Appendix for

"Legitimizing climate action in democracies"

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Appendix A: Quota, Survey, and Interview Sample Statistics

Appendix Table 1: Comparison of German national statistics and German sample statistics

In Germany, the survey was fielded in August 2020. The semi-structured interviews took place in December 2020.

	National Representative Quota (Germany)	Conjoint Experiment (n=624)	Descriptive Survey (n=628)	Interviews (n=41)
Gender				
male	50%	50%	51%	54%
female	50%	50%	49%	46%
Age				
< 18 - 29 years	19%	21%	17%	7%
< 30 - 39 years	17%	15%	17%	17%
< 40 - 49 years	18%	18%	18%	20%
< 50 - 59 years	22%	21%	24%	32%
< 60 - 69 years	16%	18%	15%	17%
< 70+ years	8%	7%	9%	7%
Region / Federal State				
Baden-Württemberg	13%	14%	11%	22%
Bayern	15%	14%	16%	10%
Berlin	4%	5%	4%	7%
Brandenburg	3%	2%	4%	7%
Bremen	1%	1%	1%	2%
Hamburg	2%	2%	2%	7%
Hessen	7%	6%	7%	7%
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	2%	2%	2%	0%
Niedersachsen	10%	11%	9%	7%
Nordrhein-Westfalen	22%	23%	21%	20%
Rheinland-Pfalz	5%	5%	5%	0%
Saarland	1%	1%	1%	2%
Sachsen	5%	5%	5%	0%
Sachsen-Anhalt	3%	3%	3%	0%
Schleswig-Holstein	4%	3%	6%	7%
Thüringen	3%	3%	3%	0%
Education				
< No Degree	15%	12%	10%	2%
< Lower level secondary school degree	20%	33%	36%	22%
< Higher level secondary school degree	35%	28%	28%	20%
< university degree	30%	27%	26%	56%

Appendix Table 2: Comparison of US national statistics[65] and US sample statistics

In the US, the survey was fielded in December 2020.

	National Representative Quota (US Census 2019)	N = 1360 (total sample)
Gender		
Male	49%	50%
Female	51%	49.5%
Other	_	0.5%
Age		
18-24	9%	8%
25-34	14%	12%
35-44	13%	13%
45+	64%	66%
Education		
No College	39%	32%
Some college	30%	30%
College+	31%	38%
Region		
Northeast	17%	
Midwest	21%	
South	38%	
West	24%	

Appendix B: Example Conjoint Choice Task

Example of a conjoint choice task as presented to respondents in four consecutive rounds.

This next part will focus on US climate policy. Specifically, we will conduct a thought experiment with you, where we ask you to compare and rate alternative US climate policy packages that could be adopted in 2021. Each policy package consists of various individual policy measures that all aim to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, to varying degrees. **Please imagine that each climate policy package would be proposed by either one of these three entities:**

- The **US federal government** consisting of elected politicians advised by their administrative staff members and deliberation in Congress.

- An **expert commission** consisting of several independent US scientists from various disciplines in the natural and social sciences.

- A **climate citizens' assembly** consisting of randomly selected US citizens representing the US population. The selected citizens develop the policy package on the basis of a work process that lasts for several months, including detailed discussions among the selected citizens and a vote (by simple majority) on each item of the package.

In the following, you find the most prominent policies currently discussed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

- **Financial government support** for climate-friendly products (e.g., subsidies; purchase premiums; and investments in climate-friendly transport, for example in electric mobility and public transport). Effect: lowers prices for climate-friendly products and services.

- **Standards for producers** (e.g., emission standards for energy companies, meat and car producers). Effect: obliges producers to produce more climate-friendly. This can lead to rising prices and motivate people to consume more climate-friendly.

- **Taxes** (e.g., a CO2 tax). Effect: causes the prices of particularly climate-damaging products to rise faster than prices of less climate-damaging products.

- **Restrictions** (e.g., meat-free days in public cafeterias; inner-city driving bans for cars that run on fossil-fuels). Effect: reduces the consumption / use of particularly climate-damaging products.

ETH zürich

We will now initiate the thought experiment on US climate policy. In four different choice rounds, we present you with two alternative US climate policy packages side-by-side. For each round, **please compare the two policy packages carefully and indicate which one you prefer more. Some of the policy packages may look very similar to each other.** If you don't really support either of the two policy packages, please choose the one that you oppose less.

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Task 1: Please carefully compare the following two policy packages for climate protection in the US. Each package consists of different measures.

	Policy Package A	**Policy Package B**
Governmental support:	Support (15% lower price for climate-friendly products)	Large support (30% lower price for climate-friendly products)
Public investments:	Investments in public transport and e-mobility	No investments
Standards for producers:	No standards	High standards for car producers (30% less emissions)
CO2 tax:	High CO2 tax (30% higher price for climate-damaging products)	CO2 tax (15% higher price for climate-damaging products)
Restrictions:	No restrictions	Strong restrictions (3 meat-free days/week in public cafeterias)
Package proposed by:	Expert commission	Federal government

Which policy package do you prefer?

Package A	Package B
○	○

Appendix C: Conjoint Experimental Results

Appendix Table 3: *US Sample – Estimated Differences in Marginal Means between Different Sources of Legitimation for Choice Probabilities of Different Climate Policies (corresponding to Figure 1 in the article main text).*

