

EVALUATION REPORT

2022 Luxembourg Climate
Citizens' Assembly

Klima Biergerrot (KBR)

Paulis, E., Kies, R., Verhasselt, L (2024)



Plateforme Luxembourgeoise
de la Démocratie Participative



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About the report

This report constitutes the official evaluation of the 2022 Luxembourg Climate Citizens' Assemblies (*Klima Biergerrot*). It was written and produced by Emilien Paulis, Raphael Kies, and Lisa Verhasselt from the University of Luxembourg.

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Executive summary

Overview

The report titled ‘Evaluation of the 2022 Luxembourg Climate Citizens’ Assembly – Klima Biergerrot (KBR)’ presents findings from independent research into the Luxembourg Climate Citizens’ Assembly (Klima Biergerrot – KBR). It provides an in-depth evaluation of the KBR that was commissioned by the Luxembourg Government and took place in 2022. The KBR was comprised of 100 individuals living or working in Luxembourg. Throughout 8 months, these members were guided through a process of learning, deliberation, and decision-making about environmental politics by a team of facilitators and external experts.

The report describes and assesses the KBR from two different perspectives. On the one hand, it analyses the quality of the process *“from the inside”, including participant selection, organization and design, evidence and expertise, deliberation and facilitation, communication, decision-making and outcomes. Furthermore, it focuses on the members’ experience within the assembly and the related implications. On the other hand, the report turns also to a view “from the outside”, i.e., the impact of the process beyond the assembly: on the media, public policy, and party politics. To produce this evaluation, we adopted a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. These include surveys, interviews, non-participant observation, desk research, and content analysis.*

The report reveals that, although the KBR did not meet all the usual deliberative codes in terms of design and presented relatively common recruitment biases, it was yet valuable participatory experiment that enabled a diverse group of Luxembourg citizens to engage in climate policymaking in a meaningful and respectful way. Furthermore, the KBR stands out from previous exercises conducted in Europe thanks to significant political uptake, extensive and valuable media coverage, and a high level of public awareness. The KBR was thus an important step forward in the public engagement strategy of Luxembourg, and based on the evidence provided in this report, there are strong incentives to conduct more citizens’ assemblies in the future, either on the climate or on other important issues. However, given that the KBR was a new and experimental process, the report shows also that there is room for improvement and development to make citizens’ assemblies efficient, inclusive, and diverse democratic instrument.

This executive summary provides the key findings presented in the different chapters of the report, as well as the following recommendations for future citizens’ assemblies – in Luxembourg.

Assembly members' recruitment and representativeness

The recruitment of assembly members was outsourced to the polling institute [Il-res](#) via a public tender. The delivery body selected 100 participants (60 principals + 40 stand-ins), who were intended to be representative of the demography of Luxembourg.

- Sortition (or civic lottery) was not the sole recruitment method but was paired with self-selection, which did not guarantee equal participation and failed to eliminate the common biases associated with voluntary political activities.
- The sociodemographic sampling applied to the pool of volunteers ensured that the KBR was broadly representative of the Luxembourg population in social terms. The KBR was inclusive for typically underrepresented groups in electoral politics like women or the youth. The KBR also gave a voice to non-nationals (either residents or cross-border workers), a portion of the Luxembourg population typically excluded from national politics.
- Skewness in KBR recruitment persisted: individuals with higher levels of education were overrepresented. Moreover, KBR members did not reflect the broader population's diversity regarding climate attitudes, political views, or the acceptance of participatory processes. The lack of attitudinal diversity was acknowledged by members and noted by media and politicians.
- KBR members generally joined the process for a “good” reason, driven by normative motivations to represent the interests of the entire Luxembourg population as assembly members.

Recommendations

R1 – civic lottery: Citizens' assemblies must provide equal opportunities for all citizens to be selected, ensuring that recruitment strategies are based entirely on the principles of a civic lottery.

R2 – attitudinal sampling: citizens' assemblies should ensure attitudinal diversity by sampling from a pool of volunteers based on their perspectives on the issue under debate and politics more broadly.

R3 – compositional transparency: clear communication and transparency regarding the recruitment process and the assembly's composition are essential to ensure the perceived legitimacy and enable non-participating citizens to identify with the participants.

R4 – civic norms: public efforts to promote and value the work of citizens engaged in deliberative processes must be encouraged.

Organization and deliberation quality

Purpose, task, and mission

The KBR's main objective was to consult Luxembourg citizens on climate policy. Via the question *'Is Luxembourg able and willing to do more to combat climate change? And, if so, how?'*, the selected citizens were tasked with i) discussing Luxembourg's current commitments to combating climate change, and ii) providing recommendations regarding potential additional policy measures or proposals. The latter aimed to implementation in the integrated National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP) or other governmental programs.

- A large majority of members understood the role of the KBR and acknowledged that the mission was well-defined.

Organization and design

The KBR organization was outsourced to [Oxygen & Partners](#), [Pétillances](#), and [AccentAigu](#) via public tender. These delivery bodies were appointed for the governance, facilitation, moderation, and communication, respectively. Initially slated for 6 months (from January to June 2022), the KBR extended until October 2022. During the first phase (February to June 2022), members deliberated and crafted recommendations during five thematic cycles, addressing the NECP sectors: agriculture and forestry (weekend 1), renewable energy (weekend 2), sustainable construction (weekend 3), waste management (weekend 4), mobility and transport (weekend 5). Saturdays focused on identifying challenges within these themes for Luxembourg. Sundays were used to contemplate possible solutions. Deliberations took place in plenary sessions and small groups of 12 to 15 members, facilitated by the delivery bodies. In the second phase, members finalized their recommendations in six more autonomous groups. Online feedback mechanisms allowed all members to review and contribute to the proposals drafted by the groups.

- The KBR design differed from most previous climate citizens' assemblies in three key ways. Firstly, the allocation to working groups was not random but organized by language (phase I) or personal interest (phase II). Secondly, all members engaged in each of the five subthemes of Luxembourg's climate policy rather than being divided into separate workstreams. Thirdly, the process underwent redesign during its course, allowing more time for the development of final recommendations.
- This configuration has not altered the process' quality. The members were satisfied with the facilitators and the design of the KBR. The organizers demonstrated adaptability with responsive changes made in accordance with member feedback. Effective, professional facilitation contributed significantly to the deliberative process's quality. Additionally, member commitment remained

strong throughout the KBR's duration (high retention rate with only 9 people dropping out).

Deliberation quality

KBR members perceived the quality of deliberation positively, feeling free and respected all over the process. However,

- there were reports of increasing dominance of certain participants over time.
- The self-organizing principles of phase II appeared to reduce the members' perceptions of information quality, communication, and deliberation.
- Some informal, interpersonal issues arose during the process.

Evidence

To ensure that the KBR members had access to balanced information on all the topics discussed, the delivery bodies made sure that they were informed during the various phases of the consultation by experts from academia, representatives of ministries or public administrations, and professionals in the field. They were entirely responsible for their selection. A clear distinction was maintained between the roles of the experts and the members.

- The information provided in the KBR by the experts was perceived comprehensible, useful, and relatively balanced in terms of views and opinions by the members.
- Nevertheless, in terms of composition, public servants were over-represented among the experts, whereas academic and civil society actors were under-represented. This line of criticism also fed some of the debates relayed in the media or by MPs.

Multilingual deliberation

The KBR was a case of multilingual deliberation, conducted in three different languages: French, Luxembourgish, and English.

- The multilingual aspect of the process has not been a barrier to the quality of deliberation but rather a constraining factor for the design of the KBR.

Developing recommendations and decision-making

The KBR members actively participated in policy development, formulating concrete and actionable recommendations within the scope of climate policy. All the recommendations reached consensus among the members. However,

- KBR members held a rather negative (or realistic) view regarding the political uptake of their proposals.
- Some members were concerned about whether enough time was provided to develop their policy recommendations. Despite the process being extended

and the Government allowing organizers to adjust the initial design to overcome this problem, a portion of members still felt that additional time would have been beneficial.

Recommendations

R5 – reasonable timeline and goals: citizens' assemblies must not be rushed. The commissioning bodies must leave a decent amount of time for potential delivery bodies to build and propose the most suitable design, which will set up clear goals and adopt an appropriate length to serve these purposes.

R6 – continuous professional facilitation: citizens' assemblies must avoid purely self-organized groups and ensure professional facilitation and moderation (even online) throughout the process.

R7 – transparent and balanced selection of experts: citizens' assemblies must ensure a careful, balanced, justified, and transparent selection of experts. The selection of external experts and resource persons is as important as that of assembly members.

R8 – ethics and good conduct: citizens' assemblies must constrain their members to adhere to formal rules of good conduct and deliberation.

R9 – multilingualism: citizens' assemblies must ensure, when relevant, multilingual facilitation and accommodations, and so to overcome any participation barrier related to languages.

Impact of deliberation

- Within this context, the KBR members learned about climate policy and felt more knowledgeable about environmental issues in general after they participated in the process.
- Their attitudes towards climate change remained stable and highly skewed towards pro-climate positions.
- As far as their attitudes towards politics in general is concerned, the members felt more competent at the end, expressing greater confidence in their own ability to deal with complex political issues. We found them also slightly more interested and satisfied with democracy in general, although this marked only a reinforcement rather than a fundamental change in their initial attitudes.
- Finally, the members remained in proportion positive and favourable to citizens' assemblies throughout the process and reported a higher likelihood of accepting to participate (again) in the future at the end of the process.

Recommendations

R10 - attitudinal diversity for deliberation quality and impact: citizens' assemblies must ensure a better attitudinal diversity when selecting their participants (both in terms of the issue at hand and politics in general) to promote more impactful and qualitative deliberation afterwards.

Impact on the wider public: the media

- The engagement of the KBR with the external world (either via social or mass media) during the process was rather limited because it was not considered a priority by the organization. Little information about the process was (and is still) available, and the final report was published online only in French. Indeed, communication directly from KBR was also limited after the process, mainly due to lack of sufficient budget to ensure a proper campaign. Public information relayed by the media was therefore mostly limited to press conferences organized by the Government at the start and at the end of the process.
- Despite this lack of transparency and public engagement's strategy, the extent of the mass media coverage of the KBR was rather substantial (112 pieces in a small - yet rich - media landscape of Luxembourg). They were five moments of mediatization: when the process was (1) announced, (2) launched, (3) extended, (4) finished (main quantitative peak), and (5) followed politically.
- Although most articles adopted a neutral tone when covering the KBR (relaying Government communication), the media also contributed to the interaction of positive and negative lines of argumentation in the public discourse, thereby triggering a diversified, constructive as well as legitimate and democratic debate on climate citizens' assemblies and environmental politics.

Recommendations

R11 – communication strategy: citizens' assemblies must adopt a communication budget, team and dynamic strategy tailored to the logic of deliberative processes and to the peculiarity of the target population.

R12 – diversified, educative, and modern communication: citizens' assemblies must rely on available technologies of all kinds to develop educational communication materials that will engage the media and public. They must encourage opportunities to access this information through different channels of communication (not only mass media).

Impact on the wider public: public opinion

- The panel study led with the Luxembourg population showed that the level of public awareness about the KBR has increased over the course of the process.
- The mass media played their role: citizens' news consumption in mass media (newspaper, TV and radio) was a key determinant to be aware and knowledgeable about the KBR.
- Overall, the Luxembourg population is rather favourable regarding the use and benefits of citizens' assemblies.
- People who had been aware of the KBR tended to increase their acceptance of the process' results over time, stressing that awareness is important for the perceived legitimacy.
- Public attitudes were strongly based on their evaluation of the outcomes: the more citizens agreed with the recommendations or found them favourable, the more they turned supportive and ready to accept the results.

Recommendations

R13 – public engagement and acceptance: citizens' assemblies must promote opportunities of engagement with the public, as a citizen aware of the process is a citizen who will be more inclined to accept the results, thereby boosting trust in policy decisions.

R14 – public engagement channels: citizens' assemblies must engage with the public not only through mass media but also with other communication means, channels, and networks, to reach less engaged profiles of citizens who follow less the news or who have different views than the participants on the issue at hand.

R15 – public support for replication: citizens' assemblies can be replicated and promoted as policy instrument because they are supported by the public opinion. Moreover, they can boost trust in public policies when they reach the population.

Impact on climate policies and political actors

Government

- The Government did not set up formal requirement to respond to the KBR. Yet, it received serious consideration and official responses. The Government provided a public justification for the implementation of the proposals. In this perspective, the KBR stood out from other (climate) citizens' assemblies because

there was a direct connection to the executive branch and related administration, which seems to have opened the path for more direct policy impact.

- The project of the new version of the NECP included 197 measures, of which 57 can be traced back to some of the KBR recommendations. Among these, 5 measures can be considered as genuinely new and would probably not have been present without the citizen consultation. The other measures directly attributed to the KBR reinforced Luxembourg's commitment to certain aspects of its climate policy.
- There is still an ongoing monitoring of the implementation of all the accepted measures.
- Since the Luxembourg elected a new Government in October 2023 (with a new coalition of parties), it remains unclear whether the KBR measures will be effectively considered in the final version of the NECP that is supposed to be ready by June 2024, as well as whether the rest of the recommendations will affect public policies.

Parliament

- The KBR received attention and raised questions within the Parliament, before even the publication of the final report and the scheduled parliamentary hearing. Even if some criticisms were raised by opposition parties during the process or some proposals were judged more difficult to accept after, the KBR finally received approval from MPs across party lines. The KBR thus contributed to the democratic debate within the Parliament as well.

Political parties

- During the 2023 national election, several parties positioned themselves on the question of citizen participation, sometimes directly referring to the KBR as an example in their manifestos.

Recommendations

R17 – political response and accountability: citizens' assemblies must receive a clear and justified response from the commissioning bodies regarding the consideration and implementation of the recommendations.

R18 – political integration: citizens' assemblies must be offered a direct pathway for policy influence through a clear articulation with existing political structures (government, parliament, public administrations).

R19 – parliamentary scrutiny: Citizens' assemblies' outcomes must be discussed in parliament, prompting parties and elites to position themselves on such processes as well as the concrete outcomes they yield.

Résumé

Aperçu général

Le rapport intitulé « Évaluation de l'Assemblée Citoyenne luxembourgeoise pour le Climat 2022 – Klima Biergerrot (KBR) » présente les résultats d'une évaluation scientifique approfondie de l'Assemblée Citoyenne luxembourgeoise pour le Climat (Klima Biergerrot – KBR ci-après), commanditée en 2022 par le Gouvernement luxembourgeois. En tant qu'assemblée citoyenne, le KBR était composé de 100 personnes vivant ou travaillant au Luxembourg. Pendant 8 mois, ces membres ont été guidés à travers un processus d'apprentissage, de délibération et de prise de décision en matière de politique environnementale, dirigé par une équipe de facilitateurs professionnels et d'experts externes.

Le rapport décrit et évalue le KBR sous deux angles différents. D'une part, il analyse la qualité du processus « de l'intérieur », c'est-à-dire en scrutant la sélection des participants, l'organisation et la conception du processus, les sources d'information et l'expertise utilisées, la délibération et la facilitation, la communication, ainsi que la prise de décision et les résultats. De plus, il se concentre sur l'impact de l'expérience délibérative auprès des membres de l'assemblée. D'autre part, le rapport regarde aussi à la qualité du processus « de l'extérieur », c'est-à-dire l'impact du processus au-delà de l'assemblée : sur les médias, l'opinion publique, ainsi que les politiques publiques et la politique partisane. L'évaluation s'appuie sur une combinaison de méthodes quantitatives et qualitatives, notamment des enquêtes par questionnaires standardisés, des entretiens, des observations non-participantes, des recherches documentaires ou encore des analyses de contenu.

Le rapport révèle que, même si le KBR ne respectait pas tous les codes délibératifs habituels en termes de conception et d'organisation, et présentait des biais de recrutement relativement connus, il s'agissait néanmoins d'une expérience participative de qualité car elle a permis à un groupe de citoyens luxembourgeois et étrangers au profil diversifié de s'engager dans l'élaboration de politiques climatiques, et ce dans une atmosphère constructive, consensuelle et respectueuse. En outre, le KBR se distingue des exercices précédents menés en Europe grâce à une considération politique importante (du Gouvernement – principal commanditaire, du Parlement et du monde politique plus généralement), une couverture médiatique étendue et reflétant un pluralisme d'opinions, résultant dans un niveau élevé de sensibilisation à l'événement dans la population. Le KBR a donc constitué une avancée importante dans la stratégie d'engagement du public luxembourgeois dans la politique climatique. Sur base des résultats des analyses, il existe des incitants manifestes pour reproduire l'expérience à l'avenir, que ce soit sur les enjeux climatiques ou sur d'autres questions sociétales importantes. Cependant, puisque

le KBR était un processus démocratique relativement nouveau et expérimental, le rapport envisage également des pistes sérieuses d'amélioration et de développement, pour faire des assemblées citoyennes des instruments démocratiques efficaces, inclusifs et diversifiés, et dès lors légitimes.

Ce résumé fournit les principales conclusions présentées dans les différents chapitres du rapport, ainsi que les recommandations y afférant pour les futures assemblées citoyennes – au Luxembourg.

Recrutement et représentativité des membres du KBR

Le recrutement des membres du KBR a été confié à l'institut de sondage Ilres via un appel d'offres. L'organisme chargé de l'exécution a sélectionné 100 participants (60 effectifs + 40 suppléants), qui se voulaient représentatifs de la démographie luxembourgeoise.

- La sélection aléatoire (ou loterie civique) n'était pas la seule méthode de recrutement au sein du KBR mais a été associée à des techniques auto-sélectives, ce qui n'a pas garanti une participation égale de la population et n'a pas œuvré à diminuer les biais courants liés aux activités politiques volontaires.
- L'échantillonnage sociodémographique appliqué à l'ensemble des bénévoles ayant exprimé un avis positif quant à leur participation a permis de garantir que le KBR était largement représentatif de la population luxembourgeoise sur le plan social. Le KBR s'est montré inclusif pour les groupes généralement sous-représentés dans la politique électorale comme les femmes ou les jeunes. Le KBR a également donné la parole aux non-nationaux (résidents ou travailleurs frontaliers), une partie de la population luxembourgeoise généralement exclue de la politique nationale.
- Des asymétries dans le recrutement ont néanmoins persisté : les individus ayant des niveaux d'éducation plus élevés étaient surreprésentés. De manière plus significative, les membres du KBR ne reflétaient pas la diversité de la population dans son ensemble au regard de leurs attitudes climatiques, leurs opinions politiques ou leur degré d'acceptation des processus participatifs et de leurs résultats. Le manque de diversité des attitudes a été reconnu par les membres eux-mêmes, et parfois questionné par les médias et certains parlementaires.
- Les membres du KBR ont généralement pris la décision de rejoindre le processus pour une « bonne » raison, motivée par des considérations normatives visant à représenter les intérêts de l'ensemble de la population luxembourgeoise et à contribuer à la démocratie.

Recommandations

R1 – loterie civique : les assemblées citoyennes doivent offrir des chances égales à tous les citoyens d’être sélectionnés, en garantissant que les stratégies de recrutement reposent entièrement sur les principes du tirage au sort aléatoire.

R2 – échantillonnage sur base des attitudes : les assemblées citoyennes doivent garantir la diversité des attitudes en échantillonnant parmi le groupe de bénévoles, considérant les opinions sur l’enjeu discuté et sur la politique en général.

R3 – composition transparente : une communication claire et transparente sur l’entièreté du processus de recrutement et la composition de l’assemblée citoyennes est essentielle, notamment pour garantir le lien de légitimité avec les citoyens non-participants, qui peuvent alors s’identifier à ceux qui participent.

R4 – normes civiques : les efforts publics visant à promouvoir et valoriser le travail des citoyens engagés dans des processus délibératifs doivent être encouragés.

Qualité de l’organisation et des délibérations

Objectif, mandat et mission

L’objectif principal du KBR était de consulter les citoyens luxembourgeois sur la politique climatique. Via la question « Le Luxembourg est-il capable et disposé à faire davantage pour lutter contre le changement climatique ? Et si oui, comment ? », les citoyens sélectionnés ont été chargés de i) discuter des engagements actuels du Luxembourg dans la lutte contre le changement climatique, et ii) fournir des recommandations concernant d’éventuelles mesures ou propositions politiques supplémentaires. Ces dernières visaient, éventuellement car sans contrainte formelle, à être mis en œuvre dans le Plan National intégré pour l’Energie et le Climat (PNEC) ou dans d’autres programmes gouvernementaux.

- Une grande majorité de membres ont compris le rôle du KBR et ont reconnu que la mission était bien définie.

Conception et organisation

L’organisation de KBR a été externalisée auprès d’Oxygen & Partners, Pétillances et AccentAigu via un appel d’offres public. Ces organismes d’exécution de prestations ont été mandatés respectivement pour la conception, la facilitation, la modération et la communication du KBR. Initialement prévu pour 6 mois (de janvier à juin 2022), le KBR s’est prolongé jusqu’en octobre 2022. Au cours de la première phase (de février à juin 2022), les membres ont délibéré et élaboré des

recommandations au cours de cinq cycles thématiques, abordant les secteurs du PNEC : agriculture et sylviculture (week-end 1), énergies renouvelables (week-end 2), construction durable (week-end 3), gestion des déchets (week-end 4), mobilité et transports (week-end 5). Les samedis se sont concentrés sur l'identification des défis liés à ces thématiques pour le Luxembourg. Les dimanches ont été mis à profit pour réfléchir aux solutions possibles. Les délibérations se sont déroulées en séances plénières et en petits groupes de 12 à 15 membres, animés par des modérateurs professionnels. Au cours de la deuxième phase, les membres ont finalisé leurs recommandations en six groupes plus autonomes et autoorganisés. Des mécanismes de retour d'information en ligne ont permis à tous les membres d'examiner et de contribuer aux propositions rédigées par les groupes.

- L'organisation du KBR différait de précédentes assemblées citoyennes sur le climat menées dans d'autres pays sur trois points essentiels. Premièrement, la répartition des groupes de travail n'était pas aléatoire mais basée sur les préférences linguistiques des participants (phase I) ou par leur intérêt personnel pour certaines thématiques spécifiques (phase II). Deuxièmement, tous les membres se sont engagés dans chacun des cinq sous-thèmes de la politique climatique du Luxembourg plutôt que d'être divisés en axes de travail distincts. Troisièmement, le processus a été remanié au cours de son déroulement, ce qui a laissé plus de temps pour l'élaboration des recommandations finales.
- Cette configuration singulière n'a pas altéré la qualité du processus. Les membres ont été satisfaits de la facilitation et de l'organisation de la délibération au sein du KBR. Les organisateurs ont fait preuve d'adaptation avec des changements réactifs apportés conformément aux ressentis des membres. Une facilitation efficace et professionnelle a donc contribué de manière significative à la qualité du processus délibératif. De plus, l'engagement des membres est resté fort tout au long de la durée du KBR (taux de rétention élevé, avec moins de 10% des membres ayant abandonné).

Qualité des délibérations

Les membres du KBR ont perçu positivement la qualité des délibérations, se sentant libres et respectés tout au long du processus. Cependant,

- certains ont fait état de la domination croissante de certains participants au fil du temps, sans pour autant avoir des conséquences néfastes sur la qualité du processus.
- Les principes d'auto-organisation de la phase II semblent avoir contribué à revoir négativement l'avis de certains membres en matière de qualité de l'information, de communication et de délibération.
- Certains problèmes isolés et mineurs de personnalité sont survenus au cours du processus, sans toutefois nuire fondamentalement au bon déroulé des délibérations.

Expertise externe

Afin de garantir que les membres du KBR aient accès à une information qui soit équilibrée sur tous les sujets abordés, les organismes d'exécution ont veillé à ce que les membres aient accès à des sources d'information diversifiées lors des différentes phases de la consultation, via l'intervention d'experts issus du monde universitaire, des représentants de ministères compétents ou de leurs administrations publiques, ainsi que des professionnels dans le domaine discuté. Les organisateurs étaient entièrement responsables de leur sélection. Une distinction claire a été maintenue entre le rôle des experts (personnes-ressources) et des membres lors de la formulation des recommandations.

- Les informations fournies dans le cadre du KBR par les experts ont été perçues comme compréhensibles, utiles et relativement équilibrées en termes de points de vue et d'opinions par les membres du KBR.
- Néanmoins, parmi les experts, les fonctionnaires publiques ont été jugés sur-représentés, tandis que les acteurs universitaires et de la société civile sous-représentés. Cette ligne de critique a également alimenté certains débats relayés dans les médias ou par certains députés.

Délibération multilingue

Le KBR était un cas de délibération multilingue, menée dans trois langues différentes : français, luxembourgeois et anglais.

- L'utilisation de différentes langues du KBR a été essentiellement un facteur contraignant pour l'organisation interne des travaux du KBR, par exemple pour l'attribution des groupes de travail. Néanmoins, en aucun cas cela s'est avéré être un obstacle à la qualité des délibérations.

Élaboration de recommandations et prise de décision

Dans cette atmosphère positive et constructive, les membres du KBR ont participé activement à l'élaboration des mesures de politique publique, en formulant des recommandations concrètes et réalisables dans le cadre de la lutte climatique. Après un vote interne, toutes les recommandations ont finalement atteint un consensus parmi les membres. Cependant,

- les membres du KBR avaient une vision plutôt négative (ou réaliste ?) quant à l'adoption de leurs propositions par le Gouvernement.
- Certains membres se demandaient si suffisamment de temps leur avait été accordé pour élaborer leurs recommandations, bien que le processus ait été prolongé et que le gouvernement ait permis aux organisateurs d'ajuster le design initial pour surmonter ce problème.

Recommandations

R5 – calendrier et objectifs raisonnables : les assemblées citoyennes ne doivent pas être précipitées. Les commanditaires politiques doivent laisser un délai décent aux organismes d'exécution potentiels pour construire et proposer la conception la plus appropriée, qui adoptera une longueur appropriée pour répondre aux objectifs fixés.

R6 – facilitation professionnelle continue : les assemblées citoyennes doivent éviter les groupes purement autoorganisés, et assurer une facilitation et une modération professionnelles (même en ligne) tout au long du processus.

R7 – sélection transparente et équilibrée des experts : les assemblées citoyennes doivent garantir une sélection minutieuse, équilibrée, justifiée et transparente des experts. La sélection des experts externes et des personnes-ressources est aussi importante que celle des membres de l'assemblée.

R8 – éthique et bonne conduite : les assemblées citoyennes doivent contraindre leurs membres à adhérer à des règles formelles de bonne conduite et de délibération.

R9 – accommodements multilingues : les assemblées citoyennes doivent assurer, le cas échéant, une facilitation et des aménagements multilingues, et ainsi surmonter toute barrière de participation liée à l'utilisation des langues.

Impact de la délibération

- Les membres du KBR ont démontré d'un processus d'apprentissage quant à la politique climatique et se sont sentis mieux informés sur les questions environnementales après avoir participé au processus.
- Leurs attitudes à l'égard du changement climatique sont restées stables et fortement biaisées en faveur de positions pro-climat (peu d'opinions climato-sceptiques représentées).
- Au regard de leurs attitudes générales envers la politique, les membres du KBR se sont sentis plus compétents à la fin du processus, exprimant une plus grande confiance en leur capacité à traiter des questions politiques complexes. Ils sont apparus également légèrement plus intéressés politiquement et satisfaits de la démocratie en général, même s'il s'agissait davantage d'un renforcement d'opinions préalables favorables, plutôt que d'un changement fondamental dans leurs attitudes initiales.
- Les membres sont restés très positifs et favorables aux assemblées citoyennes tout au long du processus et ont signalé une probabilité plus élevée d'accepter de participer à l'avenir dans un autre processus du même type.

Recommandations

R10 - diversité d'attitudes pour une meilleure qualité et un impact plus significatif des délibérations : les assemblées citoyennes doivent garantir une diversité d'attitudes lors de la sélection de leurs participants (à la fois en termes de question à traiter et de politique en général) afin de promouvoir par la suite des délibérations plus approfondies et plus diversifiées.

Impact sur le grand public : les médias

- L'engagement du KBR avec le monde extérieur (que ce soit via Internet, les réseaux sociaux ou les médias de masse) au cours du processus a été plutôt limité car il n'était pas considéré comme une priorité par l'organisation. Peu d'informations sur le processus étaient (et sont toujours) disponibles, et le rapport final a été publié en ligne uniquement en français. En effet, la communication directe en provenance du KBR a aussi été limitée à la suite du processus, principalement par manque de budget suffisant pour assurer une campagne à la hauteur de l'événement. Les informations publiques sur le processus rapportées par les médias se sont donc souvent limitées aux conférences de presse organisées par le Gouvernement.
- Malgré ce manque de transparence et de stratégie d'engagement du public pendant le processus, l'étendue de la couverture médiatique du KBR était plutôt importante (plus d'une centaine d'articles dans le paysage médiatique limité – mais riche – du Luxembourg). Cinq moments de médiatisation ont émergé : lorsque le KBR a été (1) annoncé, (2) lancé, (3) prolongé, (4) puis terminé (principal pic quantitatif), et finalement (5) suivi politiquement.
- Bien que la plupart des articles aient adopté un ton neutre lorsqu'ils couvraient le KBR (relayant principalement la communication gouvernementale), les médias ont aussi fait interagir des argumentaires positifs et négatifs dans leur contenu, allant chercher les avis divergents de différents acteurs de la société. Ils ont ainsi contribué à faire émerger un débat diversifié, constructif, démocratique et légitime sur les tenants et aboutissants des assemblées citoyennes pour le climat.

Recommandations

R11 – stratégie de communication : les assemblées citoyennes doivent adopter un budget, une équipe et une stratégie œuvrant à une communication proactive et adaptée à la logique des processus délibératifs et à la particularité de la population cible.

R12 – communication diversifiée, éducative et moderne : les assemblées citoyennes doivent s'appuyer sur les technologies disponibles pour développer et partager du matériel de communication éducatif, qui engagera les médias et le public. Elles doivent encourager les opportunités d'accéder à ces informations à travers différents canaux de communication, et pas seulement les médias traditionnels.

Impact sur le grand public : l'opinion publique

- L'étude par panel menée auprès de la population luxembourgeoise a montré que la proportion de citoyens informés sur le KBR a augmenté au fil du processus.
- Les médias ont joué leur rôle : la consommation d'informations dans les médias traditionnels (presse écrite, TV, radio) s'est avéré un facteur déterminant pour que les citoyens rapportent avoir été informés sur le KBR.
- Dans l'ensemble, la population luxembourgeoise est plutôt favorable à l'utilisation et aux bénéfices des assemblées citoyennes.
- Les personnes informées sur le KBR ont eu tendance à accroître leur taux d'acceptation des résultats du processus au fil du temps, soulignant que la sensibilisation des assemblées citoyennes dans la population est importante pour qu'elles soient perçues légitimes.
- Les attitudes du public sont fortement influencées par leur évaluation des résultats : plus les citoyens étaient en phase avec les recommandations ou les trouvaient favorables, plus ils se sont montrés en faveur des assemblées citoyennes et prêts à accepter leurs résultats.

Recommandations

R13 – engagement et acceptation du public : les assemblées citoyennes doivent promouvoir les opportunités d'engagement avec le public, car un citoyen informé sur le processus est un citoyen qui sera plus enclin à accepter les résultats, renforçant ainsi la confiance dans les décisions politiques.

R14 – canaux d'engagement public : les assemblées de citoyens doivent interagir avec le public non seulement à travers les médias traditionnels mais également avec d'autres moyens de communication, pour atteindre les citoyens qui suivent moins l'actualité ou s'informent via d'autres canaux de communication.

R15 – soutien public à la reconduction : les assemblées citoyennes peuvent être reproduites et promues en tant qu'instrument de politique publique car elles sont soutenues par une majorité dans la population luxembourgeoise. En outre, elles peuvent renforcer l'acceptation des décisions politiques.

Impact sur les politiques climatiques et les acteurs politiques

Gouvernement

- Le gouvernement n'avait pas initialement considéré d'exigence formelle de répondre au KBR. Pourtant, les propositions ont (toutes) fait l'objet d'un examen sérieux quant à leur implémentation. Le gouvernement a fourni une justification publique pour la mise en œuvre (éventuelle) de toutes les propositions. Dans cette perspective, le KBR s'est distingué de la plupart des assemblées citoyennes (climatiques) par son lien direct avec le pouvoir exécutif et les administrations compétentes, qui lui a fourni une fenêtre d'influence significative.
- Le projet de la nouvelle version du PNEC comprenait 197 mesures, dont 57 remontent à certaines recommandations du KBR. Parmi celles-ci, 5 mesures peuvent être considérées comme véritablement nouvelles et n'auraient probablement pas été présentes sans la consultation citoyenne. Les autres mesures directement attribuées au KBR ont renforcé l'engagement du Luxembourg sur certains aspects de sa politique climatique.
- Il y a toujours un suivi en cours quant à la mise en œuvre des mesures proposées, notamment celles n'entrant pas directement dans le PNEC ou dans le champs de compétences des commanditaires politiques.
- Depuis que le Luxembourg a élu un nouveau gouvernement en octobre 2023 (avec une nouvelle coalition de partis), il reste difficile de savoir (a) si les mesures KBR seront effectivement prises en compte dans la version finale du PNEC qui est censée être communiquée d'ici juin 2024, et (b) si le reste des recommandations vont affecter d'autres politiques publiques.

Parlement

- Le KBR a retenu l'attention et soulevé des questions au sein du Parlement, avant même la publication du rapport final et l'audition parlementaire y afférant. Même si certaines critiques ont été formulées par les partis d'opposition au cours du processus (auxquels la majorité a répondu) ou si certaines propositions ont été jugées plus difficiles à accepter par la suite, le KBR a finalement reçu un large consensus de la part des députés. Le KBR a ainsi également contribué au débat démocratique au sein du Parlement.

Partis politiques

- Lors des élections nationales de 2023, plusieurs partis se sont positionnés sur la question de la participation citoyenne, faisant parfois directement référence au KBR comme exemple dans leurs programmes électoraux.

- Les partis politiques luxembourgeois sont globalement positifs quant à l'organisation d'assemblées citoyennes.

Recommandations

R17 – réponse et responsabilité politiques : les assemblées citoyennes doivent recevoir une réponse claire et justifiée de la part des commanditaires politiques concernant la prise en compte et la mise en œuvre des recommandations dans leurs politiques publiques.

R18 – intégration politique : les assemblées citoyennes doivent se voir offrir une voie directe d'influence politique grâce à une articulation claire avec les structures politiques existantes (Gouvernement, Parlement, administrations publiques).

R19 – contrôle parlementaire : les assemblées citoyennes doivent être discutées au sein du Parlement, incitant les partis et les élites à se positionner sur ces processus ainsi que sur les résultats concrets qu'ils produisent.

1. Introduction

This report provides an evaluation of the 2022 Luxembourg Citizens' Assembly on Climate ([Klima Biergerrot](#), KBR after). The KBR was a citizens' assembly officially commissioned by the Luxembourg Government through three ministries: the Ministry of State (Prime Minister Xavier Bettel), the Ministry of Environment, Climate, and Sustainable Development (Minister Joëlle Welfring), and the Ministry of Energy and Urban Planning (Minister Claude Turmes). It was composed of 100 citizens who were tasked with i) discussing Luxembourg's current commitments to combating climate change, and ii) providing recommendations regarding potential additional measures or proposals for climate policy. Ultimately, the recommendations were intended to be integrated into the National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP). NECPs were introduced by the European Commission.¹ The Member States are required to consult citizens, businesses, and regional authorities in the drafting and finalization process of these plans. Like the other Member States, Luxembourg was to provide a draft of its NECP in 2023, and the final version in 2024. The KBR was thus the citizen part of a larger process of governmental consultation aimed at drafting the new NECP, which also included scientific experts (via the *Observatoire de la Politique Climatique*) and stakeholders (via the *Plateforme pour l'Action Climat et la Transition Énergétique*).

1.1. Definition of a citizens' assembly

A citizens' assembly is a type of democratic innovation that is more broadly described as a 'deliberative mini-public'. A climate citizens' assembly can thus be defined as a mini-public that engages citizens with deliberations on climate issues. A first particularity of mini-publics lies in their composition. They gather a representative, or at least a diverse set of citizens to deliberate on policy issues. These participants are randomly selected from the population via civic lottery. A second specificity is that mini-publics are deliberative. Before they deliberate and make decisions on the issue at hand, they are provided with a range of information about and perspectives on the topic by advocates and experts. Furthermore, the discussions are facilitated in order to promote deliberative norms (such as reason-giving, respect, reflection, argumentation, and learning). 'Deliberation' thus refers to an inclusive and participatory approach to decision-making in which participating citizens justify what they want and listen respectfully and with an open mind to each other's justifications. Finally, mini-publics have a concrete outcome and produce a set of recommendations. These recommendations are collected in

1 through the [Regulation on the governance of the energy union and climate action](#) (EU)2018/1999, agreed as part of the [Clean energy for all Europeans package](#) adopted in 2019

a final report which is presented to the commissioning political institutions. While the design of citizens' assemblies differs on various aspects (i.e., number of participants, length, etc.), they all should have tangible links to a political actor such as a government or parliament (Elstub and McLaverty 2014, Paulis et al. 2020).

1.2. Context

1.2.1. A deliberative turn in policymaking in Western Europe

The implementation of deliberative mini-publics has spread in established democracies over the past two decades (OECD 2020). Illustrating this deliberative wave affecting policymaking, the number of mini-publics organized by representative institutions at the national or regional level has indeed particularly increased in Europe over the past 20 years (Paulis et al. 2020)². There are well-known examples where mini-publics were used to address complex constitutional issues such as electoral reform, like for instance in Ireland (Farrell and Suiter 2019) or in the Netherlands (Fournier et al. 2011). However, mini-publics are mostly confined to Western Europe and are much less common in Southern, Central or Eastern European regions³. Furthermore, ad hoc citizens' assemblies have flourished extensively in local politics (Reuchamps et al. 2023, King and Wilson 2023), while the European Union has also initiated a trend of deliberative processes since the early 2000s (Kies and Nanz 2014), using for example citizen panels during the Conference on the Future of Europe (Bailly 2023).

More recently, at all levels of governance, there has been a spread of mini-publics focusing on climate and environmental issues, as the substantial number of Climate Citizens' Assemblies (CCAs) identified by the Knowledge Network On Climate Assemblies (KNOCA) indicates. This evolution reflects rising public awareness of, and increased political attention to, the climate change emergency in Europe over the past decades. At the national level, CCAs have already been organized in Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, the UK, or Scotland⁴.

2 See Figure a in Appendix 1.

3 See Figure b in Appendix 1.

4 See Figure c in Appendix 1.

1.2.2. Citizen participation and deliberation in Luxembourg

As far as Luxembourg is concerned, aside from elections, various participatory initiatives and mechanisms are available to citizens to become involved in national and local politics. For instance, the new Constitution adopted in 2023 grants three participatory rights via e-petitioning, consultative referendums (initiated by the Parliament) or legislative initiative (initiated by the citizens).

However, deliberative policy instruments are not formalized and are rare (Burks and Kies 2021). In 2015, within the context of a broader constitutional reform and the related consultative referendum, the University of Luxembourg organized two deliberative experiments. First, CIVILEX was a citizens' forum that gathered a representative panel of 35 Luxembourg residents for a day. It was modelled along the lines of a 21st-century town meeting, including a pre- and post-survey (such as the deliberative polling technique). Second, CONSTITULUX grouped 60 Luxembourgish nationals who discussed over two days. The process implemented focus groups and, like CIVILEX, included a pre- and post-survey. Certain similarities can be found with deliberative mini-publics, namely a moderator and secretary in the focus groups and experts providing a brief introduction at the start of every session. Yet, there were no final reports, or recommendations, and little to no public engagement. Neither CIVILEX nor CONSTITULEX generated political uptake or led to concrete action from political institutions.

The situation changed in 2021 with the launch of the [Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050](#) (BK). The BK was the citizen section of a larger public consultation, called '[Luxembourg in Transition](#)' (LIT), commissioned by the Department of Spatial Planning of the Ministry of Energy and Land-use Planning. It aimed at gathering strategic spatial planning proposals for Luxembourg and its neighboring border territories to become climate-neutral by 2050, from a diverse set of stakeholders, including the population. The BK adopted the format of a mini-public which met most deliberative standards. It gathered 30 citizens to deliberate several times over the course of a year. The participants were selected via civic lottery and were representative of the population on the basis of demographic criteria. The outcomes were 44 recommendations, which were used as input for the new master planning program for the territory (Programme Directeur d'Aménagement du Territoire - PDAT). The process also gained some visibility in the media (Verhasselt et al. 2024).

Against this backdrop, the idea for a national CCA was first outlined by the Prime Minister, Xavier Bettel, in his speech on the State of the Nation on the 12th of October 2021.

“Extraordinary situations require exceptional measures. It is time for an innovative democratic project that has not yet taken place in Luxembourg in this form. It is time to bring society at the table in climate policy negotiations. I therefore wish to convene a Climate Citizens’ Assembly. This Citizens’ Assembly will be made up of around a hundred members who represent Luxembourg’s demographic reality and thus the population.

With the support of experts, these 100 citizens will discuss specific climate issues. We know our goals exactly. Climate experts are clearly showing us how we can tackle the climate crisis. It is now a matter of embarking on this path together, without endangering social cohesion. This is precisely the task of a Climate Citizens’ Assembly. We focus on cohesion.

The starting point for discussions in the Citizens’ Assembly is the National Energy and Climate Plan, which already provides for an ambitious set of goals and measures. The 100 citizens will have to deliberate how far they want to go beyond this climate plan.

In the coming weeks, the Government will draw up a draft and present the details of the Climate Citizens’ Assembly. It is clear to me that the proposals of the Climate Citizens’ Assembly must become the full subject of debate in the House.”

Three months later, on the 5th of January 2022, the Government convened a press conference where Bettel officially announced the launch of the Luxembourg Climate Citizens’ Assembly, namely *Klima Biergerrot (KBR)*, which was, in his own words, “*the first of its kind in Luxembourg*”. After 8 months of intensive work, the KBR officially concluded on the 15th of September 2022, when the final report with 56 recommendations on how Luxembourg should do more to combat climate change was delivered to the Government by the assembly members.

1.3. Evaluation goals and criteria

Our evaluation was commissioned by the Luxembourg Government. A research convention was signed between the University of Luxembourg and the Ministry of State on the 17th of November 2021. The aim was to produce research that could assess what happened within the assembly and the extent to which the KBR promoted norms of deliberative democracy and met the established standards of Citizens’ Assemblies. Furthermore, the research considered the wider impact of the KBR beyond the assembly in terms of public debate and policy. To achieve this, we adopted a mixed method approach relying mainly on quantitative surveys (members, population, elite), but also on qualitative interviews (members, facil-

itators, moderators), non-participant observation, as well as desk research, and content analysis.

1.3.1. Goals

The research objectives of this evaluation are threefold.

- **Learning about the KBR proceedings:** the evaluation aims to assess the success of the KBR as a deliberative process, garnering valuable insights into its strengths and identifying potential areas for improvement.
- **Understanding the KBR impact:** The evaluation is designed to explore the impact of the KBR on its members and its influence on climate change debates and policies in Luxembourg.
- **Enhancing deliberative processes:** The evaluation informs the ongoing improvement of deliberative processes in Luxembourg, fostering better execution and outcomes in the future.

1.3.2. Elements and criteria for evaluation

The evaluation relies extensively on existing reports of previous climate citizen assemblies (mainly in the UK and Austria), but also on guidelines and good practices provided by the OECD and the KNOCA. The evaluation criteria and their operationalization are presented in Table 1. Our purpose is to assess the integrity, quality, and impact of the deliberative process (and hence its legitimacy) from two different yet complementary angles.

The first section evaluates the process “*from the inside*”. Citizens’ assemblies are usually intentionally designed and organized to cultivate the norms of deliberative democracy. We therefore look at the process from within the assembly and focuses on the congruence between the assembly’s organization and established deliberative standards.

First, we investigate the composition of the group of participants. Deliberation involves considering a broad range of views on the issue at hand. It is therefore important that the participants recruited are diverse and representative of the wider population in terms of key demographic criteria and their views on the issue of climate change. Specifically, three recruitment criteria are assessed:

- **Randomness and equality:** the recruitment of citizens’ assemblies is generally based on civic lottery and the random selection of ordinary citizens. Indeed, the random selection of participants is crucial for three reasons (Curato et al. 2021). First, it provides people with equal chances of selection and hence of influencing decision-making. Second, it helps limit the self-selection bias inherent to the recruitment in participatory processes, which tends to result in the participation of those with vested interests and the loudest voices. Third,

unlike elected politicians for instance, randomly selected citizens should be more representative of the wider population in terms of key demographics and attitudes on the topic. This representativeness of society at large would ensure that the public identifies with the process and with the members selected to make recommendations.

