about the complexities and uncertainties within their work and to bring these uncertainties into the public arena, so that they can be debated and discussed amongst a much larger assemblage.
Callon takes a similar approach and contends that the current model of a detached science that secludes itself in laboratories and then exports its findings onto the world is no longer sustainable and instead we require new approaches to science in which scientists work closely with a range of stakeholders and citizens to open up their endeavours to broader public scrutiny and accountability.

Callon coined the term ‘hybrid forums’ to illustrate these types of heterogeneous groups of scientists, practitioners, stakeholders and laypeople.

He contends that these types of hybrid forums provide a powerful means for ‘bringing science back into democracy’.
Public engagement exercises can take many different forms – some of which are closer to Callon’s and Latour’s ‘ideal types’ than others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Citizens juries</th>
<th>Planning cells</th>
<th>Consensus conferences</th>
<th>Deliberative polls</th>
<th>Citizens assemblies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of citizens</td>
<td>12 to 26</td>
<td>100 to 500</td>
<td>10 to 18</td>
<td>100 to 500</td>
<td>103 to 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of meetings</td>
<td>4 to 5 days</td>
<td>4 to 5 days</td>
<td>7 to 8 days</td>
<td>2 to 3 days</td>
<td>20 to 30 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Information plus deliberation</td>
<td>Information plus deliberation</td>
<td>Information plus deliberation</td>
<td>Information plus deliberation</td>
<td>Information plus consultation plus deliberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Collective position report</td>
<td>Survey opinions plus collective position report</td>
<td>Collective position report</td>
<td>Survey opinions</td>
<td>Detailed policy recommendation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination of proposal</td>
<td>Sponsor and mass media</td>
<td>Sponsor and mass media</td>
<td>Parliament and mass media</td>
<td>Sponsor and mass media</td>
<td>Government and public referendum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Key features of mini publics (Elstub 2014)
In the remainder of this presentation I would like to focus on one particular type of public engagement mechanism – namely citizen juries.

First, I would like to draw on my experiences of organising citizen juries about farm animal welfare as part of the EU Welfare Quality project to reflect upon some of the strengths and weaknesses of how we employed this method.

Second, I would like to look ahead to the ‘citizen juries’ that we plan to undertake as part of the organic-PLUS project (about contentious inputs in organic agriculture) and to raise a series of questions about the best way to organise these juries.
The Welfare Quality Project:
An EU-funded Framework 6 project about the integration of animal welfare in the food quality chain. The project aimed to integrate knowledge from science and society to improve the welfare of farm animals (pigs, cattle, chickens).

Citizen Juries within Welfare Quality
The main objective of the citizen juries was to assess citizen/consumer responses to and acceptance of the Welfare Quality® assessment and monitoring scheme, its scoring system and potential implementation within the market. Citizen juries took place in the UK, Italy and Norway.
Jury members were drawn from members of the public. The UK jury consisted of 13 jurors. Members were selected to cover a range of different societal views regarding farm animal welfare.

2 Vegetarians  
2 Consumers on a budget  
1 Health-conscious consumer  
1 Environmentally aware consumer  
1 halal or kosher eater  
1 Rural women  
1 Parent with young children  
4 ‘Mainstream’ consumers
The structure of the juries

Session 1: Introduction to farm animal welfare
This was designed to gauge the jurors’ initial views and understandings of farm animal welfare, before providing them with a range of information.

Session 2: Welfare science
This session introduced scientific approaches to farm animal welfare

Session 3: The WQ monitoring scheme in depth
This was dedicated to illustrating, discussing and critically evaluating the measures used by animal scientists to assess animal welfare within the Welfare Quality scheme.

Session 4: Scoring welfare: The ethics of calibration and combination
This focused attention on the ways in which the specific animal welfare measures discussed in session 3 could be firstly converted into meaningful welfare scores and secondly combined to present an overall picture of the welfare status of a given farm.