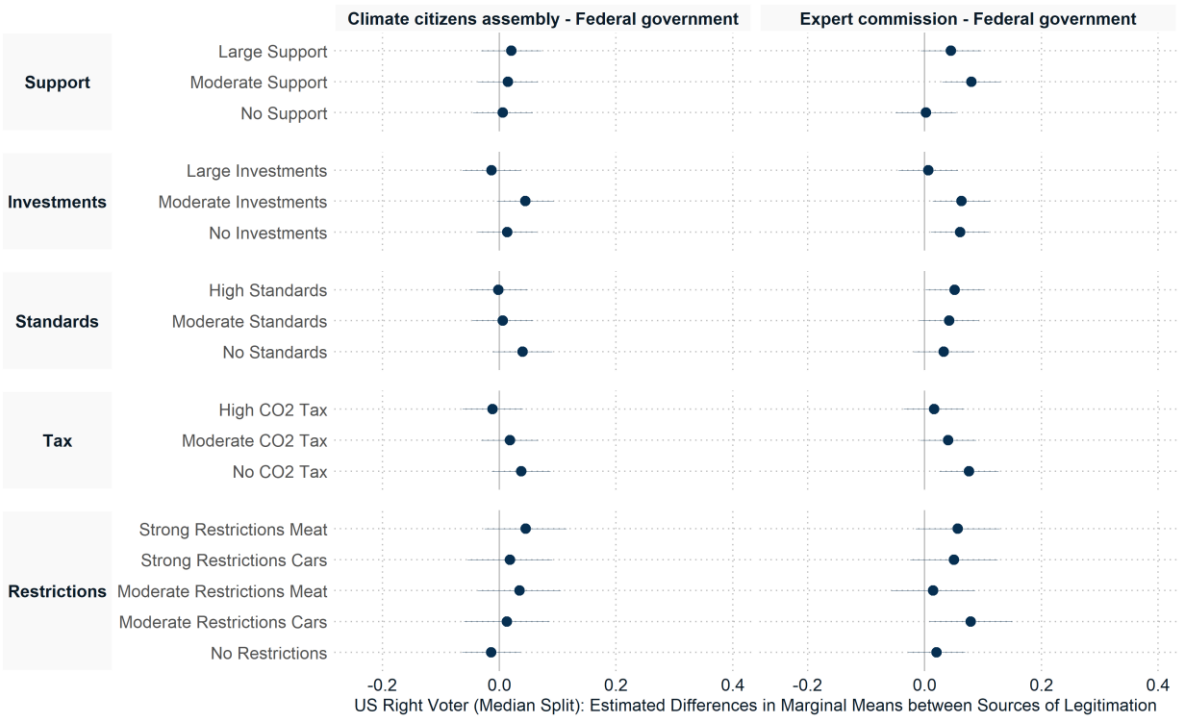
	Expert commission - Federal government	Climate citizens assembly - Federal government
No Support	0.03	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Moderate Support	0.07 ***	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Large Support	0.06 **	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)
No Investments	0.07 ***	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Moderate Investments	0.08 ***	0.04 *
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Large Investments	0.01	-0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)
No Standards	0.04 *	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Moderate Standards	0.05 **	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)
High Standards	0.06 **	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)
No CO2 Tax	0.07 ***	0.04
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Moderate CO2 Tax	0.05 **	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)
High CO2 Tax	0.04	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)
No Restrictions	0.04	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Moderate Restrictions Cars	0.05	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Restrictions Meat	0.05	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Strong Restrictions Cars	0.04	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Strong Restrictions Meat	0.07 *	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

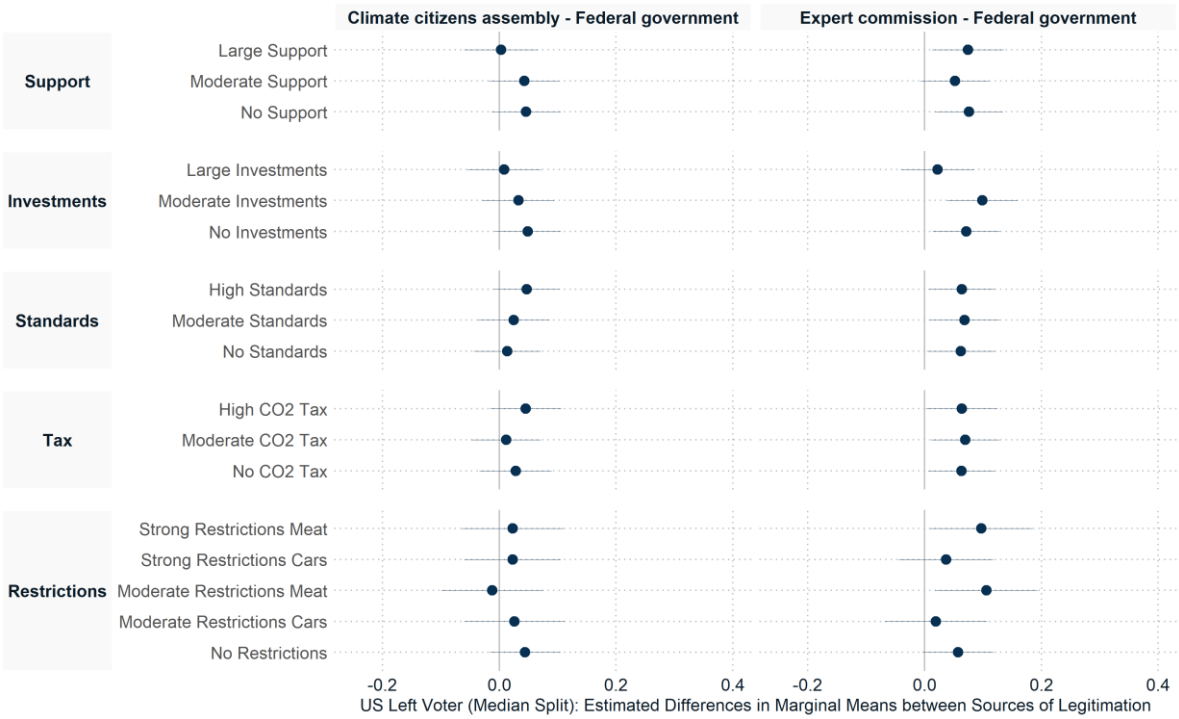
Appendix Table 4: *German Sample – Estimated Differences in Marginal Means between Different Sources of Legitimation for Choice Probabilities of Different Climate Policies (corresponding to Figure 2 in the article main text).*

	Expert commission - Federal government	Climate citizens assembly - Federal government
No Support	0.00	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Support	0.10 ***	0.11 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Support	0.12 ***	0.09 **
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Investments	0.07 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Investments	0.07 *	0.07 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Investments	0.08 **	0.07 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Standards	0.07 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Standards	0.03	0.06 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)
High Standards	0.13 ***	0.09 **
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No CO2 Tax	0.03	0.06 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate CO2 Tax	0.10 **	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)
High CO2 Tax	0.09 **	0.10 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Restrictions	0.07 **	0.07 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Restrictions Cars	0.05	0.07
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Moderate Restrictions Meat	0.06	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Strong Restrictions Cars	0.06	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Strong Restrictions Meat	0.13 **	0.12 **
	(0.04)	(0.04)