- *Representativeness, fairness, and inclusiveness*: recruitment must be fair and safeguard the representation of all groups within society. What's more, it must provide better representation for groups usually under-represented in political institutions who tend to participate less in politics. This is essential for the legitimacy of these assemblies as it ensures the presence of a broad range of views (cognitive diversity). However, past climate assemblies indicate that participants who are more predisposed to political engagement are more likely to participate because of their interest in politics and in the topic and their feeling of competency or their confidence (Buzogany et al. 2022, Elstub et al. 2021). This results partly from the fact that political attitudes are generally not used as a criterion of participant selection.
- *Incentiveness*: the process must provide incentives and accommodations to overcome the usual barriers to political recruitment. However, the assembly members should be motivated by the right reasons, and material motivations should not be central to their participation.

Second, we evaluate the organization and quality of the deliberation. Indeed, the process should be “*deliberative*” implying that participants are provided first with balanced evidence from unbiased experts (information phase), then discuss among themselves (in plenaries and small groups – deliberation phase), and finally develop and agree on recommendations (decision phase). This should all be carried out in a respectful and reason-giving atmosphere and facilitated and overseen by independent and professional delivery bodies that build realistic and suitable designs to address a clear question. Five criteria are evaluated regarding deliberation:

- *Clarity of scope, objectives, and tasks*: citizens' assemblies are structured around a question that will keep the participants on task throughout the assembly and result in actionable recommendations. The scope of the question should fit the objective: a broad scope may help trigger a public debate, or it may generate a set of guiding principles for future policy. But it may also have drawbacks, as it can result in too many recommendations, increasing the risk of weak political consideration or a cherry-picking behaviour from the commissioning body. A broad question may also lead to general proposals that are difficult to translate into actual policies, leaving much room for interpretation and speculation as to whether a policy follows the recommendations or not. Besides, if the scope is too broad, participants may also find it more difficult to understand the role that is assigned to them and what is expected of them and

from the process. Thus, it can make it more challenging for organizers to help the members reach concrete outcomes.

- *Professional organization, facilitation, and moderation:* citizens' assemblies are generally facilitated by independent professional companies to ensure that they abide by deliberative norms. The organizers are supposed to build a coherent design allowing participants to address the initial question and deliver the expected outcomes. They must ensure enough time is available for the task but must also consider the citizens' availability and the fact that a long process increases the likelihood of cognitive fatigue and disengagement (Hjerimitslev and Johnston 2023).
- *Balanced evidence and independent expertise:* citizens' assemblies provide their members with information and views relevant to the topic from witnesses selected because of their independence and expertise on the issue. Furthermore, members must have access to a wide range of information and opinions. The sources of this information must be balanced.
- *Quality of deliberation:* the deliberation is professionally facilitated and moderated and must allow all participants an equal opportunity to have their views heard. Participants must justify their views, listen to and respect the views of others.
- *Outcomes and policymaking:* in citizens' assemblies, the members must engage in policymaking and formulate a series of recommendations on their own. These proposals must be approved by the assembly. The members should feel that they have contributed to the elaboration of these proposals.

Third, scholars have emphasized that an intrinsic component of deliberative processes is their potential to enhance participants' understanding of the subject matter and to develop their communication and political skills (Geissel and Hess 2017). It is indeed essential that the participants approach the deliberation with an open mind, a readiness to listen to the opinions of others, to consider the evidence provided and to develop their own views. As a result, they may also change their attitudes towards civic and political participation in general. Citizens' assemblies are thus supposed to produce substantial and often lasting educational benefits for their participants (van der Does and Jacquet 2021). For this reason, citizens' assemblies are often described as 'schools of democracy', which can lead to an increase in political trust (Dryzek et al. 2019, Newton and Geissel 2012) and curb rampant polarization (Fishkin et al. 2021). The following three criteria are used to assess the educational impact of the KBR:

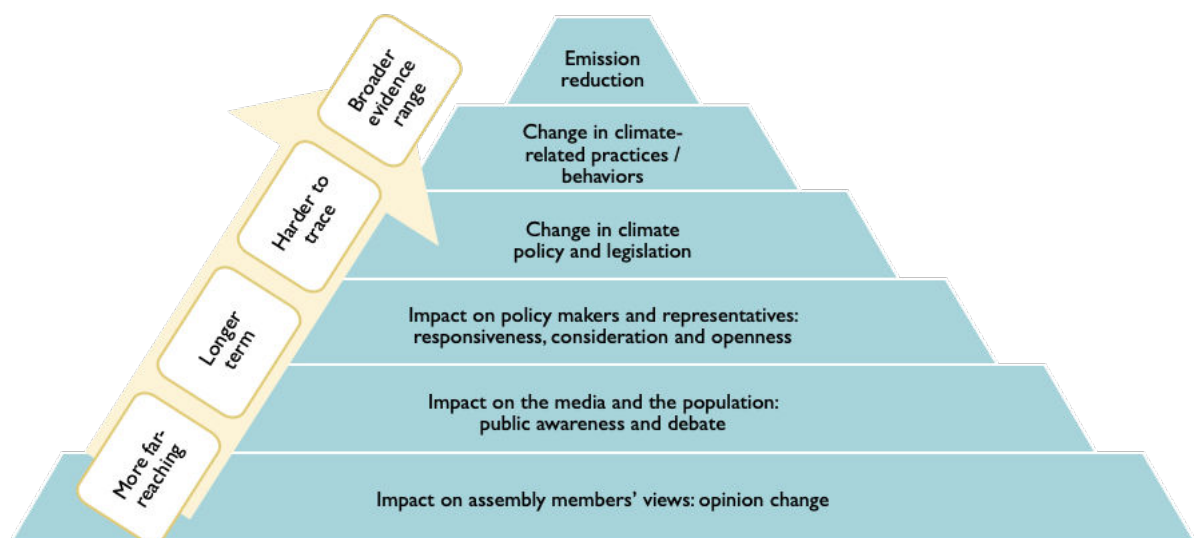
- *Acquisition of knowledge:* citizens' assemblies generally make the participants more knowledgeable about the issue at hand and about politics in general.
- *Change in opinion:* citizens' assemblies may lead to an evolution in participants' position on the issue or on politics broadly.

- *Enhancement of civic skills:* citizens' assemblies empower participants by improving their political and communication skills.

Evaluations of past climate citizens' assemblies have focused on the integrity of their design and the ensuing quality of deliberation. However, these evaluations rarely explored the impacts of these mechanisms beyond the assembly and its members. Despite the recent surge in interest in conducting deliberative processes, there remains a lack of consistency or clarity on what they might or should accomplish and on how they may affect decisions and actors not directly involved (Dean et al. 2020). If deliberative processes are not designed to have a significant impact, the rationale for organizing them may be reduced to fulfilling a procedural obligation.

Climate citizens' assemblies may hold important implications for climate action (Demski and Capstock 2022). (Demski and Capstock 2022). Deliberative processes present an opportunity to influence climate legislation and policy, shape public discourse on environmental issues, and even alter the way citizens engage in promoting a greener society. It is generally easier to assess the immediate impact than to identify long-term, widespread effects, as the latter requires specific evidence to determine direct causality between the assembly's occurrence and the outcomes under scrutiny. Figure 1 illustrates one attempt to organize the different ranges of impacts of a climate citizens' assembly, starting from short-term at the bottom to more significant, long-term, and far-reaching effects at the top. Towards the top of the pyramid, it becomes much harder to trace the direct impact of the process because of the very large number of other influences unfolding over longer time periods.

Figure 1. The impact of climate citizens' assemblies



Note: adapted from Demski and Capstock (2022)

Acknowledging these elements and the complexity in detecting and attributing impact, the second section evaluates the KBR “*from the outside,*” that is, its impact beyond the assembly and its members.

One initial consideration is determining whether and how the KBR climate citizens' assembly reaches the wider community. Citizens' assemblies have the potential to energize public debates on the policy issues they address. (Niemeyer 2014). They can also help improve the legitimacy of public policies, as the population can identify with the participants and understand the decision-making process (MacKenzie and Warren 2012, Pow et al. 2021). But to reach these aims, public awareness and understanding of the role and purpose of these assemblies beyond the limited circle of their participants is essential. They need to attract the attention of the media and the public. Media exposure has been relatively limited in part due to their relative novelty, as well as to the varying levels of investment in communication resources and strategy. Although there has been increased media interest in recent national-level climate assemblies (e.g., in France or the UK) or in cases that are relatively well embedded in existing political structures (e.g., in the US or Ireland), public awareness of these events has generally remained relatively low. Indeed, many who are not involved in the assemblies often do not closely monitor political news to realize when a citizens' assembly has occurred and produced recommendations on a particular issue. This disconnect could potentially impact their legitimacy and how well their decisions are accepted.

Overall, communication is often a weak point for citizens' assemblies, as garnering the public's attention throughout the process can be challenging. Yet, it is vital that the public is aware of the information provided to the members. It is also important to engage with the wider public to demonstrate the diversity of participants, showing that ordinary citizens are involved, not just activists. Public awareness of these factors is crucial for the legitimacy and transparency of the assembly. The OECD acknowledges the significance of communicating with the broader public to foster debate in the public sphere (2021). For instance, as good practice, it recommends appointing a dedicated press officer to deal with the underlying tasks. The following three criteria are considered to evaluate the level of impact on the public:

- *Extensiveness and content of media coverage:* citizens' assemblies catch the media's attention and a debate on their use and implications takes place.
- *Public awareness and legitimacy:* as a result of media exposure, citizens' assemblies increasingly raise awareness in the general public and thereby improve their legitimacy as policy instruments (both in terms of process and outcomes)

The response of institutions to the recommendations produced by deliberative processes is key to their credibility. Indeed, if none of the policy proposals are effectively implemented, the value of organizing such assemblies is called into question. Therefore, it is important that the outcomes of citizens' deliberations receive a proper political response that may lead to broader changes in political practices. However, tracing the web of influence is difficult, since a proposal formulated by a citizens' assembly being translated into public policy does not mean that it would

not have been implemented without the process (Macq and Jacquet 2023). The influence of deliberative processes on altering policymakers' preferences is often ambiguous, and there is a risk of selective endorsement where officials may implement only those recommendations that coincide with their pre-existing preferences (Vrydagh and Caluwaerts 2020). Additionally, the level of governance plays a crucial role, with policy impacts being more discernible and substantial at the local level, while diminishing as the scale broadens (Pogrebinschi and Ryan 2017). Consequently, the impact on policies and political actors is assessed by way of two criteria:

- *Policy responsiveness*: the recommendations of citizens' assemblies are followed up on by political actors and eventually produce some degree of policy adaptation.
- *Political debate and attention*: citizens' assemblies receive attention from other political actors besides the commissioners and contribute to feeding political campaigns and debates.

Table 1. Evaluation grid

Evaluation from the inside: the deliberative process			Data	Methods
Recruitment	Equality/Randomness	Were the members selected via civic lottery or sortition?	Primary documents provided by the organization Members' survey Population survey Population statistics (Statec, OECD)	Desk-research Descriptive statistics
	Representativeness, fairness and inclusiveness,	Were the members representative of the population? Were the members diverse in terms of the presence of certain under-represented social and political groups? How fair was the representation within the KBR?		
	Incentives and motivations	Were there incentives to participation barriers? Were the members motivated by the "right" reasons?		
Quality of deliberation	Clarity of the scope, objectives, and tasks	Was the scope and the wording of the question appropriate? Were the tasks clear from the very beginning? Did the members perceive and understand what were their role?	Primary document provided by the organization Members' survey Members' interviews Organizers' interviews Non-participant observation	Desk-research Descriptive statistics Content analysis
	Professional organization: facilitation, moderation, communication	Were the facilitators independently selected and did they build a suitable design for the purpose? Was the deliberation professionally organized and facilitated? Were the members happy with the facilitation and the organization of the deliberation? Were they committed to their role? Was the moderation neutral and efficient? Was the communication of the assembly effective within and beyond?		
	Balanced evidence and independent expertise	Did the members receive sufficient, relevant, and unbiased information and evidence to address the task?		
	Quality of deliberation	What was the (perceived) quality of deliberation? How did this evolve over time?		
		Did the members feel included/empowered in small group or plenary discussions? How did they perceive the group dynamics?		
		Was the linguistic diversity an obstacle to mutual understanding and deliberation quality?		
	Outcomes and policymaking	Were the members engaged in policy-making? Were they satisfied with the outcome? Did they feel they contributed to it, and did it secure their consent? Did the members approved all the recommendations?		

Impact of deliberation	Knowledge gain	Did members' knowledge on Luxembourg climate policy increase?	Members' survey Organizers' interviews	Descriptive statistics
	Opinion change	Did their climate-related attitudes and behaviours evolve?		
	Empowerment of civic skills	Did attitudes on politics evolve? Did members feel more efficacious and competent at the end of the process?		
Evaluation from the outside: the impact beyond the deliberative process			Data	Methods
Impact on the public	Extensiveness and content of media coverage	Did the KBR engage with the mass media? What was the extent and nature of the media coverage the KBR received? What were the main lines of argumentation spread in the news?	Press articles	Content analysis
	Public awareness and legitimacy	What levels of awareness of the KBR process were there among the wider public and how, if at all, did this change over time? How legitimate are the KBR and citizens' assemblies in the eyes of the public at large?	Population survey	Descriptive and multivariate statistics
Impact on political actors and public policies	Policy responsiveness	What influence did the KBR have on the NECP? Did the KBR results feed into the new version of the plan? How did the Government respond and integrate the recommendations?	Official government materials	Content analysis
	Parliamentary scrutiny and political attention	Was the KBR linked to parliament? How did MPs react to the KBR and the final report? Has the KBR had any implication for the programs of political parties and candidates in the 2023 national election?	Parliamentary hearing's transcript Elite survey data, party manifesto	Content analysis Descriptive statistics

1.4. Research design and methods

The research on the KBR was carried out via a mixed-method design. This approach is best suited to investigating the multidimensional nature and complexity of citizens' assemblies, making use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative aspects of research. Overall, mixed method designs are highly encouraged in the study of democratic innovations (Elstub and Escobar 2019). The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods selected for this evaluation provides us with the resources necessary to ascertain not only what occurred within the KBR but also how this assembly related to the population of Luxembourg as a whole and to the political system more broadly. The data and methods used are described below.

1.4.1. Member surveys

Surveys of KBR members were completed online, using Qualtrics, at the very start of the process, between the kick-off event and the first working weekend (wave 1 – February 2022), after working weekends 1 and 2 (wave 2 – early of April 2022), after weekends 3, 4, and 5 (wave 3 – June 2022) and then after the second phase and the delivery of the final report (wave 4 – October/November 2022). Participation in the surveys was voluntary and dependent on the members signing a consent form that detailed the purposes of the research and the evaluation, how their personal data would be stored and used, and by whom.

These surveys included a mix of closed and open-ended questions covering: the members' knowledge of and attitudes towards climate change (and the NECP), their experiences during the KBR across various aspects (in-person weekends, information session, online platforms...), their political attitudes and skills; and their overall attitudes towards representative and deliberative forms of democracy. Analysing these questionnaires allowed us to observe changes in knowledge, opinions, attitudes, skills, and experiences throughout the different stages of the process.

Each of the 100 members was individually invited through their private email address to complete the surveys (response rates varied from 81% to 57%). This approach enabled the use of a panel data, allowing for the tracking of individual-level changes while maintaining member anonymity. All data were compiled into a unified dataset, and quantitative analyses were conducted using a standard statistical software (Stata).

1.4.2. Member interviews

During the fourth and fifth working weekends, 20 members agreed to participate in a 15-minute interview as part of a Master dissertation on democratic innovations and trust (Brandt 2023). These semi-structured interviews were conducted in person by the Master student during the assembly fieldwork. The questions in the interview guide were designed to elicit participants' perceptions of political actors and institutions, their views on civil society and social trust, and to understand their perspectives on the citizens' assembly and their personal experiences within the KBR. The anonymized interview transcripts were used to complement the findings from the quantitative analyses in this report.

1.4.3. Desk research

For the sake of this evaluation, we relied on the analysis of many existing materials:

- evaluation reports of previous national climate citizens' assemblies (mainly the UK and Austria);

- data collection efforts on deliberative mini-publics in Europe and Luxembourg;
- official Luxembourg population statistics (Statec, OECD);
- official legal documents (Luxembourg parliamentary hearings' transcripts and Government policy documents);
- official party documents (2023 electoral manifestos of all parties represented in Parliament);
- existing political candidates' survey data (2023) extracted from the application Smartwielen;
- secondary sources obtained via non-participant observation (e.g., information sent to members of the KBR, information gathered indirectly through the organizers, information accessed via the KBR's Basecamp online platform).

1.4.4. Non-participant observation

At least one member of the research team attended each KBR weekend and the follow-up events as an external observer. The primary goal was to gain a deeper insight into the actual proceedings, the participants' language usage and interactions, and the quality of the deliberations and discussions among them. This fieldwork was also important to gain the trust of the organizers and participants, as their engagement in various research activities (interviews, surveys...) was essential for our scientific evaluation. The protocol of the non-participant observation was agreed upon with the organization team from the very beginning of the process and verbally communicated to the participants in every activity. For reasons of research ethics, the observation was limited to the working weekends: namely, the plenary sessions and the first 15 minutes of small working groups. This allowed for small groups and bilateral discussions to remain free from observation.

1.4.5. Interviews of facilitators and moderators

The two primary facilitators/organizers were interviewed after the recommendations were published (September 2022), mainly to further discuss organizational choices (design and governance), their relationships with the various stakeholders, their personal experience with the process, and the aspect of communication. Additionally, three moderators were interviewed after the five working weekends (June 2022) to assess their perspectives on the discourse and deliberation quality among the members. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and subjected to qualitative content analysis. Interviewees provided consent for their data's use in the evaluation report and for scientific dissemination by signing a data protection and consent declaration.

1.4.6. Media monitoring and content analysis

A review of media coverage was used to estimate the impact of the KBR on media and public discourse. Previous studies and evaluations of climate assemblies suggest that one of the significant channels of influence for climate assemblies is traditional and online media (McGovern and Thorne 2021). It is widely recognized that media coverage is crucial for increasing public awareness about the process and the issue being debated. Indeed, news about climate assemblies can result in more varied reporting patterns on deliberative processes or climate change and may thus also influence the outcomes of the process (Muradova et al. 2020). For this evaluation, a Master student⁵ was responsible for monitoring the Luxembourg media and compiling all relevant press articles and media segments referring to the KBR, from the PM's announcement in October 2021 until three months after the communication of the official response, i.e., August 2023. This effort resulted in 115 media pieces collected in an Excel dataset and manually coded according to publication date, media outlet, content, and argumentation. A descriptive, quantitative media analysis was conducted, supplemented by qualitative excerpts. Analysing the media coverage during and after the process also allowed us to gauge public exposure to the KBR, aiding in the interpretation of the public opinion study results. Furthermore, this analysis is essential for understanding the political uptake.

1.4.7. Population surveys

To assess public awareness of the KBR and general attitudes towards citizens' assemblies, a panel study of the Luxembourg population was conducted. The same individuals participated in three population surveys, at the beginning, middle, and end of the KBR (i.e., after the presentation of the final report and the parliamentary hearing). Ilres was commissioned to conduct the surveys from a representative sample of the Luxembourg public. For nationally representative internet-based surveys, Ilres relied on 'quota' sampling to target respondents from their panel of 10,400 registered users reflecting the right demographics for a sample representative of the overall population, excluding KBR members (see Appendix 2. Sample Representativeness).

This sample of respondents was surveyed three times, meaning that we adopted a panel design allowing us to track changes at the individual level, like the members' surveys. The idea (and a unique aspect of this evaluation) was indeed to be concurrent with the member surveys (see Table 2). In each population survey, respondents were given a questionnaire similar to the one presented to the members, with the section on deliberation quality substituted by closed questions about their knowledge of the KBR. Additionally, through a series of closed ques-

⁵ We thank Mats Roloff for his commitment.

tions, we gauged their understanding of and attitudes towards climate change, their political attitudes and competencies, as well as their overall attitudes towards representative and deliberative forms of democracy, along with sociodemographic characteristics.

Table 2. Match between the KBR timeline and the population/members' survey fieldwork

2022	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12
	Start	Phase I 5 thematic cycles					Phase II 6 focus groups		End			
	Kick-off (29/01)	WE1	WE2	WE3	WE4	WE5	Kick-off (30/6)	Vote (3-8/09)	Report (15/09)	Debate (25/10)		
	Press - start								Press - end			
Members		W1		W2			W3					W4
N		81		58			57					57
Population		W1					W2					W3
N		3025					2250					1797

The first wave of fieldwork spanned from 08.03.2022 to 21.03.2022 (2 weeks) and resulted in a sample of 3025 respondents constituting the 'pre' wave of the population survey. The second round of fieldwork took place between 21.06.2022 and 12.07.2022 (2 weeks), coinciding with the conclusion of the deliberation phase and the decision to extend the process, which was publicized in newspapers. The retention rate from the first wave was 75%, reducing the sample size to 2250 respondents for the second wave. The last, third phase of fieldwork took place from 25.10.2022 to 25.11.2022 (4 weeks). This wave is labelled as the 'post' wave as it was carried out after the completion of the process, after the final report was delivered and debated in parliament but coinciding with the peak in media coverage. The retention rate of the second wave was 79%, allowing the polling company to retain 1797 respondents. Across the three waves, despite inevitable attrition, the sample remains relatively representative of the population at large (see Appendix 2), except in age where the senior category (65+) was overall more difficult to reach. This bias is relatively common in Internet-based surveys (Grewenig et al. 2018), especially when they adopt a panel structure in which respondents are by definition more difficult to retain. All survey data were consolidated into a unified dataset. Descriptive, quantitative analyses were then performed in a standard statistical software (Stata). When relevant, results from further multivariate analyses are also put forward.

1.5. Structure

The report is divided into 7 chapters.

[Chapter 1](#) begins by introducing, defining, and contextualizing the KBR as a climate citizens' assembly. Then, the chapter provides justification for the evaluation criteria and describes the research design. It concludes with a presentation of the structure and content of the report.

The [first section](#) comprises three chapters offering an evaluation from an 'inside' perspective. [Chapter II](#) begins by detailing the recruitment method used to form the KBR and proceeds to evaluate the outcome of this process. [Chapter III](#) describes and analyses the organizational design and key features of the KBR, assessing the quality of the deliberative experience of both the participants and the facilitators. [Chapter IV](#) explores the impact of deliberation on the views and opinions of members, drawing on their own feedback and the perceptions of the moderators and facilitators.

The [second section](#) presents an evaluation from an 'outside' perspective, expanding the study to the impact of the KBR on i) the public (the media – [Chapter V](#), and the population, [Chapter VI](#)), and ii) the political elites and climate policy ([Chapter VII](#)).

[Chapter VIII](#) summarizes the main findings and formulates 18 recommendations for future deliberative processes.

2. The recruitment of KBR members

This chapter assesses the selection of the KBR members (2.1), their socio-demographic background (2.2), and whether they were demographically representative of the broader population (2.2.1) and/or attitudinally diverse on the topics of democracy, politics, and climate change (2.2.2). In addition, we examine the incentives for recruitment aimed at reducing participation barriers and the motivations participants reported for joining the process (3.3).

This draws on the findings from the member surveys and the data supplied by the organizers, comparing these with general population statistics and surveys specific to the KBR population.

2.1. Recruitment: randomness and equality

The KBR recruitment was outsourced to a delivery body via a public tender. The polling institute [Ilres](#) was chosen to oversee the recruitment of participants, based on their acknowledged experience in public opinion surveys and understanding of the socio-demographic aspects of Luxembourg's population. Ilres did not solely and fully rely on civic lottery to select the KBR participants. Random selection was combined with self-selection:

- they contacted a sample of 1,500 randomly drawn landline and mobile phone numbers (random digit dialling);
- they initiated a public call for volunteers, which was promoted by the Government and circulated through conventional media channels;
- they shared the same call with those people already registered in their existing database or panel (i.e., about 11,000 residing citizens regularly invited to participate in surveys).

To express their interest, citizens filed out a small survey on Ilres' online portal. They could also spontaneously contact Ilres and carry out the survey via phone, an important factor in reaching those less comfortable with online technologies. This process generated a pool of 1,100 volunteers. Ilres selected ± 100 participants based on their responses and keeping in mind that when they would be contacted again to confirm their participation a certain number of them would no longer be interested or able to take part.

It is unclear from publicly available information what share of KBR members were selected via the random selection or the public call. From our members' survey, we estimated that about 20% were recruited via random selection and 80% from self-selection. This indicates firstly that the KBR was not formed entirely by civ-

ic lottery, thereby somewhat diverging from deliberative best practices, and secondly, that the random selection was not very effective (and thus needed to be redressed with self-selection). Consequently, the advantages of sortition in diminishing the usual biases inherent to self-selected recruitment may be significantly diminished. Indeed, the recruitment process did not ensure equal opportunities for participation among the entire population, as individuals who read the news or were part of the Ilres panel were more likely to be invited. It is also important to note the tight timeline faced by the organizing body, as the recruitment took place within the two first weeks of January 2022.

2.2. Recruitment: representativeness, inclusiveness, and fairness

To reflect Luxembourg's diverse society, Ilres utilized stratification quota methods to select the final participants from the pool of 1,100 volunteers. Citizens provided their sociodemographic information and answered several questions regarding life and climate in their application. Ilres the final 100 members based on the following criteria.

- **Age.** The minimum age was fixed at 16 years old meaning two years younger than the official voting age. This emphasizes a commitment to greater inclusivity than electoral processes by engaging young adults under 18 years old, for whom climate change is a paramount policy issue and who are usually less politically active. The age breakdown used by the company was aimed at ensuring the representation of all generations: 16-24 years old, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+.
- **Gender.** The KBR was intended to be a gender-balanced citizens' consultation. As a consequence, Ilres used participants' gender as criteria of recruitment. This is important because of women's under-representation within political institutions. However, this also raises questions regarding the exclusion of individuals who do not identify with a specific gender. Although Ilres proposed alternative gender categories (transsexual, intersex or other) in their survey, we do not know whether respondents who would have eventually been in these groups were likely to have been considered as potential participants.
- **Nationality.** Ilres considered the nationality of participants. As long they spoke at least Luxembourgish, French or English, any nationality was suitable. This language requirement was essential to the legitimacy of the process because the multilingual nature of Luxembourg's society meant that deliberations would take place in different languages.
- **Place of work and residence.** Ilres considered whether the selected participants worked in Luxembourg but resided in either Luxembourg, Germany, France, or Belgium. The large share of "*cross-border workers*" is a peculiarity of

Luxembourg. Although they are excluded from the electoral process at the national level they can nevertheless greatly be impacted by Government (climate) policies. It was therefore crucial for the legitimacy of the process that they be included and have their voices heard.

- **Level of formal education.** The level of education was also considered to ensure that the sample of people selected was representative of the broader population. Those with higher levels of education are generally more inclined to participate in politics. In contrast, the less educated are generally harder to recruit and retain. Therefore, reaching representativeness in this respect is essential for the legitimacy of a mini-public.
- Citizens holding elected mandates were *de facto* excluded from the pool of volunteers. By their very nature, deliberative processes aim to maintain independence from partisan politics and related vested interests. They are designed to thwart any office-seeking behaviours by policymakers that could compromise the representation of the public interest.

The demographic criteria (age, gender, level of formal education) resembled those usually used in deliberative mini-publics (Paulis et al. 2020). The company also relied on less common criteria like language skills, nationality, or place of work and residence, all of which are crucial in the context of Luxembourg. No additional effort or oversampling was conducted to specifically engage groups within the population that are usually under-represented in politics.

Two additional questions were included in the survey application to promote diversity when selecting the KBR members: satisfaction with life and the significance attributed to climate protection. The answers to these two questions were used to ensure that the selected members represented a range of attitudes towards life and climate. This is also important because people who are overall less happy and/or climate sceptics may have less incentive to join in a participatory process, but still need to be represented for the legitimacy of such a process.

2.2.1. Socio-demographic representativeness

To assess the sociodemographic representativeness of the KBR, Table 3 below highlights the statistical distribution of the KBR members provided by the organizers compared to the Luxembourg population statistics obtained via Ilres in our population study.

Table 3. The sociodemographic representativeness of the KBR (I)

		Members (%)	Population (%)	
Age	16-24	14.0	12.0	+2.0
	25-34	20.0	18.0	+2.0
	35-44	19.0	19.0	=
	45-54	18.0	18.0	=
	55-64	15.0	15.0	=
	65+	14.0	18.0	-4.0
Gender	Male	51.0	50.0	+1.0
	Female	49.0	50.0	-1.0
Nationality	Luxembourg	52.0	53.0	-1.0
	Double or foreign	48.0	47.0	+1.0
Professional activity	Active	55.0	57.0	-2.0
	Inactive	45.0	43.0	+2.0
Education	Max. 2e cycle	35.0	37.0	-2.0
	Max. Bac +3	24.0	24.0	=
	Min. Bac +4	41.0	39.0	+2.0
Residence	Residents	89.0		
	Cross-borders	11.0		
Activity sector	Private sector	73.0		
	Public sector	27.0		

Note: rounded numbers.

Overall, the KBR recruitment strategy functioned relatively well. It provided a selection of participants who were broadly representative of the Luxembourg population as a whole on most of the sociodemographic criteria used for the recruitment.

- The KBR achieved a nearly perfect gender balance, countering the usual trend of male over-representation in political institutions.
- The KBR was well balanced regarding nationalities and included a group of cross-border workers. Overall, this indicates that the KBR was equitable in this respect and succeeded in countering the trend for non-nationals to be marginalized from the political process in Luxembourg.

However, some minor discrepancies were observed, which are relatively common in previous climate assemblies and deliberative processes and are obviously influenced by the large proportion of self-selected participants.

- First, the most striking discrepancy was the evident age bias. Younger individuals were slightly over-represented in the assembly, whereas seniors over the age of 65 were under-represented. Previous studies indicate that citizens are more likely to participate in politics as they get older (Armingeon and Schädel 2015, Verba S. et al. 1995). Thus, the recruitment strategy effectively mitigated the common over-representation of older citizens in political decision-making. However, the most notable discrepancy, to be detailed in the subsequent table, is the diminished presence of seniors, particularly the underrepresentation of the 65+ demographic. Similar trends have been observed regarding previous climate citizen assemblies in Austria or the UK. Future efforts to improve the inclusion of seniors in deliberative processes would likely deserve greater attention in the future.
- Second, even if the KBR members broadly matched the population of Luxembourg in terms of education, there remained a small bias. Lower educated individuals were slightly under-represented among KBR members, whereas highly educated ones were slightly over-represented. This is relatively standard as citizens with higher levels of education are more likely to be politically active and therefore more likely to accept to be recruited in mini-publics (Elstub and McLaverty 2014, Jacquet 2017). In contrast, lower educated individuals are generally more difficult to reach and retain in participatory processes (Visser et al. 2021). This may be problematic as climate policy preferences differ widely according to the level of education (Colvin and Jotzo 2021).
- Third, inactive individuals were slightly over-represented, underscoring how much time and flexibility may be essential resources for those who decide to join a participatory process (Petit 2019).

The socio-demographic diversity based on these criteria was highlighted by some members during their interviews. *“It’s nice to see that there’s an interest across so many populations. There are old people, younger people, there are people who are retired, and who work in very different industries, and there are even students. So, it’s nice to see that it affects everyone.”*

In addition to the sociodemographic criteria used for the recruitment, our research design allowed us to assess representativeness based on three other traits (Table 4), two of them socio-economic and one more cultural. We utilized data from the members’ survey and then compared it with the same information obtained from the population survey. Since we conducted a survey of a representative sample of the Luxembourg population, it serves as a benchmark for our assessment.

Table 4. The sociodemographic representativeness of the KBR (II)

		Members' survey (%)	Population survey (%)	
Occupation	In paid work (active)	57.0	53.0	+4.0
	In education (inactive)	10.0	10.0	=
	Retired (inactive)	17.0	26.0	-9.0
	Unemployed (inactive)	10.0	7.0	+3.0
	Doing household (inactive)	7.0	2.0	+5.0
Subjective income	Very difficult on present income	2.0	2.0	=
	Difficult on present income	4.0	7.0	-3.0
	Coping on present income	24.0	34.0	-10.0
	Living comfortably on present income	54.0	37.0	+17.0
	Living very comfortably on present income	13.0	17.0	-4.0
	Not relevant, I have no income	2.0	3.0	-1.0
Language skills	1=never speak; 4= speak everyday	Mean	Mean	
	Luxembourgish	3.1	3.6	-0.5
	French	3.7	3.7	=
	English	3.5	2.9	+0.6
	German	2.7	3.1	-0.4
	Other languages	2.3	2.1	+0.2

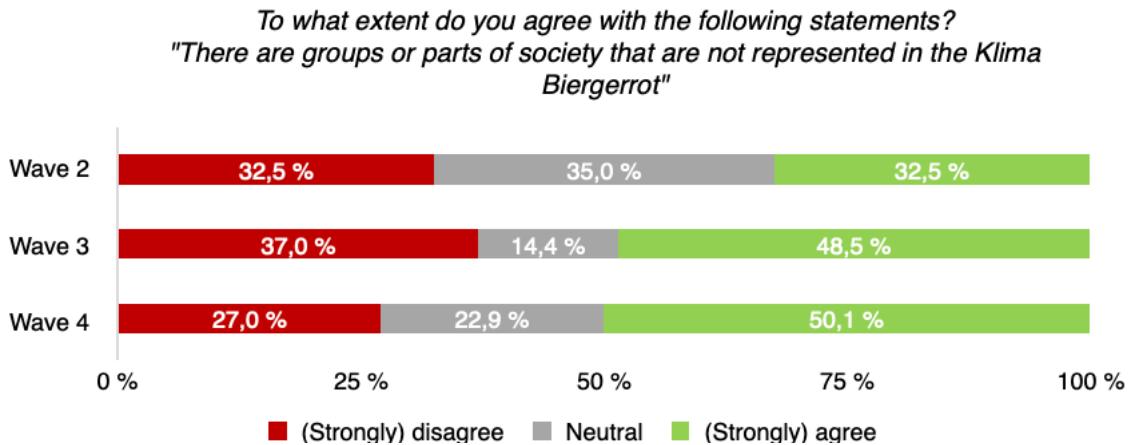
Note: rounded numbers.

- Regarding occupation, retired individuals tended to be less prevalent in the KBR than in the overall population. This is not surprising and confirms the age bias highlighted above. Furthermore, unemployed and stay-at-home individuals (i.e., homemakers) were slightly overrepresented. Again, this seems to confirm that individuals who potentially have more free time are also more likely to take part in participatory processes (Petit 2019).
- Our surveys also included a subjective measure of respondents' socioeconomic status, asking them how they perceived their household's current economic situation. KBR members had an overall more positive perception. Those who felt that they were just getting by on their income were less numerous in the KBR than in the general population. This is important because individuals who feel financially insecure and have lower levels of income do not approach environmental issues in the same way.

- Finally, regarding language skills, KBR spoke Luxembourgish (or German) on average less than the general population. They also spoke English more frequently. This may suggest that KBR members had good communication skills overall and were thus able to adapt to the multilingual setting of the process. However, it may also reflect the fact non-Luxembourgish nationals and cross-border workers were relatively prevalent within the assembly.

A lack of sociodemographic representativeness on certain aspects was emphasized by the participants themselves in the members' survey. Figure 2 shows that about one out of three members thought that the KBR was not representative enough after two working weekends, and the number increased to one out of two members at the very end of the process. The representativeness was directly challenged by some members in their interviews: *“the KBR is a sample as representative as you could get... The people who signed up for this project, everyone who applied obviously had an interest in the topic before. They were not just random. But yes, I think in terms of age, and gender and wages and so on, it seems to be quite representative.”* The topic was also broached by a moderator when talking about the composition of the group: *“I was very optimistic because they told us how they selected the members of the KBR. But to be honest, I have to say that I was expecting more diversity. Not specifically age or gender, not nationality, because I think they had to be Luxembourgish citizens to participate. But yeah, I mean, I just did not see a lot of people of colour or anything. (...) I was not sure if there were a lot of participants from different classes. I had the impression that there were a lot of upper or middle-class people and not a lot from the working class. But maybe that was just my group”*. Similarly, responses to the follow-up question in our members' survey emphasized the fact that participants thought that manual workers and, above all, certain ethnic communities were not represented enough. Additionally, participants frequently commented on the climate views of their fellow members, both in the survey and during interviews, which leads us to the next subsection.

Figure 2. Perceived representativeness of the KBR



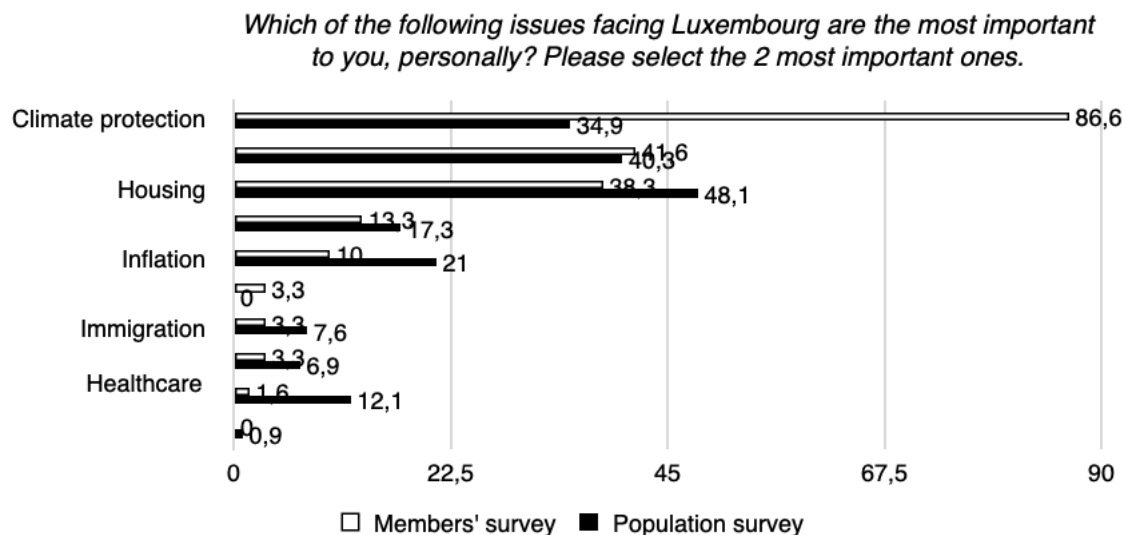
2.2.2. Cognitive and attitudinal diversity

I. Attitudes and behaviours towards climate change

— The saliency of the environmental issue

One question in our survey asked members to rank the importance of climate change as a policy issue by selecting the two most salient issues to them from a list. Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents who chose climate-related issues in both the members’ and population surveys. The gap between the members and the general population is wide: while 86.6% of members picked climate change among the most salient issues, this share significantly decreased to 34.9% in the general population. This discrepancy indicates that climate change was a top policy priority among the participants, a sentiment that was also highlighted during an interview with a member: *“I think that people I’ve met here are more aware of some topics, like climate change, than the people I know in my own environment”*. Similarly, a moderator insisted that *“a lot of members of the KBR were people that obviously were very interested in the topic”*.

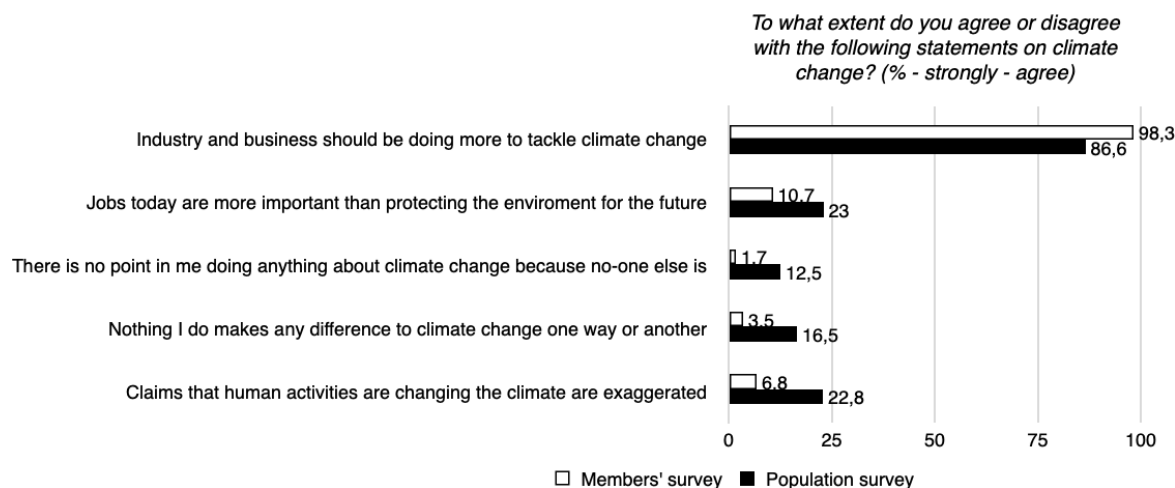
Figure 3. Issue priorities of the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



— Climate scepticism

Moreover, our survey included a set of questions aimed at measuring climate scepticism among KBR members and the general population. Here again, Figure 4 shows that negative views on climate change were overall rare among KBR members and were thus under-represented compared to the overall population.

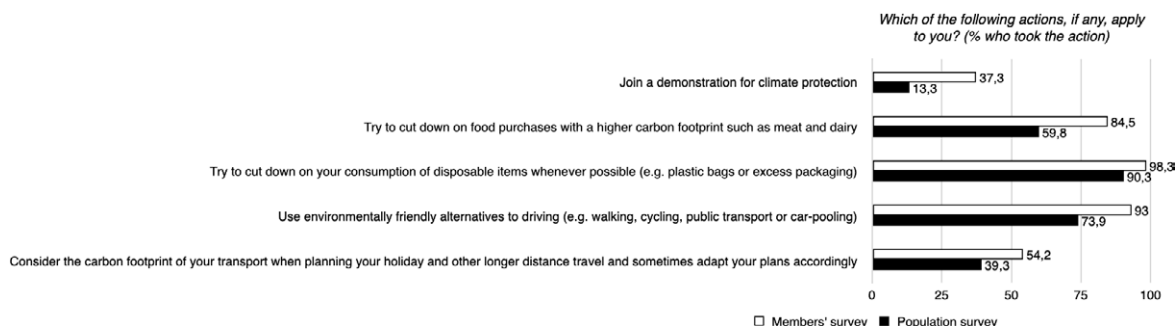
Figure 4. Climate scepticism among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



— Pro-climate actions

Our surveys also assessed the behaviours adopted by KBR members to cope with environmental challenges. Although the distribution displayed in Figure 5 follows the same trend among participants in the KBR and the general population, the assembly members appear to be proportionally much more active in terms of climate-friendly behaviours than the rest of the population.

Figure 5. Pro-climate behaviours among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



The bias towards citizens who hold pro-climate attitudes and display behaviours aligned with those beliefs is not surprising. This was the case in previous climate assemblies in France, Germany, or Austria. The UK used climate concerns as a recruitment criterion, but this did not solve the problem entirely. In this case, Ilres

asked one question on the topic in the application survey, but it appears it was not significantly factored into the selection of KBR members.