Session 5: Implementation strategies
A range of different options for implementing the Welfare Quality approach to farm animal welfare assessment were discussed.
Positives

- Absence of a hierarchy between experts and members of the public and between scientific and lay knowledges.
- Participation of a broad range of different experts with different experiences and viewpoints – scientists, farmers, NGOs etc.
- Juries repeated in three different countries and with farmers as well as citizens
- Well-structured juries that built over time to allow consideration of more complex and technical issues
- Allowed a detailed analysis of similarities and differences between scientific and societal views of welfare and what could and couldn’t be reconciled
- Used a range of props and exercises as well as traditional presentation and question format
- Changing views and opinions were monitored and measured in different ways over the course of the jury sessions
- The dialogue was two-way, upstream and there was a genuine openness to change of both sides.
- The findings of the jury had important impacts on both the nature of the monitoring scheme (e.g. keeping environmental measures and not allowing trade-offs in different areas of welfare) and future research within WQ (e.g. positive emotion in chickens)
Negatives

- The recruitment could have been better especially with regards to recruiting people from less privileged groups
- The format was very structured and pre-planned - there was little scope for the jurors to propose their own topics or chose their own experts to present
- We could have used a broader range of methods to engage citizens – e.g. Hands-on field trips, artistic and material forms of engagement.
- We didn’t consider or interact with currently existing networks and pre-existing hybrid forums.
- The jurors didn’t really work together with the ‘experts’ (as they might have done in a different format – e.g. competency communities). Instead the experts were more like witnesses who appear, give evidence and disappear.
- There was no lasting legacy in terms of maintaining the juries after the research ended.
Academic research emerging from Welfare Quality public engagements

(1) Science-society dialogue about farm animal welfare. An overview of the different methods of public engagement employed in the WQ project. The similarities and differences between scientific and societal views about farm animal welfare and how these were reconciled.

(2) The ‘performative’ nature of social scientific research tools. How methods of elicitation intervene with as well as mirror ‘public understandings’. How different prompts and exercises used in public consultations enact public understandings in different ways.

(3) Mobile knowledges: How to measure change during science-society dialogues.

(4) Techno-ethics. Public engagement exercises can be orientated not just at the level of grand ideological debates (e.g. different approaches to welfare) but also at the level of technical-ethical debates (e.g. about how to measure lameness or how to combine welfare scores).
Looking ahead to future Citizen Jury research in the Organic-PLUS project

“The overall aim of the ‘Organic-PLUS project’ is to provide high-quality, trans-disciplinary, scientifically informed decision support to help all actors in the organic sector, including national and regional policy makers, to reach the next level of Europe’s organic success story.”
Project structure – Organic-PLUS

WP1 – LEAD Project management, International & Industry Advisory Board

WP3 – PLANT
Alternatives to copper & mineral oils for plant protection in field and greenhouse crops

WP4 – LIVESTOCK
Alternatives to synthetic vitamins, antibiotics and conventional bedding

WP5 – SOIL
Alternatives to animal-based fertilisers, peat growing media and plastic mulches

WP6 – MODEL
Multi-criteria assessment of phase out scenarios: acceptability, sustainability, policy implications

Stakeholders:
Conventional and Organic Farmers, Certification bodies, Advisory services, Organic suppliers and food industry, Campaign groups, Citizen-consumers
The Organic-PLUS juries are part of a range of different mechanisms intended to capture public opinion and engage members of the public in research about contentious inputs in organic agriculture.

- Focus Group Research in the UK, Italy and Norway
- Questionnaire Survey in seven European countries
The format for the Organic-PLUS juries are still to be agreed and several questions remain:

- Are Citizen Juries the best method to use to engage citizens about these issues and to foster a successful science-society dialogue about contentious issues in organic agriculture?
- Who should take part in the juries and more specifically what is the basis for recruitment – ‘representatives’, ‘spokespeople’, laypeople?
- Should we run an additional jury for farmers?
- How should the juries be organised – over what time period?
- How should we balance jury structure and participant autonomy?
- How do we ensure a good dialogue – two-way, upstream as well as downstream, potential for change in both directions?
- How do we represent the complexity and uncertainty within scientific accounts to jurors?
- How do we build in more innovative activities/forms of engagement (e.g. artistic) within the jury sessions?
- How do we ensure the juries have an impact?
- Can we use digital media to enhance the citizen juries and the science-society dialogue more generally?
- How do we bring non-humans into the dialogue?