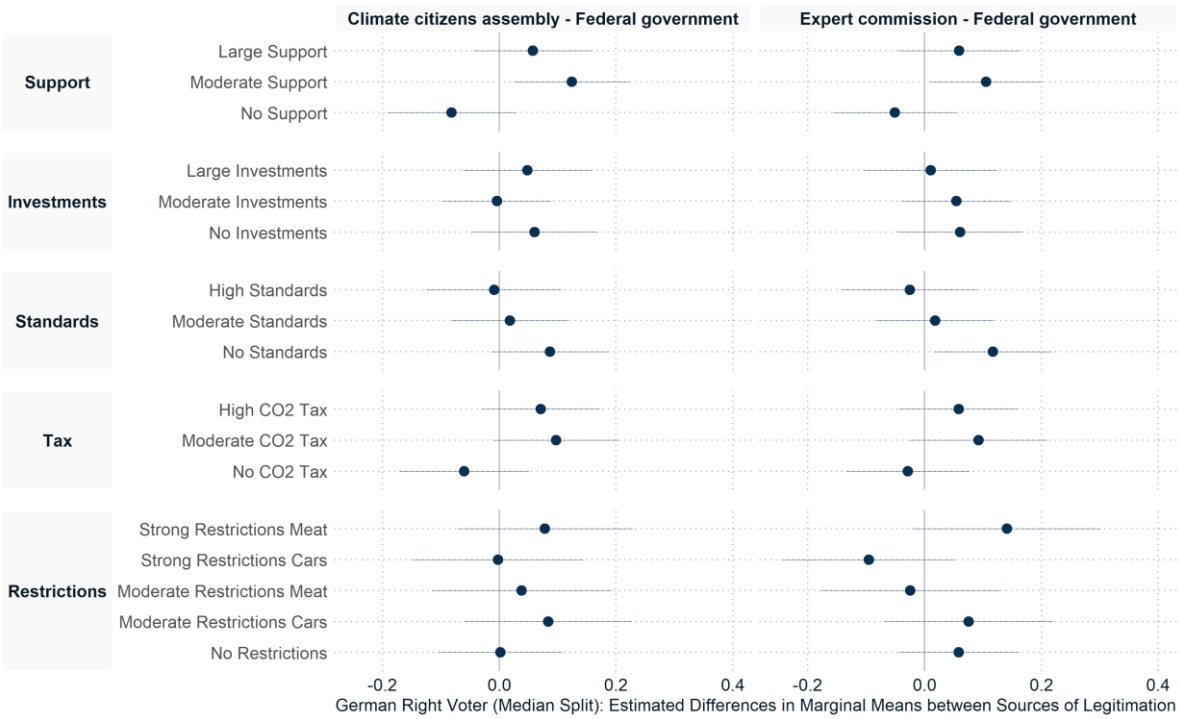
*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$



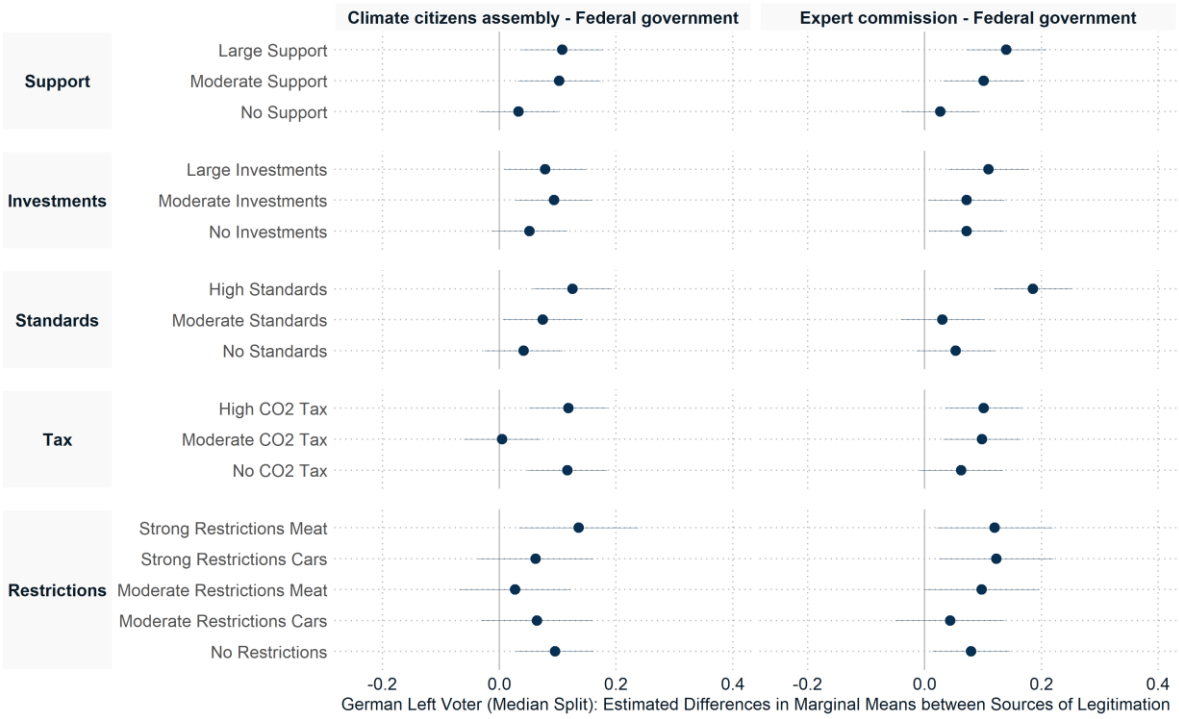
Appendix Figure 1



Appendix Figure 2



Appendix Figure 3



Appendix Figure 4

Appendix Table 5: *US Sample Right-Wing Voters (Median Split) – Estimated Differences in Marginal Means between Different Sources of Legitimation for Choice Probabilities of Climate Policies (corresponding to Appendix Figure 1).*