The KBR members acknowledged this limitation in their interviews: *“what I think is not representative here is that there are only citizens who actively want to engage in climate issues, who want to actively find solutions. And I think in that sense that no one here represents all the people in Luxembourg.”* Nevertheless, they disclosed that a divide existed among their peers based on whether they held pessimistic or optimistic views about our ability to confront and mitigate the consequences of climate change and whether there was still an opportunity to effect change: *“there are a lot of very motivated people. Sometimes, there are also negative voices, where you talk to them and end up feeling like: there is no way out of this, we are lost. But there are also many optimistic people here, who really care about the issues and want to find constructive solutions.”* Another member expressed a relatively similar view and insisted on the presence of some pessimistic participants: *“how hopeful you feel about Luxembourg’s climate policies depends on who you talk to! Some people here, you talk to them, and they are very pessimistic, always despair and they always think that it is all hopeless.”*

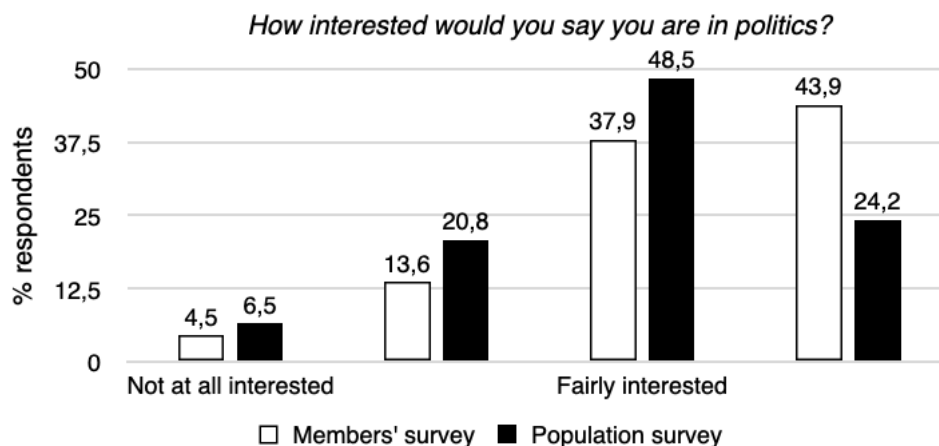
II. Attitudes and behaviours towards politics

Apart from their stance on climate change, the scientific studies on previous (climate) citizens’ assemblies have generally pointed toward some recruitment biases relating to more baseline political attitudes.

— Interest in politics

The profiles of the KBR members were consistent with those described in other (climate) citizens’ assemblies. As displayed in Figure 6, they differed from the rest of the population by having a substantially higher proportion of individuals expressing a high level of interest in politics.

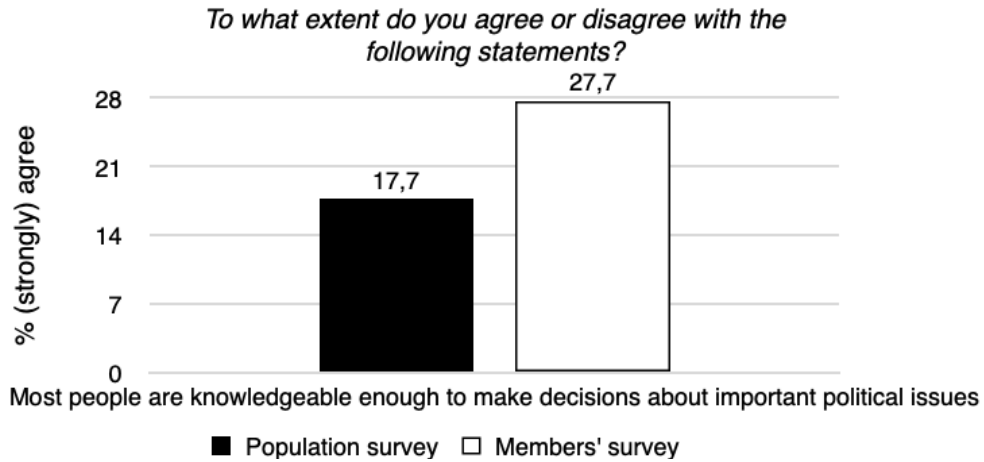
Figure 6. Interest in politics among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



— Political competence: internal efficacy

Figure 7 describes the data for internal efficacy, indicating that KBR members perceived themselves as more competent in dealing with political matters than the general population. This self-perception is a vital factor in understanding their willingness to volunteer as participant.

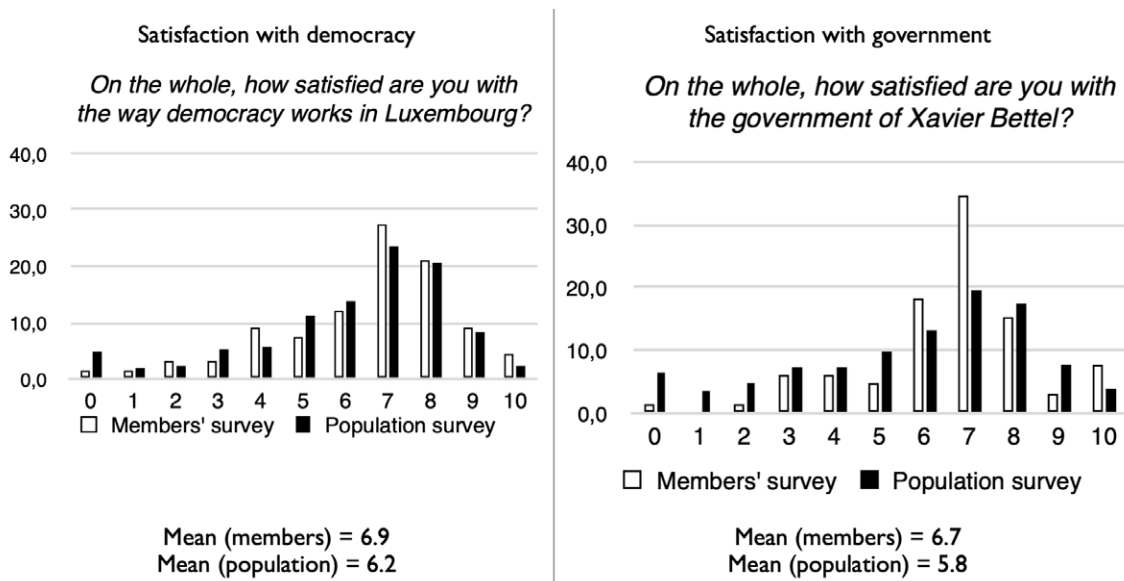
Figure 7. Internal efficacy among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



Satisfaction with democracy and government

Figure 8 below shows that, on average, the KBR members were more satisfied with democracy and their government than the public at large. Therefore, politically dissatisfied citizens were under-represented.

Figure 8. Political satisfaction among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population

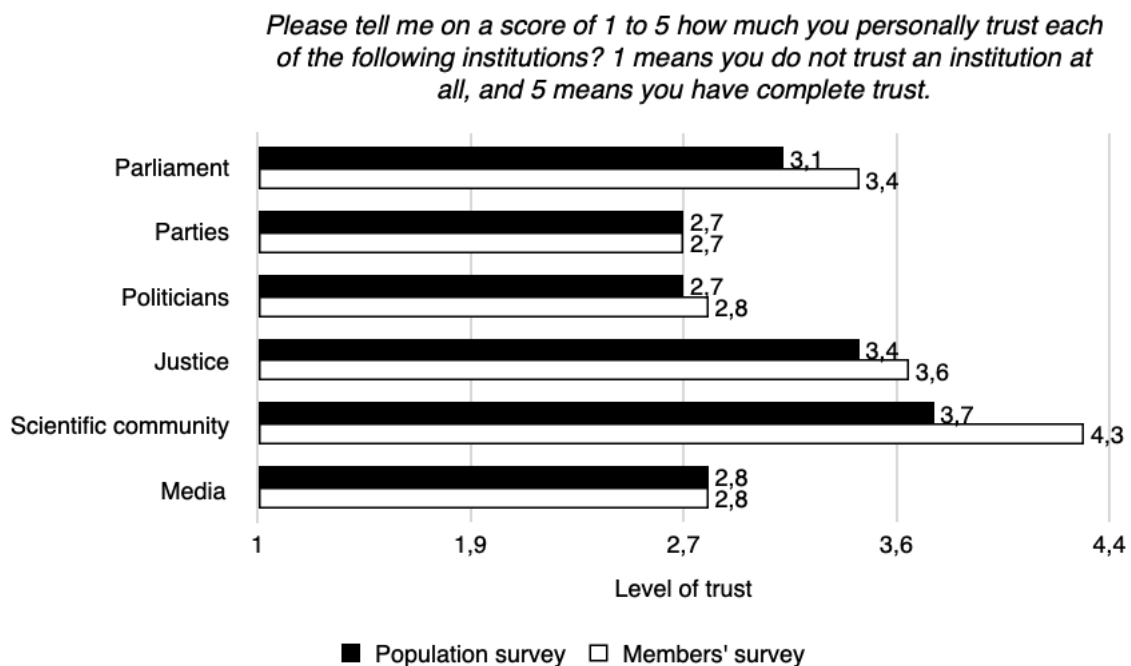


— Trust in institutions

Figure 9 presents a comparison between the levels of trust KBR members and the general Luxembourg population have in various institutions. As far as representative institutions are concerned (parliament, parties, and politicians), both groups exhibited relatively similar confidence levels with KBR members being on average slightly more confident in the parliament than the general population.

The mean trust in justice and the media were relatively similar between members of the KBR and the rest of the population. However, the KBR members stood out with their much higher level of trust in the scientific community. This pattern was also observed among the participants of the Austrian Climate Citizens' assembly (Buzogany et al. 2022).

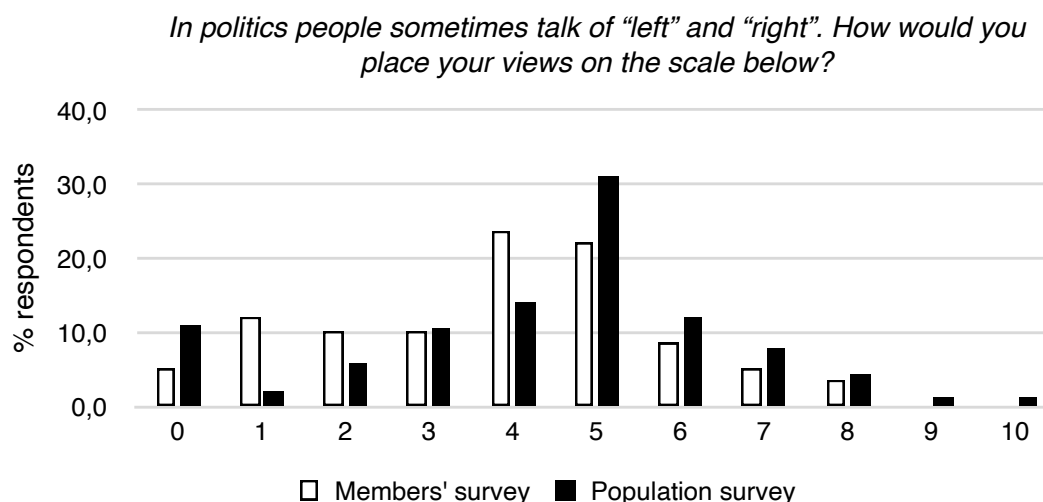
Figure 9. Trust in institutions among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



— Ideological positioning

Our survey included a subjective measure for individuals to position themselves on the political spectrum from left to right. Figure 10 shows that KBR members tended to be located more on the left than the general population. The fact that KBR members identified more with the left is also confirmed by the difference with the population mean.

Figure 10. Left-right self-placement among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



Mean (members) = 3.8

Mean (population) = 4.4

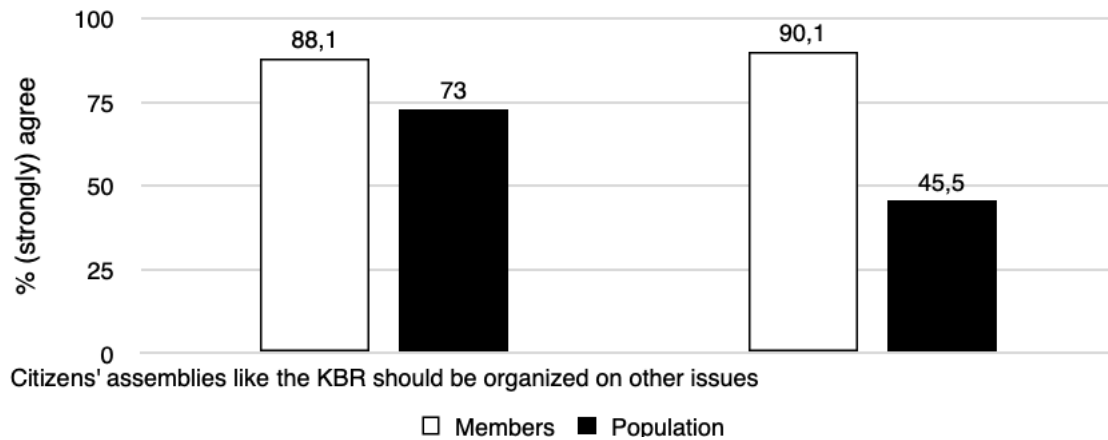
III. Attitudes towards deliberative democracy

The initial survey conducted at the very beginning of the process provided insights into the members' attitudes towards deliberative processes allowing for comparison with the general population. More specifically, we looked at two survey items intended to measure either generic support for the use of citizens' assemblies or support for their output, i.e., acceptance of the policy outcomes and final recommendations. This is often used as a proxy for perceived legitimacy.

Figure 11 illustrates that members were notably more in favour (+15.1%) of using citizens' assemblies for issues beyond climate compared to the general population. However, the level of support in the Luxembourg population as a whole seems relatively high, with more than 7 out of 10 citizens expressing a positive attitude. Overall, citizens support the implementation of these participatory tools.

The gap between members and the general population is more pronounced regarding the acceptance of outcomes. At the onset of the KBR, 90% of its members indicated a strong inclination to accept the recommendations from other citizens assemblies. On the other hand, while support was generally high, non-participating citizens were significantly more hesitant about the prospect of accepting such recommendations.

Figure 11. Attitudes towards citizens' assemblies among the KBR members and the Luxembourg population



Interestingly, several KBR members discussed in their interviews their preferences for a citizen-led model of democracy and their belief that politics need to give citizens more say: “citizens’ assemblies are very important because they involve the public, and I think that is very important to let the public talk”. Similarly, another member stated: “because normally in politics it is often just a lot about yes-or-no-questions, by organizing something like this you give people a chance to discuss topics more deeply and you give them an opportunity to get involved.” Yet another member stressed that “what matters is that there is a selection of people like us, that are residents and citizens, like all of us. At the end of the day citizens’ forums like the KBR can benefit people at large.” Finally, one member stated being favourable to both direct and deliberative forms of democracy, although they emphasized the need to educate the population: “a political system organized more by referendums is a wonderful idea. But I equally think that Luxembourg’s population is totally unprepared to be consulted more often. Because we tend to view these referendums more like a possibility to express dissatisfaction with politicians, whilst in fact it should be about expressing opinions. I wish we had more of events like the KBR and referendums, but I am also realistic enough to understand that it requires more preparedness, and awareness ahead of time.”

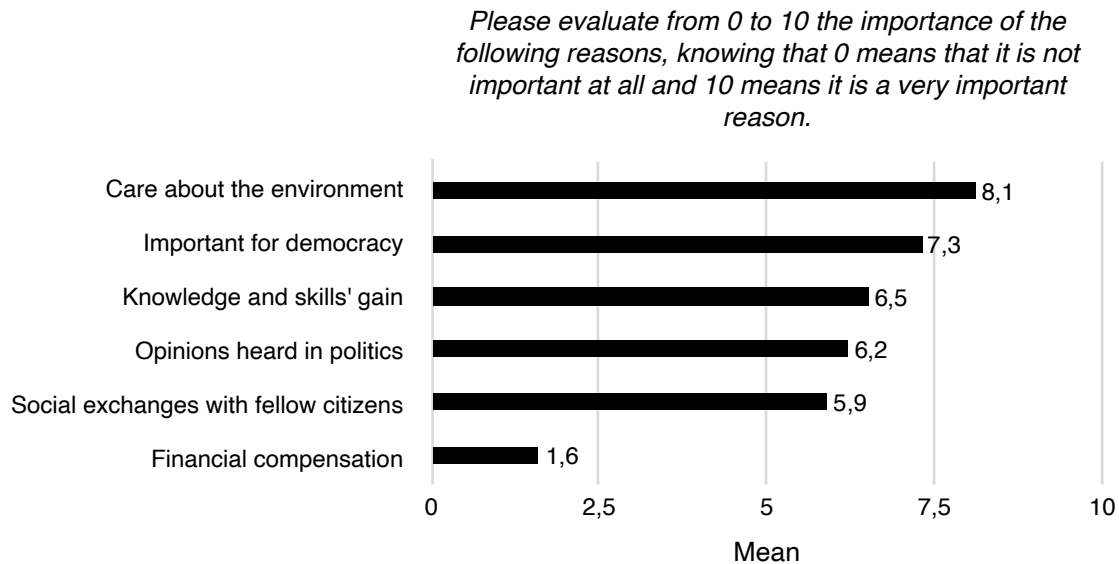
2.3. Recruitment incentives and members’ motivations

To encourage participation and remove obstacles, the call for recruitment emphasized that members would be compensated with 125 Euros per working weekend they would attend. During these weekends, members were also provided with all the necessary resources (paper, audio-visual materials, catering, accommodation, etc.) to facilitate the process.

Furthermore, the initial phase of our members’ survey delved into the motivations behind their participation in the KBR. Members were asked to assess the signif-

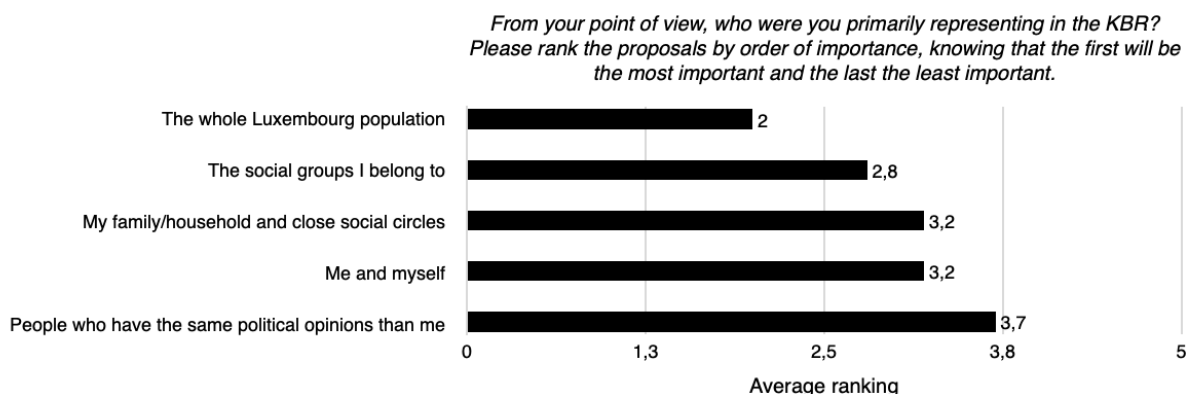
importance of various types of motivations. As illustrated in Figure 12, the most important motivations were purposive and normative, indicating that members were participating for relatively “right” reasons. Primarily, they participated out of concern for the environment or because they believed it was vital for the democracy of Luxembourg. In contrast, social motivations, and particularly financial incentives were deemed the least significant.

Figure 12. Recruitment motivations



Finally, we assessed which groups the members believed they were representing within the KBR, based on the assumption that they were acting as representatives. According to the data presented in Figure 13, members most commonly believed they were representing the interests of the entire population. Following this, they felt they represented their own social groups, and then the interests of their close environment as well as their own. The option that ranked lowest on average was the representation of their political in-groups. These results are overall encouraging because they show that participants prioritized the general interest overall. This was emphasized in a member’s interview: “it’s good to see that everybody is fighting for one goal. Not for yourself but for everyone, for the nation, for the future of our children, everyone’s trying to figure things out.”

Figure 13. The role as representatives



3. Organization and quality of deliberation

This chapter explores whether the KBR was assigned clear objectives and tasks (3.1), if the organization of the deliberations was professionally facilitated and overseen by an independent commissioning body that built a realistic assembly design suitable for the purpose (3.2), whether the KBR members received balanced evidence from independent experts (3.3), if they discussed and deliberated together in a respectful and reason-giving atmosphere (3.4) and, finally, whether they produced recommendations, which they perceived to be thoughtful and qualitative (3.5).

The assessment of the quality of deliberation in this chapter is based on data from the members' surveys and interviews, on interviews with the organizers and moderators, and on non-participant observation.

3.1. The mandate's scope and clarity: tasks and objectives

Participants were tasked with discussing Luxembourg's current climate change commitments and with formulating potential additional actions or proposals. The exact question posed to the KBR was the following: **Is Luxembourg able and willing to do more to combat climate change? And, if so, how?** The question asked of the KBR was clear, relatively broad but comprehensive. Although the first part of the question entailed a binary answer, the "how" in the second part directly appeals to any concrete solution in the fight against climate change. The KBR was expected to reach actionable recommendations by building on the measures already in place to give current climate policy new impetus with ideas drawn directly from Luxembourg society. The KBR was thus assigned three main functions:

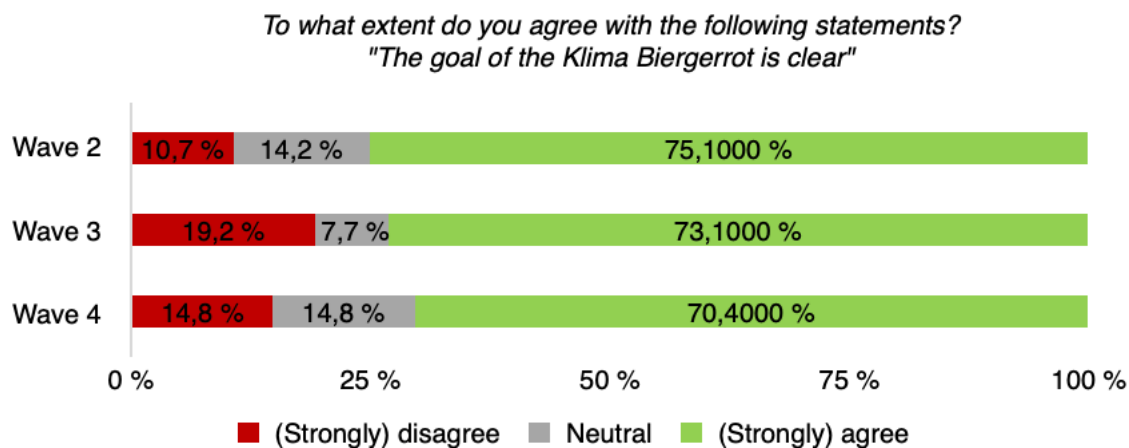
- consider what was already being done by Luxembourg to handle the climate crisis, using the integrated National Energy and Climate Plan as a central focus point (NECP);
- consider whether Luxembourg could go further in the fight against climate change; and
- make recommendations on issues related to climate change that could potentially inform the new version of the NECP.

The importance of climate change as a framing topic and of the NECP as a policy framework was highlighted by the organizers in their interviews. *"It helped a lot to have climate protection as a topic and to have NECP as a context. (...) I always*

explained to people that the NECP is the starting and the finish line. So, in-between those two lines, you are free to come up with and do whatever you want. That was the context, the framework."

From the results of the members' survey, as reported in Figure 14, it was evident that the role of the KBR was also clear to the majority of participants. Throughout the process, majority of them remained positive about the clarity of the role assigned to the KBR.

Figure 14. Perceived clarity of the KBR objectives



3.2. Professional organization: facilitation and moderation

3.2.1. Delivery bodies

To ensure the process' independence from the commissioning bodies, its organization was outsourced to delivery bodies via a public tender. The polling institute [Ilres](#) was responsible for recruiting participants. Additionally, a consortium of three different firms was appointed to organize the KBR: [Oxygen & Partners](#), [Pétillances](#), and [AccentAigu](#). AccentAigu was tasked with planning events, managing locations, and providing translators. The design and facilitation team (i.e., coordinating team), a collaboration between Pétillances and Oxygen & Partners, focused on designing the KBR structure and program as well as overseeing a team that facilitated/moderated breakout sessions with small groups of members. Oxygen & Partners is a public relations agency specializing in sensitive and crisis communication, reputation management, and governance issues for brands, companies, and institutions. Pétillances, on the other hand, is a training organization that focuses on developing behavioural skills through educational methods. Both are independent firms with no background in public participation or any record of organizing citizens' assemblies. The structure of the tenders gave these delivery bodies significant control and flexibility over design and facilitation. However, they had no say in participant selection which was handled entirely by Ilres. An organizer from

Oxygen & Partners reflected on the genesis of the partnership with Pétillances, which combined two different skill-sets: *“I opened the public tender and I realized that we were going to need a strong partner whose role would be equivalent to ours. We needed a partner with competency in facilitation, moderation, animation, which we could trust. And I knew that Pétillances had such an expertise. I knew some people from their team. That is how they came in. They were on the facilitation and moderation side. Us, or me in particular, on the communication side with the group as a whole, and with the members individually. But then also as a result with the press and the media.”*

Furthermore, alongside evaluating the process, the [University of Luxembourg](#) was tasked with setting up an Advisory Committee (AC). The role of the committee was to provide independent expertise to the delivery bodies. The group was composed predominantly of academic experts with diverse perspectives on citizen participation and deliberative processes. Additionally, it included practitioners experienced in participatory processes conducted in Luxembourg and elsewhere in Europe (see Appendix 3. Composition of the Advisory Committee). The committee had no decision-making powers and primarily functioned as a consultative body to assist the organizers with advice and solutions for circumstantial issues that could arise once the process had started. Thus, contrarily to other climate assemblies, the committee did not meet prior to the start of the KBR and was not consulted on its design and organizing principles. Three advisory committee meetings took place over the course of the KBR process: on March 10th, May 5th, and June 9th (2022).

The budget breakdown was as follows:

- €46,057 for recruitment (Ilres);
- €258,528 for organization, moderation, logistics and communication (Oxygen, Pétillances and AccentAigu);
- €135,500 to cover members’ financial compensation (€125 per session);
- €272,454 for running costs (e.g., translations, catering, room rental);
- €300,000 for evaluation and research (University of Luxembourg).

3.2.2. Design, organization, and participation

Phase 1 of the KBR, from February to June 2022, was initially meant to be the sole phase. It included optional online debates, optional in-person study visits, and five compulsory in-person working weekends. To streamline the process and maximize the consultation’s impact, the KBR was structured in 5 thematic cycles directly realigned with the 5 NECP policy subthemes (see Table 5): agriculture and forestry (weekend 1), renewable energy (weekend 2), sustainable construction (weekend 3), waste management (weekend 4), mobility and transport (weekend 5). Prior to each working weekend, an optional online debate provided all members (both primary and stand-ins) with an expert-led introduction to the upcoming

discussion. These presentations were followed by a Q&A which allowed members to ask the experts for further explanation and additional information or discuss among themselves. These online sessions were recorded and shared with all KBR members. Additionally, optional study or field visits were arranged before each weekend, offering hands-on learning by engaging with local actors in Luxembourg to understand their projects, challenges, and goals. These visits provided an additional learning experience for the members. Despite being optional, attendance was generally high. In the members' survey, 70% of the respondents reported that they had participated in one or several visits before the working weekend(s) they attended.

After the optional online debate and study visit(s), the working weekend commenced. These sessions were the core deliberative periods, concluding each thematic cycle. The 60 primary members, or their stand-ins, convened on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning to explore a specific theme. Saturdays were allocated to identifying the challenges facing Luxembourg on the topic at hand while Sundays were set aside for brainstorming potential solutions. The members' work oscillated between plenary sessions and smaller working groups of 12 to 15 members. Participants' language preferences, as indicated by them, guided the formation of four language-specific working groups: one French, one English, and two Luxembourgish. Throughout the process, professional moderation was used to create conversations which were inclusive, respectful, to the point, honest, and constructive. Phase I had high retention rate, with only nine individuals dropping out over the five weekends of deliberation. One organizer commented on this aspect: *"I remember saying to myself from the very start that my key mission is to try to keep the group together and to reach our common goals to provide recommendations. This does not mean preventing people leaving. There were 9 who quit, 6 for time-management reasons, 4 for health reasons. It is very natural and inevitable and okay."* Besides, attendance was stable throughout all the working weekends. Health issues and other personal reasons occasionally meant that one or more assembly members missed a weekend. They were then replaced, if possible, by one of the stand-ins who were demographically similar to them.

In phase 2, spanning July to August 2022, the members were divided into six groups with each group concentrating on a topic from one of the five previous working weekends; a sixth group addressed overarching issues. The members were able to register for the thematic working group of their liking and volunteer as spokesperson/group leaders. Over the summer period, the spokespersons managed their groups largely independently and took part in four coordination meetings with the organization and moderation team. Each group received 1) the original proposals as produced during the five working weekends, 2) the clustered proposals by the coordinating team, 3) feedback from the online member reviews of the proposals, 4) the submissions received from the public via an online form, and 5) the contact details for the experts from the thematic cycles. The six groups' proposals were

examined, refined, and vetted by experts before being disseminated to all KBR members on the Basecamp platform. Following this, the organizers consolidated the recommendations, and in the first week of September 2022, members voted online to adopt (or not) each recommendation by simple majority. Out of the 91 remaining assembly members, 63 participated in the final online vote (a 69% participation rate), and each of the 56 recommendations received a simple majority, thus becoming officially adopted by the KBR.

Table 5. The KBR timeline

PHASE 1		
29.01.2022	Kick-off event	
10.02.2022	Optional online debate (I)	
14.02.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of Kass-Haff, Mersch
25.02.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of the 2000m2 project, Kockelscheuer
25.02.2022	Optional on-site visit	"Ellergronn", Esch-sur-Alzette
26-27.02.2022	WEEKEND 1. Agriculture and forestry	In Neumünster Abbey, Luxembourg
17.03.2022	Optional online debate (II)	
25.03.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of "Energie- Atelier" of "Kanton Réiden", Rédange-sur-Attert
25.03.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of la Soler's "Wandpark Garnich", Garnich
25.03.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of Schiffflange, certified "Gold" within the 'Pacte Climatique' framework
26-27.03.2022	WEEKEND 2. Renewable energy	At "Foundry », Luxembourg
21.04.2022	Optional online debate (III)	
22.04.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of "Elmen"
22.04.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of the site "Neobuild", Bettembourg
23-24.03.2022	WEEKEND 3. Sustainable construction	At SNHBM, the site of the IFSB, Capellen
05.05.2022	Optional online debate (IV)	
06.05.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of recycling centre "PreZero Lamesch", Bettembourg
07.05.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of the "SuperdrecksKëscht", Colmar-Ber
14-15.05.2022	WEEKEND 4. Waste Management	At Ecological center SISPOLO, Parc Hosingen
02.06.2022	Optional online debate (V)	
03.06.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of Emile Weber's company, Canach
10.06.2022	Optional on-site visit	Visit of "Losch Digital Lab", Kockelscheuer

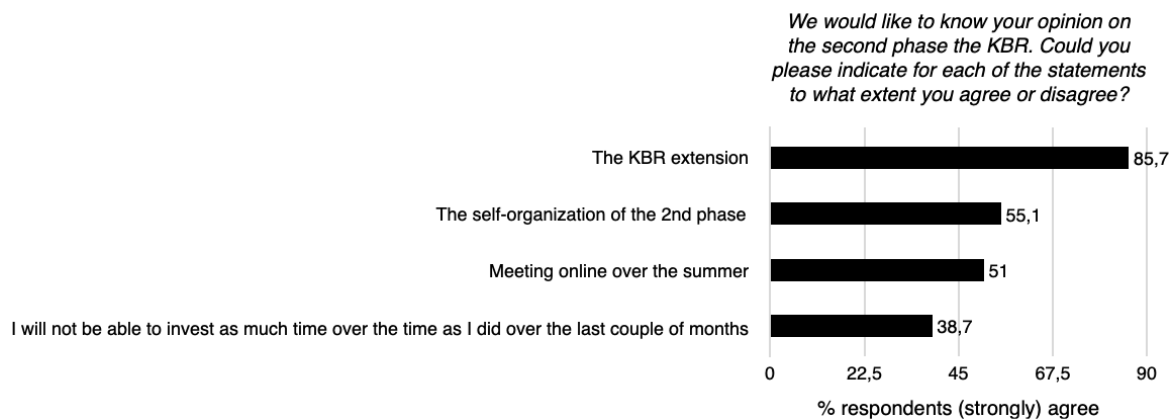
11-12.06.2022	WEEKEND 5. Mobility and transport	At “Mama Shelter”, Luxembourg
PHASE II		
30.06.2022	Kick-off meeting	Online
July-Aug. 2022	6 working group meetings	Self-organized, in person or online
03-08.09.2022	Final vote	
15.09.2022	Final report delivery and report	Parliament, Luxembourg

The KBR’s design differed from those of previous climate assemblies in several ways. Typically, climate assemblies are divided into workstreams to tackle different areas of climate policy, but the KBR had its members work collectively on five specific topics during phase 1, correlating with targeted sectors in the NECP. The rationale for this choice was to involve the maximum number of members on all subthemes, fostering the best possible conditions for a broad, open, creative, and productive deliberative process. While this approach prevented members from feeling excluded from certain topics, it also meant that less time was allocated to each subtheme (i.e., only one working weekend). This unique feature may have contributed to the lack of thoroughly finalized recommendations at the conclusion of the weekends, prompting the necessity for an extension of the process. From the outset, the members decided not to vote on the recommendations that were made, deeming them underdeveloped. Consequently, the organizers were compelled to modify the initial design, introducing phase II, culminating in a final vote on all recommendations and a delayed presentation of the report. An organizer reflected on this important moment and decision: *“it happened quickly. The reconsideration already started at the end of the first working weekend, when we and the members decided that they were not going to vote on final proposals. March passed, April passed, and we were actively thinking about the last cycle and the scheduled public presentation in early July... We realized it was not going to be possible. We started discussing the option with the Ministry, and with the Advisory Committee”*. In phase 2, the organizers reverted back to a more conventional internal organization with groups focused on distinct policy subthemes, though these groups operated with more autonomy and less facilitation than in the previous phase.

Furthermore, to fully grasp the rationale behind the assembly’s specific organizational decisions, one must consider a vital cultural aspect: Luxembourg’s multilingual society. For instance, translation could affect the quality of deliberations and individuals are not all fluent in all languages. This led organizers to decide against assigning members to the working groups randomly but rather to do so based on their linguistic preferences and skills. The group assignment in phase II was also not random but rather decided by the organizers who chose the final composition of all six groups, including the group leaders, on the basis of the members’ preferences.

The members' survey revealed that they were generally pleased with the final design. For example, approximately 80% strongly agreed that field visits were particularly useful to the deliberation (about 80% - strongly - agreed). They also appreciated the flexibility and responsiveness of the organizers. However, while a large majority of the members was favourable to the implementation of phase II (85.7%), they were more divided on how it had been organized, as illustrated by Figure 15. Only 55.1% of the respondents agreed with the self-organizing principles indicating a preference for continued active facilitation. Moreover, only half felt that the additional work in phase II could be undertaken via online meetings, highlighting a preference among many for face-to-face interactions. Finally, more than a third of participants indicated decreased availability for phase II, particularly since it extended into the summer vacation period.

Figure 15. Members' opinion on the extension of the KBR

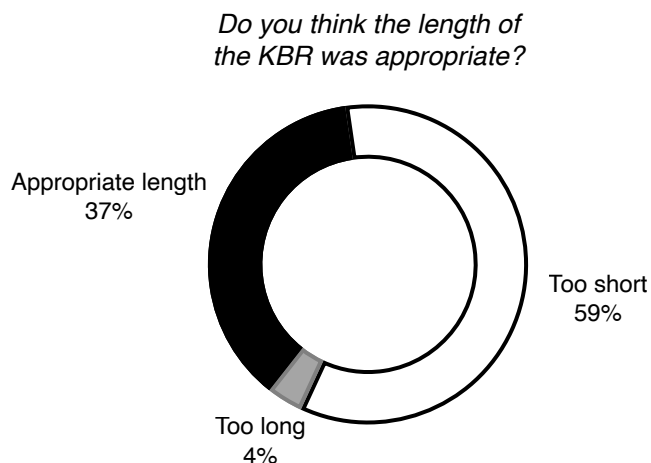


The lengthening of the process presented significant challenges for facilitators, both in terms of organization and in maintaining member engagement. They therefore made the conscious decision to leave members freer and more autonomous (regarding the time, place, frequency, and format of the meetings) in phase II. The facilitators shifted to a coaching approach to support this increased autonomy: *“In the beginning, because the group was not yet a group at that time, it was difficult for them to organize themselves. But once they were ready to organize themselves, we let them work that way. (...) The facilitation was more coaching style.”* Moreover, the extension was also a budgetary challenge, as the extra time was not initially expected: *“In January, when the overall budget was set, we did not expect to have a second phase. At the end of the first phase, we estimated how much money was left and how many people were willing to participate. On average, there were five tokens left per person and so that was okay. We communicated this and that it would include the kick-off meeting on the 30th of June and then up to four meetings over the course of the summer. But, of course, I think most people did way more than this.”*

The members' survey investigated how respondents perceived the overall length of the process (Figure 16). Only two members (4%) mentioned that it was too long. The others were divided between a minority group of members (37%) who

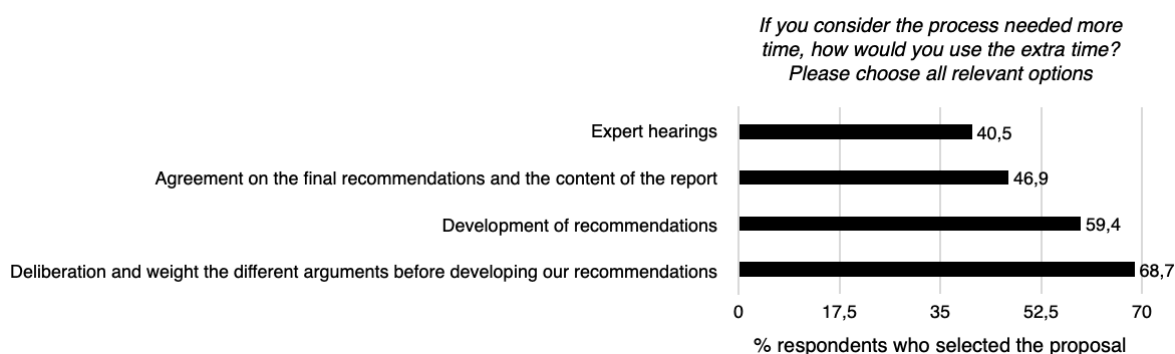
believed that it was an appropriate length and a majority group (59%) that said it was too short, despite the extension. This observation is relatively common in citizens' assemblies.

Figure 16. Members' opinion on the length of the KBR



Members who favoured a longer process primarily suggested extending the deliberation phase to allow for a more in-depth development and exchange of opinions and arguments before finalizing the recommendations (Figure 17). This answer was picked in 68.7% of the cases. The second most chosen answer (59.4%) reflected some willingness to give more time to develop recommendations. The two other answers did not reach 50% but still reflected that some members had preferences for lengthening the information phase (to include more expert hearings) or the decision-making phase (to reach consensus on the final report's contents).

Figure 17. Members' opinion on the use of additional time

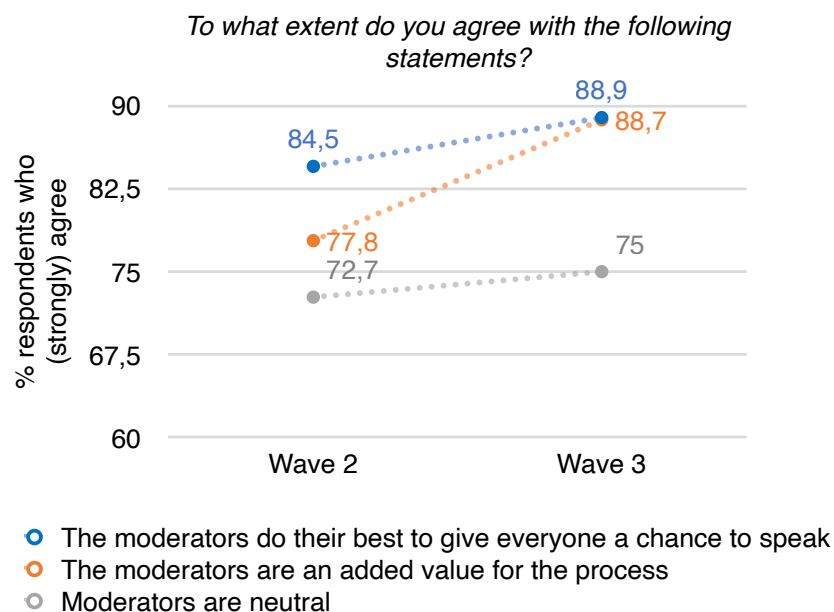


3.2.3. Quality of facilitation and moderation

The time constraint significantly influenced the deliberation process, as observed by the facilitators and moderators.. One moderator told us that *“some participants maybe wanted to add something to the discussion or to their recommendations, but they just did not have the time to do so. (...) The time factor was definitely something that played a big role in in our work, and also in their work.”* Another also explained that *“time was the biggest factor for us, because every weekend, we saw that the people wanted more time to just talk about things and discuss things and exchange their points of view. (...) They really wanted to talk about the topic, and they enjoyed just having discussions. But you know, we needed to have something concrete at the end of the day. So, I think our main difficulty as moderators was to push them to get everything done on time.”* This interviewee nevertheless emphasized the members’ learning curve concerning time management: *“after the first weekend, it went better. By the very last weekend, they were really trained to work efficiently and to finish everything on time.”*

Based on the results presented in Figure 18 from the members’ survey, despite the time constraints affecting both the members and moderators, the KBR members were generally satisfied with the professional moderation during phase I. The respondents considered the moderation to be neutral and effective within the KBR’s working groups, thereby contributing to the quality of the process. Positive opinions on the role of the moderators even increased in proportion over the course of the process. This may likely be due to the members growing more familiar with the moderators and accepting their ability to facilitate high-quality exchanges within the group.

Figure 18. The quality of moderation

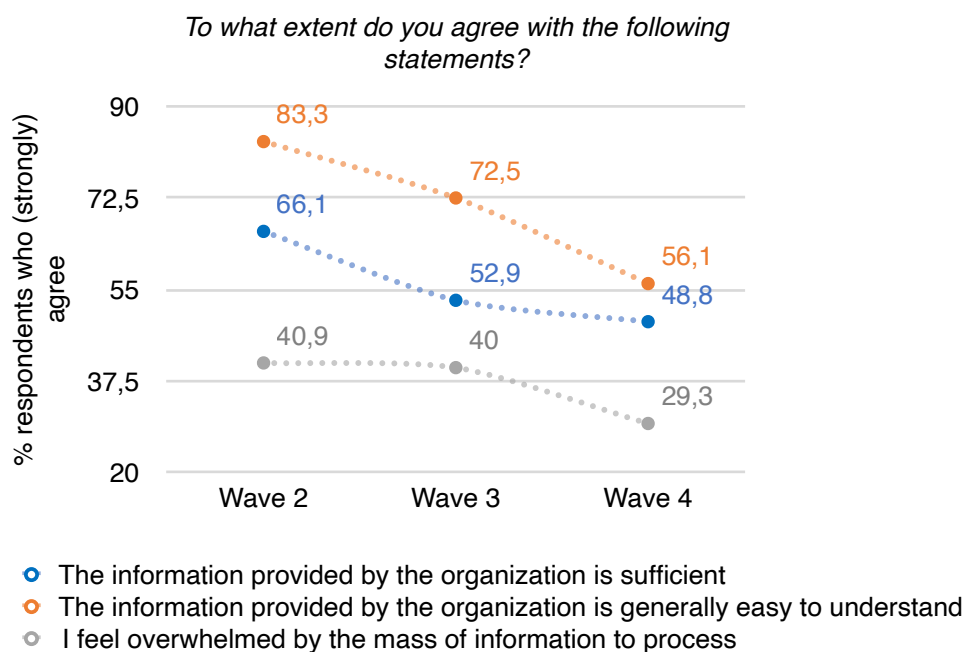


Underscoring their contribution to the quality of the KBR debate, the moderators were particularly aware of their role and the limits: *“The main task was to make sure that everybody’s opinion is heard. And everybody’s ideas are shared. It was not to lead people into different directions, but more literally, to make sure that everything that needed to be said was said and eventually written down”*.

3.2.4. Communication between the members and the organization

To further evaluate the quality of the facilitation, participants were asked about their perceptions of the information provided by the organizers. Effective communication is crucial for the members to understand and trust the process, as well as to grasp their role within it. The results are presented in Figure 19.