	Expert commission - Federal government	Climate citizens assembly - Federal government
No Support	0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Support	0.08 **	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Support	0.05	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Investments	0.06 *	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Investments	0.06 *	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Large Investments	0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Standards	0.03	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Standards	0.04	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
High Standards	0.05 *	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No CO2 Tax	0.08 **	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate CO2 Tax	0.04	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)
High CO2 Tax	0.02	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Restrictions	0.02	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.03)
Moderate Restrictions Cars	0.08 *	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Moderate Restrictions Meat	0.01	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Strong Restrictions Cars	0.05	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Strong Restrictions Meat	0.06	0.05
	(0.04)	(0.04)

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Appendix Table 6: *US Sample Left-Wing Voters (Median Split) – Estimated Differences in Marginal Means between Different Sources of Legitimation for Choice Probabilities of Climate Policies (corresponding to Appendix Figure 2).*

	Expert commission - Federal government	Climate citizens assembly - Federal government
No Support	0.08 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Support	0.05	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Support	0.07 *	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Investments	0.07 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Investments	0.10 **	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Investments	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Standards	0.06 *	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Standards	0.07 *	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
High Standards	0.06 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No CO2 Tax	0.06 *	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate CO2 Tax	0.07 *	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
High CO2 Tax	0.06 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Restrictions	0.06	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Restrictions Cars	0.02	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Moderate Restrictions Meat	0.11 *	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Strong Restrictions Cars	0.04	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Strong Restrictions Meat	0.10 *	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.04)

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Appendix Table 7: *German Sample Right-Wing Voters (Median Split) – Estimated Differences in Marginal Means between Different Sources of Legitimation for Choice Probabilities of Climate Policies (corresponding to Appendix Figure 3).*

	Expert commission - Federal government	Climate citizens assembly - Federal government
No Support	-0.05	-0.08
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Moderate Support	0.11 *	0.12 *
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Large Support	0.06	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)
No Investments	0.06	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Moderate Investments	0.05	-0.00
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Large Investments	0.01	0.05
	(0.06)	(0.06)
No Standards	0.12 *	0.09
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Moderate Standards	0.02	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)
High Standards	-0.03	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)
No CO2 Tax	-0.03	-0.06
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Moderate CO2 Tax	0.09	0.10
	(0.06)	(0.05)
High CO2 Tax	0.06	0.07
	(0.05)	(0.05)
No Restrictions	0.06	0.00
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Moderate Restrictions Cars	0.08	0.08
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Moderate Restrictions Meat	-0.02	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Strong Restrictions Cars	-0.10	-0.00
	(0.08)	(0.07)
Strong Restrictions Meat	0.14	0.08
	(0.08)	(0.08)

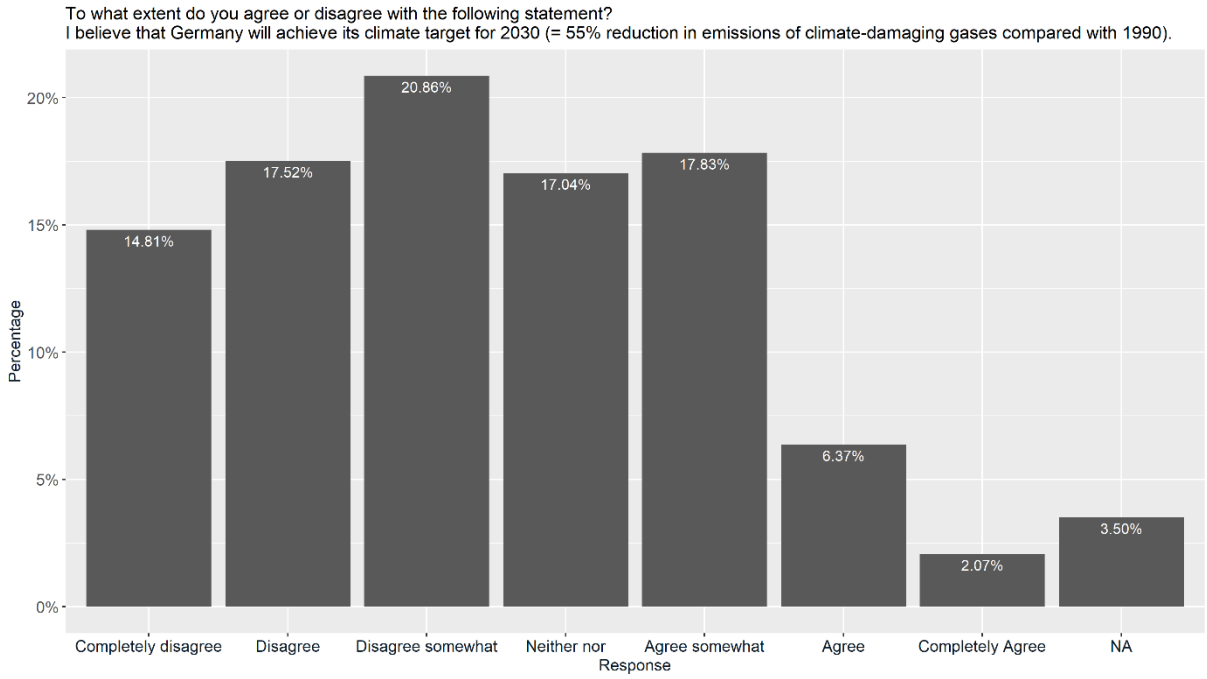
*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Appendix Table 8: *German Sample Left-Wing Voters (Median Split) – Estimated Differences in Marginal Means between Different Sources of Legitimation for Choice Probabilities of Climate Policies (corresponding to Appendix Figure 4).*