Figure 19. The organizers as information provider



After two weekends (wave 2), 83.3% of respondents reported positive opinions on the quality of the information provided by the organization and on their capacity to process it (orange line). However, this proportion decreased to 56.1% after phase II. This demonstrates that several participants lost track of the process.

66.1% of respondents agreed that they received enough information from the organizers (blue line). The share nonetheless decreased to 48.8% after phase II.

The proportion of members who suffered from information overload was stable (40%) during phase I and then decreased after phase II (grey line).

Based on informal observation, one potential explanation for these decreasing trends might be that the communication between the organizers and the members became less frequent and more centred around the group leaders once the process entered phase II, when citizens were self-organized and the process was

less facilitated. Furthermore, given that the period overlapped with holidays, it is likely that everyone involved in the process (members and organizers) were probably less reactive in their communication.

3.3. Balanced evidence and independent expertise

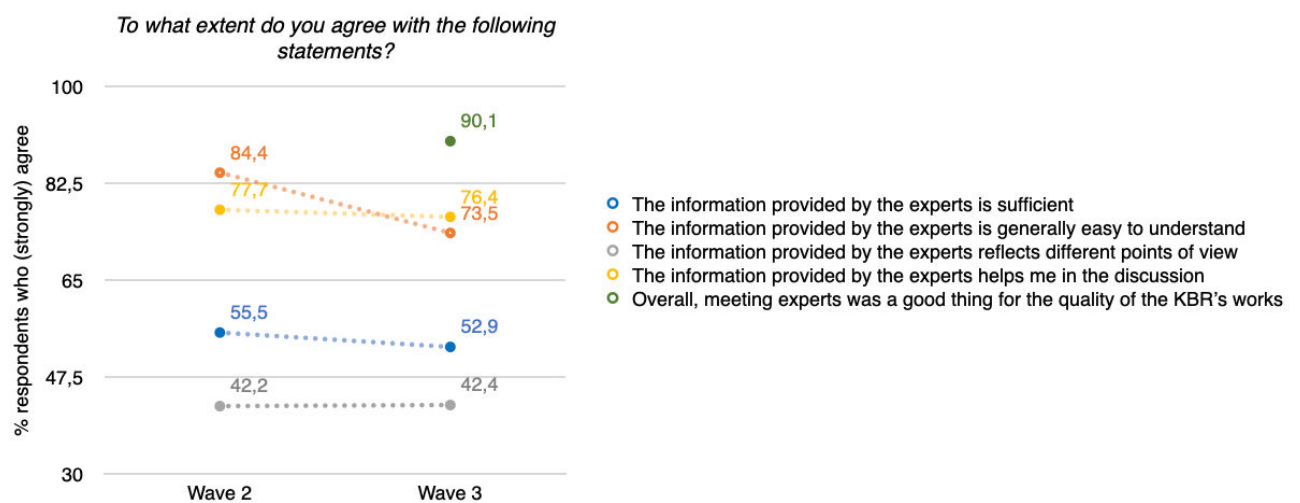
The KBR members were informed by experts and advocate witnesses at different moments throughout the process. Prior to the working weekends, members (both primary and stand-ins) were offered an optional online introduction into the upcoming subtheme via presentations from experts. Academics, representatives of the ministries and/or public administrations, as well as professionals or civil society organizations shed light on the specific subject and on the specific issues to be addressed during the following working weekend. Along with these online debates, KBR members had also the opportunity to visit some sites of reference in Luxembourg related to the environmental theme of the subsequent weekend, engaging with various stakeholders. During the working weekends, 4 to 10 guest speakers were invited to give short plenary presentations and then attend the working sessions, mainly to answer technical or regulatory inquiries from the members, or to provide opinions on developing ideas. Two individuals from the Ministry of the Environment alternately attended all working weekends to contribute their NECP expertise when needed. Starting from the second weekend on, the initial plenary began with an NECP overview by these ministry officials. This approach was adopted after recognizing that many members needed more information on the existing measures and objectives of the NECP.

The organization held the sole responsibility for selecting and inviting experts to the online sessions, site visits, and working weekends. As noted by the person responsible: *“on top of my other responsibilities, I had the role of inviting the experts, organizing the visits, the online debates, the briefing of the experts, etc.”* The organizers sought to identify persons, organizations, companies, and sites of interest or reference in Luxembourg, thereby offering the KBR members different perspectives: *“The clear choice was to always start with an academic or a researcher, someone from a neutral position, to pursue with a public official from a ministry or administration, and then to have two other representatives from associations, companies, or lobby groups. It was a conscious decision, which we did apply to every online debate. Now, regarding the visits, members met experts too. There, the choice was less structured. It was not a very long and detailed decision. It was more a result of a brainstorming decision. We identified who were the players in the field, who has got something to tell, what would be interesting for members to discover”. The table in Appendix 4 outlines the various experts and witnesses who contributed to the KBR. However, it is worth noting that this list was not provided in the final report, nor was it available on the website of the KBR, which led to critiques from external*

observers (journalists and politicians) who questioned the transparency of the experts' selection as well as their independence. An organizer evoked this criticism in an interview: "So, the experts, this was a choice of course, but not a manipulation as some people suspected."

According to the members' surveys (Figure 20), 90% of respondents acknowledged the essential role of experts in the assembly's work (green dot). About three-quarters of the members reported that the information provided by the experts was helpful their deliberations, in small groups or in plenaries (yellow line). This proportion remained stable throughout the process.

Figure 20. The experts as information providers



After two working weekends, 84.4% of members considered that the information provided by the experts was easily accessible and therefore comprehensible (orange line in Figure 20). This proportion decreased slightly after the five working weekends but remained quite acceptable with 73.5% of respondents in (strong) agreement with the statement that experts' information was easy to understand. This small decrease may be explained by the fact that the number of experts increased starting on the third weekend, as described by one of the organizers: "one of the changes made to the process after the initial working weekends was that we decided to increase the number of experts invited, because it had proven very helpful, and it was much appreciated by the members". While this means that more resources were available to the members, it also means that more expert presentations were organized in plenaries, involving a wider range of (sometimes complex) information to process.

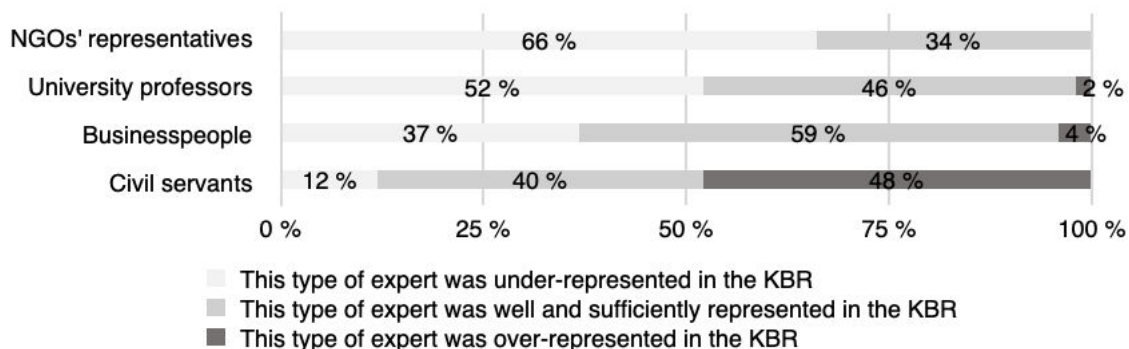
The KBR members were consistently very positive about the experts in their interviews. One participant explained that "the experts were quite knowledgeable, and they had a lot of insights, and they seemed to know their topics quite well. It surprised me in a positive way." Similarly, another member said that "the possibility to get direct, concrete information and education on certain topics directly from certain institutions and professionals is a privilege. And this, alone, has already made me more motivated to sit down and spend more time thinking about certain

problems. The quality of the information was very high, and we saw that the people in charge were very passionate about their fields.”

However, the members’ survey indicate that the respondents were more divided on whether the information was sufficient or not (blue line in Figure 20). Only a half of them thought that there was enough information provided by the experts, and this shared remained stable over the process. Nevertheless, this means that one out of two members would not have been opposed to receiving more information from experts. Finally, a stable proportion of 42% of respondents were satisfied with the diversity of opinions expressed by the various experts (grey line in Figure 20). This indicates a perception among the majority of KBR members that the expert selection lacked balance. Moreover, this finding may explain why a majority of respondents also wanted to be provided with more information.

And so, we looked also at the nature of the expertise provided within the process. Figure 21 indicates that the overrepresentation of public administrations and civil servants was a source of concern reported by 48% of respondents. It was noted that commissioning Ministries were often called upon to address the members throughout the KBR process. A significant number of members felt that civil society organizations (66%) and academic experts (52%) should have been afforded more prominence, as their contributions were seen as underrepresented in the KBR.

Figure 21. The presence of different experts in the KBR



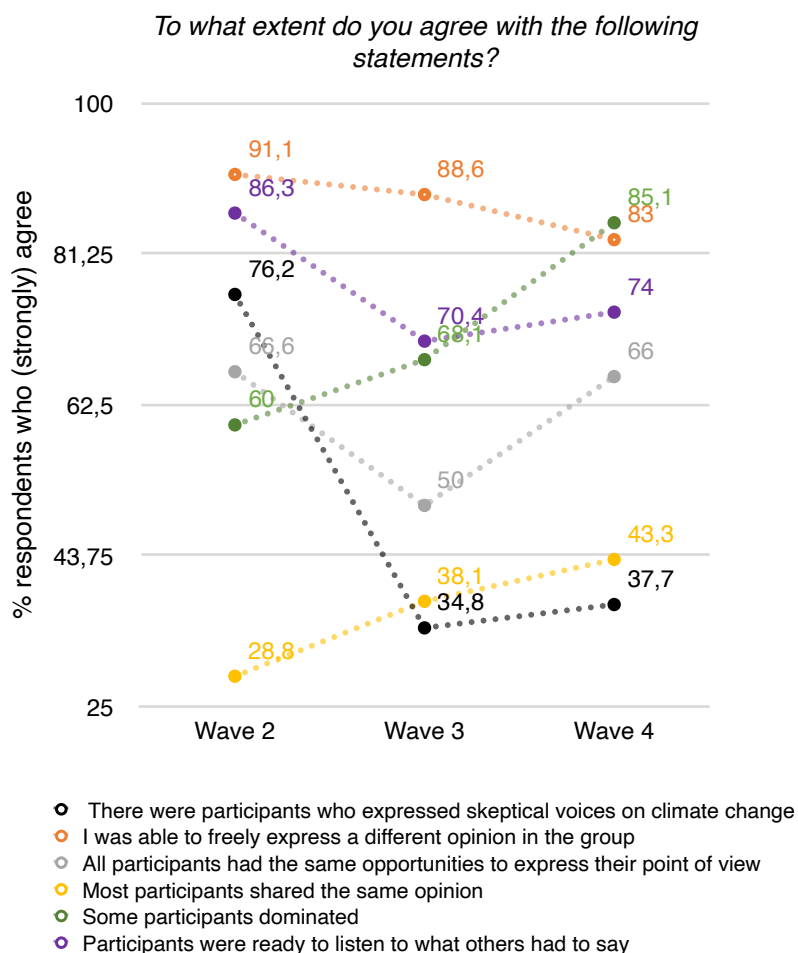
Overall, without questioning the independent thinking of the experts that were selected by the KBR organization or the efforts made to ensure expert presence during debates, visits, or weekends, it appears that the variety of expertise could have been broader, potentially offering additional perspectives on the topics discussed.

3.4. Quality of deliberation

3.4.1. Perceived quality of deliberation

A key dimension of assessing mini-publics lies in evaluating the (evolution of the) quality of deliberation as perceived by the participants. This includes whether they felt the dialogue was respectful, if there was active listening, and whether there was constructive engagement among members. In the members' survey, a series of questions were designed specifically to capture this dimension. The results are presented in Figure 22.

Figure 22. The perceived quality of deliberation



A very significant number of respondents (about 80 to 90%) remained positive throughout the process regarding their ability to freely express differing opinions within the group (orange line). A substantial majority (about 70 to 80%) also remained positive about the respect and openness of others in the discussion (purple line). Additionally, around two-thirds of respondents maintained a positive

view on having equal opportunities to express their viewpoints (grey line). All in all, these responses indicate that the moderation was successful in fostering a constructive deliberative environment where individuals felt open-minded and had the chance to voice their opinions. This sentiment was corroborated by interviews with the members. One member explained: *“we have to learn how to listen to each other. Even if you think sometimes that it is non-sense, you have to let everyone speak their mind, and that is good!”* Yet another stated that the healthy opposition of arguments was a key reason for joining the process: *“I always think discussions are a great thing, that is the main reason why I applied for this thing. We have also had very controversial discussions here, which I think is great, with many different views. I am not afraid of such discussions, I welcome them.”* Additionally, one moderator pointed out that the members always maintained respect for one another, even when there were disagreements: *“there were some people who did not agree with each other. But they were always civil about it. They were never insulting each other or anything.”*

However, the responses from the survey indicated two significant challenges concerning the quality of deliberation. One issue was that certain participants tended to take the lead and dominate the debates (green line in Figure 22). Our field observations corroborated the survey findings: a small but vocal contingent of members consistently believed their views were most valid, leading them to speak more forcefully. This pattern is not new; it mirrors behaviours noted in previous citizens’ assemblies. The survey also revealed that perceptions of this dominance intensified as the process advanced, particularly after Phase II. The designation of spokespersons to steer the various groups inadvertently heaped more responsibility onto some individuals, who then felt increasingly entitled to voice their opinions, especially towards the process’s conclusion.

These observations were further substantiated by interviews with the organizers, moderators, and assembly members. One member explained that *“there were few people who really were very dominant compared to others.”* From the organizational perspective, this issue was scarcely seen as problematic; it was regarded as a typical outcome of group dynamics: *“From the beginning, you lose about 10% of the group, either because they don’t have the time, the capacity or the willingness to engage, or they are just free riders who are not efficient or productive. But they are accepted as such. You have 80% that are active and work and contribute. And then you have 10% that lead and organize, make choices and take decisions. I think this rule applied to this group. And I think it is natural and good and legitimate that it is that way. It is how society works, and that is also how we are representative.”* Furthermore, another facilitator emphasized the quality of the group’s interactions and highlighted the importance of personality traits and communication skills: *“I think generally there is good communication within the group, and great communication also towards us, the organizers. (...) Of course, you always have people who are at*

greater ease when speaking publicly, at expressing views, expressing concerns or remarks. Others are more timid and more reluctant to convey what they are thinking.” One moderator also emphasized similar arguments: “in every group there were members who dominated the discussion, but not necessarily in a bad way. I did have some members who were there every weekend but not very active. And this was just because they had a shy personality. It is also the job of the facilitator to get everyone to talk and to contribute to the discussion, even if they don’t want to, or even if they don’t feel as comfortable. In my group, I think it was rather positive that there were two or three people who dominated the group. But I wouldn’t say that they dominated, it was more a matter of a delegation. The rest of the group trusted them. Otherwise, it couldn’t have worked.”

On the other hand, more strikingly, participants reported an increasing trend of converging opinions as the process progressed (yellow line in Figure 22). This was paralleled by a perception that dissenting views on climate issues were underrepresented, hinting at a significant limitation in member recruitment. This homogeneity in climate perspectives raised concerns about the legitimacy of the process. The moderators pointed out the value of diverse viewpoints, *“there were some questions or some subjects that are also important to consider, when talking about some of the topics we addressed on the weekends. It would have been interesting to just have different points of views, which were just not there.”* Nevertheless, our findings suggest three possibilities: the few climate sceptics initially present either left the assembly, shifted their views due to the deliberative process, thus contributing to a more uniform perspective on climate issues; or they refrained from expressing their dissent (self-censorship).

3.4.2. Multilingual deliberation

We previously highlighted the linguistic diversity of Luxembourg’s population as a distinctive feature, which influenced the structuring of working groups based on language proficiency. Over half of the survey respondents (52%) indicated they were accustomed to switching languages in everyday conversations, suggesting that the other half was more accustomed to using one dominant language.

In terms of design and organization, the plenary sessions of the KBR were held in Luxembourgish, supplemented by live translation for those who required it. Participants could speak during these plenary sessions in the languages of their choice (Luxembourgish, French or English). Despite initial technical difficulties, the translation system was refined and functioned flawlessly thereafter. However, our observations noted that this arrangement resulted in exchanges that were less spontaneous during the plenary sessions than in small-group discussions. Official communications from the organizers were issued in the three main languages—Luxembourgish, French, and English—throughout the process. All facilitators and moderators were proficient in communicating with members in their chosen languages. Expert presentations were given in either French or Luxembourgish.

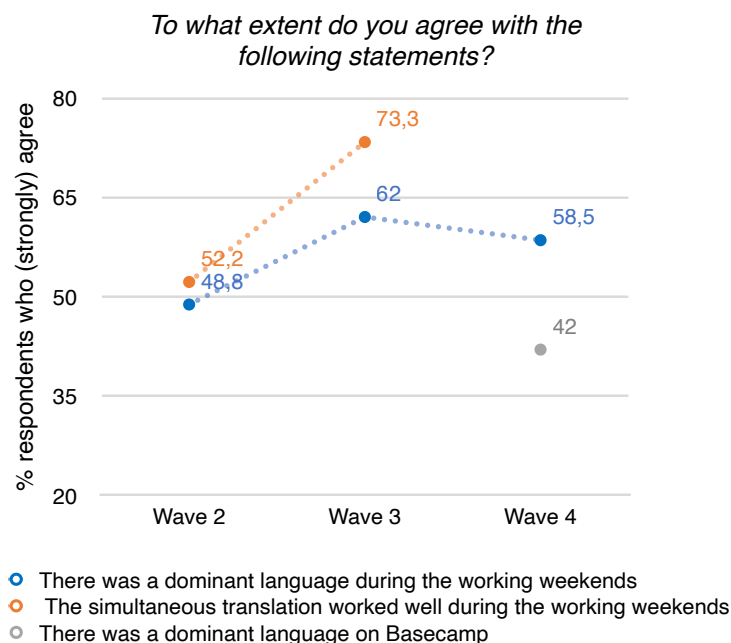
Deliberative groups were formed based on language, with two groups operating in Luxembourgish, one in French, and one in English. The multilingual nature of the assembly thus demanded special consideration by the organizing team to ensure seamless integration, efficient functioning, and most crucially, the preservation of the quality and inclusivity of the deliberations: *“You always have to keep in mind that it is important that everybody understands and feels included. That is why we had the French group, English group, and Luxembourgish groups, but I know that there were also some French speaking people in the English and Luxembourgish groups. I would not say that in the whole process language was a real barrier because it was what actually helped us to include people and encourage them to participate. As I said before, it was more an organizational barrier.”*

Overall, most participants agreed that Luxembourgish dominated the debates during the working weekends (Figure 23). However, a small minority of participants (about 20%) reported textually in the survey that there was too much French. This finding can probably be attributed to the presence of expats and non-nationals in the KBR sample.

The use of the three languages on the digital platform Basecamp appeared to be more evenly distributed (grey dot in Figure 23), with only 42% reporting a linguistic dominance. Individuals could exchange in the languages of their choice. Participants were free to communicate in their language of choice on the platform. During our field observations, we noted that some participants expressed concerns that not all contributions were translated into multiple languages on the digital platform; however, such translation was not mandatory.

Our overarching conclusion is that language differences did not emerge as a significant source of conflict during the workshop weekends, and the multilingual framework of the deliberative process was effective. Language did not become an obstacle to the quality of deliberation.

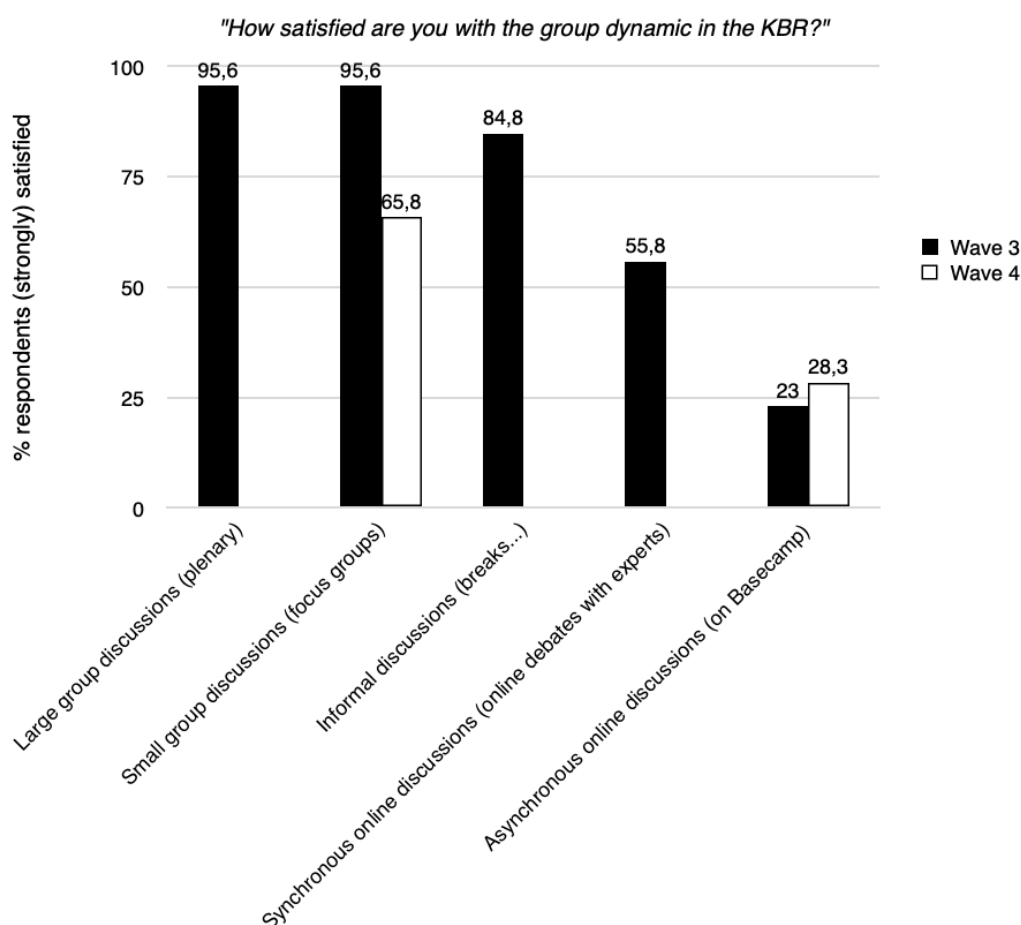
Figure 23. Multilingual deliberation



I. Satisfaction with the group dynamic in different settings

Our evaluation of the deliberation quality also considered members' perceptions of their participation as a social experience within the group, encompassing both in-person interactions (during working weekends or field visits) and online engagements (through online debates and the digital platform). Figure 24 shows how following the five working weekends (wave 3), an overwhelming majority of members reported being (strongly) satisfied with the social interactions experienced in-person: in plenary sessions (95.6%), in small deliberation groups (95.6%) or in during more informal moments (84.9%).

Figure 24. Satisfaction with the group dynamic



Shifting focus to the online component, there was a notable dip in satisfaction, underscoring a generally recognized preference for face-to-face interaction. Only half of the participants expressed a positive view of the expert information sessions conducted on synchronous platforms such as Webex. Sentiments were even less favourable regarding asynchronous exchanges on the Basecamp platform, which seemed to serve more as a repository for passively collecting and centralizing information rather than as a tool for active interaction. Our monitoring of the platform activity revealed that participants did not engage in extensive discussions or deliberations; rather, they primarily shared information pertinent to the KBR, with varying levels of participation. Basecamp also functioned as a logistical tool

for some members to organize practicalities, like carpooling. Notably, the platform was not moderated, which had its drawbacks. For example, the predominance of posts by certain members early in the process may have inadvertently stifled more dynamic and collaborative engagement. Dealing with this isolated issue then improved the quality of the discussions on the platform. This was explained by an organizer in an interview: *“I think Basecamp was the appropriate tool, and I would definitely use it again. However, next time we would need a moderator who has the capacity, time, and resources to control it. I spent a lot of my time doing this and it was not a reasonable thing to do. (...) There was one negative effect, of course, in that one or two members monopolized the debate on the platform. They discouraged collaboration and communication among us. So, at a certain point, when people said that they were going to give up the platform, we tried to make it clear to the members about the platform. And it became very clear, and it improved. More people really started using it effectively, the polemics stopped at that point. In the end, I think it worked, it served the purpose. It could have been worse. It could have worked better.”*

Considering that the KBR process was extended and members self-organized into smaller groups during phase II, we revisited our survey question in the final member assessment, focusing solely on small group discussions and asynchronous online discussions. Figure 26 reveals that during this phase, satisfaction with group dynamics remained high for only two-thirds of the participants. Conversely, there was a modest uptick in satisfaction with the online asynchronous exchanges. This shift may underscore the impact of not having moderation in phase II and a growing familiarity with the online platform, which may have been used more effectively during this stage for filtering and refining recommendations.

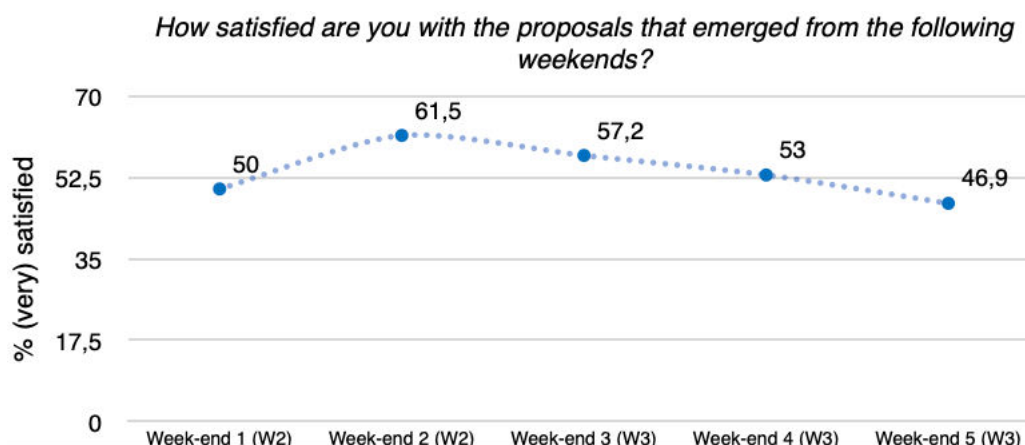
3.5. Quality of outcomes and recommendations

The KBR successfully involved members in policy development, enabling them to create their own recommendations autonomously. Throughout the deliberative process, members were actively involved in formulating proposals. In the initial phases, experts played a limited yet significant role by providing information and support to members as they developed their recommendations in small groups. This collaborative effort culminated in 56 recommendations, each endorsed by a majority of the members.

The member survey primarily provided insights into the participants' satisfaction with the outcomes achieved during the various weekends of the process. Figure 25 shows that the proposals from the second weekend were the most satisfactory (61.5% - very -satisfied), whereas those from the last weekend were the least. Our results may suggest that respondents became more demanding over the process.

However, considering the internal discussions about extending the process, a more likely explanation is that members may have invested less effort in producing fully polished recommendations during the latter weekends, knowing there would be additional time to refine them in phase 2. It is also possible that their ability to generate satisfactory recommendations was dependent on the subject matter; they might have been particularly pleased with the outcomes related to renewable energy, while the results concerning mobility were less compelling to them.

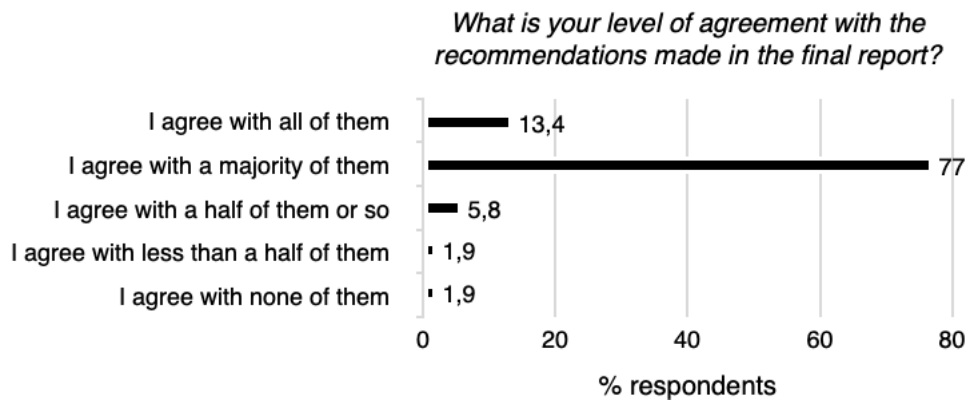
Figure 25. Satisfaction with the recommendations' proposals by weekend



The quality of the recommendations was emphasized by the moderators. One of them considered that *“the participants reached a real satisfactory outcome. There is a perfect mixture of recommendations between things we already knew, but just putting them more at the forefront, with also some that are more specific and sometimes kind of provocative.”* Another moderator elaborated that obtaining specific proposals was not always straightforward, also highlighting the pivotal role played by resource persons. *“It was just difficult to get the participants to have specific recommendations because they tended to remain very general at the beginning. (...) They needed some time to understand what we meant by specific recommendations. And I think what also really helped in that sense was the experts that were there.”*

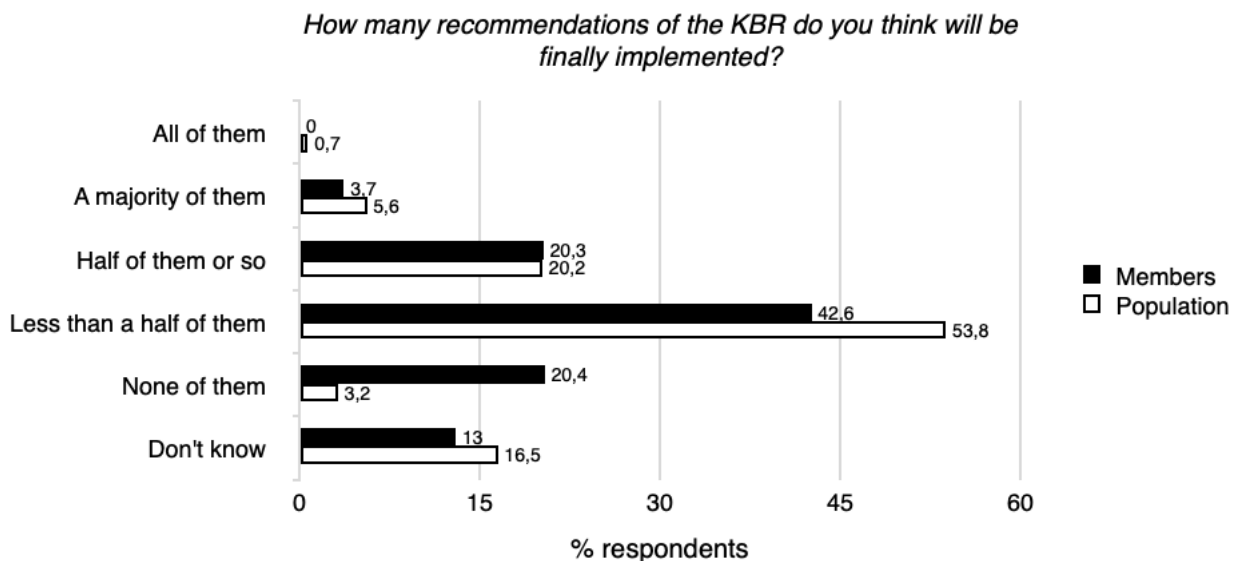
Concerning the content of the recommendations, Figure 26 shows that the KBR’s outcomes ultimately achieved a strong consensus among survey respondents. Over 90% of them agreed with all or the majority of the recommendations included in the final report. Conversely, a very small minority (10%) agreed with fewer than half of the proposals.

Figure 26. Agreement with the recommendations



In various climate assemblies, there has often been a gap between the members’ expectations and the actual policy impact or the degree of politicians’ engagement. On this aspect, Figure 27 shows that most KBR members maintained a rather realistic perspective, with 42.6% anticipating that fewer than half of the recommendations would lead to substantive action. Notably, 20.4% believed that none of the recommendations would be considered, while 24% were more optimistic, thinking that more than half could have a significant impact. A small segment (13%) adopted a cautious approach and chose ‘don’t know’. When these findings are compared with a population survey asking the same question, KBR members seem more sceptical than the general public. In the population survey, only 3.2% felt that none of the recommendations would be taken up (versus 20.4% among KBR members), suggesting that the members have a more pessimistic—or perhaps realistic—view of the recommendations’ implementation.

Figure 27. The implementation of the recommendations

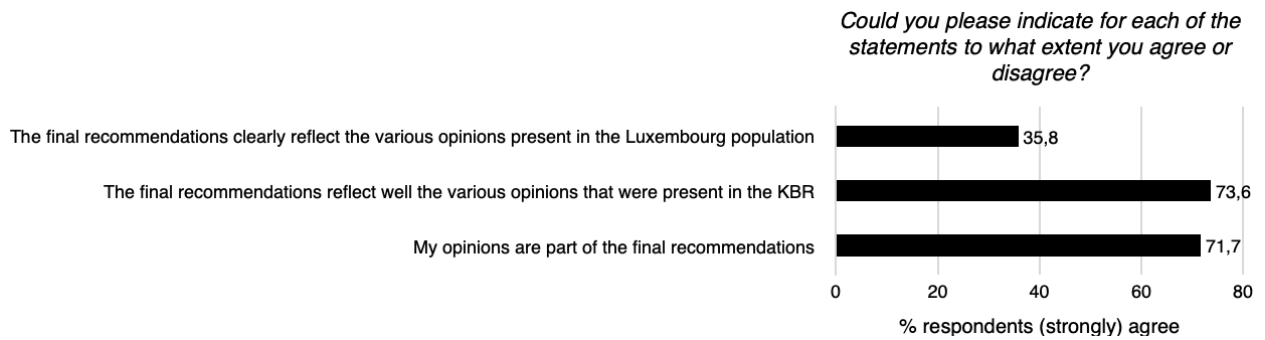


Many members expressed their thoughts on the political uptake of the recommendations during their interviews. The quotes gathered tend to corroborate the cautious stance concerning how the commissioners might receive these recommendations: *“I am a bit sceptical when it comes to the implementation. Whether they*

will take it seriously. (...) It is hard to tell.” Another member pondered: “the question is always will they expose themselves to real action and change things, or will they try to keep everything as it is?” Another member recalled the consultative nature of the process: “It is like a big focus group (...) They won’t automatically listen to everything we say, but I think that they are trying to test the waters, they are trying to see how strong the different interests are, and I guess this is useful.” Other members suggested that the likelihood of implementation might be strongly influenced by the specific content of the recommendations: “Some of the results are very idealistic and hard to implement”, while another one stated that “some proposals are highly complex and I cannot imagine how they could work. And some ideas are quite good, but will they be adopted as such? I don’t know.” Other members expressed the view that the adoption of the recommendations might greatly depend on the results of the forthcoming election and the composition of the new Government, particularly with respect to advancing the agenda on climate change: “they will for sure read it very carefully. It is probably okay for what will fit the current NECP. I think it is possible to adapt things, so to speak. They will tighten certain screws that are already in place, for example. But to completely change and rearrange things, that is something for the next Government, I think. After all, next year is the next election and then the next Government will maybe take up some of the ideas. I think the current Government cannot do that many fundamental changes right now. The climate problem is a question of principles, an issue of the system, and you can’t figure that out in just one year.” Another member shared a similar view but with a more critical tone: “I feel like this whole thing is an advertisement: see, we asked the citizens, so go on and vote for us again! They had the plans in their desk already anyway, but now they can legitimize them thanks to the climate assembly (...) But there is also a chance that I will adjust my opinion if they really listen to us. It is possible that in the new Government program there will be a suggestion from the citizens’ climate assembly. Then, I would change my view.” The moderators, too, brought up the forthcoming election when discussing the prospects for the recommendations being considered: “I do believe that the recommendations might have some impact. But I would say that it depends on which party will be voted in October.”

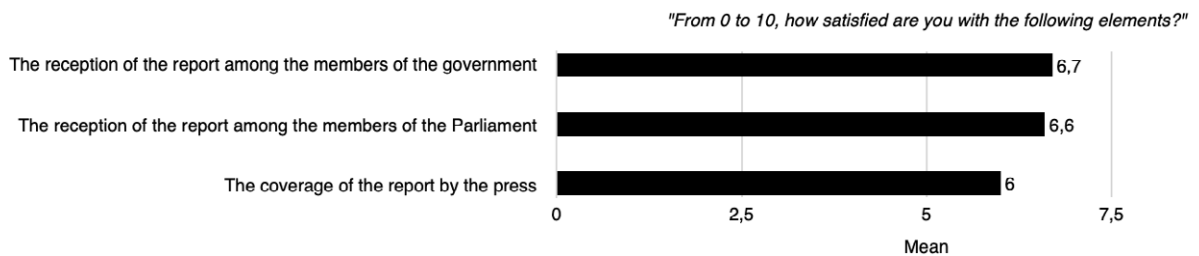
Furthermore, the members’ survey probed whether the respondents felt that the final recommendations represented a broad set of opinions. Figure 28 shows that about 70% of members considered that their own opinion and the opinions of the other members were reflected in the final report. This suggests that a majority of members felt they had contributed to the outcomes, highlighting the process’s quality in terms of its results. Nevertheless, only 35% concurred that the recommendations were representative of the varied opinions within the broader Luxembourg population. This perception likely stems from the members’ recognition of recruitment bias and the resultant lack of diversity in the participants’ viewpoint.

Figure 28. Opinions on the final recommendations



After phase II and the delivery of the report, the members’ survey addressed how the respondents viewed the reception of the outcomes by various stakeholders. As Figure 29 suggests, they were fairly satisfied with the attention the report garnered from the Government and parliament. However, their satisfaction with media coverage was somewhat lower on average. This discrepancy may be attributed to the fact that KBR members had numerous interactions with Members of Parliament (through parliamentary commissions) and Government officials (at the report presentation), providing them direct avenues to discuss their recommendations. Conversely, there were fewer opportunities for such exchanges with the press.

Figure 29. Satisfaction with the reception of the final report



4. The impact of deliberation: learnings

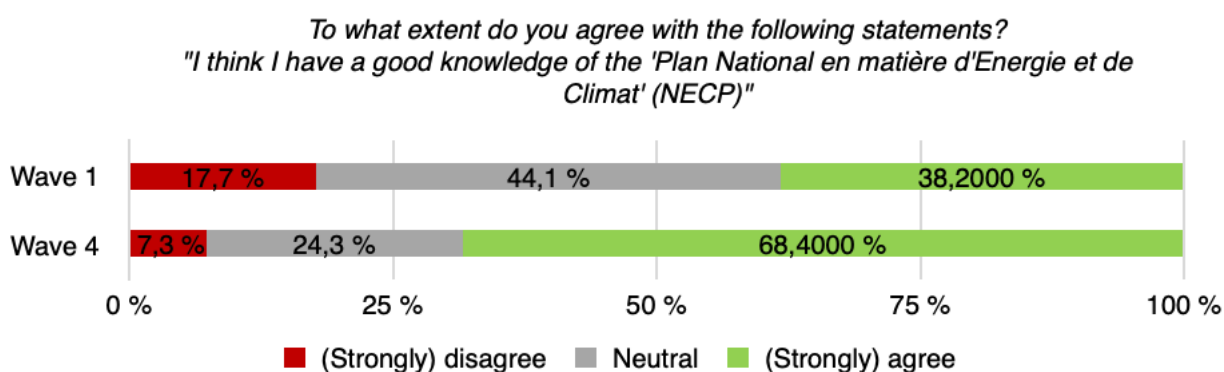
In this chapter, the evaluation focuses on whether and how participation in the KBR influenced members' attitudes regarding climate change (4.1), politics (4.2), and citizens' assemblies in general (4.3).

The assessment of KBR members' learning is derived from the responses of the 57 individuals who participated in both the initial and final stages of the members' survey. This longitudinal approach facilitates an understanding of the changes over time and the potential effects of their engagement in the assembly. Qualitative data from interviews with both the members and the organizers supplement these findings, offering deeper insights into the members' learning experiences.

4.1. Impact on knowledge and attitudes on the policy issue at hand (climate)

The members' survey included questions about the evolution of respondents' self-perceived knowledge regarding the policy issue under discussion. Figure 30 shows that about a third of respondents (strongly) agreed that they had a good level of knowledge of the NECP at the beginning of the process. This number significantly increased, with over two-thirds of them feeling knowledgeable by the end of the process. Such results indicate that the respondents gained substantial understanding about Luxembourg's climate policy during their time in the assembly. The positive learning outcomes of the process are also corroborated by interviews with the members. One member explained: *"I have learned a lot because of the information that I have been shown on some things, things that I probably would have cared less about before, but now I am more aware of those things."*

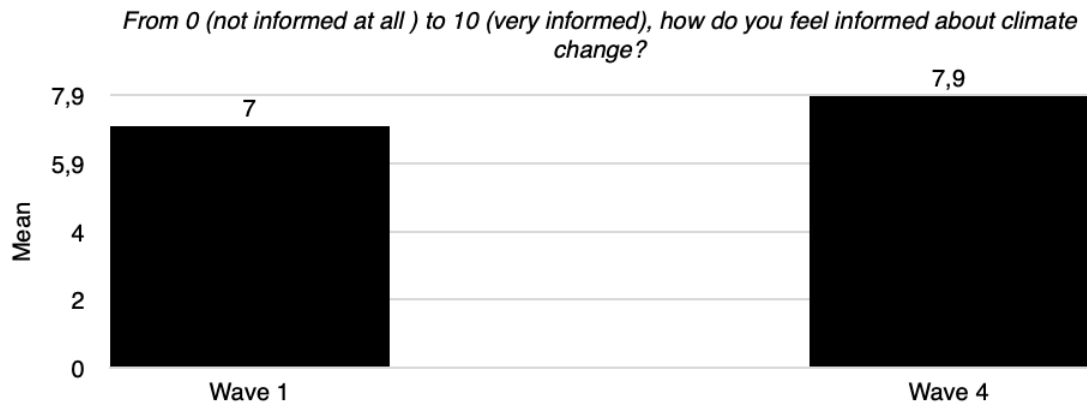
Figure 30. Subjective knowledge about the NECP



More broadly Figure 31 shows that there was a significant increase of almost a whole percentage point (+0.9) in the mean score members awarded themselves

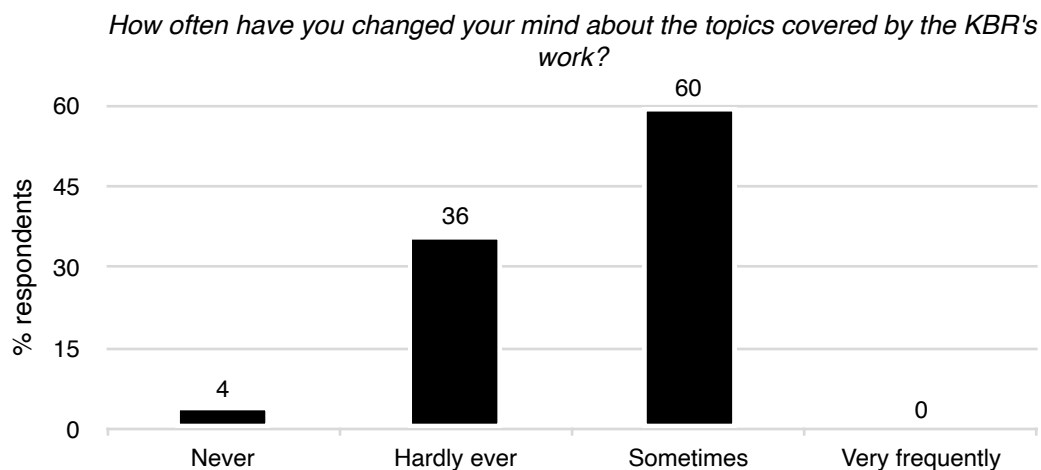
regarding their level of information on environmental issues and climate change. On a scale from 0 to 10, survey respondents felt more informed at the conclusion of the process, with an average score of 7.9, up from 7.0 at the start. This suggests a significant increase in self-assessed knowledge. However, it is worth noting that the respondents' awareness of climate issues was already considerable at the outset.

Figure 31. Level of information on climate change



The survey asked respondents to reflect on the frequency with which they changed their minds about the topics discussed within the KBR. Deliberative processes are designed to expose participants to a range of perspectives, evidence, and experiences, which can sometimes result in individuals revising their previously held views after considering new information and different viewpoints. This kind of engagement is a core element of deepening understanding on complex issues. As illustrated in Figure 32, the results are relatively positive: 60% of members reported to having sometimes changed their opinions, indicating that the KBR was successful regarding the quality of its debates.

Figure 32. Perceived frequency of opinion change

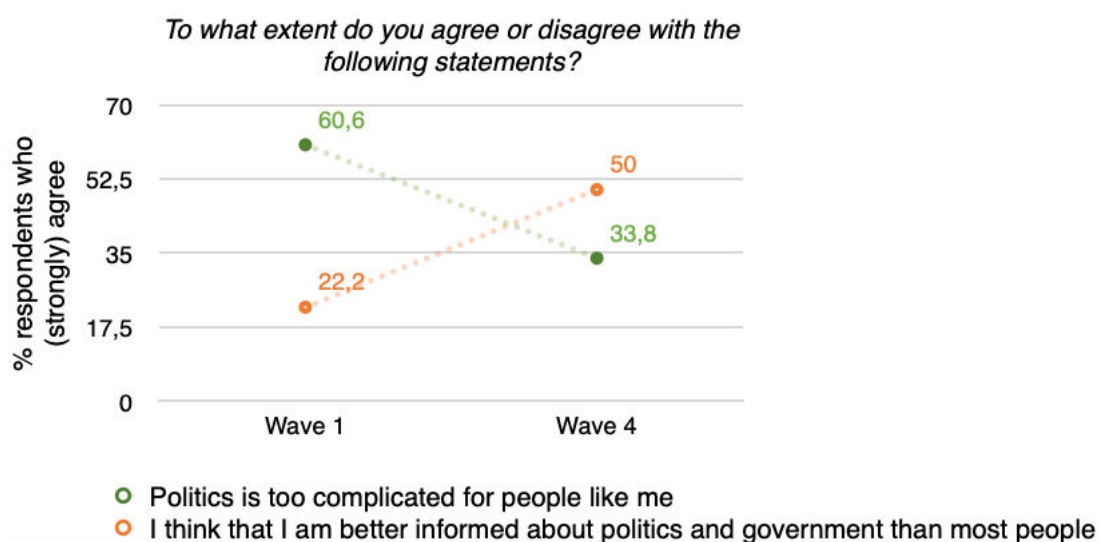


4.2. Impact on baseline political attitudes

4.2.1. Competence

An anticipated benefit of participating in a citizens' assembly is an increase in participants' political self-efficacy, as they learn about and engage with complex political issues, realizing their ability to understand and contribute to such discussions. The members' survey results, depicted in Figure 33 confirm a significant rise in this subjective sense of competence. At the conclusion of the process, respondents found politics to be considerably less complex (green line), while they also reported an increase in their personal level of information on politics (orange line).

Figure 33. Evolution of political efficacy



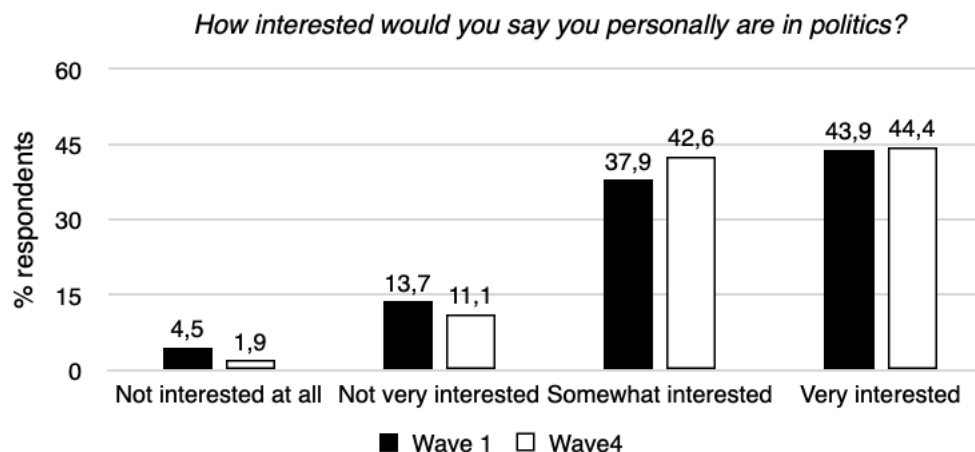
The political education gained through the assembly was echoed in the members' interviews. A participant emphasized that their learning extended beyond climate-specific issues to encompass a broader understanding of politics as a whole: *"I think I learned a lot for myself. I was able to gather much knowledge on quite different topics, like for instance through the web-seminars. But I have also learned a lot about how the Government and how politics work in Luxembourg. I have voted once in the past, but actually I was not really into politics so much. Now, I think I have learned much about politics."* Another member also highlighted the acquisition of communication skills during phase I, noting that these new abilities encouraged them to assume greater responsibility in phase II: *"at the beginning, I felt very insecure. But, as time went on, I felt better and now, look, I can also present the proposals of our group to the rest of the assembly. I will also be one of the spokespersons this summer."*

The facilitators and moderators also recognized the educational aspect of the assembly. They insisted on how a certain working methodology emerged over time. One organizer explained that the members learned during the process, but their

education extended beyond the immediate subject matter: *“one must not underestimate the fact that to most participants, if not all, this was entirely new. And even to us, it was new. There was no way of understanding the complexity of the scope ahead of time. From the start, for all members, it would only be unfolded and become clear along the way. That is something that we clearly noticed after the first and especially the second cycle. People became really committed to the process and knew better how to prepare and to deliberate effectively. So, I wouldn’t say they first entirely understood what was expected of them and the level of work and preparation it would require and the amount of time it would take, but they learned about it and came back after each weekend more prepared.”* This evolution was noticed by the moderators as well. One interviewee described that *“the participants just needed some time to understand the process and what was expected of them. Once they understood, they changed their ways of approaching the subject and just adapted how they worked in the working group, how they were arguing. (...) They realized that they were members of the KBR, which is supposed to be a process of participative democracy.”* Similarly, another moderator was initially relatively sceptical but then changed their mind over time when faced with the members’ learning capacity: *“the participants were pushed to reach a certain goal within a certain time and sometimes I felt like it could not work. However, it got better throughout the process and at the end they knew which methods to use. They knew how to get into the topic, and we also knew how to work with them.”*

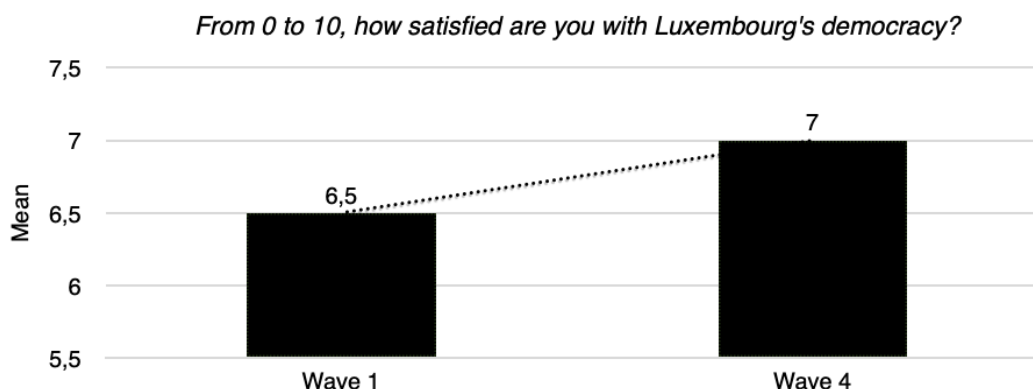
4.2.2. Interest in politics

One might anticipate that members would develop an increased interest in politics following their participation in the assembly. The members’ survey data, as illustrated in Figure 34, shows that there were, indeed, slightly fewer respondents who placed themselves in the two lowest categories of political interest. Yet, the effect remains small and not substantial. The main explanation is that the KBR members were already highly interested in politics (and much more so than the average population) when they joined, not leaving much room for improvement in this aspect. Still, one member insisted on the KBR’s impact on the propensity to seek out political information: *“Whether my participation here changed my views on the Government? I would not say that. Whether it brought me closer to and made me more active in politics, I mean, in terms also of informing myself? Yes!”*

Figure 34. Evolution of political interest

4.2.3. Satisfaction with democracy

To conclude on the effect of the deliberation on baseline political attitudes, if the KBR members perceive the experience as successful and the process efficient, one could expect that the survey respondents would report more satisfaction with the way Luxembourg's democracy works. From the members' survey results, Figure 35 tends to confirm that they were on average more satisfied with democracy at the end of the process, with a 0.5 increase in the mean value compared to the start. Even if the members were overall already confident in democracy when they entered the process (and more importantly than the average population), our results emphasized nonetheless that democratic innovations like the KBR have the potential to reinforce positive attitudes towards democracy among participating citizens.

Figure 35. Evolution of satisfaction with democracy

The influence of the deliberative process on members' perceptions of democracy was also reflected in their interviews, where they discussed the changes in their views on how democracy functions. One member suggested that *"this Klima Bi-ergerrot is obviously a sign that the Government in power is trying to really make people listen. It could also mean that they really want to listen to the citizens."* Another one explained: *"A long time ago I would not have thought that Luxembourg*

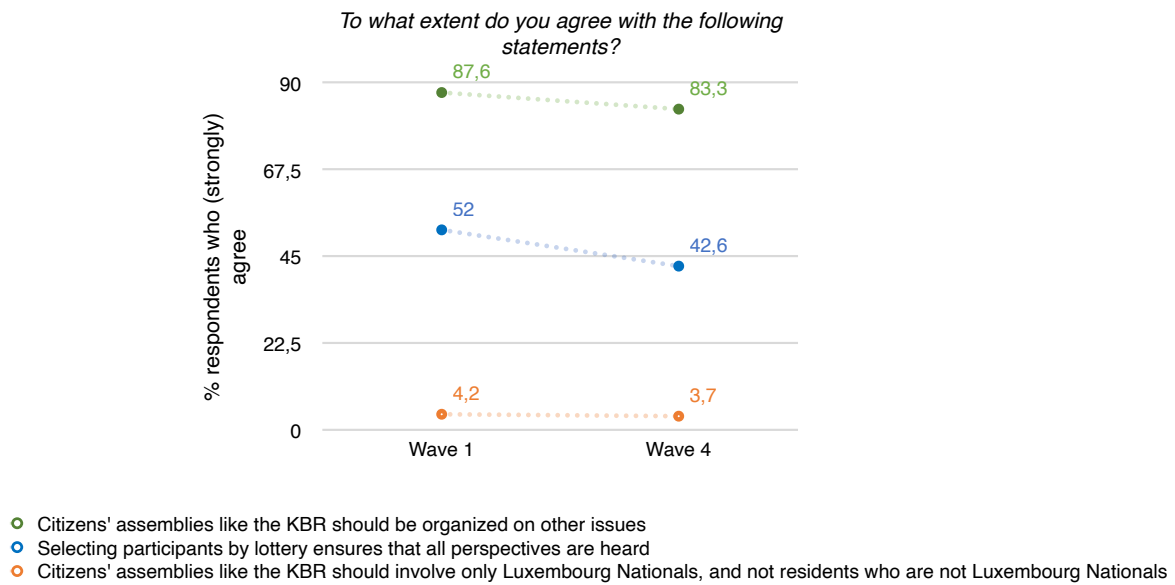
would develop so well. Over the years, I'm noticing that things always tend to move in a good direction. There are of course areas where things do not go so well, but the advantage is that it is a relatively small territory. And in that sense, it can be easier to come up with new concepts and plans like the KBR, and to make them work. (...) I have the feeling that there is an interest in really doing things right and making Luxembourg's democracy better." Interestingly, the organizers explained that their own democratic beliefs were also affected by the KBR experience: "My belief in democracy had highs and lows during this process. At the end, I do think that it is comforted."

4.3. Impact on attitudes towards deliberative democracy

The last section of this chapter focuses on participants' views on citizens' assemblies and other deliberative political formats. Globally, we believe that their recruitment into a deliberative process would impact their generic attitudes towards such democratic practices. As a result of their participation and growing familiarity with the deliberative approach, one might anticipate that participants will hold a more favourable opinion of various aspects of climate assemblies following the conclusion of the process. Conversely, there is a possibility that support for the deliberative process might remain unchanged or even decline if certain aspects of the KBR were viewed more critically by participants, such as recruitment homogeneity, the dominance of a few users on the online platform, or the limited supervision of phase II.

4.3.1. Attitudes towards deliberative processes and citizens' assemblies

The members' survey initially sought to gauge respondents' attitudes towards the process itself. Questions were posed about the applicability of citizens' assemblies to topics beyond climate issues. Additionally, two items focused on the perception of the recruitment process, specifically the use of sortition and the level of inclusivity that citizens' assemblies are intended to provide. The results are presented in Figure 36.

Figure 36. Evolution of attitudes towards citizens' assemblies

A vast majority of the members held and continued to hold positive views on the use of citizens' assemblies, similar to the KBR, and agreed that they should be organized to address various issues (green line). There was a slight dip in support compared to the beginning of the process, but still, more than 80% of respondents maintained a favourable attitude at the conclusion of the KBR, with strong agreement about the proposal. The desire for broader implementation of mini-publics for different topics was also a subject of discussion in member interviews. One member explained that *“there are other things that Luxembourg spends money on, which, in my opinion, make less sense than this. I think that, in this case, maybe in the short run, there will not be that many positive outcomes yet, but in the long run, this kind of format could be used in other areas, with other topics too.”* Another member also called for replication: *“conversation with citizens is a very important element because the citizens feel understood then, and the politicians find out exactly where the problems lie. I want more of that, Governments saying: give us your ideas, come over, tell us something. Like it is here. We are building something together, collecting our ideas, talking about them.”* One organizer also reflected on the reinforcement of positive attitudes towards the process: *“there was a learning curve, which also increased members' confidence: in themselves, as a group, but also in this form of process.”*

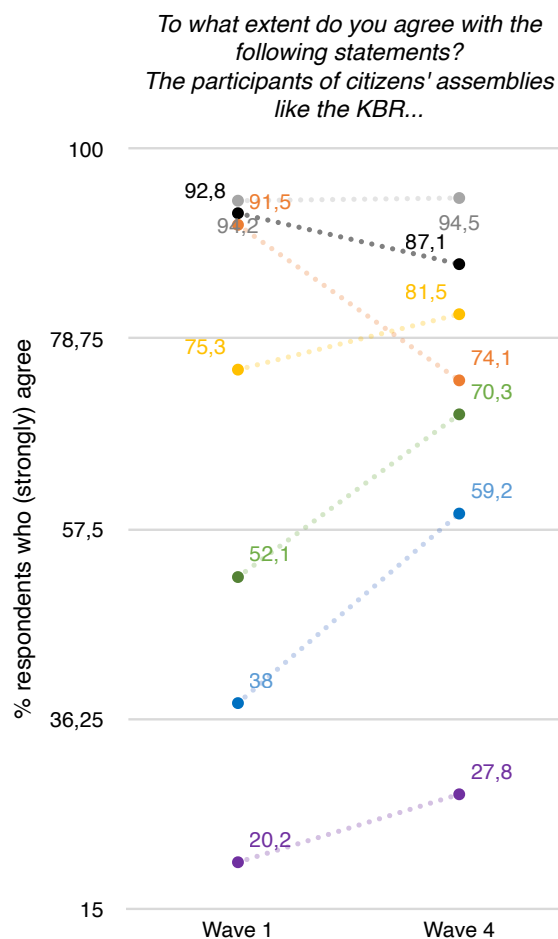
According to the members' survey, there was a more mixed response to the use of sortition as a means to improve representativeness, with a slight shift towards a more negative view over time (blue line in Figure 36). This can probably be related to the lack of diversity they themselves observed. Indeed, if their assessment of sortition is based on their experience within the KBR, where a biased sample emerged due to self-selection factors, their increasingly sceptical stance is understandable. Highlighting once more how important inclusiveness was to them, almost all the respondents (strongly) agreed with the proposal that non-citizen

residents should be included in such processes (orange line in Figure 36). This attitude remained very stable throughout the process. Given that most members of the KBR were nationals, this is significant. It indicates a willingness among the members to expand the scope of national policymaking to incorporate the perspectives of non-nationals, provided that the process is conducted through a citizens' assembly.

4.3.2. Attitudes towards the participants in citizens' assemblies

The members' survey then explored respondents' opinions regarding the participants and their capacity to address climate issues in these climate citizens' assemblies. The results are presented in Figure 37.

Figure 37. Evolution of members' attitudes towards participants in citizens' assemblies



- ... put climate protection goals before their personal interests
- ... are willing to accept opposing viewpoints, even if good arguments are put forward by the other participants or by the experts
- ... are capable of reaching a consensus on how to address climate change
- ... can freely express divergent or alternative views on climate change
- ... are informed and skilled enough to make a contribution to policymaking on climate protection
- ... can make fair and honest decisions on climate protection
- Only the loudest and the most confident participants' opinions on climate protection can be heard in citizens' assemblies like the KBR

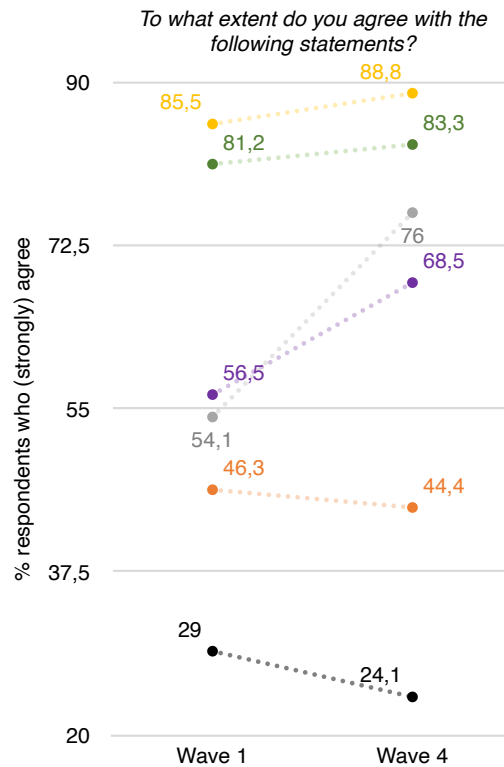
Overall, the survey respondents emerged from the KBR with an enhanced view of the role of citizens in climate assemblies. A stable majority, over 90%, perceived participants as altruistic, prioritizing communal interest over personal gain (grey line). They also increasingly believed that participants were free to express their views (yellow line). More significantly, while they were somehow divided on the competence of citizens to address climate policymaking at the beginning of the process, they evolved much more positively on this aspect at the end of the process (green line). In similar proportions, despite being initially relatively sceptical about the ability of participants in citizens' assemblies to reach honest and fair decisions, two-thirds of the respondents (strongly) agreed with this proposal at the end of the process (blue line). All in all, these results tend to confirm the quality of the deliberation within the KBR, which in turn seems to have positively affected the opinions of its members.

However, we have also uncovered some negative changes. While still high, the percentage of respondents affirming a willingness to accept opposing views showed a slight decline, remaining at about 87% following phase II (black line). Concurrently, there was a 7.6% increase in respondents who agreed with the statement that only the most vocal and assertive participants tend to be heard in participatory processes (purple line). We previously noted from respondents and interviewees that certain members tended to dominate discussions, which likely explains these trends. The most concerning negative shift pertains to the capacity of participants to reach consensus (orange line). Initially, over 90% of respondents were in strong agreement that consensus could be achieved. However, by the end of the process, this figure had decreased to 74%. This decline could likely be due to reduced facilitation during phase II.

4.3.3. Attitudes towards the outcomes of citizens' assemblies

The members' survey explored respondents' thoughts on the outcomes of citizens' assemblies like the KBR. These results are presented in Figure 38.

Figure 38. Evolution of members' attitudes towards the outcomes of citizens' assemblies



- The outcomes of citizens' assemblies like the KBR can raise awareness and concerns about the environment in the Luxembourg population
- I am, personally, willing to accept the recommendations of citizens' assemblies like the KBR
- Citizens' assemblies like the KBR should try to involve the larger public through media or Internet
- Ultimately, elected politicians should decide whether the recommendations of citizens' assemblies like the KBR will be implemented
- The general population should have the opportunity to vote on the recommendations of citizens' assemblies like the KBR in a binding referendum
- Citizens' assemblies like the KBR should have the capacity to make decisions that are directly implemented

KBR members were very positive about the impact of citizens' assemblies in raising awareness of issues among the general population (yellow line). They remained so throughout the process. Moreover, they were consistently positive about the notion of accepting policy recommendations from other citizens' assemblies, even those in which they did not participate (green line). A member highlighted the capacity of these processes to make the population accept difficult political decisions: *"In general, it's good to include citizens in this type of decision-making process. We can better understand the implications and problems of many things now that we have sat on the other side of the table. (...) And maybe it is also easier to live with the unpleasant consequences of some policy changes when you know that other "regular" people helped make them."*

While external communication is critical for influencing public knowledge and awareness, members initially had mixed feelings on this front. However, a notable change occurred post-phase II (grey line in Figure 38). This seemed to be in line with the evolution of the KBR on this aspect. Indeed, as explained in Chapter V, external communication became a point of contention after unintended media leaks. These events led to a re-evaluation of the organizers' strategy to engage with the

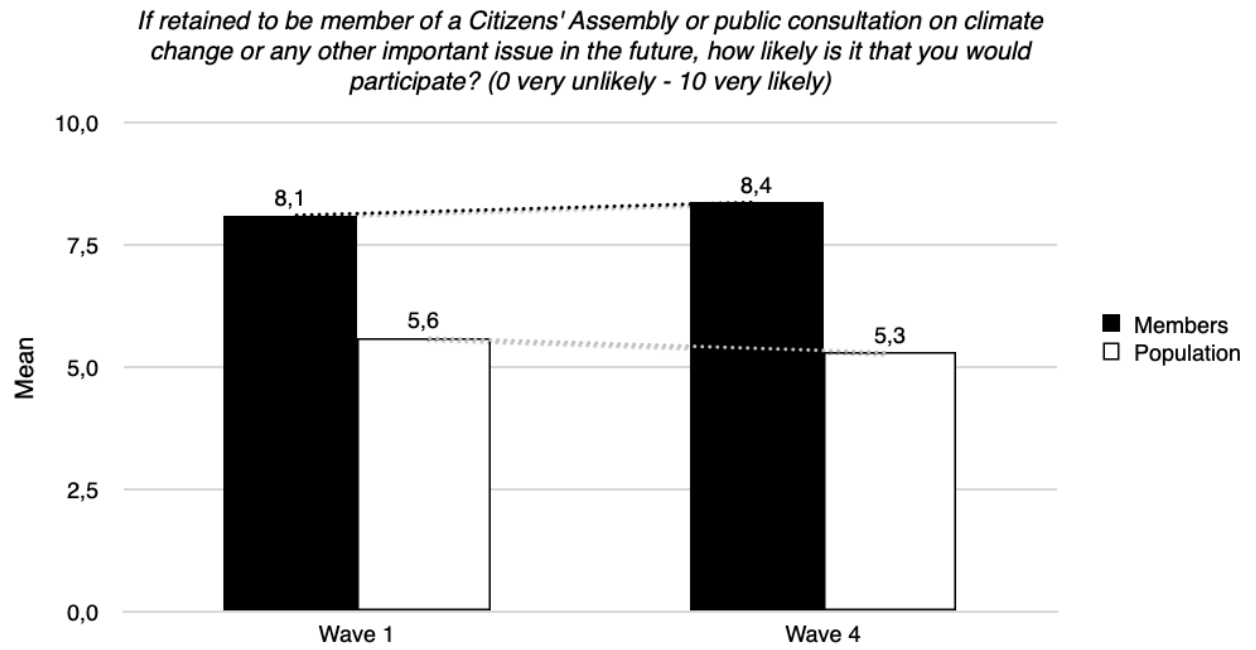
media only after presenting recommendations to parliament. Eventually, a plenary vote by the KBR members resulted in a decision to avoid media engagement until the end of the process. Survey results suggest that some members might have grown to see the value in public communication once the process was complete. Yet, it's also possible that an increasing number of members believed there should have been more communication throughout the process. Interviews with members further corroborate this shift in perspective: *“on Thursday, they sent us a document that said: ‘yes, media presence, but it is planned for the parliament, not before’. And it was not asked whether we, the participants, liked that or not, whether we were okay with it, that they decide everything on their own, or whether we would, for example like to have the media present during the next working meeting. That’s why I think there is still something missing in this whole process. When it comes to the media. Not much has happened so far.”*

From a more theoretical perspective, members did not show support for the concept of binding citizens’ assemblies, where participants would be the sole decision-makers with the power to make direct decisions (black line in Figure 38). By the end of the process, this idea was favoured by less than a quarter of the members (25%). Conversely, there was a notable increase in the proportion of members who believed that elected officials should ultimately decide on the implementation of the assembly’s recommendations, rising from 56% to 68.5% in agreement with this view (purple line in Figure 38). Furthermore, when considering hybrid democratic models that integrate deliberative processes with direct democracy tools like referendums, a consistent two-thirds majority of members were against a system where the general population would directly vote on the implementation of recommendations made by a citizens’ assembly, rather than leaving the decision to politicians (orange line in Figure 38).

4.3.4. Prospective behaviours: participation in future deliberative processes

To conclude this chapter, the members’ survey investigated the respondents’ willingness to engage in future citizens’ assemblies. Figure 39 shows a small increase of 0.3 in willingness among the members, shifting from 8.1 as the mean score in the first wave to 8.4 in the last phase. This indicates a solidification of their positive disposition towards participating in such democratic processes. Additionally, it was observed that members of the KBR were significantly more inclined to participate in future assemblies than the general population, evidenced by a three-point difference in surveys conducted after the recommendations were presented. The results from the members’ interviews affirm this trend: *“I would definitely go to another thing like this.”*

Figure 39. Prospective participation



5. Impact on the wider community: media coverage

This chapter evaluates how the KBR was represented in Luxembourg's media landscape, looking into the event's coverage. The chapter first revisits the communication strategy set up by the KBR organizers towards the press (5.1). Then, it examines the extent of mass media coverage and describes the evolution of the different phases (5.2). Finally, it analyses the content of the mass media coverage, looking either at the depth of coverage (5.3) or at the arguments that were put forward (5.4).

The assessment draws from interviews with organizers, official KBR communications, and a dataset that includes 115 media entries referencing the KBR. These pieces were published across various Luxembourg mass media outlets from October 2021, marking the Prime Minister's announcement of the KBR's organization, until August 2023. This period thus also encompasses three months after the Government's first public release of the draft version of the new National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP), in which an official policy follows up on the KBR recommendations was provided.

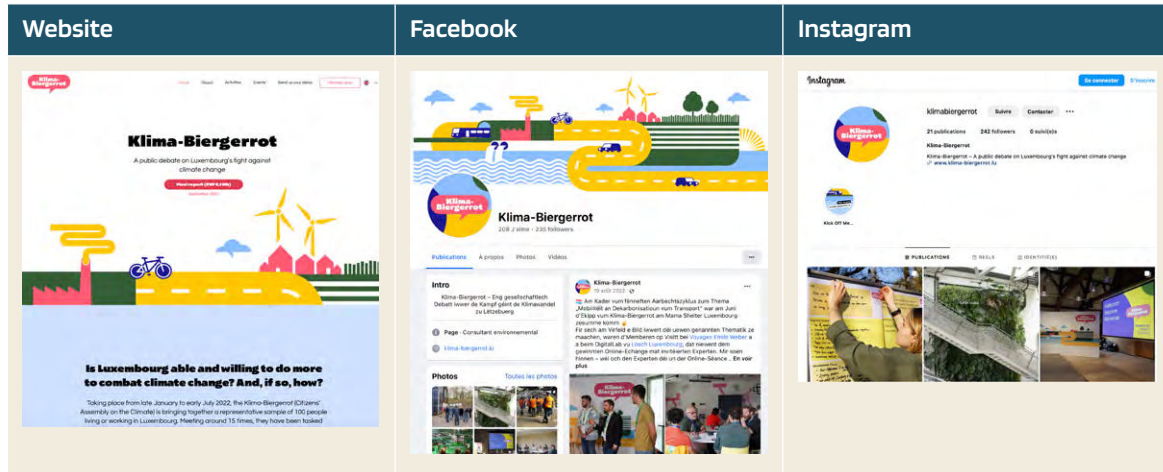
5.1. The KBR's communication resources and strategy.

Before discussing the extent and content of media coverage one must identify what has been learned from the relationship of past climate citizens' assemblies with the media. The media coverage received by citizens' assemblies can differ greatly from one case to another, largely influenced by the communication strategy chosen by the organizers. Some may choose to communicate extensively throughout the process, while others may focus their efforts on highlighting the outcomes and the final report. Moreover, organizers did not all allocate the same level of material and human resources to the task.

As far as the KBR is concerned, communication was rather limited during the process. No press officer or communication team was tasked with communicating about the KBR and its work. The website was not updated very often during the process, except for a link to the final report which remained only available in French. There was more activity via the sporadic and succinct updates on the KBR's Facebook and Instagram accounts. As presented in Table 6, these two channels offered very brief audio-visual content (videos, photos) about the working weekends and the prior field visits. However, these KBR social media accounts only had about 200 followers and very little engagement. Apart from two livestreamed

press conferences hosted by the Government before and after the KBR, there was a notable lack of continuous and transparent information available to the public and media regarding the inner workings of the process.

Table 6. The KBR's online communication channels



Organizers defended the KBR's minimal engagement with the wider community and limited visibility in the media: *“my position is a shared position within the organizing team: we concentrate on the internal, deliberative work, now. And once we have a finish line in view, we can think about media and outreach strategy.”* They justified their choice by claiming that journalists, and others, were more likely to be interested in the proposals than in the process itself: *“I think that journalists, the media, the public, the politicians are mainly interested in the proposals. It would have been too early to communicate on anything before late August, mid-September. So, if you are not communicating on the proposals, what you can explain, and present is the process. But then the process is at risk of being influenced.”* Indeed, they also believed that it was important to shield the KBR from external influence during the process: *“our fear was that opening up the process to external actors such as journalists, politicians, lobbyists, advocacy groups would pollute the deliberation and the discussions among the citizens. (...) I understand the critics saying that it was not transparent because we didn't communicate enough along the way, but if we had come under public scrutiny, people would have challenged and destabilized the process. And I still believe that it could have hijacked the process.”* Furthermore, the coordinating team did acknowledge that organizing public and media exchanges was simply not a priority for the organization: *“to be honest, we didn't have the time. It was impossible and I realized that it was not a wish either. Because, you know, we wanted the process to work. It was new to us, new to the participants.”*

Within the KBR, the absence of formal communication rules and a predetermined strategy led to a situation where two participants engaged with a journalist during the process, resulting in a press article that contained critical remarks. This incident caused dissatisfaction among other members who did not feel that the opinions expressed in the article represented their collective view, thereby caus-

ing internal tensions. Consequently, the members then took it upon themselves to discuss and address the issue of external communication directly. One member explained: *“overall, there is no media presence here during the weekend. It’s not like anyone was invited or not. I don’t know whether this is because they don’t want it here, the organizers I mean, or whether the media themselves say: “Why would we be interested in this? We’ll come when the parliament is seeing the results of the assembly, not before.” This controversy over communication was also addressed by a moderator: “on Basecamp, the participants started to discuss whether they should talk to the media and the press or not. Two members did it anonymously, resulting in everybody looking at everybody else like who’s the imposter and who is trying to fight with the group. That was the main problem, as there was some tension when the issue came out. But everybody mostly agreed with not talking and then confirmed this position the following weekend.” Indeed, before the leak, there was a plenary consensus among the members to adhere to the organizers’ strategy, which was to concentrate on the core tasks—deliberations and formulation of recommendations—before turning their attention to communication. The organizer responsible for communication explained: “we settled after the third and fourth thematic cycles that opening was not ultimately a good idea.”*

In conclusion, another factor influencing the KBR’s communication strategy was the extension of the process itself. As discussed in Chapter III, the organizers chose to allocate the remaining budget to the operational costs of the extended phase II activities over the summer, leaving limited funds for a comprehensive communication campaign. They informally indicated that budget constraints were also why the final report was only available in French, as there were insufficient resources to hire translators. Additionally, in the final weeks, the organizers worked pro bono, which further constrained their capacity to engage in further communication efforts.

5.2. The extent and evolution of mass media coverage

Despite the limited communication efforts from the organizers during the process, the KBR received relatively good media exposure. Luxembourg’s population size is small, but its media landscape is nonetheless rich and diverse (Kies and Hamdi 2022). One of the contributing factors to Luxembourg’s media diversity is the co-existence of multiple languages. This linguistic variety means that some media outlets target specific language-speaking audiences, while others reach a broader demographic by offering content in multiple languages.

During the period from the KBR’s announcement to the unveiling of the new National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP), which included an official governmental

response, a total of 112 pieces of media content referencing the KBR were published across 18 different Luxembourgish media outlets or platforms, both in print and online. As shown in Figure 40, 6 mainstream media outlets accounted for 70% of the press material we gathered.

- *Le Quotidien* (21 pieces) and *Luxemburger Wort* (15 pieces) are two important daily print newspapers.
- 12 pieces were published by the national public media service and radio broadcaster (*100,7*). 10 pieces of reporting on the KBR were produced by the private broadcaster *RTL*, which dominates the audio-visual landscape (TV and radio). Despite being private, RTL has a duty to ensure important public missions.
- 11 pieces were published in *Paperjam* and in *Woxx*, which are respectively a monthly and a weekly magazine. The former is close to the business sector, whereas the latter is closer to the pro-environmental community.

Figure 40. Coverage of the KBR by different Luxembourg media outlets

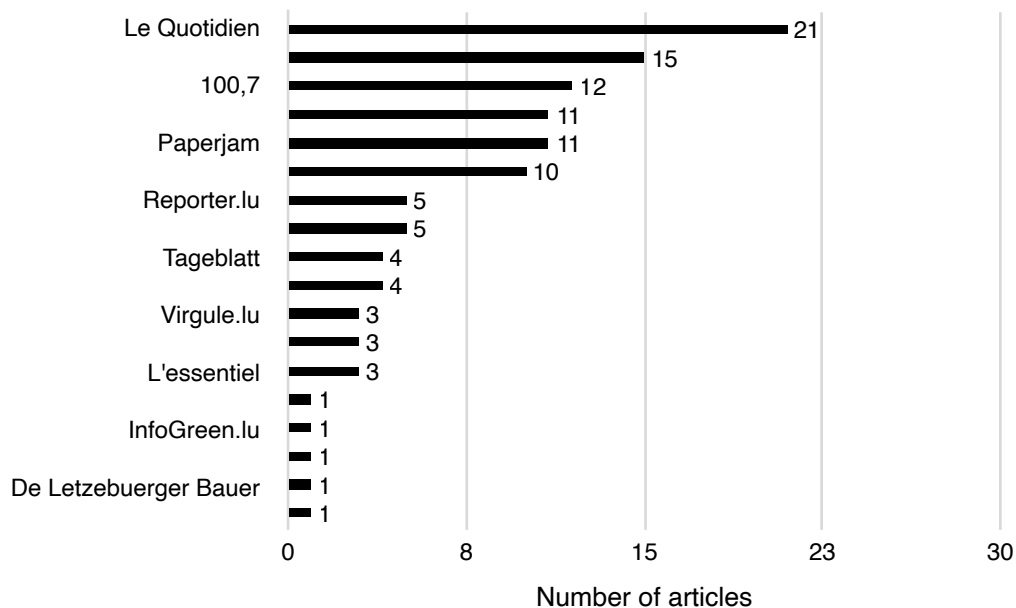
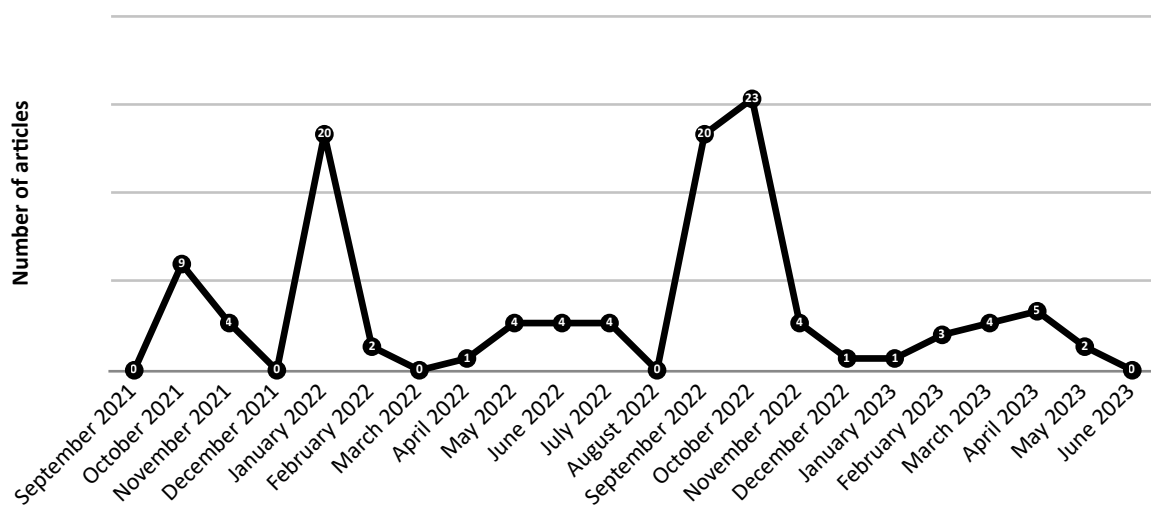


Figure 41 shows the extent of media coverage and its monthly evolution. The patterns are relatively similar to those of other climate citizens' assemblies because they follow the different phases of the process.

Figure 41. Evolution of the KBR media exposure



The initial phase of visibility spanned October-November 2021, coinciding with the Prime Minister’s official announcement in his annual State of the Nation address that the KBR would convene to tackle the pressing issue of climate change. This development, as well as the KBR’s alignment with global climate discussions, was featured in several articles during the COP26 summit in Glasgow that year.

Table 7. Extracts of media coverage: KBR announcement

Media	Date	Article's extract
RTL	13/10/2021	...“There should be a climate citizens’ assembly, with 100 members, where climate issues will be discussed on behalf of the population....
100,7	13/10/2021	... “The Prime Minister placed the climate protection policy prominently at the beginning of his speech. Like never before, he felt that action had to be taken to avoid further suffering. ... Another participative committee should now be the miracle solution, a climate citizens’ assembly” ...
Woxx	14/10/2021	... “The Prime Minister presented the prospect of additional measures that go beyond the current climate policy plan and announced that society would be involved in the development of these measures through a climate citizens’ assembly (Klima Biergerrot). Bettel spoke of an ‘innovative democratic project that has not yet existed in this form in Luxembourg’”. ...
Virgule.lu	02/11/2021	“Mentioned by Xavier Bettel during his last speech on the State of the Nation, the idea of asking 100 citizens to decide on environmental policy will become a reality “in the coming weeks”, assured the Prime Minister on Tuesday from Glasgow.” ...
100,7	02/11/2021	... “It was during the speech on the State of the Nation that Prime Minister Xavier Bettel first announced a citizen’s assembly to deal with climate change. 100 people would discuss the climate policy of Luxembourg. There were no more details about the surprising announcement at the time. But in Glasgow, the Prime Minister spoke about the initiative with our correspondent Philip Crowther during the World Climate Conference.” ...
Paperjam	04/11/2021	“The Prime Minister announced that the climate citizens’ assembly would be set up in the coming weeks, at the beginning of next year at the latest. Identical initiatives have already taken place in Belgium and France, unfortunately without much concrete impact afterwards.” ...

A subsequent significant phase in media coverage occurred in January 2022. Early in the month, various media outlets broadcast the recruitment call as the KBR was being put together. Later in January, reports covered the official start of the KBR. This launch included a Government-organized press conference, which marked the first major media engagement at the onset of the process.

Table 8. Extracts of media coverage: KBR kick-off

Media	Date	Article's title
RTL	05/01/2022	The work of the “ <i>Klima Biergerrot</i> ” begins at the end of January
100,7	06/01/2022	The Government launches the “ <i>Klima Biergerrot</i> ”
Paperjam	06/01/2022	The “ <i>Klima Biergerrot</i> ” is looking for 100 members
L'essentiel	06/01/2022	Citizens associated to climate efforts
Le Quotidien	06/01/2022	Do you want to be a member of the <i>Klima Biergerrot</i> ?
Tageblatt	06/01/2022	This is how Luxembourg's <i>Klima Biergerrot</i> is created
Luxemburger Wort	06/01/2022	“ <i>We stay out of it</i> ”: Government launches climate citizens' assembly
d'Lëtzebuurger Land	07/01/2022	Now also the citizens
Woxx	07/01/2022	<i>Klima Biergerrot</i> presented
Luxemburger Wort	26/01/2022	Enormous rush for the climate citizens' assembly
Paperjam	27/01/2022	<i>Klima Biergerrot</i> : first meeting on January 29th
RTL	27/01/2022	The “ <i>Klima Biergerrot</i> ” meets for the first time this weekend
100,7	29/01/2022	First meeting of the climate assembly
Le Quotidien	29/01/2022	The <i>Klima-Biergerrot</i> launches, under fire from critics

The media coverage during the KBR process was relatively muted, possibly reflecting the organizers' restrained communication approach. Nevertheless, there was a modest surge in media attention during May and July 2022, corresponding with the last working weekend of the KBR and the subsequent decision to prolong the process.

Table 9. Extracts of media coverage: KBR extension

Media	Date	Article's title
Forum	13/05/2022	What exactly can a citizens' assembly achieve?
Paperjam	17/05/2022	Proposals for climate expected in September
Le Quotidien	15/06/2022	Disappointed citizens, the debate postponed
Le Quotidien	16/06/2022	<i>Klima-Biergerrot</i> : for the organization, it was “ <i>ambitious but achievable</i> ”
Le Quotidien	18/06/2022	<i>Klima-Biergerrot</i> : the CSV steps up to the plate

Le Quotidien	05/07/2022	Klima-Biergerrot: where is the problem?
Le Quotidien	13/07/2022	Klima-Biergerrot: "A painstaking job, seven days a week"
Luxemburger Wort	17/07/2022	The KBR must be extended
Virgule.lu	18/07/2022	The Citizens' Council for the Climate is playing extra time

The fourth and most significant phase of media exposure occurred in September and October 2022, coinciding with the delivery of the KBR's report to the Government (15/09) and debated in parliament (25/10). This period represented the quantitative peak of media attention, marking the highest level of visibility for the KBR in the press.

Table 10. Extracts of media coverage: final report and parliamentary debate

Media	Date	Article's title
RTL	13/09/2022	The Klima-Biergerrot voted and accepted the final report by a majority
Luxemburger Wort	14/09/2022	56 ideas for more climate protection
RTL	15/09/2022	The Klima Biergerrot presented 56 proposals for more climate protection
Reporter.lu	15/09/2022	56 suggestions for more climate protection
Chronicle.lu	15/09/2022	The Klima Biergerrot Presents Proposals to Luxembourg Government
L'essentiel	16/09/2022	"Socially acceptable" climate measures
Paperjam	16/09/2022	The Klima Biergerrot presents 56 proposals
Woxx	16/09/2022	Klima-Biergerrot presented suggestions
Tageblatt	16/09/2022	56 suggestions for more and faster sustainability
Le Quotidien	16/09/2022	The Klima-Biergerrot returns its copy
100,7	05/10/2022	The Klima-Biergerrot presents its claims
Luxemburger Wort	22/10/2022	The work of the Climate Citizens' Council under the microscope
RTL	25/10/2022	Implementation of the climate council was emphasized by all parties
Tageblatt	26/10/2022	A lot of support for the Klima-Biergerrot
Le Quotidien	26/10/2022	The deputies are discussing the Klima-Biergerrot
Reporter.lu	26/10/2022	Government should accelerate climate protection
100,7	26/10/2022	What will become of the 56 proposals of the Klima-Biergerrot?

Finally, a fifth phase of media exposure occurred in March and April 2023 when the Government publicly presented the draft version of the new NECP and the integration of the KBR's recommendations. Although the media coverage regarding the

policy impact of the KBR was not extensive, it was nevertheless present. This coverage often formed part of a broader evaluation of Luxembourg's participatory democracy or was included in the discourse surrounding the comprehensive NECP, as presented by the Government at a press conference in April 2023 (17.04).