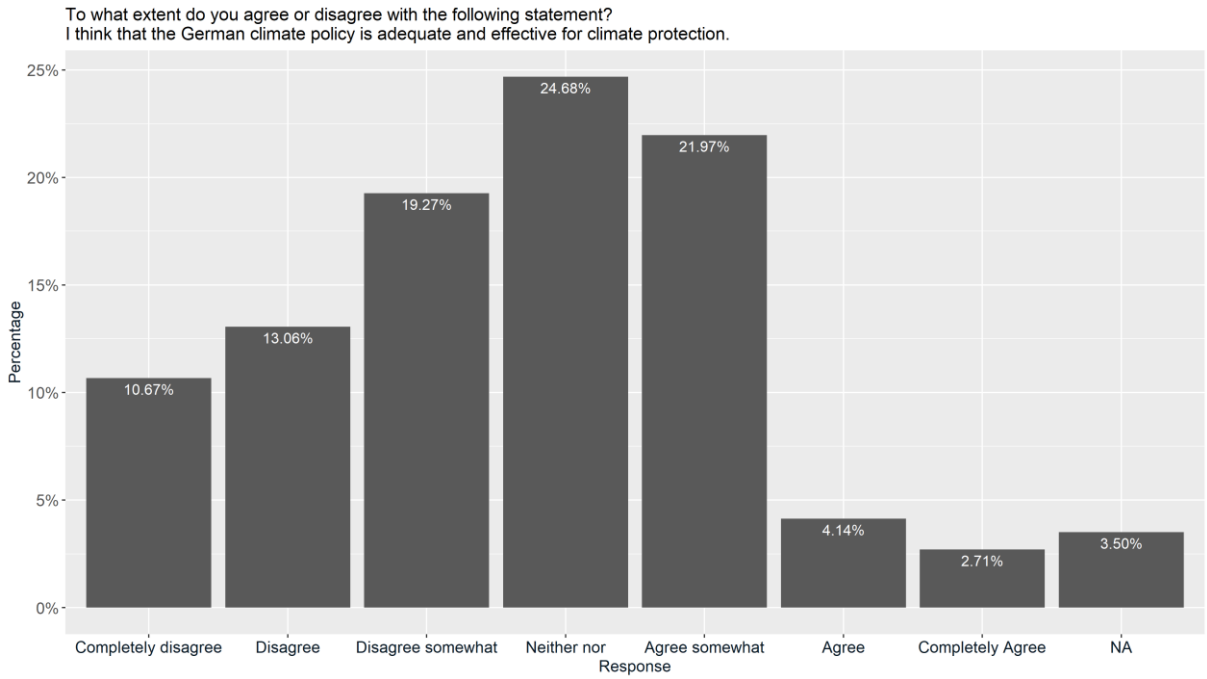
	Expert commission - Federal government	Climate citizens assembly - Federal government
No Support	0.03	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Support	0.10 **	0.10 **
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Large Support	0.14 ***	0.11 **
	(0.04)	(0.04)
No Investments	0.07 *	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Investments	0.07 *	0.09 **
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Investments	0.11 **	0.08 *
	(0.04)	(0.04)
No Standards	0.05	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Standards	0.03	0.07 *
	(0.04)	(0.03)
High Standards	0.19 ***	0.13 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No CO2 Tax	0.06	0.12 ***
	(0.04)	(0.03)
Moderate CO2 Tax	0.10 **	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)
High CO2 Tax	0.10 **	0.12 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
No Restrictions	0.08 *	0.10 **
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Moderate Restrictions Cars	0.04	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Moderate Restrictions Meat	0.10 *	0.03
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Strong Restrictions Cars	0.12 *	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Strong Restrictions Meat	0.12 *	0.14 **
	(0.05)	(0.05)

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

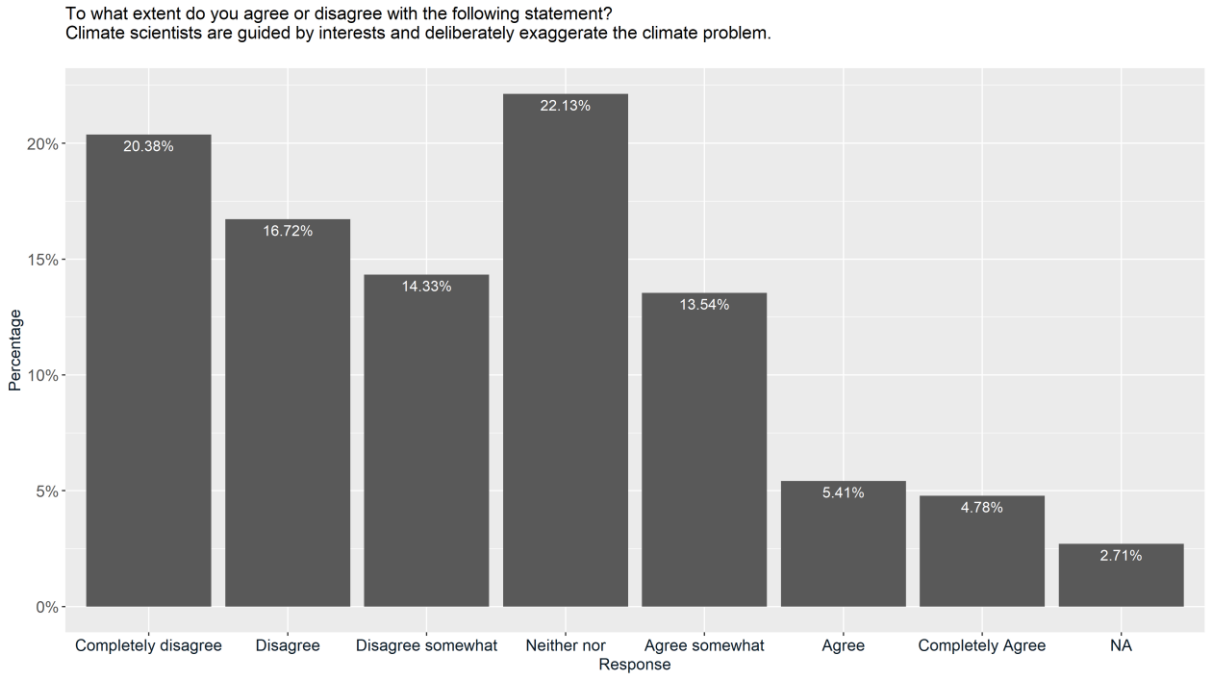
Appendix D: Descriptive Survey Results Germany