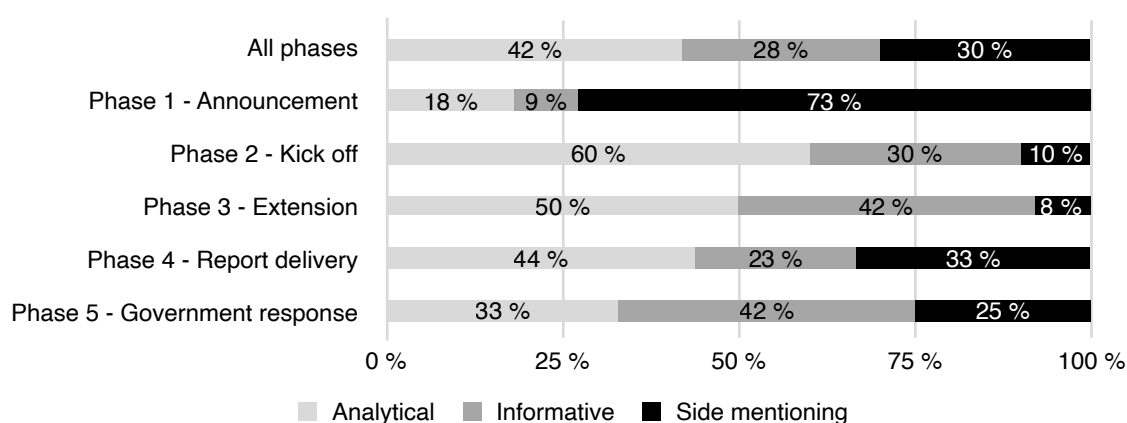
Table 11. Extracts of media coverage: Government response

Media	Date	Article's title
Luxemburger Wort	18/03/2023	Next stop: National Citizens Council
Luxemburger Wort	22/03/2023	This is how citizen participation works in Luxembourg
Le Quotidien	22/03/2023	Do even more for participatory democracy
Le Quotidien	18/04/2023	Luxembourg adjusts its response to the climate crisis
Delano	18/04/2023	Climate plan aims for more renewables, energy efficiency
Le Quotidien	19/04/2023	The climate problem
Woxx	21/04/2023	Without ambitions

5.3. The depth and evolution of media coverage

Our assessment also delved into the substance and thoroughness of KBR-related articles, tracking how media engagement with the KBR evolved over time. We categorized the articles that mentioned the KBR into three distinct groups: (a) side mention, where the KBR was referenced briefly and was not the main subject of the article; (b) informative, where the KBR was the central topic, yet the article was limited in scope and focused on presenting factual details about the KBR; and (c) analytical, where the article provided arguments and in-depth analysis in its coverage of the KBR. Figure 42 shows that the overall media coverage was relatively qualitative and reflective, with 42% of articles falling into the analytical category. The figure also introduces the variations over the different phases of exposure.

Figure 42. Evolution of the depth of the KBR media coverage



- The articles in the 1st phase were predominantly classified into the ‘side mention’ category (73%). They mentioned the KBR relatively briefly because they were generally focused on the content of the PM’s speech on the State to the Nation. They cited his announcement that the KBR would take place from January 2022 onwards. A few articles delved into the recruitment process once the official call for volunteers was launched and relayed by the Government.
- The articles became more analytical during the 2nd and 3rd phases. Between 50 to 60% of the articles in both phases put the KBR in perspective. They generally tended to decrypt its organization and functioning, while reflecting on the design of the KBR and of citizens’ assemblies in general.
- The 4th phase at the end of the process was the most productive in terms of the number of articles published. Still, despite an increase in items that briefly mentioned the KBR (33%), the articles turned out to be relatively reflective in their reporting on the final recommendations or on the whole process more generally. 44% of the articles published during this phase fell into the analytical category.
- Along with a lower level of media coverage in the 5th phase, articles reported above all factually the Government communication on the policy impact and the consideration of KBR recommendations in the new draft version of the NECP (42% informative). They were less directly questioning of the KBR (33% analytical). The KBR was indeed rather indirectly embedded in larger reflections either on Luxembourg’s participatory democracy or Luxembourg’s climate policy (25% side mention).

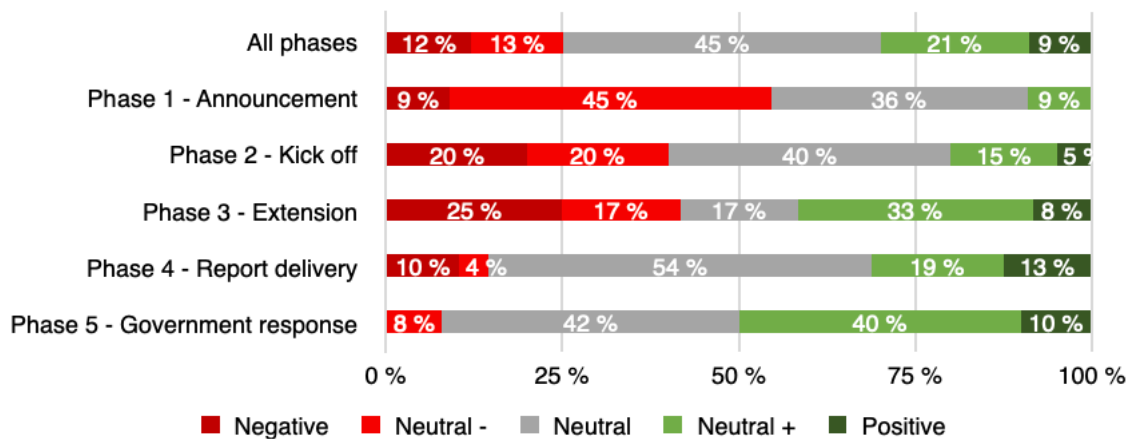
5.4. The argumentation and tone of the media coverage

Besides examining the extent and depth of the media coverage of the KBR, we also investigated how journalists portrayed climate citizens’ assemblies and the types of arguments they presented, whether positive or negative. We analysed and coded the argumentation and tone of the articles to discern the prevailing narratives. Articles were categorized as neutral if they simply reported on the assembly without a clear stance or perspective, often relaying Government information. Such articles may contain a mix of positive and negative viewpoints about citizen assemblies like the KBR and the results they yield, but without leaning strongly in either direction.

When an article maintained a predominantly neutral approach but with a slight positive or optimistic undertone, it was labelled as neutral-positive. Conversely, those with a more negative undertone were categorized as neutral-negative. Articles that took a distinctly positive or negative stance towards the KBR and the

discussions it generated were classified into the fully positive or negative categories, respectively. This approach to categorization allowed for a nuanced understanding of media sentiment towards the KBR and its activities. Figure 43 shows that, across all phases of media exposure, most articles adopted a neutral stance. The media coverage of the KBR was characterized by a substantial number of articles that provided straightforward factual reporting or offered a balanced view of both the favourable and unfavorable arguments (45%). This approach to neutral reporting aligns with trends seen in coverage of other climate citizens' assemblies. The remaining articles were almost evenly divided, with some expressing negative (25%) and others positive (30%) opinions, showing a diverse range of perspectives on the KBR.

Figure 43. Evolution of the tone of the KBR coverage



The figure presented above shows the evolution of the tone within each of the 5 phases of media exposure.

- The tone was predominantly negative during the KBR process but shifted to a more positive note concerning the final report, and most notably regarding the policy impact. This positive shift is likely due to journalists recognizing that the citizens' assembly process can exert policy influence and garner attention from the Government. The transition to more favourable coverage may reflect the media's acknowledgment that the KBR led to tangible policy proposals and actionable measures incorporated into the new National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP).
- The proportion of articles with a clear argument against the KBR was notably higher during phase 3. This period saw the emergence of several critical articles, some of which utilized comments from KBR members to cast doubt on the assembly's role, functionality, and composition. Phase 3 also coincided with the conservative party CSV questioning the legitimacy of the process in parliament. Their inquiries particularly targeted the selection and independence of the experts who participated in the KBR's information sessions and plenaries. This political scrutiny led to media articles that echoed the CSV's stance. The

fact that such media coverage influenced the dynamics within the assembly itself has been mentioned earlier.

- The high prevalence of articles categorized as “neutral negative” during phase 1 reflects a cautious and inquisitive stance of the media towards the KBR (and citizen assemblies at large) following the Prime Minister’s announcement. Additionally, during this period, the press extensively reported on criticisms coming from various civil society organizations.

Therefore, examining the arguments journalists made for or against the KBR process was crucial. In phases 1 and 2, the primary criticisms in the media came from civil society organizations worried about the Government’s method of consulting stakeholders on climate policy and the NECP. The KBR was frequently portrayed as a possible rival to the prevailing systems aiming to engage collective actors from the scientific community (typically the ‘Observatoire de la Politique Climatique’) or civil society and businesses (the ‘Plateforme de l’Action Climat et de la Transition Énergétique’). It should be noted that civil society organizations boycotted the launch of the platform meant to consult key collective stakeholders of the NECP, citing their inadequate representation in comparison to business interests. Consequently, a narrative emerged within their discourse, not opposing the KBR itself, but expressing concern that it might be exploited to advance the Government’s agenda, akin to actions taken by Emmanuel Macron in France. This argument was disseminated in the media, notably through statements from representatives of civil society organizations involved in climate transition in Luxembourg such as the Mouvement Ecologique (Méco) or the Center for Ecological Learning Luxembourg (CELL). Moreover, certain media articles expressed scepticism regarding the ability of climate citizens’ assemblies to meet climate objectives and to have a significant impact on policy outcomes.

Table 12. Examples of critical media reports – phases 1 and 2

Media	Date	Extract
Woxx	14/10/2021	...“ the Klima Biergerrot is in a kind of competition with the ‘Plateforme pour l’action climat et la transition énergétique’, which has been planned for a long time and in which representatives from businesses, politics, NGOs, and trade unions (in a ratio of 6:7:5:2) should discuss similar questions. The convening of this very platform last week initially failed due to resistance from civil society representatives who felt they were underrepresented in relation to business. This fuels concerns that the ‘Biergerrot’ could be used as an instrument to push through Government proposals against resistance in the platform.” ...
100,7	04/11/2021	... “For the rest, it will also be a question of knowing what the work of reflection could lead to. Obviously not on restrictive measures, since there is little doubt that the political world will consider that representative democracy must keep control, participation remaining an exception. Moreover, Xavier Bettel (DP) was careful not to venture into this shifting terrain, simply indicating that the proposed measures will be the subject of a debate in the Chamber. In Belgium and France, two comparable initiatives – but not completely identical – have taken place in recent years. With disappointing results.” ...

On the positive side, some articles highlighted the democratic potential of the KBR, underlining the engagement of citizens in climate policies and noting that the process depended on experts for participant selection (Ilres) and a professional organization to guarantee the quality of the procedure and discussions. However, these pieces were predominantly echoing the Government’s perspective and information.

Table 13. Examples of positive media reports – phases and 2

Media	Date	Extract
Le Quotidien	06/01//2022	... “Announced by Xavier Bettel in his declaration on the State of the Nation on October 1 (2021), the Klima Biergerrot is a new initiative that is part of Luxembourg’s policy linked to the fight against global warming. The Klima Biergerrot will have 100 members, including 40 substitutes (members will be paid for their participation in the work). These people will come from society. The selection of members began yesterday. It is overseen by Ilres based on criteria reflecting maximum representativeness of Luxembourg’s demographic reality. ... At several stages of the consultation, the Klima Biergerrot will interact with a set of actors and experts who are part of or associated with Luxembourg climate governance bodies ... the Klima Biergerrot will be tasked with making proposals for concrete and additional actions or measures on climate policy. ... For the Government, it is becoming increasingly clear that efforts to combat global warming must be further accelerated and strengthened and that it should include the citizens. This will also improve the way of living together.” ...

During phase 3, there was a consolidation of negative viewpoints concerning various issues. A series of articles, primarily in Le Quotidien, began to critique the KBR for poor and hasty organization, which led to discontent among its members. This assessment was based on the experiences of two assembly members and one external internationally recognized expert in citizen participation. The KBR also faced censure for insufficient public communication and transparency, creating an impression of secretive operations and excessive costs. Additionally, the neutrality of the selected experts was questioned, with claims of bias towards the commissioning bodies and their public agencies. The most prevalent criticism revolved around the KBR’s representativeness, with objections regarding the recruitment process and the assembly’s composition, which was said to overly favour citizens socially privileged and expert in politics. These points and the so-called evidence provided by Le Quotidien were subsequently used in a parliamentary inquiry by three MPs from the opposition party CSV. Lastly, in phase 3, there was an article that addressed how multilingualism might pose a challenge to the inclusivity of the process, and two pieces began to contemplate the results, expressing scepticism about the political consideration given to the KBR’s outcomes.

Table 14. Examples of critical media reports – phase 3

Media	Date	Extract
Le Quotidien	15/06/2022	<p>... “Noah*, 20 years old, selected to be one of the 40 substitutes, was initially surprised by the lack of communication around the KBR: ‘They said it was a big project, for the public too, but nothing happened. Nothing was published on the site, and the experts’ interventions, which are however filmed, are not accessible. I don’t understand why’ ... At the same time, the first steps of the organization, entrusted to the agencies Oxygen (public relations expert) and Pétillances (active in coaching and team building) were chaotic: ‘Nothing was clear, the roles, the functioning... Today, it is a little better, but they are not prepared. The process changes gradually, visits from experts are scheduled at the last minute, for debates, we only learn at the last moment which speakers we are going to meet’ laments Noah. ... Another source of confusion pointed out by participants: the fact that most of the experts invited to address the KBR are not neutral but represent the interests of the Government. ‘It’s absurd,” notes Noah, who adds that, speaking of sustainable construction in April, four out of five experts that weekend were members of a ministry. “Mr. Bettel promised that the Government would not interfere with the KBR and would let us work, but that is not the case,’ he observes. ... If the Ilres institute was responsible for sorting through the 1,100 applications received, some, like Noah, question the real representativeness of these 60 citizens supposed to reflect Luxembourg society: ‘I only saw white people, no diversity’ he reports, ‘and over a whole weekend, I didn’t hear anyone speaking Portuguese, for example.’</p> <p>Not to mention the level of education and personal investment required, effectively excluding a large part of the population: ‘The amount of work that we are asked to do is very significant, and in my opinion, the technical documents, just like the entire process is not accessible to just any citizen.’” ...</p>
Le Quotidien	16/06/2022	<p>“An international expert in citizen participation agreed to deliver his analysis of the Klima-Biergerrot ... His first certainty is that the timing provided in the specifications was far too tight: ‘The Luxembourg process suffered from overly hasty ordering and design. There was not enough time to take advantage of other experiences’ he emphasizes. Furthermore, ‘the support committee was set up late, even though these governance structures functioned normally from the start’. Another problematic point according to him, the little amount of time given to each subject: ‘A single weekend per theme is too limited to learn, deliberate, and formulate recommendations’. The organizers recognized this, proposing to extend the work by a few months. The expert finally cites the lack of information published on the site, emphasizing the importance of providing details on the KBR’s activity: ‘It’s really important for transparency and legitimacy, and it also raises awareness, interest of the general public. Especially since the participants are very motivated’ he notes.</p>
Le Quotidien	18/06/2022	<p>“No less than three CSV deputies are calling out the Government about the Quotidien’s revelations about the hiccups surrounding the work of the Klima-Biergerrot. Diane Adehm, Max Hengel, and Paul Galles formulated a parliamentary question on Friday addressed to the Minister of the Environment, Joëlle Welfring. The elected officials particularly want to know if the minister can “understand the frustration of the participants”.</p> <p>According to our information, a dozen citizens out of the 100 initially chosen to form the Klima-Biergerrot (KBR) will carry out the work during the summer before the assembly’s final vote on the proposals in September. The members of the KBR who testified in the columns of the Quotidien had notably criticized a chaotic organization, the lack of independence of the experts with whom the Biergerrot was able to exchange and interference on the part of the Ministry of State.”</p>

On the brighter side, Le Quotidien provided a platform for the KBR organizers to reply to criticism. It also disseminated a collective response from the assembly members. As a result, the journalist moderated the initial opinions reported about the KBR, adding some nuance to the earlier coverage.

Table 15. Examples of positive media reports – phase 3

Media	Date	Extract
Le Quotidien	16/06/2022	While the organization of Klima-Biergerrot is singled out, the two agencies mandated by the Ministry of State to supervise this citizens' assembly reveal the challenges they faced. The surprise announcement of a 'Climate Citizens' Assembly' by the Prime Minister, in October 2021 during the State of the Nation, took everyone by surprise. In the process, specifications were established by the Ministry of State, with an ultra-precise timetable: the entire process must be completed in six months, for a debate in the Chamber of Deputies in July 2022. An unrealistic objective in the opinion of those who know these citizen assemblies well. Result: only two service providers responded to the call for tenders, according to our information. 'The calendar was imposed on us.' This is how in December, Oxygen, a Luxembourg agency specializing in public relations, won the contract, with the difficult task of launching the Klima-Biergerrot a month later. 'We quickly understood that the scale of the project required a partnership' says Philippe Beck, administrator and consultant of Oxygen, who chose to join forces with Pétillances, an agency that has already carried out this type of business consultation. 'The schedule was imposed on us. It was ambitious but achievable' he judges. ... Among the Advisory Committee's recommendations to the organizers is the improvement of communication aimed at the general public. Advice that was not followed, especially due to lack of time, recognizes Philippe Beck: <i>"We could have shared the visits or debates with the experts on social media, but we were very busy with the organization, the supervision and methodology,"</i> he explains. 'Priority was given to working internally.' Tom Girardin, head of Pétillances, adds that 'some participants would have liked more openness to the public', but 'this did not meet with the approval of a majority of members'.
Le Quotidien	05/07/2022	<i>"Many members of the KBR 'do not feel represented' by the words of the two witnesses cited in our pages: several were contacted but none agreed to speak before the submission of the proposals in October. We spoke with only one satisfied person, their testimony being planned for a future publication – which was indicated to them."</i>
Le Quotidien	18/07/2022	<i>"The fact that two anonymous participants spoke critically about the work with Le Quotidien does not correspond to the general opinion within the Citizens' Climate Assembly and only partially reflects the factual reality. ... Likewise, the response emphasizes the fact that the members of the Citizen Council for the Climate have always been taken seriously as well as their opinions and that it has always been possible to adapt the progress of the work in coordination with the support committee."</i>

In phase 4, the KBR's organization and independence were once again scrutinized in certain media articles that focused on the publication of final recommendations or the parliamentary debate, especially highlighting the positions of parties such as the CSV and ADR. Media coverage also consistently pointed out that one of the KBR's key proposals, a CO2 tax, faced opposition from parties like the ADR, CSV, and LSAP. Other articles emphasized the challenges in implementing the outcomes and recommendations, suggesting that they were either difficult to enforce

or merely aimed at bolstering existing measures. This perspective was notably echoed by the politician Robert Goebels, who expressed his dissatisfaction in a highly critical article following the publication of the KBR's final report.

Table 16. Examples of critical media reports – phase 4

Media	Date	Extract
Luxemburger Wort	14/09/2022	... <i>"In the meantime, criticism of the influence of the ministries and authorities has also arisen, which led, among other things, to a parliamentary question from the CSV. In a joint statement, Bettel and Welfring emphasized that the Climate Citizens' Assembly was a democratic experiment, and that conflicts and criticism were part of such a process."</i> ...
Woxx	22/09/2022	... <i>"Many of the KBR's suggestions have already been expressed in one way or another: stopping food waste, protecting drinking water, lowering temperatures in cities, vegetarian and vegan diets in public cafeterias, more energy-efficient public buildings, densification in towns, promoting alternative forms of housing, more repairs instead of throwing away, better public transportation, ... the list is long... Old wine in new bottles. One demand could cause exciting discussions: The KBR wants to see the CO2 tax massively increased. A ton of CO2 should cost at least 200 euros instead of the previous 25 euros. To ensure that this is socially acceptable, the KBR wants to return the sum to the citizens. This would encourage everyone to behave in a climate-friendly manner and reward those with an already sustainable lifestyle. 'The results overlap to a large extent with what we and others have been calling for a long time. It's good to see that this is obviously supported by the population in general' said Blanche Weber, President of the Mouvement écologique, to woxx on the phone. 'I have great respect for the hard work that has been done here. But it turns out that we have a big problem in Luxembourg: there are many committees that think, but the ideas are not implemented. We have an implementation deficit.' ...</i>
Reporter.lu	04/10/2022	... <i>"The "expert citizens" take over. It is striking that the 14 speakers on the committee fall into the category of "expert citizens". Different in age and gender, but highly educated, eloquent, and some of them with specialist knowledge of environmental and energy issues, they presented the "Klima-Biergerrot" proposals in mid-September. ... The 56 proposals presented by the Climate Citizens' Council on September 15th fulfil the mandate in that they complement current climate policy. However, it is questionable whether they reflect the social consensus. This is not due to the members of the council, but rather to the way citizens participate. In the end, the answers only partially match the question that Xavier Bettel asked a year ago. ... Manipulation or hijacking? It was the organizers who selected the experts who were supposed to provide the Climate Citizens' Assembly with the necessary specialist knowledge. The former LSAP minister Robert Goebels sees this as "the manipulated democracy of the experts" – that is the title of an opinion piece in the "Luxemburger Wort". He writes of "lobbyists" and environmental organizations that steered citizens "in the desired direction."</i>
Tageblatt	26/10/2022	<i>"Paul Galles (CSV) emphasized that his party agreed with many of the proposals, but not with some, and emphasized, for example, that a sustainability course for schoolchildren and students was a good idea. The question of growth, however, was not addressed enough, i.e., not addressed at all. The CSV did not agree with the CO2 pricing method suggested in the report, among other things because of the current, already difficult situation of citizens."</i>

Le Quotidien	26/10/2022	<i>“It is the deputy Fred Keup (ADR), who does not hide his weariness at the podium, believing that in the 56 proposals, ‘there was nothing new’. Mobility, agriculture, energy, food waste, and other climate-related topics have all been the subject of debate in the House in the recent past and he sees no point in entering the details of the proposed measures which he assimilates ‘to the electoral program of the Greens’”.</i>
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On the positive side, the KBR was touted as an innovative democratic initiative by Prime Minister Bettel, a sentiment that was picked up by the press. The criticism was interpreted as a healthy aspect of Luxembourg’s democracy and public debate. Additionally, the attention the Government paid to the KBR’s recommendations was seen as evidence of the process’s ability to generate concrete actions for climate change mitigation. Reports indicated that the KBR had effectively contributed to Luxembourg’s progress in climate transition, and the parliamentary discussion reflected a mostly positive view of the KBR across the political spectrum, except for the ADR.

Table 17. Examples of positive media reports – phase 4

Media	Date	Extract
Forum	14/09/2022	<i>... “In the meantime, criticism of the influence of the ministries and authorities had also arisen, which led, among other things, to a parliamentary question from the CSV. In a joint statement, Bettel and Welfring emphasized that the Climate Citizens’ Assembly was a democratic experiment, and that conflicts and criticism were part of such a process.”</i> ...
Chronicle.lu	15/09/2022	<i>... “This was the first time in Luxembourg’s history that the population was so widely represented at the climate policy negotiating table. The Klima-Biergerrot is an innovative democratic instrument of citizen participation. Made up of 60 effective members and 40 substitute members, the citizens’ climate council was officially launched in January 2022 and has just concluded its work.”</i>
L’essentiel	16/09/2022	<i>“Concrete, effective and socially acceptable measures”: this is how one of the Klima-Biergerrot coordinators presented the catalogue of around fifty proposals presented this Thursday noon. Nearly 1,000 residents of the Grand Duchy wanted to participate in the citizens’ initiative, “a sign of a real enthusiasm for the debate” but only 60 people (and 40 substitutes) worked together for eight months to make proposals “neither banal nor eccentric. ... Aware of “not reinventing the wheel”, the fourteen members of Klima-Biergerrot who came to the press conference listed measures in several areas of action.”</i>
Woxx	22/09/2022	<i>“Some ideas have not yet been heard in Luxembourg: For example, the idea that RTL should devote five minutes to conveying climate content before the news program “Journal”. In Germany there is an initiative that calls for the same thing under the slogan “Climate before Eight” (based on the existing program “Börse vor Acht)”.</i>
Paperjam	04/11/2022	<i>“A distinction must be made between dialogue with civil society and citizen participation. It is clear that today, the dialogue between politics and citizens is generally limited to purely vertical information, that is to say from those who govern to those who are governed. We must therefore create real citizen participation. There are already good examples, such as participation in the context of the Climate, Nature and Housing Pact, but also with the initiatives of citizen assemblies such as the Biergerkomitee Luxembourg in transition or the Klimabiergerrot. Now, it is appropriate to think about how citizen participation can be further developed or even institutionalized to strengthen our democracy.”</i>

Le Quotidien	26/10/2022	<i>“From Cécile Hemmen (LSAP) to François Benoy (déi gréng), including Max Hahn (DP), Myriam Cecchetti (déi Lénk), Marc Goergen (pirate), and the previous speakers already cited, all welcomed this participation initiative citizen and the work it carried out. The Pirate Party recall their proposed law on the establishment of these committees of which there is no further news, as Marc Goergen indicates. For the rest, he adheres to the 56 proposals of the Klima-Biergerrot which appear to him as obvious and above all as a slap in the face to the Greens who have not done the job since they have been in Government.”</i>
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In phase 5, the predominantly negative arguments regarding the KBR had almost entirely disappeared from the journalistic narrative. However, traces of negativity lingered in an article from Le Quotidien, which, while acknowledging the impact of the KBR reflected in the new NECP, revisited the challenges previously reported and broadly questioned whether the efforts made were sufficient for a genuinely more ambitious climate policy. Another point of criticism emerged in an article focusing on the KBR’s recommendation for a CO2 tax. The journalist pointed out that this recommendation was not fully integrated into the NECP, as it was not as stringent as the KBR members had proposed. This lack of incorporation was noted as particularly contentious among many political parties (ADR, CSV and LSAP).

Table 18. Examples of negative media reports – phase 5

Media	Date	Extract
Le Quotidien	19/04/2023	<i>... “The Luxembourg Government has focused on increased consultation of the population, civil society and the economic sector to obtain as broad support as possible for the revision of the Energy-Climate plan (NECP). Presented yesterday, the update project includes 197 measures, including 57 which emanate from Klima-Biergerrot. This platform, initially made up of 100 citizens, submitted a long catalogue of proposals to political leaders to accelerate the fight against climate change. This exercise was fraught with pitfalls, as we revealed in our columns. Now the question arises as to whether the participatory process – which will be renewed before the validation, in June 2024, of the revised NECP – will be sufficient to truly carry out an even more ambitious climate policy.” ...</i>
Woxx	28/04/2023	<i>... “Klima Biergerrot ignored. It is not enough to subsidize electric cars and announce ‘social leasing’ so that poor households can also afford one. The sale of fossil fuels, which causes particularly high emissions in Luxembourg through so-called “tank tourism”, is to be slowly phased out. One measure in this sense is the CO2 tax. According to the NECP, this will be increased by five euros per ton annually, as in the past. This is a point on which Bettel does not keep his “vun de Bierger, fir d’Bierger” promise: the KBR had demanded a much higher CO2 tax of 200 euros per ton. An increase is only possible gradually, explained Environment Minister Joëlle Welfring on April 17th when presenting the NECP. “We distribute the tax revenue fairly, half socially and half into climate projects.””</i>

On the positive side, the majority of articles noted the integration of the KBR recommendations made by citizens into the draft version of the NECP. More broadly, while the articles were primarily focused on the substance of the new climate policy plan, the KBR was consistently cited as a positive democratic experiment and a model for future initiatives on various issues. Additionally, one particularly affirmative opinion piece advocated for the institutionalization of citizens’ assemblies in

Luxembourg, suggesting that such processes should become a regular feature of the country's democratic landscape.

Table 19. Examples of positive media reports – phase 5

Media	Date	Extract
Paperjam	24/08/2023	<i>... “However, the question is less about judging the current interest of foreigners in national and local democracy than about encouraging their desire to remain in a country whose prosperity they participate in. In this respect, wouldn't the Klima-Biergerrot (Climate Citizens' Assembly) be an underestimated success and a most promising source of inspiration? This ad hoc participation body succeeded in issuing in a few months, following a democratic and participatory process, 56 proposals to accelerate and intensify the fight against global warming in Luxembourg. Its 100 members, Luxembourg residents and foreigners as well as cross-border workers, were selected on a voluntary basis and reflect the desire to ensure maximum representativeness of Luxembourg's demographic reality. If such an initiative does not replace lasting room for foreigners to participate in democratic life, renewing this experience would once again allow foreign residents to contribute to an essential debate in Luxembourg.”</i>

To conclude, we roughly catalogued the different opinions observed in the media into three broad categories (see Table 20) depending on whether the focus was on the input (assembly composition, selection of participants), throughput (assembly design and governance) or output (assembly recommendations and their impact). The patterns observed reflect common lines of argumentation and debates that are prevalent in other countries or in academic discussions on deliberative processes, which often engage with one another. The primary conclusion drawn is that the KBR achieved a satisfactory level of press attention, indicating that the media fulfilled its role effectively. Overall, by covering the KBR, the media spurred a productive, plural, and healthy public debate on climate change, environmental policy, and citizen participation.

Table 20. Summary of the main arguments found in the media about the KBR.

	Negative arguments	Positive arguments
Input	Composition biased towards socially privileged and expert citizens	Professional sampling and recruitment to ensure representativeness If not perfectly representative, brings more diversity than within a parliament
Throughput	Multilingualism as a barrier to deliberation quality	Professional facilitation and moderation Translation and languages' consideration
	Lack of time, too ambitious	Imperfect democratic experiment that needs to be improved
	Lack of public communication, lack of transparency	At least raised debates on the relevance and legitimacy of citizen participation and how it should be organized
	Lack of independence in the evidence provided to the members	Implication of external and neutral experts
Output	A citizens' assembly is unable to solve the challenges of climate change. It is not enough, Government should do more.	KBR as a way forward to reach climate goals

	Process' instrumentalization to serve the Government's agenda	Citizens' assemblies like the KBR as a symbol of dynamic and prospective democracy
	Minimal impact on political actors Low number of KBR proposals in the 190 measures include in the draft of the NECP	Generated debate in parliament, attracted attention from MPs Real policy impact: implementation and integration into NECP of many measures + inclusion of new measures inspired by the KBR
	Proposed measures will never be implemented because they are too ambitious and unrealistic. Proposed measures largely overlap existing ones, they lack originality	Recommendations respond to a crucial need for reinforcement or development of concrete and applicable measures favourable to climate transition

6. Impact on the wider community: public opinion

This chapter delves into public awareness of the KBR, tracking its progression over time and in conjunction with media coverage (6.1.). It also examines the relationship between awareness levels and news consumption (6.1). Additionally, the chapter investigates public attitudes towards the KBR and citizen assemblies at large (6.2.), as well as how the public received the outcomes and recommendations (6.3).

The analysis is based on a three-wave panel study conducted within the Luxembourg population, with surveys administered at the beginning, in the middle (at the end of the working weekends, the start of phase II), and at the conclusion (following the report's delivery to the Government and the parliamentary debate).

6.1. Public awareness and knowledge about the KBR

The follow-up question to the previous chapter concerns the impact of media coverage on the general population's awareness and knowledge about the KBR process. Specifically, it examines whether non-participating citizens became more aware of the process through media exposure and whether this new information influenced their support for the KBR and citizen assemblies in general. It also looks into whether access to media coverage affected their willingness to accept the policy recommendations produced by these assemblies.

6.1.1. Description of KBR awareness and knowledge

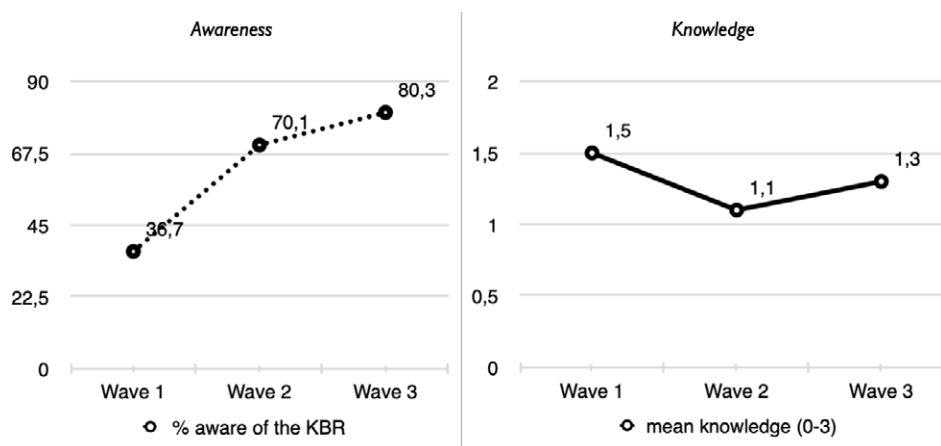
The panel survey conducted with the Luxembourg population indicated that awareness levels within the sample increased at each measured time point. Notably, awareness almost doubled from wave 1 to wave 2, as shown in the left-hand graph of Figure 44. To assess whether people were truly informed about the KBR⁶, the survey evaluated their knowledge about the process through three objective questions concerning the issues discussed⁷, the unique aspect of random participant

6 The exact question was: *Since the beginning of the year 2022, Luxembourg is organizing (W1-W2)/organized (W3) a national citizens' assembly. It brought together a group of citizens to deliberate and provide recommendations for addressing a specific policy issue. Before this survey, had you ever heard of this citizens' assembly that is now taking place in Luxembourg?*

7 *Which of the following issue is discussed by people participating in this citizens' assembly? Proposals: climate protection, tax reform, immigration, welfare, urbanization and housing, education, economy diversification, unemployment, healthcare reform.*

selection⁸, and the identity of the commissioning bodies⁹. An index of knowledge was created for each wave, ranging from 0 (participants reported awareness yet demonstrated poor knowledge, as evidenced by their inability to provide correct answers) to 3 (participants indicated awareness and demonstrated a high level of knowledge by providing three correct answers). As far as knowledge is concerned (right-hand graph in Figure 44), the highest mean score is reached in wave 1, when those who were aware also had a pretty good knowledge of the KBR. Although the awareness spread, the mean level of knowledge decreased. This is not surprising as it reflects that the share of the sample that had heard about the process greatly expanded between W1 and W2, but that these newly aware people were not always very attentive, as they were indeed not capable of recalling any precise information about the features of the KBR. Survey participants commonly recognized that the policy in question pertained to climate issues. However, they were less informed about the specifics, such as the identities of the commissioning bodies or the methods used for participant recruitment. Towards the end of the survey period, the average knowledge score improved, suggesting that the respondents were gradually learning more about the KBR, as shown by their increased ability to correctly answer follow-up questions regarding the initiative.

Figure 44. Public awareness and knowledge about the KBR



The level of awareness about the KBR was notably high, particularly when compared to citizens' assemblies on climate issues in other countries. However, caution is advised in interpreting and generalizing the results to the entire population. The panel study was conducted in partnership with Ilres, which was responsible

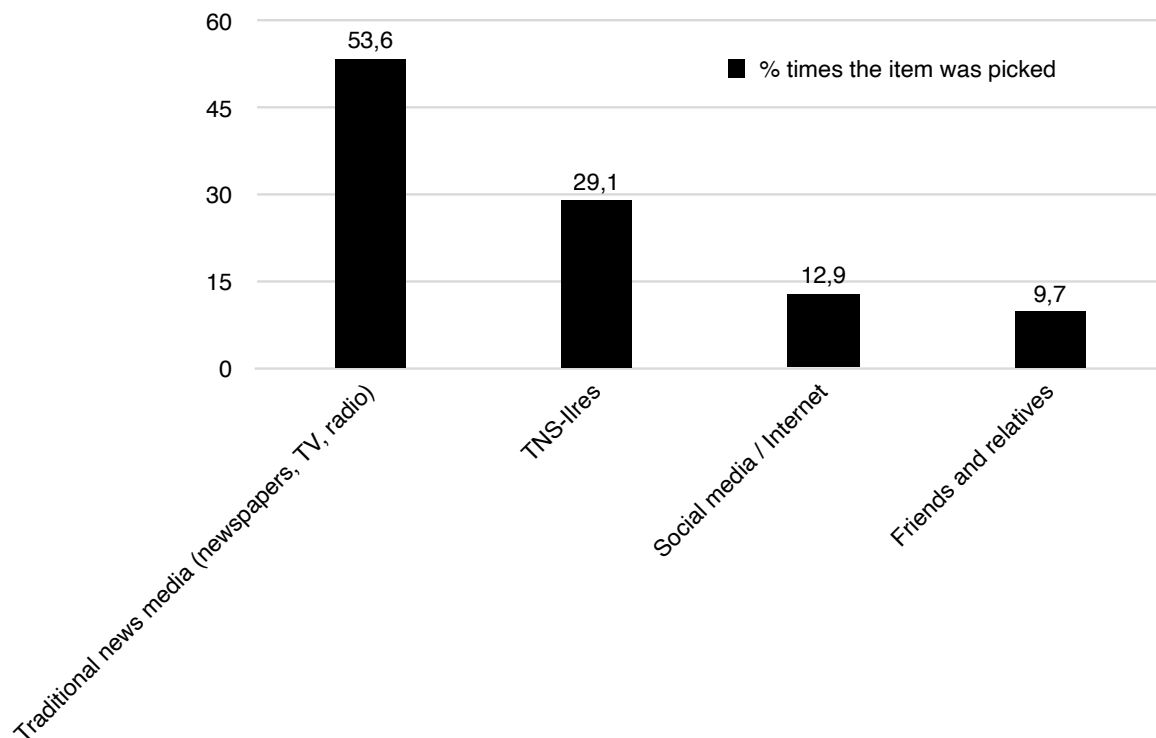
8 How have the participants of this citizens' assembly been selected? Proposals: randomly selected from the Luxembourg population, popularly elected by Luxembourgish citizens, based on their level of knowledge about the topic.

9 Do you know who has initially decided to create this citizens' assembly in Luxembourg? Proposals: The Prime Minister, The Green Party (Les Verts - déi Gréng) within the Luxembourg government, all parties of the Luxembourg Government (Liberals-Socialists-Greens), all parties by consensus in the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies, the Europe Union has invited all member states to organize such citizens' assemblies on climate change.

for recruiting participants for the KBR, suggesting that survey respondents might have had a higher likelihood of being informed about the process due to their association with the survey company. This association could mean that the sample, while demographically representative, may not reflect the awareness levels of the broader population accurately.

The increase in public awareness indicates that the media coverage was indeed effective, thus providing the population with opportunities to learn about the KBR through various media channels. Evidence supporting this was found in the fact that mainstream news outlets were the primary source of initial information about the KBR for many. Over the course of the three survey waves, more than half of the respondents who were aware of the KBR reported that they first learned about it through traditional media. This underscores the significant role that media played in bridging the gap between the KBR members and the general public. However, Figure 45 also confirms that the survey company, Ilres, acted as a catalyst for initial awareness among respondents, with almost 30% indicating the company as their first source of information. This was likely because Ilres disseminated information about the KBR recruitment call issued by the Government to its panel members. To mitigate this potential bias in the study, Ilres was instructed not to include in the survey those citizens who had shown interest in becoming KBR members.

Figure 45. Sources of first information about the KBR



6.1.2. Analysis: predictors of KBR awareness and knowledge

Considering these factors, news consumption is expected to be a significant predictor of awareness and knowledge about the KBR. However, there may be a limiting effect on public opinion if only those who closely follow the news are reached. This necessitates a more detailed examination of who is aware and knowledgeable about the process, as well as the socio-political profiles of these citizens. To investigate this further, more complex regression analyses were conducted to predict the likelihood of someone being aware of the process from the beginning or learning over time, as well as the probability of an individual having or gaining a better understanding of it. The results are presented in [Appendix 5 \(Figure a\)](#) and reveal some interesting findings.

- First, while controlling for all the other factors and keeping them constant, the more respondents consumed the news¹⁰, the more they were likely to be aware of and knowledgeable about the KBR. This result affirms the media's crucial role as a conduit between the involved participants of the KBR ('mini-public') and the broader community ('maxi public'). However, this also indicates that those who did not regularly engage with the news may have experienced limited exposure to information about the KBR.
- Second, those with a heightened interest in environmental issues were more inclined to be informed and knowledgeable about the KBR. Their greater concern for the environment made them more open to engaging with information about a citizens' assembly focused on a topic of importance to them. However, this presents a challenge since it implies that individuals with less interest in climate issues were more difficult to reach.
- Third, we found a statistically significant relationship between gender and awareness: male respondents had a higher probability of being aware of the process. However, this did not translate into male respondents having better knowledge than females.
- Fourth, reflecting the trend that younger age groups consume news less frequently and tend to be less engaged in politics, there was a positive correlation between age and the likelihood of being aware of the KBR. Older respondents were more likely to be informed about the occurrence of the KBR. However, age showed no correlation with the depth or quality of knowledge about the KBR.
- Fifth, there was a positive correlation between education, feelings of income security, and both awareness and knowledge of the KBR. This is significant be-

¹⁰ The exact question was the following: How often do you obtain information about the news and current affairs from each of the following sources? Proposals: Internet and social media, newspapers, radio, television. The scale ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (often).

cause it suggests that the reception of the KBR in the population may have been predominantly among individuals with greater resources and a more active engagement profile.

- Sixth, national residents of Luxembourg were more likely to be aware of the KBR, possibly indicating that non-national citizens engage less with national news sources. However, once informed about the KBR, non-national respondents exhibited a higher level of knowledge compared to national citizens. This suggests that non-nationals, upon learning about the KBR, tended to seek out and retain more detailed information. Considering that many non-nationals in Luxembourg come from neighboring countries with experience in citizens' assemblies (such as France, Belgium, Germany), they may be more acquainted with this form of policy-making instrument.
- Seventh, the higher the level of trust in representative institutions (parliament, parties, and politicians), the higher the probability of awareness about the KBR. This indicates that citizens' assemblies may struggle to reach those who feel disenfranchised from political institutions—a key demographic for these democratic innovations. However, the effect is small, and considering Luxembourg's high ranking in institutional trust, this factor may have a limited impact.

6.2. Public attitudes towards the KBR and citizens' assemblies

The objective of the study conducted with the Luxembourg population was to gain insights into public opinion regarding citizens' assemblies and to observe any potential shifts in perception over time.