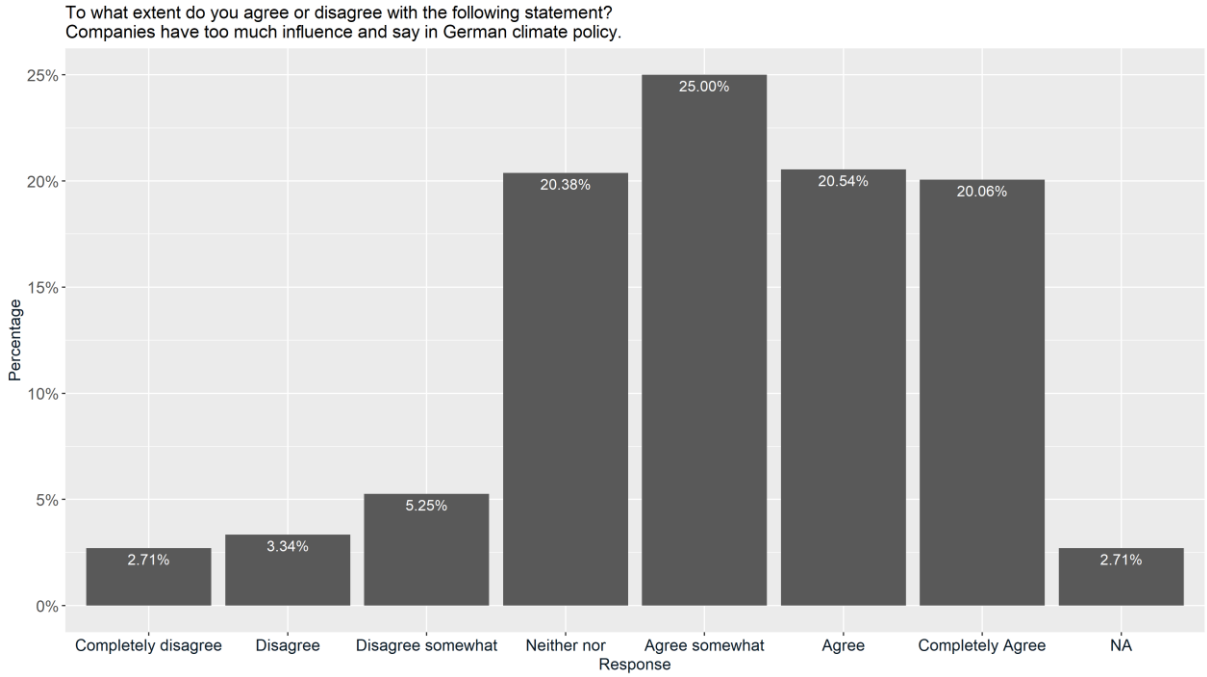
Appendix Figure 5



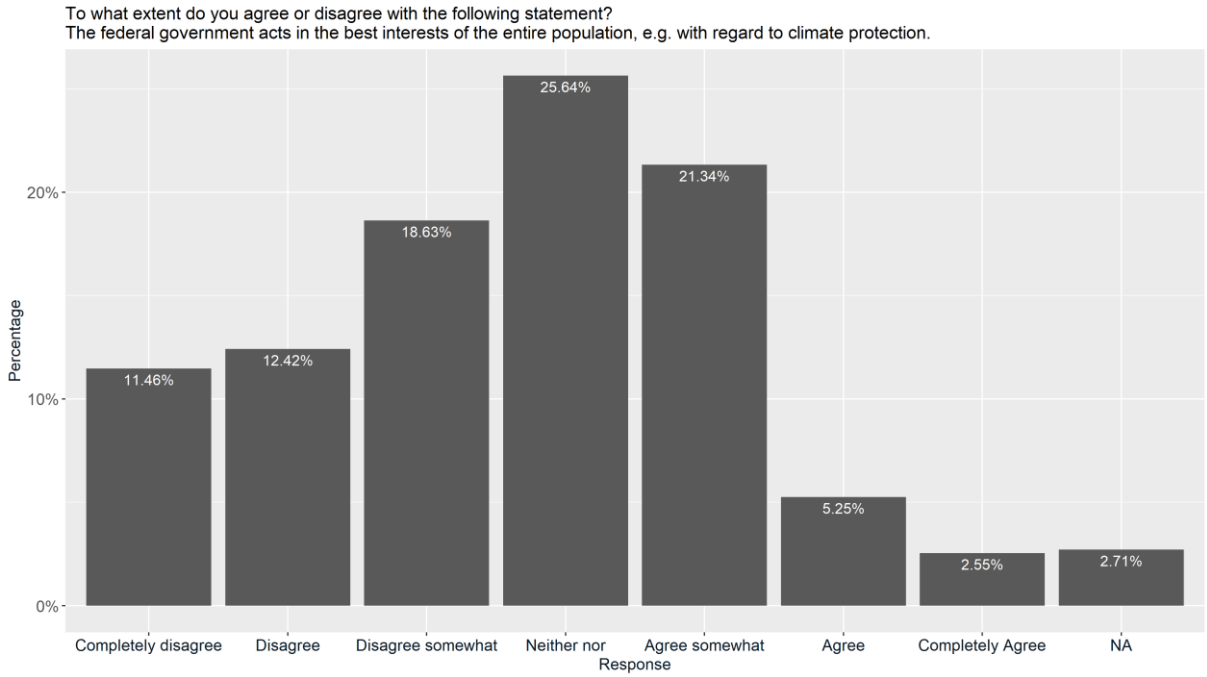
Appendix Figure 6



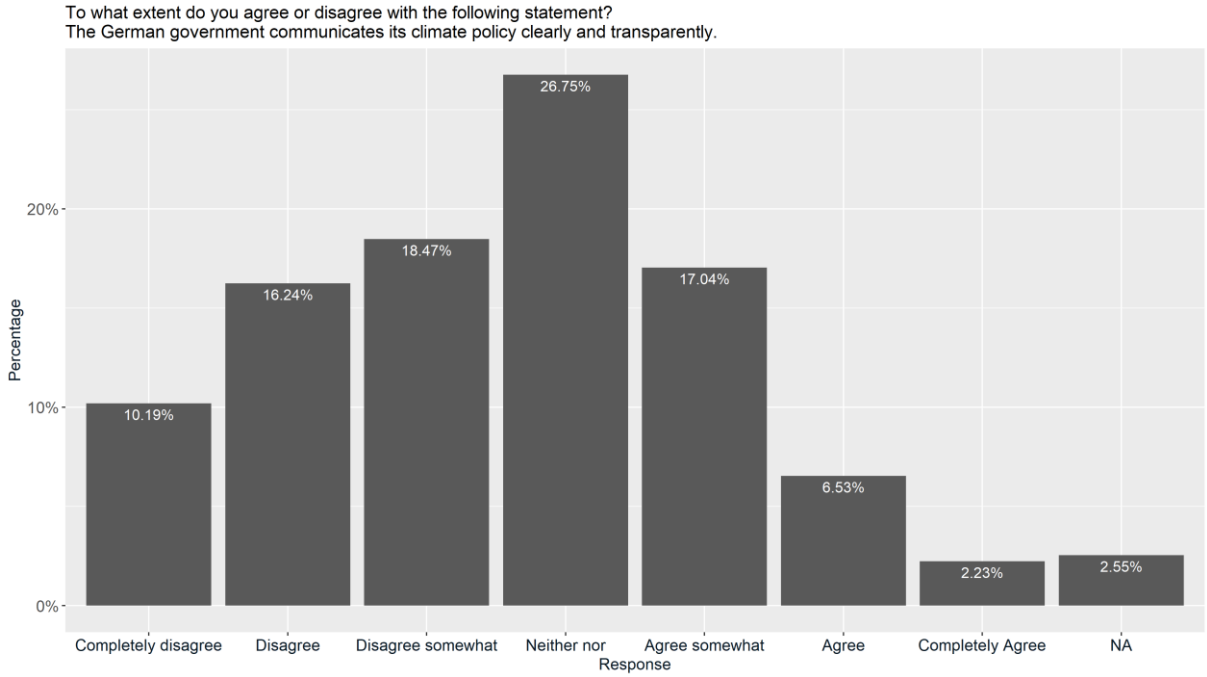