6.2.1. Public Perceptions of Deliberative Processes

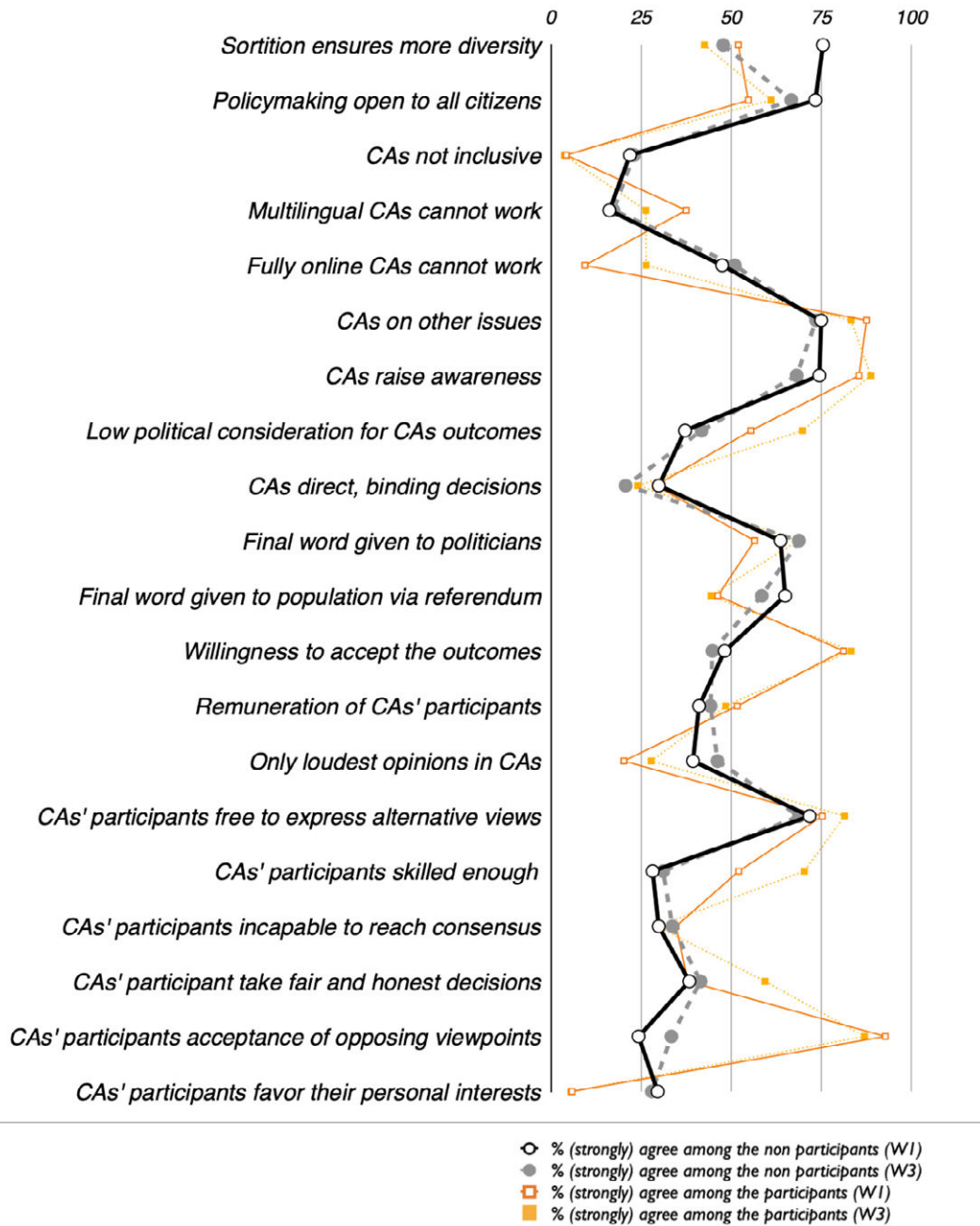
Figure 46 shows the results from various sets of questions across the first and third wave of our survey, also including data from the participants for comparative analysis. Notable trends and key elements are highlighted within these results.

- The attitudes of the general public towards deliberative processes remained relatively stable throughout the course of the study, showing less variability compared to those of participants who were directly involved in the process.
- Overall, the general population held relatively positive views on the utilization and advantages of deliberative processes, albeit to a marginally lesser degree than the participants themselves. For example, about 75% of the sample expressed (strong) agreement with the proposition that citizens' assemblies

should be convened on topics beyond climate issues, indicating openness to the more frequent application of deliberative processes.

- Similar to the participants, the wider population recognized the importance of diversity and inclusiveness in deliberative processes. However, they were less convinced than the actual participants that policy decisions should be entrusted to a small group of selected citizens. Furthermore, in contrast to participants, non-participants grew more critical of the notion that sortition, or random selection, could ensure greater diversity within such processes.
- The general population sample was more optimistic than the participants on the political uptake of the final recommendations.
- The general population was relatively positive about the idea of combining citizens' assemblies with referenda (about 60% in both waves), and more supportive of this possibility than KBR members.
- The general population expressed more concern regarding the quality of deliberation within citizens' assemblies, particularly the possibility that certain opinions might dominate the discourse. Non-participants were generally less positive about the role and competence of citizens in such processes compared to KBR participants. Furthermore, as the process unfolded, the wider population's critical stance towards the participants increased.
- Less than half of the population indicated a willingness to accept policy recommendations from citizens' assemblies like the KBR. Interestingly, while non-participants support the use of such assemblies (especially when their recommendations are not binding and the final decision lies with politicians), they seem less inclined to agree with the resulting policies. There's a notable gap in acceptance between the assembly members, who are much more willing to accept outcomes from other assemblies, and the general population. One possible reason for this is that the KBR was a novel experience, and the population is not as familiar with (nor as trusting of) the process and its outcomes as the participants are. The population's strong support for the concept of citizens' assemblies could also indicate a desire for more such processes, which might increase the perceived legitimacy of any policy changes they recommend.

Figure 46. Attitudes towards the KBR and citizen’s assemblies



6.2.2. Analysis: KBR Awareness and Attitude Shifts Regarding Deliberative Processes

A follow-up question is whether there was a change in public opinion linked to increased knowledge about the KBR process. The analysis focuses on two attitudes: support for organizing citizens' assemblies like the KBR on other issues (indicating general support for the concept) and support for the outcomes with a willingness to accept recommendations (indicating policy acceptance and perceived legitimacy). It was hypothesized that increased awareness of the KBR would correlate with growing trust in deliberative democracy and more positive attitudes over time compared to those who remained uninformed. To investigate this, two panel regressions were conducted, with the results detailed in [Appendix 5 \(Figure b\)](#). They reveal several findings.

- Awareness of the KBR did not affect support for deliberative processes over time but was a significant predictor of increased acceptance of their outcomes. As the process unfolded, those who became aware of the KBR were more willing to accept policy recommendations from citizens' assemblies in general. This is a critical empirical finding as it suggests that becoming informed about the KBR enhanced trust in the results of such processes, thereby supporting a key theoretical mechanism of legitimacy between the assembly and the broader population.
- Additionally, the study found that male, national, and politically interested respondents tended to decrease their support for citizens' assemblies (though not their acceptance of the assemblies' outcomes) over the three survey waves.
- The study also revealed that older and more educated citizens were more likely to decrease their acceptance of the outcomes of citizens' assemblies over time.
- Lastly, the study found that individuals for whom climate change is an important policy issue became more accepting of the recommendations made by citizens' assemblies like the KBR.

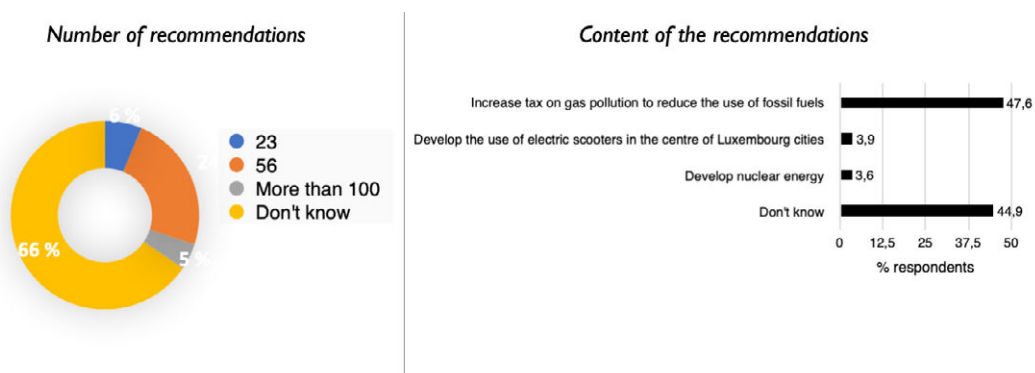
6.3. Public reception of the recommendations

To close this chapter, we finally explore how the general population received and perceived the recommendations made by the KBR.

6.3.1. Description: knowledge, perceived favourability, and agreement with the final recommendations

In the final wave of the survey, respondents who were aware of the KBR were questioned about their knowledge of the recommendations. One of the initial questions pertained to the number of recommendations included in the final report.¹¹ As the left-hand circle graph in Figure 47 indicates, a major share of these respondents (66%) was not able to recall the exact number and picked the ‘don’t know’ answer. 24% of respondents correctly identified the number of proposals made by the KBR, while 10% chose an incorrect answer. Another question was aimed at determining whether respondents could identify a specific KBR¹² recommendation that was often highlighted in the media (CO2 taxation). The results are presented in the right-hand graph in Figure 47 and reveal that almost half (47.6%) of respondents aware of the KBR were able to recognize the correct recommendation. The rest predominantly opted for the ‘don’t know’ category (44.9), whereas a very small number (7.5%) picked one of the two incorrect answers.

Figure 47. Knowledge about the recommendations



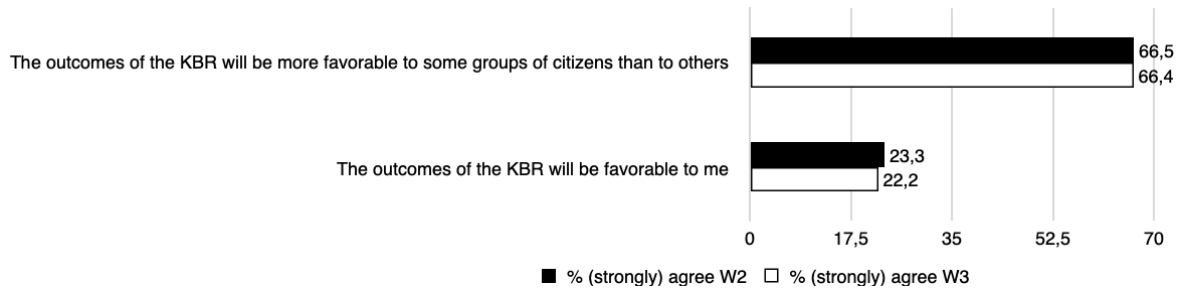
The survey also gauged how respondents perceived the outcomes of the KBR, asking them at two different points: before the publication of the final report in the second survey wave, and after the publication in the third wave. Figure 48 shows

11 The exact wording was: How many policy recommendations were formulated in the final report of the KBR that has been presented to the government?

12 The exact wording was: Which one of the following three recommendations has been made by the KBR in its final report?

that the publication of the report did not much change their opinions on these aspects, which remained stable.

Figure 48. Outcome favourability



- More than two-thirds of the survey respondents believed that the outcomes of the KBR would not be fair and equitable and might favour certain specific groups within society.
- Only a fifth of the respondents in the survey estimated that the outcomes of the KBR could be favourable to them personally, indicating that the perceived favourability of the outcomes was relatively low among the population. This likely reflects the perception of ecological reform as necessitating a potentially constraining change in lifestyle habits.

At the end of the last wave of our survey, participants were presented with seven different recommendations from the KBR. They were asked to express their level of agreement¹³ with each, as well as whether they would like to see the proposals implemented¹⁴. The results for these questions are shown in Table 21. Two less stringent recommendations garnered more agreement and a stronger desire for implementation. These recommendations were related to legally mandating rainwater recovery systems and increasing public funding for revegetation projects. Conversely, respondents were more negative towards more stringent and constraining proposals: one that relates to agriculture and one related to reducing speed limits.

13 The exact wording was: How much do you agree with the policy proposal? 0 means that you fully disagree and 10 that you fully agree with the policy proposal.

14 From 0 to 10 where 0 means that it is not important at all and 10 that it is very important, how important is it for you, personally, that these recommendations are implemented in Luxembourg?

Table 21. Agreement with the recommendations and their implementation

	Agreement (mean)	Implementation (mean)
A law that imposes a reduction in the number of livestock on Luxembourg farms	4.7	4.5
A tax on higher consumption of fossil fuels by citizens, along with a tax reduction for investment in renewable energies	5.7	5.5
The promotion of vegetarian meals to reduce the consumption of meat	5.6	5.3
A law that imposes a maximum size of 250m ² for any new house built in Luxembourg	5.3	5.0
Speed limits should be reduced to 110km/h on motorways and to 30km/h in city centres	5.0	4.9
Greater public financing of large-scale projects of revegetation, with the objective of absorbing CO ₂ emissions.	7.4	7.1
A law that imposes for new buildings from 2024 onwards to provide rainwater recovery systems (rainwater tanks, retention basins, etc.)	7.8	7.5
All proposals (range: 0-10)	5.2	5.0

6.3.2. Analysis: instrumentality and attitudes towards deliberative processes

This brings us to the concluding analytical discussion: citizens' attitudes towards participatory processes are shaped by instrumental motivations (van der Does and Kantorowicz 2021, Werner 2019). Individuals tend to be less concerned with whether processes are inclusive, representative, or deliberative, and more concerned with whether outcomes will benefit them or align with their opinions (Pilet et al. 2022, Werner and Marien 2022). Thus, the chapter closes by examining the relationship between policy congruence, outcome favourability, and the levels of support and acceptance reported by Luxembourg citizens once they were informed about the content of the recommendations. The results are presented in [Appendix 5 \(Figure c\)](#) and support the idea of instrumental considerations. When accounting for other individual predictors, it was found that the more respondents perceived the KBR outcomes as favourable to them, or the more they agreed with the final proposals, the more legitimate they considered citizens' assemblies to be in general.

7. Impact on climate policy and on political actors

The last chapter of this report assesses the KBR's political impact. The analysis focuses on the attention received from the Government through resulting policy measures and adaptations ([7.1](#)), from the parliament through MPs' behaviours and opinions ([7.2](#)), and from political parties and elites in the last 2023 election campaign ([7.3](#)).

To conduct this analysis, various materials were examined, including official policy documents, written reports of parliamentary debates, and data from political candidates and parties during the 2023 Luxembourgish national election campaign.

7.1. Attention from the Government.

7.1.1. Commissioners' commitment to respond.

The KBR was tasked with providing recommendations on how Luxembourg could make strides in the fight against climate change. Commissioned by the Luxembourg Government and the Prime Minister, the KBR was designed so that its recommendations would directly contribute to ongoing climate policymaking. This connection to the executive branch sets the KBR apart from many other (climate) citizens' assemblies, offering a clear channel for policy impact. From the beginning, the Government was highly committed to considering the consultative process's outcomes. The Prime Minister was clear regarding the political follow-up when he officially launched the process: *"It is clear to me that the proposals of the Citizens' Council on Climate must become an integral part of the debate in the Parliament."* The KBR was tasked with presenting its recommendations in a final report to the Luxembourgish Government, which was then subject to debate in parliament. However, there was no official mandate for the Government to issue a response detailing how or when it would address the KBR's suggestions.

In the foreword of the final report, Prime Minister Bettel reaffirmed his commitment that the Government would be responsive to the KBR's recommendations: *"The Government is keeping its promise and will integrate the work of the Klima-Birgerrot in the discussions surrounding the new National Plan Integrated Energy and Climate Policy (NECP)."* Besides the [parliamentary debate on the final report](#) that occurred in October 2022 and that was set up ahead of time, the Government officially released a [document](#) in April 2023 explaining whether, why, and how each of the KBR recommendations was being considered for the new version of the NECP. Although many recommendations reinforced actions previously included in the earlier National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP) or were referred to ap-

appropriate ministries for concerns not directly involving the three initiating entities, this process also prompted the creation of new climate-related policy measures that were not initially foreseen by the Government.

7.1.2. Report delivery

Like other climate citizens' assemblies before it, the KBR released a final report presenting a set of recommendations. Each of the 56 recommendations was endorsed by the assembly members through a simple majority vote. All proposals were approved, none were discarded. The final voting occurred online in the week leading up to the official presentation. The report was formally handed over to the Government on September 15, 2022. Selected members, acting as spokespersons, were invited to a private meeting in a room in the parliament building, which we observed, to present the recommendations to the commissioning Ministers. This session lasted approximately ninety minutes, where members were supported in discussing their experiences and recommendations. Notably, the Prime Minister responded to nearly all recommendations, already analysing them, especially when some fell outside the commissioning Ministries' purview and might be more challenging to implement. He assured members that they would have the chance to meet the relevant ministers later, emphasizing the need for a cross-departmental Government response. Following this, an official press conference was held in the parliament, where members reported to the media without the participation of Government officials, except for a press advisor. The briefing unfolded in three parts: Raphaël Kies from the University of Luxembourg made introductory remarks about the process; the spokespersons detailed various recommendations; and finally, journalists directed questions to both the members and the organizers.

7.1.3. Policy response

The integrated National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP) forms the cornerstone of Luxembourg's climate and energy policy. Aligned with the EU's aim for climate neutrality¹⁵, it outlines national policies and measures to meet ambitious 2030 targets, including a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 55%, increasing the share of renewable energies to 25%, and enhancing energy efficiency from 40% to 44%. The NECP serves as a strategic guide for the implementation of regulations, programs, and projects across various sectors from 2020 to 2030. It is the product of a collaborative and cross-sectoral process among various ministries and administrations, coordinated by the Ministry of the Environment, Climate and Sustainable Development, and the Ministry of Energy and Regional Planning.

15 The national energy and climate plans (NECPs) were introduced by the European Commission via the Regulation on the governance of the energy union and climate action (EU)2018/1999, agreed as part of the [Clean energy for all Europeans package](#) which was adopted in 2019.

From February to June 2023, the Government worked on drafting an updated version of the NECP. The heightened objectives and strengthened measures outlined in this updated NECP were drawn from the outcomes of several consultative processes undertaken in recent years. Input for these enhancements came from citizens, scientists, civil society organizations, and businesses, all advocating for Luxembourg to adopt more ambitious goals and actions:

- the “*Klima-Biergerrot*” (KBR),
- the international consultation “*Luxembourg in Transition*” (LIT) and corresponding ‘Biergerkomitee’,
- the Climate Policy Observatory (OPC),
- the platform for climate action and energy transition.

Moreover, a public consultation was held from April 17 to May 16, 2023, as a key component of the process, encouraging citizens to offer their feedback and suggestions on the draft of the new NECP. The Government aimed to enact the new NECP in June 2024.

In May 2023, concurrent with updates on the NECP draft, the Government provided (and updated) an official public document presenting how it was considering and responding to each of the 56 recommendations (which themselves could include a variety of measures). This response was presented in the form of a detailed Excel spreadsheet, enabling tracking of how the KBR’s proposed measures were being integrated into the new version of the NECP.¹⁶ This instance of policy response to the KBR is notably clear and advanced compared to other (climate) citizens’ assemblies observed. The integration of the KBR’s recommendations into policy was overseen by the head of the Cabinet of the Prime Minister, Jeff Feller. His recent public talk on the KBR, hosted by the Knowledge Network on Climate Assemblies (KNOCA), highlighted the significant level of consideration the assembly received from Government officials. This close connection between the KBR and the Government, as well as the administrative apparatus, underscores the unique status of the KBR in influencing Government action. At the time of writing these lines and following Jeff Feller’s own words during the event organized by KNOCA¹⁷, this effort is still ongoing.

To summarize, the KBR issued 56 recommendations that culminated in a total of 142 proposed concrete measures. The official response from the Government provided insights into how these proposals were addressed¹⁸:

16 This document is available (but only in French at the moment) here: <https://data.public.lu/fr/datasets/suivi-des-recommandations-du-klima-biergerrot-et-de-lobservatoire-de-la-politique-climatique/#resources>.

17 This event that took place online on the 21st of September 2023 has been recorded and can be accessed here: <https://knoca.eu/learning-call-on-luxembourgs-climate-assembly-and-its-follow-up/>.

18 The details provided by the government are presented in Appendix.

- 14 of the measures proposed by the KBR could not be immediately implemented at the national level, as they fell under the purview of European law, or required international cooperation for execution.
- 71 measures went beyond the scope of the NECP and will thus be addressed via Government broader policy in the form of plans, strategies, regulations, and laws, for example in the area of waste, sustainable development, and environmental protection.
- 33 of the measures were already in existence in a form similar to those proposed by the KBR. The Government has chosen to review these measures and conduct an assessment to verify that the objectives set by the KBR are being met. Should any discrepancies be found, the Government has committed to making necessary adjustments to the final version of the National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP).
- 19 of the measures reinforce existing measures that Luxembourg plans to transpose and strengthen at the national level.
- 5 measures were genuinely new, and Luxembourg will transpose them at the national level. They are presented in Table 22.

The primary impetus of the KBR was to bolster Luxembourg's commitment to certain facets of its climate policy. Within the new NECP, which comprises 197 measures, 57 can be linked to recommendations from the KBR. Of these, 5 represent entirely new measures that likely would not have been enacted without the KBR's input, focusing particularly on enhancing climate-friendly mobility and promoting a more sustainable urban planning approach to city development. It is noted that the level of justification for the KBR's recommendations varied, with some being extensively analysed and explained, while others were more briefly stated. Nevertheless, this variability does not appear to have affected the Government's consideration of these recommendations.

Table 22. The new policy measures inspired by the KBR included in the NECP

	KBR proposal	Government response
Urban planning	Obligation to develop sustainable neighbourhoods and conceptualize urban planning within the framework of "15-minute city (FMC or 15mC)"	<p>Promote urban plans that fit with the concept of "15-minute city," where amenities and necessities are within a 15-minute walk or bike ride from residences.</p> <p>Accelerate legal measures that allow alternative forms of work (shared spaces, teleworking, flexible hours) to make possible neighbourhoods based on the principle of "15-minute cities"</p>

Mobility	Increase the share of electric vehicles and make fossil fuel vehicles less attractive (e.g., by increasing taxes)	The ban on the sale of fossil fuel cars in the EU is planned for 2035. Luxembourg could increase taxes on fossil fuel cars to make them less attractive compared to electric vehicles to accelerate the transition before the prohibition. As a complementary measure, the subsidy for electric vehicles could be maintained but adjusted to a lower amount if necessary. The subsidy should be conditional on the subscription of an electricity contract supporting the increase of the local capacity of generation of renewable energy to release the full potential of decarbonization of electric vehicles.
	Put an end to fossil fuel subsidies and overhaul the taxation of the most polluting vehicles	General fossil fuel subsidies should be always avoided, as they directly counteract the CO2 tax.
		Increase the amount of the registration tax and the fiscal vignette according to the vehicle's volume of CO2 emissions. Additional criteria may be the age of the vehicle (exceptions for classic cars) or the income of the owner.
	Better and less ride. Lower the speed limits.	Reduce speed on the highway, e.g., to 110 km/h outside office hours and 90 km/h during office hours
Lower speed limits in town and introduce more 30 km/h zones		
Raising awareness in Luxembourg society of climate-related problems and possible solutions	Create a citizens' forum platform, where people can continue to present their proposals on climate-related topics in order to foster dialogue and the exchange of interesting ideas. As an incentive, the best ideas could receive a prize at the end of each month/year.	

The KBR primarily served to amplify Luxembourg's dedication to specific elements of its climate policy. Of the 197 measures in the updated NECP, 57 are associated with KBR recommendations. Out of these, 5 constitute entirely new initiatives, presumably influenced by the KBR's work, emphasizing enhanced actions in climate-friendly mobility and a sustainable approach to urban development. The KBR report presented these recommendations with varying levels of detail; some were backed by thorough analysis, while others were more concisely drafted. However, this disparity in justification did not seem to impact the Government's uptake of the recommendations.

7.2. Attention from the Parliament

In addition to the Government's response, the study also examines the attention the KBR garnered from other political actors, especially members of parliament.

7.2.1. Parliamentary question during the KBR

The media coverage analysis revealed that the KBR piqued the interest of parliamentarians even before the process concluded and the scheduled debate on the final report took place in parliament. Prompted by two critical articles in 'Le Quotidien', MPs from the opposition party CSV (conservative) — Diane Adehm, Max Hengel, and Paul Galles — submitted a written parliamentary question (N°6369)

on June 17, 2022. Addressed to the Minister of the Environment, Joëlle Welfring, and the Prime Minister, Xavier Bettel, the question is detailed in Table 23. The MPs questioned the Government about the independence of the experts involved in the KBR and the time constraints imposed on the organization of the KBR and the participants' work.

Table 23. Parliamentary question on the KBR from the CSV

On July 15 and 16, two articles were published in *Le Quotidien* criticizing the functioning of the Klima Biergerrot (“Des citoyens déçus, le débat reporté”; “C’était ambitieux, mais réalisable”). The citizens’ council should, through meetings with experts, find out whether Luxembourg is doing enough against climate change or whether additional measures are needed, and if so, identify those measures. In this way, new impetuses can take place that can help society face the climate crisis more effectively.

In this context, we would like to ask the Minister the following questions:

- Can the Government confirm the content of these 2 articles?
- Can the Government understand the frustration of the participants?
- If so, how do you want to counteract this to avoid failure?
- How many experts have been involved in the meetings so far? How many of these experts work in a ministry or in a parastatal organization?
- Who created the current calendar? Why was it so tight and limited to 6 months?
- Will changes be made to the calendar? If not, why? If so, which ones?
- What lessons can be learned from this regarding future citizen participation?

On July 4, 2022, the Government officially issued a joint response from the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Environment, detailed in [Appendix 6](#). In short, the Government clarified that they had not organized the KBR themselves but had contracted professional companies through a public tender: Ilres for recruitment and Pétillances - Oxygen & Partners for facilitation. They also noted the guidance of an independent committee of academic experts in citizen participation and mentioned the University of Luxembourg’s subsequent evaluation of the process, aimed at learning from this first experience. The response then specifically addressed the points raised in the parliamentary questions. Firstly, it contended that the critical articles reflected the views of only two assembly members, not the entire assembly, thus giving a skewed perception. Secondly, the Government noted that adjustments were made in response to members’ feedback, such as extending the process duration based on their collective decision. More broadly, the

Government justified its choices regarding the KBR's timing and structure. Thirdly, the Government emphasized that the selection of experts was at the organizers' discretion, with the advisory committee considering these experts as bringing diverse and sometimes critical perspectives, including on Government policies. Additional details were provided about the range of expertise present within the KBR. These exchanges indicate that the KBR process garnered the attention of some members of parliament before any results were finalized, influencing their actions. This demonstrates that the KBR has had a tangible impact on the political discourse within the framework of representative institutions.

7.2.2. Parliamentary debate on the final report

Another key moment in which the KBR caught the attention of MPs was the public parliamentary session (consultation debate N°3902) dedicated to the discussion of the final report, which had been announced by the Prime Minister at the beginning of the process. The parliamentary session that lasted over three hours was an ideal occasion to examine the stances of various political factions within the parliament. Prime Minister Xavier Bettel from the liberal party (DP) initiated the session by underscoring the Government's dedication to citizen participation. He then reviewed the efforts of the KBR members, stressing that their contributions should be regarded with earnestness by the parliament as well. In his own words, *"the Parliament makes the laws, but it is the duty of politicians to listen to the citizens."* He expressed the hopes of the Government that the debate would provide a political impulse. In view of some of the far-reaching proposals, the Government also wanted to learn from the Parliament how far the State should go in combating climate change.

Overall, as acknowledged by the media, the report was generally well received, although not all MPs and their parties were in favour of the content. Some measures were rejected outright. These included increasing the CO₂ tax from today's 25 to 200 euros and a deep reform of agriculture. In contrast, the call for a speedier expansion of solar and wind power as well as tax incentives for sustainability were received positively.

Depending on MP's political affiliation, different opinions were put forward.

- The ADR (opposition, populist right-wing party) was the most critical. When the member of parliament Fred Keup took the stand, he mentioned that *"there was nothing new" in the 56 proposals. Mobility, agriculture, energy, food waste, and other climate-related topics had all been the subject of debate in the Parliament in the recent past and he saw no point in discussing the details of the KBR measures which he assimilated to the electoral program of the Greens. For example, he recalled that reducing speed limits had already been proposed before and that his party did not support it. He also argued against the "idea or rather the compulsion" to eat vegan twice a week in primary schools.*

- The CSV (opposition, conservative party) was relatively positive on the idea of involving citizens, but complained again specifically against the KBR because of its composition. During the parliamentary session, MP Martine Hansen, co-president of her group, expressed the desire to have seen more representation from the farming community, highlighting their vital role in combating global warming. She also voiced the CSV's disagreement with several proposals in the report, specifically those related to intensive farming, which she claimed does not exist in Luxembourg. MP Paul Galles added that the CSV appreciated the idea of incorporating sustainability lessons in schools and supported carbon contracts to aid companies in reducing emissions. Proposals such as setting rules for wind turbines in forests, streamlining approval procedures, and providing a repair bonus for household appliances were met with approval from the CSV. However, Galles emphasized the party's opposition to making individual vehicle use prohibitively expensive and strongly opposed the proposed increase of the CO₂ tax from 25 to 200 euros per ton, arguing that such a high rate would be too costly for many, particularly those who rely on cars for work. He also noted that the report did not sufficiently address the issue of economic growth.
- From Cécile Hemmen (social democratic party in Government - LSAP) to François Benoy (Green party in Government - déi Gréng), including Max Hahn (liberal party in Government - DP), Myriam Cecchetti (radical left party in opposition - déi Lénk) and Marc Goergen (Pirate party in opposition), all these speakers welcomed the KBR as a participatory initiative and complimented the work carried out by citizens.
 - The Pirate Party, through MP Marc Goergen, brought up their earlier legislative proposal to create deliberative committees, lamenting the lack of progress on this front. Additionally, the party supported all 56 proposals from the Klima-Biergerrot, seeing them as *“a slap in the face of the Greens”* who he criticized for governmental inaction.
 - Minister Claude Turmes (déi Gréng) responded by highlighting that the participants of the KBR recommended further strengthening the existing foundations for combating global warming, which contradicts the criticism implied by the Pirate Party's statement.
 - Myriam Cecchetti (déi Lénk) preferred to argue for a radical change in climate policy to save what can still be saved and claimed that *“those who still deny climate change must certainly be sent to the moon”*. Besides, she regretted that the Klima Biergerrot had not addressed the role of the financial center and the reality of the life of cross-border commuters.
 - For the social democrats (LSAP), Cécile Hemmen acknowledged that many of the KBR's proposals could be quickly adopted, but also noted that some would require agreement at the European level. She raised concerns that

the recommendation for sustainability labelling on agricultural products might disadvantage national producers unless a similar ecological index is implemented EU-wide. Hemmen also supported measures to reduce food waste, reconsider water usage, and increase social housing. However, she expressed scepticism about the feasibility of implementing the KBR's suggested CO2 pricing model.

- Max Hahn from the DP praised the KBR's proposals as innovative and bold. He noted the possibility of achieving the Government's renewable energy target of 25% by 2030 much earlier, by 2025, while the KBR aimed for 80%. Acknowledging Luxembourg's continued dependence on energy imports, he emphasized the importance of investing in offshore wind farms. For housing, Hahn remarked that the energy issues in new buildings were addressed by mandatory passive design and recommended that the focus should shift to renovating older buildings with targeted Government funding.
- The Prime Minister, Xavier Bettel, concluded and promised to respect his commitment: *"This is not the last time that we discuss this document."* He acknowledged the significance of the KBR's document, emphasizing the need to take the suggestions seriously to maintain the credibility of the work accomplished. He expressed satisfaction that a majority of the MPs concurred with this perspective.

A majority motion (N°3399) initiated by the liberal MP Max Hahn was presented and passed at the end of the session (see [Appendix 7](#)). The motion called for the Government to assess the feasibility of integrating the KBR's proposals into the new National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP) and to maintain a participatory approach by involving citizens in the evaluation of climate policy. The motion received 33 votes in favour, 6 against, and 21 abstentions, with the ADR and the Pirate Party opposing and the CSV abstaining. All other political groups supported the motion.

Table 24. The vote on the majority motion related to the KBR

GROUPS	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTENTION	NO VOTE
ADR	0	4	0	0
Pirate party	0	2	0	0
CSV	0	0	21	0
DP	12	0	0	0
LSAP	10	0	0	0
Dei Greng	9	0	0	0
Dei Lenk	2	0	0	0
Total	33	6	21	0

An additional motion (N°4000) proposed by the radical left MP Myriam Cecchetti was introduced in Parliament. This motion aimed to ensure a detailed account of how each KBR recommendation was being incorporated into the revised National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP). The vote saw the ADR and the CSV abstain, while the majority groups voted against it. Only the MPs from Déi Lénk and the Pirate Party supported the motion. Notably, the Government did end up providing a comprehensive outline of the integration and follow-up on each KBR recommendation. All in all, the KBR contributed to democratic politics. The debate related to the work of the KBR mainly focused on the outcomes (more than on the process itself, except for the opposition party CSV that brought up their initial doubts) and helped MPs get a foothold in the electoral campaign and position themselves on environmental issues. In this regard, the KBR led to an interesting, confrontational, and diversified political debate on climate change and climate policies within the Parliament.

7.2.3. Parliamentary debate on citizen participation

The Green politician François Bausch reignited discussions on citizen participation in March 2023. On the 21st, he initiated a directional debate (N°3882) in Parliament regarding the optimal integration of citizens in (local) policymaking, drawing on the KBR and Luxembourg in Transition (LIT) as examples. Following a comprehensive debate on the merits and drawbacks of citizen involvement, the Green MPs introduced a motion (N°4103) that aimed to (a) conduct a detailed evaluation of previous participatory initiatives with specialized experts, (b) review existing tools and opportunities for citizen engagement in shaping national and local public policies, (c) suggest improvements to enhance and encourage citizen participation, and (d) assess the feasibility and details of a standardized, ongoing framework for national citizen involvement, to systematically and regularly engage citizens in policy development. This motion was met with widespread, bipartisan approval, except for the ADR MPs who opposed it.

Overall, the review of parliamentary activities indicated that the KBR was subject to significant attention and had an influence on the behaviours and opinions of Members of Parliament (MPs). Apart from discussions on climate policy and the concrete outcomes of the KBR, it sparked a broader debate within the Luxembourgish political community on citizen participation and the potential formalization of citizen involvement in the policymaking process. There was a widely shared political intent to progress on this matter following the KBR. These observations suggest that the KBR may lead to the institutionalization of deliberative processes and establish a more consistent method for consulting citizens. However, the specific form this participatory tool should take and its integration with other representative institutions were not defined and remain to be decided. Luxembourg MPs

see deliberative democracy as a promising supplement to electoral democracy. A critical future consideration is the stance of the new Government on the issue of citizen participation. While it was a key priority for former PM Bettel (DP), the position of PM Frieden (CSV) on this matter is not yet clear. An initial indication was offered in the coalition agreement disclosed in November 2023, which explicitly states that citizen involvement will be encouraged in climate policy decisions. The precise nature of this citizen consultation mechanism and whether it will extend to other policy areas is still to be clarified.

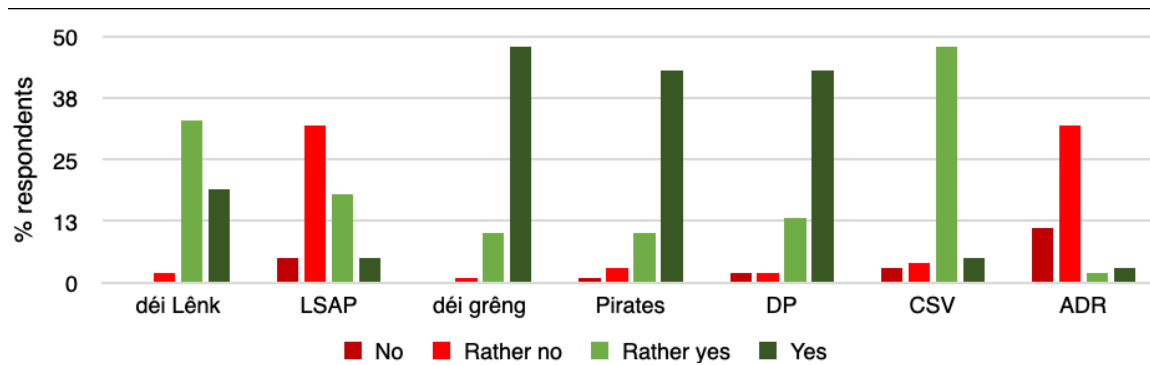
7.3. Attention from political parties and candidates

In the follow-up to the last subsection, extending our evaluation to the 2023 election campaign seemed pertinent to determine if the KBR left an imprint on the political discourse. We scrutinized the programs of various political parties and individual candidates for echoes of the KBR's influence. Additionally, we sought to understand how political elites and parties articulated their positions on citizen participation in deliberative processes. During the electoral campaign, the smart vote application [Smartwielen](#) asked political candidates to answer questions on a wide range of policy issues. In light of the KBR's occurrence during the last legislative term, the organizers included questions about citizens' assemblies. This data was accessed and analysed to gain insights into the positions of political parties and elites on the matter. Additionally, electoral manifestos were examined for references to the KBR or deliberative processes, comparing candidates' views with their party's official stance. The analysis aimed to project whether, considering the election results and subsequent Government formation, citizens' assemblies might become a more frequent feature in the political landscape.

The question posed in Smartwielen was the following: *“Should the implementation of randomly selected citizens' forums (Biergerforen) be encouraged?”*. The question had an info box explaining what citizen forums are, referring to the KBR as an example¹⁹. The respondents had four answer categories: no, rather no, rather yes, and yes. We cross-tabbed candidates' answers and their party affiliation, focusing on the parties that have at least one seat in Parliament²⁰. The distribution is presented in Figure 49.

19 Infobox: The Citizens' Forum is an innovative democratic tool that aims to involve a group of people selected by lot in political decision-making. In Luxembourg, this procedure was most recently used to draw up the new version of the integrated national energy and climate plan (NECP). For the revision of the NECP, the Klima-Biergerrot was created, made up of 60 principal members and 40 stand-in members selected at random.

20 Déi lénk (46 candidates), LSAP (60 candidates), Déi Gréng (59 candidates), pirates (56 candidates), DP (60 candidates), CSV (60 candidates), ADR (48 candidates).

Figure 49. Political candidates' support for citizens' assemblies

The figure underscores broad support within the Luxembourgish political community for the implementation of citizens' assemblies, with 343 out of 487 candidates responding affirmatively (yes, or rather yes – 70%). However, levels of support varied, with certain parties showing more negative opinions, while others exhibited strong or moderate positivity. These findings align with patterns observed in prior analyses of parliamentary debates regarding the KBR.

Three parties, the Green Party, the Pirate Party, and the Liberal Party (DP), were strongly in favour. It is worth noting that the Green Party and the DP were governing together in the previous legislature (along with the LSAP) and commissioned several deliberative processes at the national level during the term. The manifesto of the DP and the Green party both mentioned the fact that they were in favour of increased citizen participation (with a direct reference to the KBR as a main example in their manifesto), specifically in matters of climate policymaking (unclear regarding other issues). In contrast, the manifesto of the Pirate Party was more generically positive and endorsed various specific instruments and measures to promote citizen participation, including a permanent citizens' council. It advocated for the ongoing exploration of diverse participatory mechanisms at the national level, although it did not make any explicit mention of the KBR.

Table 25. Extracts from party manifestos: Green, DP, and Pirate

Promote citizen participation in climate policy. The DP advocates for a climate policy that involves the citizens in all important decisions. In our eyes, the fight against climate change can only succeed if society also supports the various measures and stands behind the climate policies. For this reason, the DP launched a unique participatory project, the Klima Biergerrot, during the last legislative period to give society a voice in updating the integrated national energy and climate plan. From the beginning, the DP has worked to ensure that the KBR's suggestions are taken into account and that as many as possible are integrated into the updated version of the climate plan. The DP will take into account the conclusions of the KBR study commissioned by the Government from the University of Luxembourg. It is important for us to take stock of this project and to further improve the organization of such future projects.

- *Continue to promote citizen participation in climate policymaking, like was initiated with « Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050 » and « Klima-Biergerrot ».*
- *The democratic institution that is the Chamber is strengthened by improving public relations and the political participation of citizens, by ensuring that the Chamber of Deputies maintains more direct dialogue with citizens, and this:*

on parliamentary hearings on important political questions involving public participation;

by developing a national model of dialogue or citizen advice in collaboration with the University of Luxembourg, as well as with the experts and citizens of the “Biergerkomitee”, the “Klima-Biergerrot” and other participatory processes, such as CELL, which offer Luxembourg and non-Luxembourg citizens a systematic platform to participate in the political decision-making process on important future issues

Dei Greng 2023 Legislative Election Program, pp. 14-18

Establish a citizens’ council at the national level. Bringing politics closer to citizens and finally allowing people to participate in politics without them needing to hold a party card or be politicians. This is the goal of the citizen council, which we, the Pirates, are demanding. In 2019, the Pirates already submitted a bill to introduce such a citizens’ council. People are drawn at random from the population, which then meets in a citizens’ council. This board should be made up of ordinary people and reflect society. The mandate to sit within the citizens’ council should be totally incompatible with other mandates. The people of the citizen council work independently on the issues that are important to them. These questions are debated within the citizens’ council and are the subject of a report, which is then presented to Parliament and debated there. The citizens’ council can also develop solutions itself, which must then be presented and voted in the Chamber of Deputies. Implementation can be decided in the form of a motion, resolution or bill in the Parliament.

The Pirates want to:

Introduce a citizens’ council at the national level, in which people who are not currently active in politics should be represented.

Piraten 2023 Legislative Election Program p. 99

The Christian Social Party (CSV) and the Left Party (déi Lénk) generally supported the idea of citizen participation. The CSV, while not explicitly mentioning participatory procedures or the KBR in its 2023 electoral manifesto, adopted a moderately positive attitude. The Left Party, on the other hand, promoted a participatory approach, particularly for environmental issues and other policy areas like urban planning and culture. However, the specifics of the format and instruments to be employed were not detailed, and there was no direct mention of the KBR.

Table 26. Extracts from party manifesto: dei Lenk

The new climate law must establish an operational framework for effective and sustainable citizen participation in policy to combat global warming by closely involving already active stakeholders experienced in this field.

Dei Lenk 2023 Legislative Election Program, p. 29

The candidates from the Socialist Party (LSAP) showed a range of opinions on the topic of citizen participation, with a tendency towards scepticism within the party ranks. Despite this, the LSAP's 2023 electoral manifesto presented a generally favourable view on citizen forums. However, there was no explicit mention of the KBR.

Table 27. Extracts from party manifesto: LSAP

The LSAP supports initiatives aimed at supporting transformation and reform processes by consultative bodies composed of citizens. These ad hoc forums can constitute laboratories of ideas and useful places of exchange and help inform political decision-makers in their choices, without however replacing the bodies vested with decision-making powers. The new participatory instrument of the citizens' legislative initiative will be favoured.

LSAP 2023 Legislative Election Program, p. 121

The candidates from the Alternative Democratic Party (ADR) expressed a notably high level of scepticism towards citizen assemblies, as indicated by the predominance of negative opinions within the party. The ADR's 2023 electoral manifesto did not make any mention of participatory democracy in the form of citizens' assemblies, instead advocating for a preference towards traditional electoral processes and direct democracy through referendums.

With the establishment of a new Government coalition between the conservative (CSV) and liberal (DP) parties, it is anticipated that the DP will maintain its advocacy for citizen participation in climate policymaking. The CSV, although not having officially supported the use of citizens' assemblies during the election campaign, seems open to the concept of a more frequent use of such assemblies. The coalition agreement specifically includes the continuation of participatory approaches, particularly concerning climate policies. However, the exact conditions and framework in which the CSV will support these participatory methods remain to be clarified. Given the party's focus on the quality of participatory instruments while in opposition, the Government will need to carefully consider the design of a legitimate participatory mechanism that fits Luxembourg's specific context and objectives.

8. CONCLUSION: summary and recommendations

The goal of this report was to evaluate the 2022 Luxembourg Climate Citizens' Assembly (Klima Biergerrot) commissioned by the Luxembourg Government. Following a set of established criteria, the evaluation assessed the KBR from two perspectives. Internally, it scrutinized the citizens' assembly, questioning whether it fostered deliberative norms, adhered to deliberative process standards, and impacted participants. Externally, it explored the KBR's broader influence on Luxembourg's political landscape, including the Government, Parliament, climate policy, public opinion, and media portrayal. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was employed for this assessment, incorporating surveys, interviews, non-participant observation, desk research, and content analysis.

Our overarching conclusion acknowledges that while the KBR may not have conformed entirely to standard deliberative protocols in its design and exhibited typical recruitment biases, it nevertheless served as a meaningful participatory experiment. It empowered a varied group of Luxembourg citizens to partake in the climate policy discourse effectively and with due respect. The unique link between the KBR and governmental structures renders it an intriguing case study, contrasting with past European initiatives that were often disregarded politically and poorly integrated with prevailing political frameworks. Additionally, the KBR notably succeeded in engaging with the media and a specific segment of the populace. It marks a substantial advancement in Luxembourg's strategy for public engagement and suggests strong reasons to consider the continuance of citizens' assemblies in the future.

However, given that the KBR was an inaugural endeavour, it also presented numerous opportunities for enhancement and evolution. Thus, in this concluding chapter, we consolidated our principal observations and derived from them a suite of recommendations for the future replication of participatory processes with a deliberative dimension.

8.1. Assembly members' recruitment and representativeness

8.1.1. Findings

The recruitment of members was outsourced to the polling institute [Ilres](#) via a public tender. The delivery body selected 100 participants (60 principals + 40 stand-ins), who were intended to be representative of the demography of Luxembourg.

Recognizing the necessity for citizens' assemblies to ensure equitable selection opportunities and to achieve representation and diversity, we assessed the role of sortition in the recruitment process and its effectiveness in assembling a demographically representative sample of the public.