Appendix Figure 7



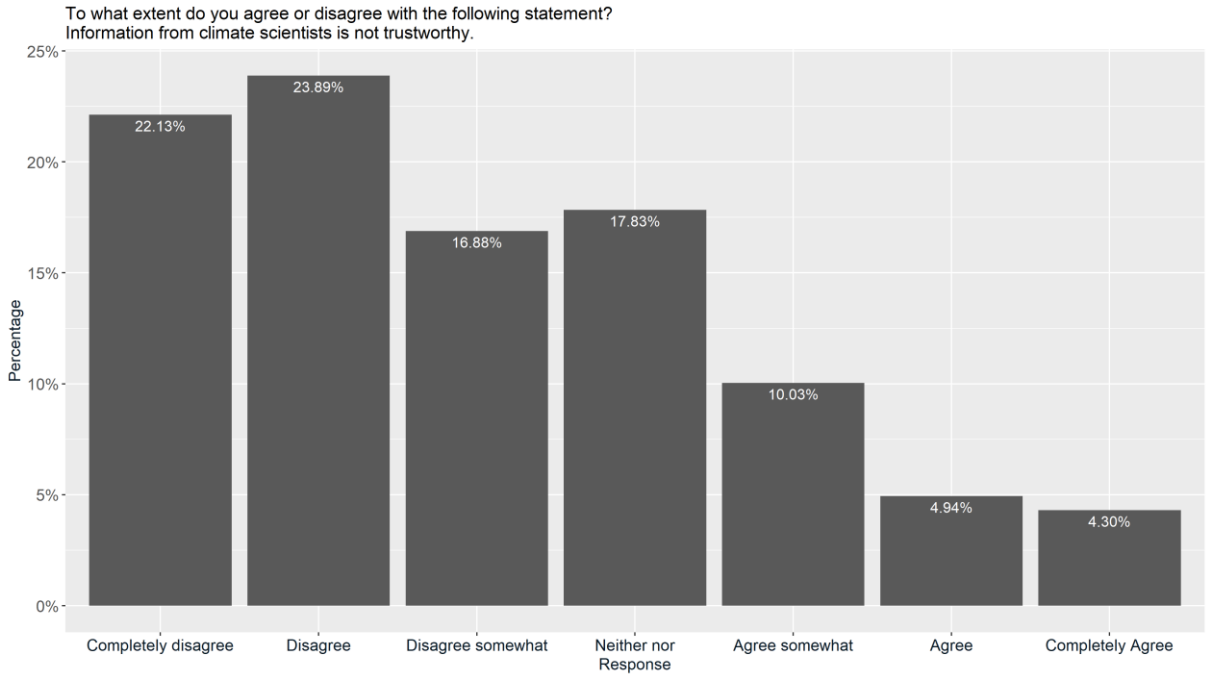
Appendix Figure 8



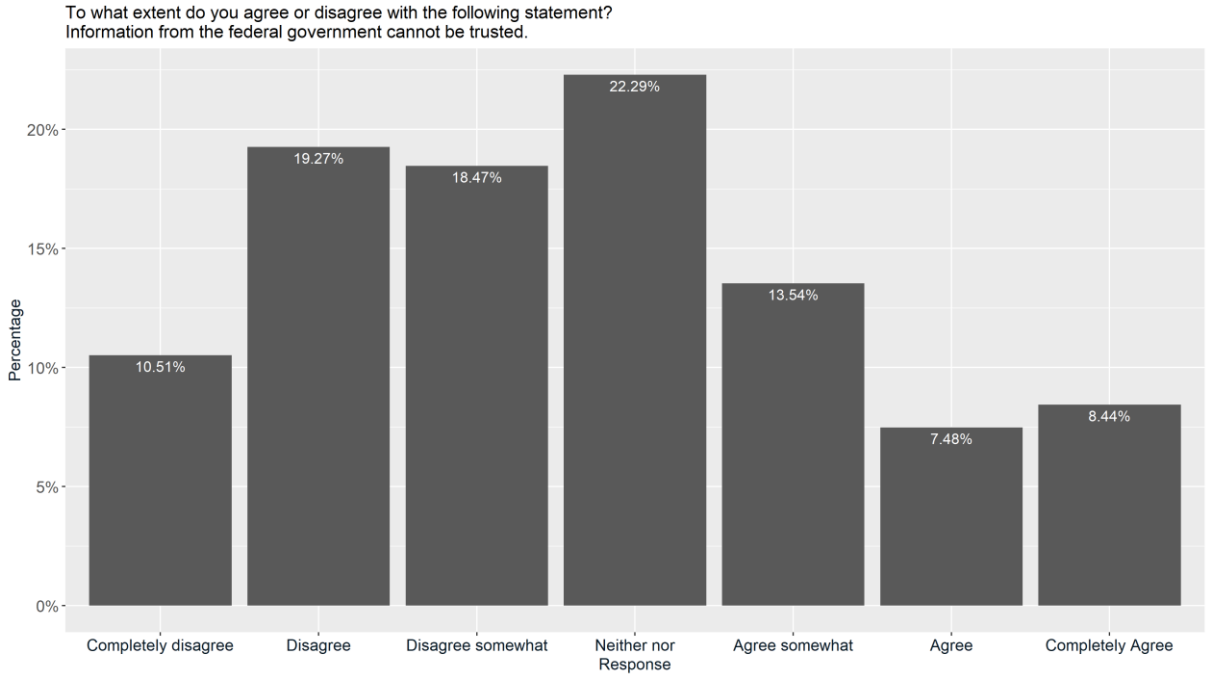