- The sortition mechanism was paired with self-selection, which did not guarantee equal participation and failed to eliminate common biases associated with voluntary political activities.
- The sociodemographic sampling applied to the pool of volunteers ensured that the KBR was broadly representative of the Luxembourg population in social terms. The KBR was notably inclusive, especially for typically underrepresented groups in electoral politics such as women, the youth, and non-nationals. Notably, the climate citizens' assembly provided greater diversity and representativeness than elected bodies like parliaments, allowing a voice for a portion of the Luxembourg population typically excluded from national politics.
- Some skewness in recruitment persisted; for example, individuals with higher levels of education were overrepresented in the KBR, a common trend in climate citizens' assemblies. Additionally, KBR members did not reflect the broader population's diversity regarding climate attitudes, political views, or the acceptance of participatory processes. Overrepresentation of positive attitudes and a high predisposition for political involvement among members implied a lack of some attitudinal diversity, an issue acknowledged by members and noted by media and politicians. While (climate) citizens' assemblies often employ demographic sampling to promote attitudinal diversity, it does not assure it (Elstub and McLaverty 2014).
- We found that the members generally joined the process for a “good” reason, driven by normative motivations to represent the interests of the whole Luxembourg population as assembly members. Financial compensation for participation in the KBR was infrequently mentioned as a motivating factor.

8.1.2. Recommendations

Based on these findings, we believe that, in the future,

(R1 – civic lottery) Citizens' assemblies must provide equal opportunities for all citizens to be selected, ensuring that recruitment strategies are based entirely on the principles of a civic lottery. This approach also recognizes the scientific progress made in overcoming self-selection biases inherent in such methods (Flanigan et al. 2021).

(R2 – attitudinal sampling) Citizens' assemblies should ensure attitudinal diversity by sampling from a pool of volunteers based on their perspectives on the issue under debate and politics more broadly.

(R3 – compositional transparency) Clear communication and transparency regarding the recruitment process and the assembly’s composition are essential to ensure the perceived legitimacy and enable non-participating citizens to identify with the participants.

(R4 – civic norm) Public efforts to promote and value the work of citizens engaged in deliberative processes must be encouraged.

8.2. Organization and quality of the deliberation

8.2.1. Findings

The KBR’s main objective was to engage Luxembourg citizens in the consultation on climate policy, contributing to the formulation of the integrated National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP). The Government sought the KBR’s recommendations on potential strategies for Luxembourg to intensify its efforts in combating climate change.

- From the evidence collected, it was clear that the members understood the role of the KBR and acknowledged that their mission was well-defined.

The KBR organization was outsourced to [Oxygen & Partners](#), [Pétillances](#), and [AccentAigu](#) via public tender, appointed for the organization, facilitation, moderation, and communication, respectively. Initially slated for 6 months (from January to June 2022), the KBR extended until October 2022. During the first phase (February to June 2022), members deliberated and crafted recommendations during five thematic cycles, addressing NECP sectors: agriculture and forestry (weekend 1), renewable energy (weekend 2), sustainable construction (weekend 3), waste management (weekend 4), mobility and transport (weekend 5). Saturdays focused on identifying challenges within these themes for Luxembourg. Sundays were used to contemplate possible solutions. Deliberations took place in plenary sessions and small groups of 12 to 15 members, facilitated by the delivery bodies. In the second phase, members finalized their recommendations in six more autonomous groups. Online feedback mechanisms allowed all members to review and contribute to the proposals drafted by the groups.

The KBR design differed from most previous climate citizens’ assemblies in three key ways. Firstly, the allocation to working groups during the initial phase was organized by language and personal interest for the second phase. Secondly, all members engaged in each of the five subthemes of Luxembourg’s climate policy rather than being divided into separate workstreams. Thirdly, the process underwent redesign during its course, allowing more time for the development of final recommendations.

- The collected evidence indicates member satisfaction with the facilitation, organization, and design of the KBR, despite it not fully mirroring the setup of prior national climate citizens' assemblies. The organization demonstrated adaptability, with responsive changes made in accordance with member feedback. Effective facilitation contributed significantly to the deliberative process's quality. Additionally, member commitment remained strong throughout the KBR's duration (high retention rate with only 9 people who dropped out).
- The KBR members actively participated in policy development, formulating concrete and actionable recommendations within the scope of climate policy. All the recommendations reached consensus among the members. However, the evidence collected suggests that they held a rather negative (or realistic) view regarding the political uptake of their proposals.
- Some KBR members were concerned about whether enough time was provided to develop the climate policy recommendations for the new NECP. Despite the process being extended and the Government allowing organizers to adjust the initial design, a portion of members still felt that additional time for deliberation would have been beneficial. Balancing the length of such assemblies is often challenging, especially when considering participants' availability. Overall, it seems that extending the KBR was a positive step, demonstrating the Government's investment in the proper execution of the process.
- While the KBR members generally perceived the quality of deliberation positively, feeling free and respected, there were reports of increasing dominance by certain participants over time. The self-organizing principles of phase II appeared to reduce the members' perceptions of information quality, communication, and deliberation. This phase also led to a disconnect between members and organizers and the emergence of interpersonal issues, as there were no formal ethical guidelines for good conduct and deliberative practices. Interpersonal dynamics are crucial in deliberative processes not only for social experience but also for reducing cognitive biases and enhancing the quality of deliberation.
- The KBR was a case of multilingual deliberation, conducted in three different languages: French, Luxembourgish, and English. We found that the multilingual aspect of the process has not been a barrier to the quality of deliberation but rather a constraining factor for the design of the KBR.

In addition to being exposed to a diversity of opinions from fellow members, citizens' assemblies like the KBR are also expected to provide members with diverse and balanced sources of information through the intervention of independent experts. In the KBR, members were informed during the various phases of the consultation by experts from academia, representatives of the ministries or administrations concerned, and professionals in the field. The organization was entirely

responsible for their selection. A clear distinction was maintained between the roles of the experts and the members.

- Our evidence demonstrated the information provided in the KBR by the experts was overall comprehensible, useful, and relatively balanced in terms of views and opinions.
- Nevertheless, in terms of composition, we observed that public servants were over-represented among the experts, while academic and civil society actors were under-represented. This line of criticism also fed some of the debates relayed in the media or by MPs.

8.2.2. Recommendations

Based on these findings, we believe that, to ensure and improve the quality of the deliberative experience:

(R5 – reasonable timeline and goals) citizens’ assemblies must not be rushed. The commissioning bodies must leave a decent amount of time to potential delivery bodies to build and propose the most suitable design, which will set up clear goals and adopt an appropriate length to serve these purposes.

(R6 – continuous professional facilitation) Citizens’ assemblies must avoid purely self-organized groups and ensure professional facilitation and moderation (even online) throughout the process.

(R7 – transparent and balanced selection of experts) Citizens’ assemblies must ensure a careful, balanced, justified, and transparent selection of experts. The selection of external experts and resource persons is as important as selection of the assembly members.

(R8 – ethics and good conduct) Citizens’ assemblies must constrain their members to adhere to formal rules of good conduct and deliberation.

(R9 – multilingualism) Citizens’ assemblies must ensure, when relevant, multilingual facilitation and accommodations, and so to overcome any participation barrier related to languages.

8.3. Impact of deliberation

8.3.1. Findings

In citizens’ assemblies, due to the exposure to new information and views and the novelty and integrity of the deliberative process, participants are expected to learn and should be open to change their views on policy issues and their attitudes towards their own capabilities and attitudes towards the political system.

- Our evidence indicated that KBR members learnt about climate policy and felt more knowledgeable about environmental issues in general after they participated in the process. This was helped, to a certain extent, by the fact that all the members worked on the different subthemes in the first phase of the process. Besides, members self-declared to have changed relatively often their opinions on the issues that were discussed during the process.
- Their attitudes towards climate change remain stable and highly skewed towards pro-climate positions. Yet, we found a minor but not significant evolution, indicating that more climate sceptical views were measured at the end of the process than at the beginning. This finding contrasts with the members' perceptions that opinions on climate converged, and climate sceptics were less and less present over the course of the process.
- As far as their attitudes towards politics in general is concerned, we found that the members felt more competent at the end, expressing greater confidence in their own ability to deal with complex political issues. We found them also slightly more interested and more satisfied with democracy in general, although this marked only a reinforcement rather than a fundamental changes of their initial attitudes.
- Finally, we examined their generic opinions on deliberative processes regarding recruitment, the role of citizens, and outcomes. The members remained in proportion positive and favourable to citizens' assemblies throughout the process and reported an even higher likelihood to accept to participate (again) in the future at the end of the process.

8.3.2. Recommendations

Based on these findings, we believe that:

(R10 - attitudinal diversity for deliberation quality and impact) citizens' assemblies must ensure a better attitudinal diversity when selecting their participants (both in terms of the issue at hand and politics in general) to promote more impactful and qualitative deliberation afterwards.

8.4. Impact on the wider public: the media

8.4.1. Findings

A successful citizens' assembly should encourage public debate. To achieve this goal, a key determinant is that the assembly reaches the media and therefore has a budget sufficient to deliver public communication.

- We have stressed that the engagement of the KBR with the external world during the process was rather limited because it was not considered a priority by

the organizers, there was a fear of external influence, and because the budget was finally lacking once the process was extended and then reached the final endpoint, when communication was supposed to start. Therefore, little information about the process was (and is still) available, and the final report was published only in French. Following media leaks from certain participants, external communication emerged as an internal challenge for the KBR members and organizers. This was nonetheless settled by a plenary vote where the KBR agreed to communicate only once the final report was published.

- Despite all of this, the extent of the media coverage of the KBR was rather substantial given the small media landscape of Luxembourg. We identified five moments of mediatization: when the process was (1) announced, (2) launched, (3) extended, (4) finished (quantitative peak), and (5) politically responded. While most articles adopted a neutral tone when covering the KBR, positive and negative stances were taken by certain journalists and outlets, thereby contributing to a qualitative, constructive as well as democratic debate. However, the mobilization of negative arguments decreased sharply after the end of the process. The media seemed to have accepted that the process could reach actionable measures. Besides, the political follow-up was present, but not extensively covered. To sum up, the media exposure of the KBR emphasizes the activation of a healthy public debate on the role of citizens in (climate) politics.

8.4.2. Recommendations

Therefore, we strongly believe that:

(R11 – communication strategy) citizens' assemblies must adopt a communication budget, team and dynamic strategy tailored to the logic of deliberative processes and to the peculiarity of the (Luxembourg) population.

(R12 – diversified, educational and modern communication) citizens' assemblies must rely on available technologies of all kinds to develop educative communication materials that will engage the media and the public. They must encourage opportunities to access this information through different channels of communication.

8.5. Impact on the wider public: public opinion

8.5.1. Findings

The success of a citizen's assembly is also often gauged by its capacity to reach public opinion and raise public awareness about the process or issues at hand.

- From the panel study led with the Luxembourg population, with all necessary precaution, it is fair to assume that the level of awareness about the KBR seemed to have increased over the course of the process, suggesting that the media coverage was effective.
- The key determinant to be aware and knowledgeable about the KBR was the citizens' news consumption. A second one is to care about the environment. Therefore, these findings emphasize that people who are less informed about the news and less concerned about the climate are potentially much less likely to be impacted by the climate citizens' assembly.
- One goal of our evaluation was to explore citizens' generic attitudes towards citizens' assemblies and the potential evolution of their opinions along with the occurrence of the KBR. These appeared relatively stable and less changing than for the participants who directly experienced the process. Overall, the Luxembourg population was rather favourable regarding the use and the benefits of these processes, though in a slightly lower extent than the participants.
- We found that people who have been aware of the KBR tended to increase over time their acceptance of policy recommendations, stressing that awareness is important for the perceived legitimacy of these processes.
- Finally, we demonstrated that public attitudes towards citizens' assemblies like the KBR were instrumental and based on their perceptions of the outcomes: the more citizens agree with the recommendations or find them favourable to them, the more they turned supportive of deliberative processes and ready to accept the outcomes. In other words, support and acceptance for citizens' assemblies among the public is highly contingent on a favourable evaluation of the content of the recommendations.

8.5.2. Recommendations

We believe that our results are crucial because they emphasize that, while awareness is a great predictor of perceived legitimacy, the public access to information on citizens' assemblies is unequal and determined by certain predispositions towards the issue and the media. This finding suggests some inequalities also in how the maxi public is impacted and who may then perceive citizens' assemblies as legitimate policy instruments. Hence, more reflections are needed regarding how citizens' assemblies could better affect people who do not closely follow the news or do not feel really concerned by the debated issues. To overcome the higher awareness of the 'engaged citizens' (older, higher income, educated, politically trustful, issue concerned), citizens' assemblies should build better communication strategy and should invest other communication spheres than the mainstream media.

(R13 – public engagement and acceptance) Citizens’ assemblies must promote opportunities of engagement with the public, as a citizen aware of the process is a citizen that will be more inclined to accept the outcomes, thereby boosting trust in policy decisions.

(R14 – public engagement channels) Citizens’ assemblies must engage with the public not only through mainstream media but also with other communication means and channels, and so to reach less engaged profiles of citizens who follow less the news or who have different views than the participants on the issue at hand.

(R15 – public support for replication) Citizens’ assemblies can be replicated and promoted as policy instrument because they are supported by the public opinion. They have also the potential to boost trust in public policies when they reached the population.

8.6. Impact on climate policies and political actors

8.6.1. Findings

Although there was no formal requirement to respond, the KBR received serious consideration and official responses from the Government. In this perspective, the KBR stood out from other (climate) citizens’ assemblies because there was a direct connection to the ruling Government and related administration. This was typically embodied by the role given to the head of the Prime Minister’s Cabinet, who was tasked with the policy response and integration of the recommendations into the new version of the NECP.

The Government explained the measures that they accepted and provided a public justification. There is still an ongoing monitoring of the implementation of all accepted measures. The project of the new version of the NECP included more largely 197 measures, out of which 57 can be traced back to some of the KBR recommendations. Among these, 5 measures can be considered as genuinely new and would probably have not been present without the citizen consultation. For the rest, the other measures directly attributed to the KBR tended to reinforce the Luxembourg’s commitment on certain aspects of its climate policy.

Besides, we found that the KBR received attention and triggered discussion within the Parliament, not only before the publication of the final report, but also after. Even if some criticisms were raised by opposition parties or if some proposals were judged more difficult to accept, the KBR process and outcomes received a good level of approval from the MPs and launched a healthy democratic debate in terms of implementation and replication. Moreover, during the last campaign, sev-

eral parties were positioned on the question of citizen participation, sometimes directly referring to the KBR as an example.

Prospectively, since the Luxembourg elected a new in October 2023, two key remaining questions are:

- whether and how these new measures will be considered in the final version of the NECP that is supposed to be ready by June 2024;
- whether the change in the coalition parties, and in particular the loss of the Greens who were important promoters of participatory processes, will impact the Luxembourg Government's commitment to engage in more citizen-led policymaking at the national level.

8.6.2. Recommendations

Therefore, we believe the following:

(R16 – political response) Citizens' assemblies must receive a clear and justified response from the commissioning bodies regarding the political follow-up and consideration of the recommendations.

(R17 – political integration) Citizens' assemblies must be offered a direct pathway for policy influence through a clear articulation with existing political structures (Government, parliament, public administrations).

(R18 – parliamentary scrutiny) Citizens' assemblies' outcomes must be discussed in Parliament, prompting parties and elites to position themselves on such processes as well as the concrete outcomes they yield.

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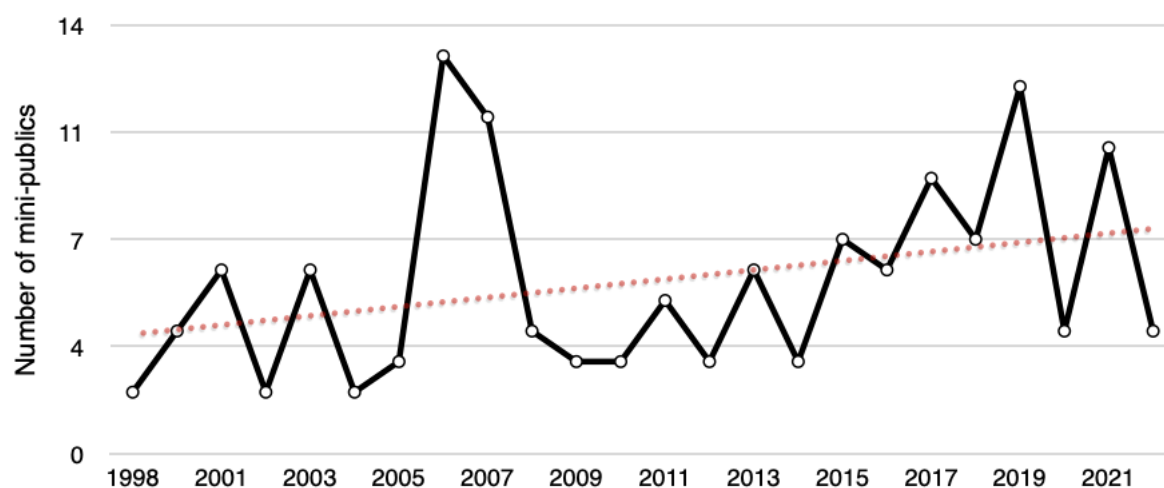
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The deliberative wave in Europe

Figure a. The deliberative wave in Europe (2000-2022)



Source: Paulis et al. 2022. The POLITICIZE Dataset. An inventory of Deliberative Mini-Publics (DMPs) in Europe.

Figure b. The geographical spread of deliberative mini-publics in Europe (2000-2022)

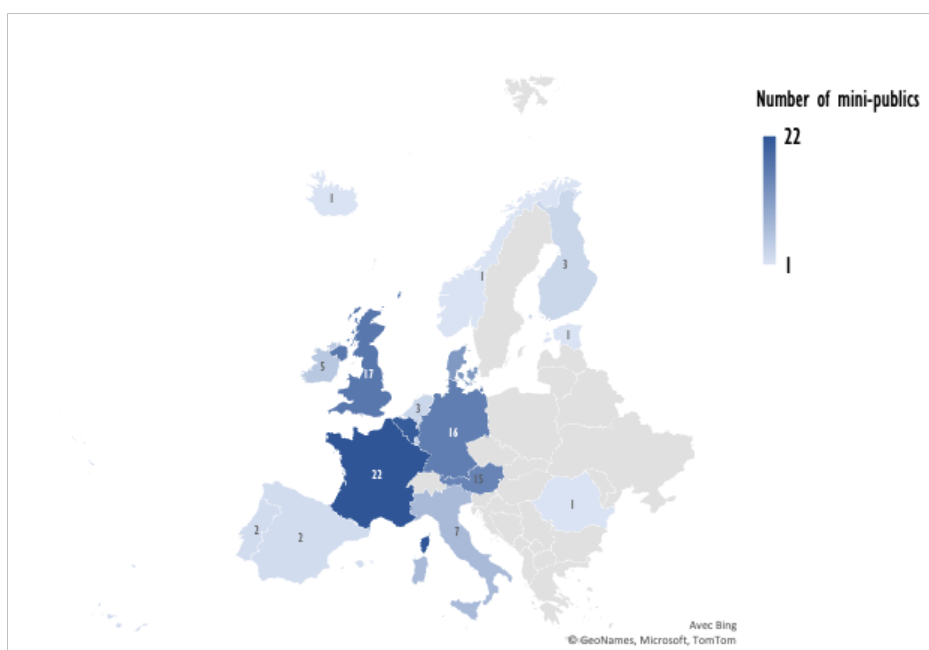
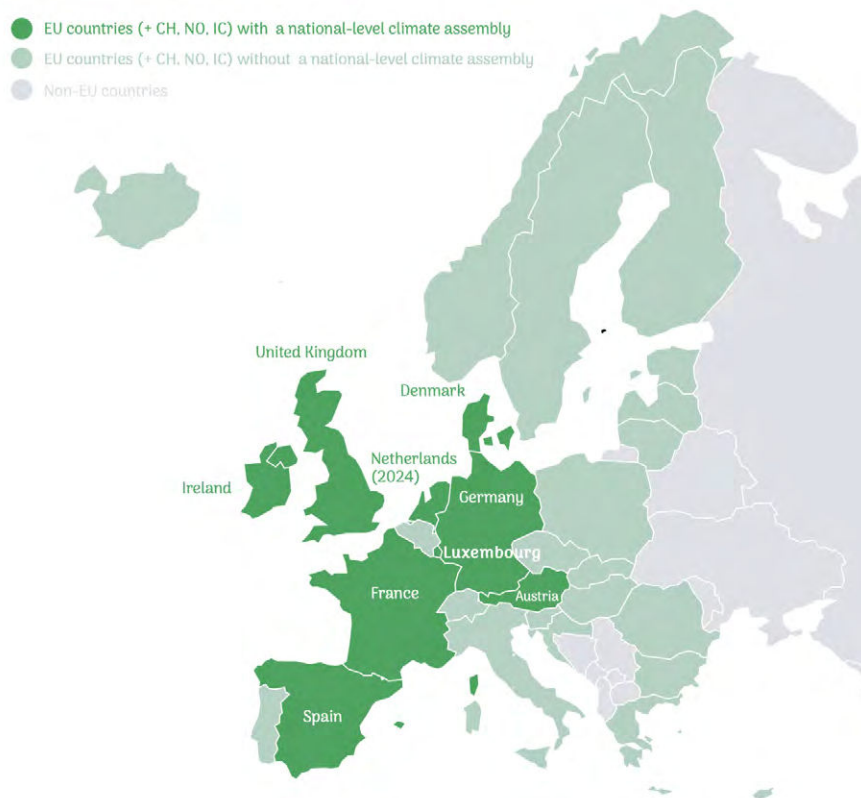


Figure c. Map of national-level climate assemblies in Europe



Appendix 2. Sample Representativeness

	% population (sample)	% population (census)
Gender		
Female	49.0	50.0
Male	51.0	50.0
Age		
16-24 years old	10.0	12.0
25-34 years old	17.0	19.0
35-44 years old	18.0	19.0
45-54 years old	17.0	18.0
55-64 years old	18.0	15.0
65 years old +	20.0	18.0
Education		
low (max 2nd cycle)	41.0	36.0
middle (max bac +3)	20.0	24.0
high (max bac +4 or higher)	39.0	30.0

Nationality		
National (only Lux citizenship)	66.0	54.0
Non-national (other citizenship(s))	34.0	47.0
Region		
Luxembourg-City	17.0	20.0
Rest of the centre	16.0	16.0
South	36.0	37.0
North	16.0	15.0
East	14.0	12.0
Occupation		
In paid work (active)	53.0	57.0
In education (inactive)	10.0	43.0
Retired (inactive)	26.0	
Unemployed (inactive)	7.0	
Doing household (inactive)	2.0	

Appendix 3. Composition of the Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee members were as follows:

- Dr. Léonie de Jonge (University of Groningen, Netherlands);
- Dr. Dominik Hierlemann (Bertelsmann Stiftung, Luxembourg);
- Dr. Raphaël Kies (University of Luxembourg, Plateforme Luxembourgeoise de la Démocratie Participative, Luxembourg);
- Dr. Alina Ostling (Open Knowledge Sweden, Sweden);
- Dr. Emilien Paulis (University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg) ;
- Dr. Prof. Jean-Benoit Pilet (Université de Bruxelles, Belgium);
- Dr. Prof. Min Reuchamps (Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium) ;
- Dr. Prof. Graham Smith (University of Westminster, Foundation for Democracy and Sustainable Development - FSDS, Knowledge Network on Citizen Assemblies - KNOCA, United Kingdom);
- Jürgen Stoldt (Stoldt Associés, Coordinating group Biergerkomitee 2050, Luxembourg); and
- Lisa Verhasselt (University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg)

Appendix 4. List of experts and advocate witnesses

Actors that provided their expertise in the KBR

University	
University of Luxembourg	
University of Trier	
Lobbies, think tanks and advocacy group	
IBLA – Luxembourg Institute for Biological Agriculture and Agrarian Culture	Research center and consulting group in the field of organic agriculture and viticulture in Luxembourg
Luxembourg Landjugend and Young Farmers	A trio of groups representing the interests of young farmers and winegrowers in Luxembourg.
Luxinnovation	National innovation agency that offers consulting services to companies and public research actors in order to foster innovation, whilst facilitating their collaboration with public research actors.
Public ministries and administrations	
Ministry of Environment, Climate and Sustainable Development, the Ministry of Energy and Land Planning	
ANF – Nature and Forest Agency	
Ministry of Mobility and Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture	
Ministry of Agriculture, Viticulture and Rural Development	
Environment Agency	
(Para)statal actors	
Municipality of Schifffleng	Schiffflange is a commune and town in south-western Luxembourg. It is part of the canton of Esch-sur-Alzette. The municipality was certified “Gold” within the ‘Pacte Climatique’ framework.
SES Eau	Intercommunal union whose mission is to supply drinking water to the reservoirs of the unionized municipalities, which are then responsible for distribution.
Energie-Atelier	“Energy-workshop” of the canton of Reiden is the official information point of the climate agency for the Rüdten canton regarding topics such as energy saving, renewable energy, sustainable renovation, new construction and mobility.
SDK	Center informing on how to deal with waste in an environmentally friendly manner and how to avoid, collect and dispose of waste and information on various current campaigns. The center carries out the activities of the Ministry of the Environment, Climate and Sustainable Development in collaboration with the communes, the Chamber of Skilled Trades and Crafts and the Chamber of Commerce within the framework of national waste management.
CFL - Luxembourg National Railway Company	National railway (State-owned) company of Luxembourg.
Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research: LISER	Luxembourgish public research institute under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Higher Education and Research that focuses on the analysis of social and economic policies, including their spatial dimension.

Luxembourg Institute of Science and Technology (LIST)	Mission-driven Research and Technology Organisation (RTO) active in the fields of materials, environment, and IT.
Circular Economy Hub	Public online portal aimed at raising the circular profile of Luxembourg companies as well as attract the investment and technology needed to accelerate the Circular Economy, and to foster international collaboration.
Civil society, professional organizations	
natur & umwelt	Luxembourg association working to safeguard biodiversity in a varied natural and cultural landscape.
Co-labor	Social actor working to improve the employability of employees in integration
D'Lëtzebuerger Baue-renzentral	Largest and oldest professional organization of farmers, winemakers and gardeners in Luxembourg.
FEDIL - The Voice of Luxembourg's Industry	Founded in 1918, FEDIL is the largest multisectoral business federation giving a voice to industrials and entrepreneurs, fostering Luxembourg's economy.
National Affordable Housing Company (SNHBM)	Social housing provider specialized in the construction of single-family homes and apartment buildings
OAI - Order of Architects and Consulting Engineers	Professional association and federation of architects and engineers.
CRTI-B - Resource Center for Technologies and Innovation for Building	Neutral platform open to all stakeholders in the field of construction in Luxembourg, whose main aim is to contribute to improving the productivity and competitiveness of construction players.
Valorlux	Non-profit organisation (a.s.b.l.), which has the objective of promoting and coordinating selected waste collection, sorting and recycling in Luxembourg.
Ecotrel	Ecotrel is a non-profit association that manages and supports the removal and treatment of electrical and electronic equipment.
Private businesses	
Kass-Haff farm	Biodynamic wine exploitation and farm located in Rollingen and that is managed by Tom Kass.
SEO / Soler Luxembourg	Electricity utility company that develops projects, plans, constructs and operates energy production facilities from renewable energy sources.
Encevo	Sustainable energy supplier in Luxembourg and the Greater Region.
Neobuild	First Technological Innovation Hub for Sustainable Construction in Luxembourg
Hein Déchets	Luxembourg company specialized in waste transport and management.
Lamesch	Luxembourg company specialized in waste transport and management.
Ecotec	Luxembourg company specialized in the sorting and recovery of recyclable materials resulting from the demolition of buildings and construction sites.
Witry&Witry	Private company engaged in Architecture and Town Planning in Luxembourg and the Greater Region.
Losch Digital Lab	Luxembourg software company that sells products related with the automotive industry.
Voyages Emile Weber	Private travel agency group located in Luxembourg.

Creos	Energy company that plans, constructs and maintains the electricity and natural gas transmission and distribution networks in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.
Sales-Lentz	Travel and bus company in Luxembourg

Appendix 5. Results of statistical analyses

Figure a. Individual predictors of KBR awareness and knowledge

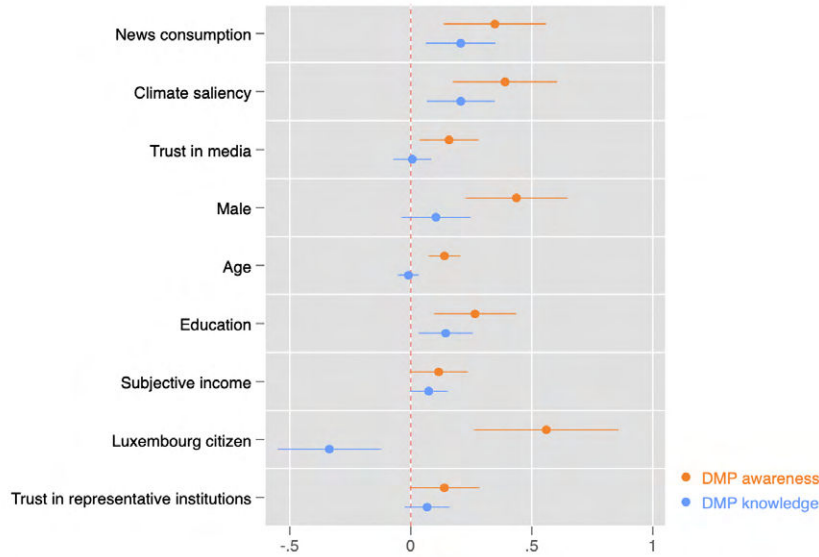


Figure b. KBR awareness and attitude change toward deliberative processes

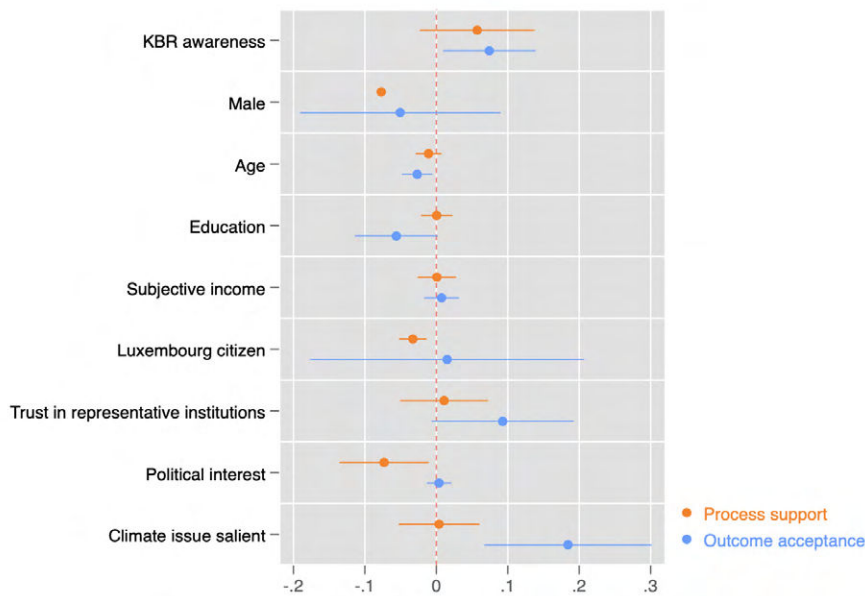
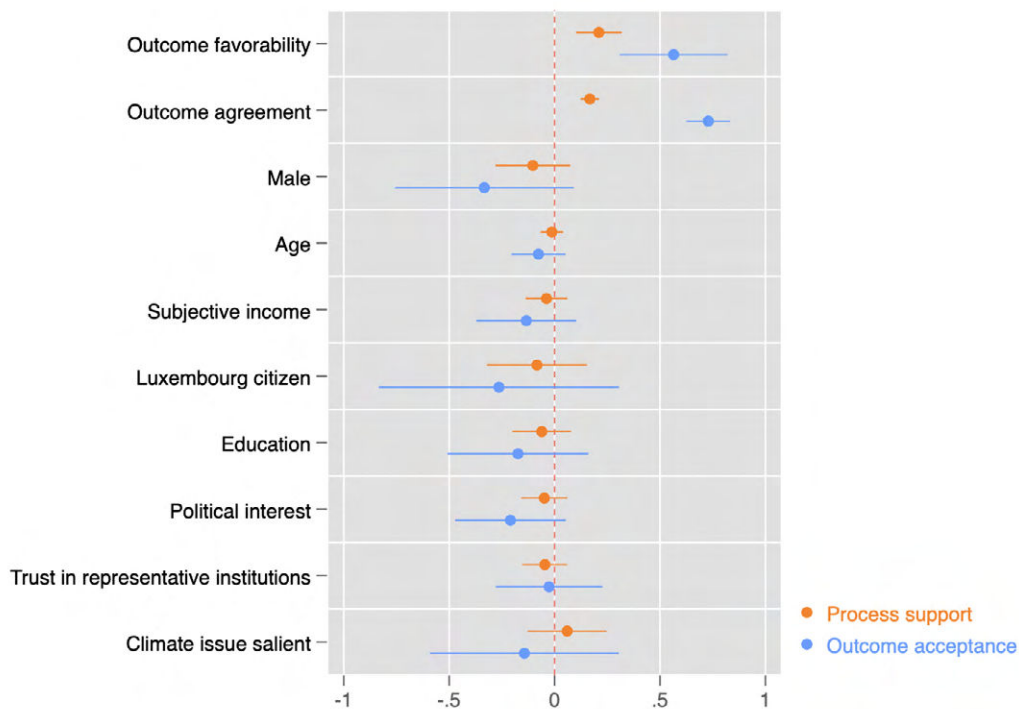


Figure c. Perceptions of the outcomes as predictors of support and acceptance of citizens' assemblies



Appendix 6. Full Government response to parliamentary question about KBR

The Klima Biergerrot was set up to deliberate on whether Luxembourg can and wants to go further in the fight against climate change, and with what measures this could be done. The Klima Biergerrot has been organized as a project for citizen participation in such a way that the selected citizens can formulate their proposals as independently as possible. Therefore, the relevant ministries have decided to stay out of the daily work of the Klima Biergerrot from the beginning. TNS-Ilres has been tasked with selecting the members in such a way that the Klima Biergerrot is as representative as possible of the Luxembourg population. The preparation, supervision and management, and the restitution of the works have been outsourced in a tender to two external companies - Pétillances Sàrl and Oxygen & Partners SA - with the corresponding know-how in this field, after they jointly have answered the tender. At the same time, the work of the Klima Biergerrot is followed by an independent advisory committee, which is made up of 10 national and international researchers, experts, and university professors in the field of political citizen participation. The composition of the support committee can be consulted on the website of the KlimaBiergerrot. The Government has also concluded an agreement with the University of Luxembourg to follow the project scientifically and to evaluate it after its finalization in order to draw valuable conclusions for possible future participation projects. The Government has coordinated the following answers to the questions of the honourable deputies

with the above-mentioned companies and the accompanying committee, who have given their approval to these answers.

Can the Government confirm the 2 articles?

Generally speaking, the first quoted article is based on the statements of two anonymous members of the climate council. These statements partly do not correspond factually to reality, and beyond that, their general position on the process is not shared by a large majority of the members. These articles have brought to the forefront members reluctant towards the organizers, internally - on an internal communication platform of the Klima Biergerrot - and publicly - in the form of comments under the online version of the article. The Government would also like to emphasize that a number of actions criticized in the article were approved by the members themselves in internal votes. In principle, the members of the climate council have influence at all times on the way in which they organize their work, and above all freedom of decision regarding the content of their proposals. In the second cited article, the organizers and two members of the advisory committee speak. The respondents have made it clear to the Government that they have made additional statements, not quoted in the article, that refute criticisms from the first article. The relevant ministries were not contacted either before or after the publication of the two articles by the journalist.

Can the Government understand the frustration of the participants? If so, how do you want to counteract this, so that there is no failure?

On behalf of the organizers and the accompanying committee, the Government would like to point out once again that the quoted article in no way reflects the opinion of all the members of the climate council, but only the statements of two anonymous members. On the contrary, many members feel unrepresented by this article. It is quite normal that during a project such as the Klima Biergerrot with 100 participants, as in any democratic process, disagreements arise in relation to the process, the methodology and also to conflicts on the content of the discussions. These conflicts were solved internally and did not lead to any major problems. In the case of the two members, however, these conflicts had an impact on the interaction with the organizers and with various experts, as well as on the cooperation of the Klima Biergerrot. After consultation with the organization's support committee, these two members were warned and ordered to change their behaviour. In principle, it is the case that the input and wishes of members, as far as the organization of the work is concerned, were taken seriously and taken into account where possible. Thus, during the whole process, minor and major adjustments were made again and again in consultation with the support committee. For example, at the request of the members, additional exchanges with experts were organized and it was jointly decided to concentrate on the deliberative work in the citizens' council and not to communicate in the media until the proposals are presented. Another major change concerns the extension of the project as a whole, which was first proposed at the request of several members and

on the recommendation of the advisory committee, and then discussed and decided by the Klima Biergerrot.

How many experts have been involved in the meetings so far? How many of these experts work in a ministry or in a parastatal organization?

A total of 63 national and international experts intervened in phase 1 of the Klima Biergerrot in the months of February to June, during visits to the field, the online presentations and question rounds during the working weekends, to give the members of the Klima Biergerrot as broad a context as possible, information and explanations on the various subjects. Around one third of these experts work at a ministry. Around one fifth of these experts work in a parastatal organization or an organization with a link to the state. The advisory committee emphasizes at this point that the presence of State and parastatal experts is important in order to illuminate the entire spectrum of a subject. The advisory committee also specifies that they were able to observe how the State and parastatal experts were able to express their opinions freely and were also critical of political decisions. These experts did not actively participate in the elaboration of the proposals. Representatives from ministries were available during the working weekends to answer concrete questions at the request of the members.

Engaged were representatives of natur & umwelt, the ANF, IBLA, co-labor, the Kass-Haff, the Luxembourg Landjugend and Young Farmers, the Bauerenzentral, the SEO / Soler, the Syndicat des eaux du sud, the Climate Agency, the Encevo, the LIST, the Climate Team, the Energie-Atelier, the Municipality of Schifffleng, the uni.lu, the FED-IL, the SNHBM, Neobuild, OAI, CRTI-B, the University of Trier, Valorlux, Hein Déchets, Lamesch, Ecotec, ecotrel, Voyages Emile Weber, the LISER, the Creos, SDK, Luxinnovation, CFL, Sales-Lentz, Losch Digital Lab, Witry&Witry and the Circular Economy Hub. Also representatives from the Ministry of Environment, Climate and Sustainable Development, the Ministry of Energy and Land Planning, the Ministry of Mobility and Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture, Viticulture and Rural Development provided their expertise, without relying on the positions of to influence the members of the climate council. It should also be noted that a number of other experts were requested by the organizers, who could not or did not want to participate for various reasons.

Who created the current planning? Why was he so narrowly measured at 6 months? Have changes been made to the schedule? If no, why? If so, which one?

The original planning was drawn up by the concerned ministries after consulting experts in the field of citizen participation. There are different approaches to embarking on such a project. Similar projects in the past have shown that the participation of many participants decreases after a few months. The Government also wanted to prevent the citizen consultation from being influenced by the municipal and national election campaigns in 2023. Therefore, the Government has decided to retain an ap-

proach with more intensive working weekends and to complete the project in mid-July 2022. After the first working weekends, it turned out that the members would like more time to work out their proposals in more detail and to be able to better develop their considerations. Following the recommendation of the advisory committee, the Ministry of State together with the organizers worked out an alternative planning and presented it to the members. This was the only time that representatives of the Ministry of State, in consultation with the organizers and the advisory committee, have directly interacted with the members - also to be able to respond to questions about the presentation of the proposals, especially vis-à-vis the Chamber. The members voted with a large majority for this alternative planning with only two votes against. This new planning considers that the members can continue to work on their proposals over the summer as part of a working group, they can once again consult experts freely, and organize a final vote on the proposals in mid-September. This phase will be launched at the beginning of July, and it is characterized by a participation and continued commitment of a large majority of all members. Afterwards, spokespersons from the Klima Biergerrot will present their proposals to the Government, the public and the Chamber. Finally, the Government requests a debate and consultation in the chamber, during which the MPs can position themselves politically on the proposals of the Klima Biergerrot. The Government, for its part, will allow the proposals and the drafting of the new national energy and climate plan (NECP) to follow.

What lessons can be learned from this story regarding future citizen participation?

It is important for the accompanying committee to point out that the climate council represents a democratic experiment. Conflicts and criticisms are part of the process of such an experiment. The organizers, the experts and the Government therefore take these criticisms very seriously, because they help to organize future participatory projects differently. As already mentioned, the Government concluded an agreement with the University of Luxembourg to follow the project scientifically and to evaluate it after its finalization, in order to draw valuable conclusions for possible future participation projects.

Appendix 7. Motion of the parliamentary majority on the KBR

Consultation debate on the proposals formulated by the “Klima-Biergerrot”

Majority motion to continue and accelerate the efforts to address the climate and environmental emergency.

The Chamber of Deputies,

emphasizing that we are facing a climate and environmental emergency that threatens ecosystems, biodiversity, food security, political stability and humanity;

- underlining the unparalleled urgency of taking additional measures to combat the climate crisis, mitigate its repercussions, reduce greenhouse gas emissions and achieve carbon neutrality as quickly as possible and at the latest in 2050; recalling the conclusions of the sixth assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), presented in April 2022, according to which the current measures of the global community are insufficient to respect the commitment of the Parties of the Paris Agreement to limit global warming to 1.5°C; raising the ambitious climate objectives that Luxembourg has set for itself by the amended Law of December 15, 2020 relating to climate, included in the Integrated National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP), including in particular the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 55% until 2030 as well as carbon neutrality until 2050;

- considering that Luxembourg has more than doubled its production of renewable energies since 2016;

- noting that Luxembourg has achieved its climate objectives for the year 2021 by having reduced its emissions by around 20% compared to 2005;

considering the Government’s announcement of its desire to accelerate authorization procedures for the construction of large-scale renewable energy production projects;

- considering the measures in favour of the energy transition as part of the tripartite agreement of September 28, 2022, including, among others, the “Klima-Bonus” fi-

nancial aid which has been revised upwards, as well as the application the VAT rate reduced by 3% for photovoltaic installations from January 1, 2023;

- approving the political will of the government to strengthen Luxembourg's efforts in the fight against global warming beyond the current commitments and measures provided for by the NECP;

emphasizing the importance of involving civil society in the development of new, more ambitious climate policies and measures;

- considering, in this context, the establishment, on the initiative of the Prime Minister, of "Klima-Biergerrot";

- congratulating the members of the "Klima-Biergerrot" for eight months of intense deliberations, numerous debates with experts, several working weekends and dozens of field visits;

considering that the members of the "Klima-Biergerrot" have retained 56 proposals intended to intensify Luxembourg's climate policy,

Invites the government:

- to continue and accelerate its efforts in the fight against climate change, the promotion of renewable energies and energy efficiency, as well as adaptation to global warming;

- to analyse the feasibility of the proposals formulated by the "Klima-Biergerrot" and to integrate them into the discussions surrounding the update of the integrated national energy and climate plan (NECP);

- to continue the participatory approach and to involve civil society closely in the monitoring, evaluation and, where appropriate, adaptation of Luxembourg's climate policy as provided for by the Climate Law.

Emphasizing the importance of involving civil society in the development of new, more ambitious climate policies and measures;

- considering, in this context, the establishment, on the initiative of the Prime Minister, of “Klima-Biergerrot”;

- congratulating the members of the “Klima-Biergerrot” for eight months of intense deliberations, numerous debates with experts, several working weekends and dozens of field visits;

considering that the members of the “Klima-Biergerrot” have retained 56 proposals intended to intensify Luxembourg’s climate policy,

Invites the Government:

- to continue and accelerate its efforts in the fight against climate change, the promotion of renewable energies and energy efficiency, as well as adaptation to global warming;

- to analyze the feasibility of the proposals formulated by the “Klima-Biergerrot” and to integrate them into the discussions surrounding the update of the integrated national energy and climate plan (NECP);

- to continue the participatory approach and to involve civil society closely in the monitoring, evaluation and, where appropriate, adaptation of Luxembourg’s climate policy as provided for by the Climate Law.