Appendix Figure 9



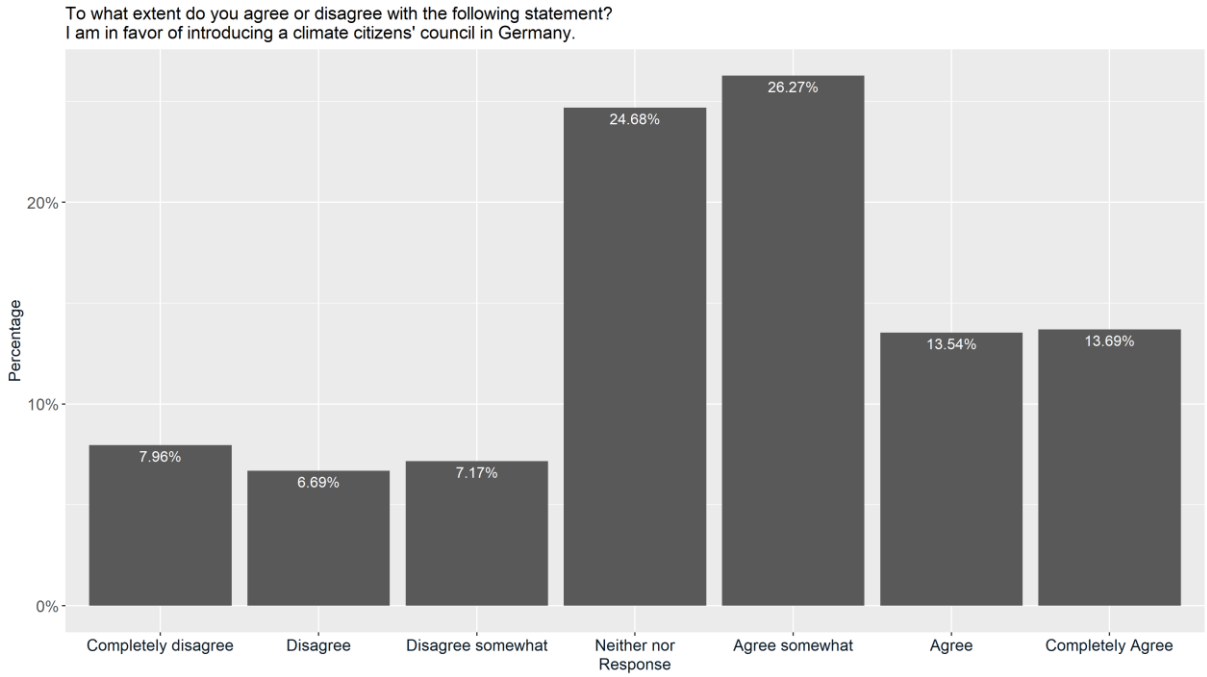
Appendix Figure 10



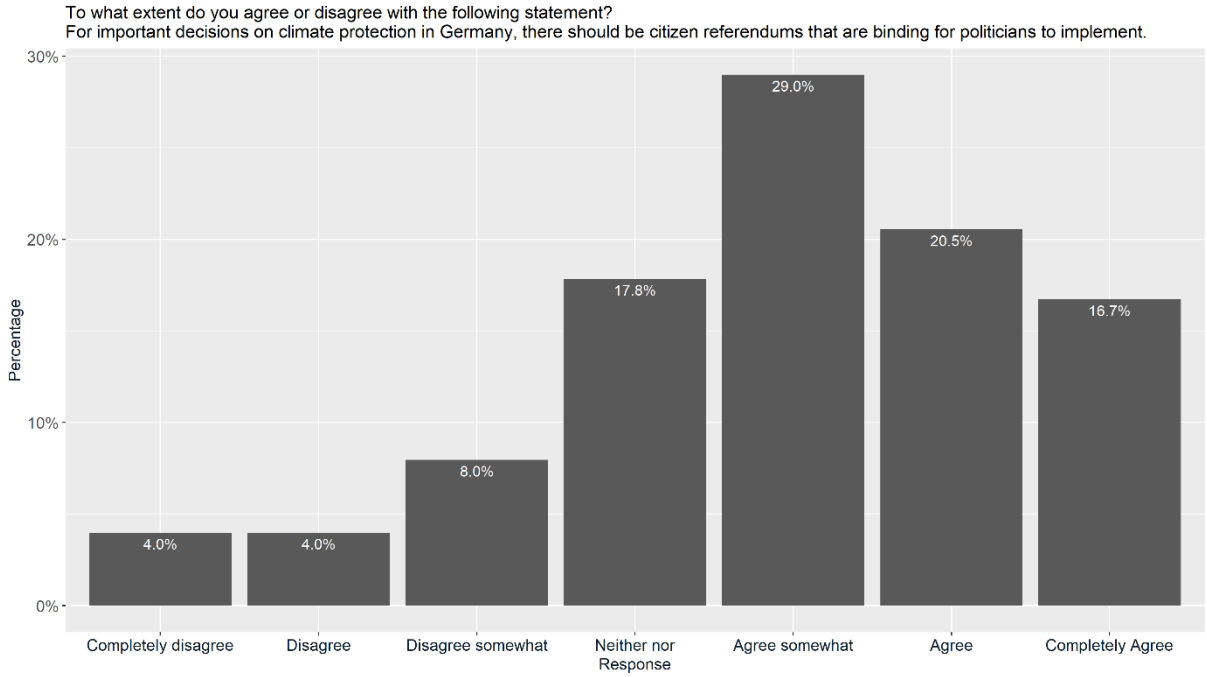
Appendix Figure 11



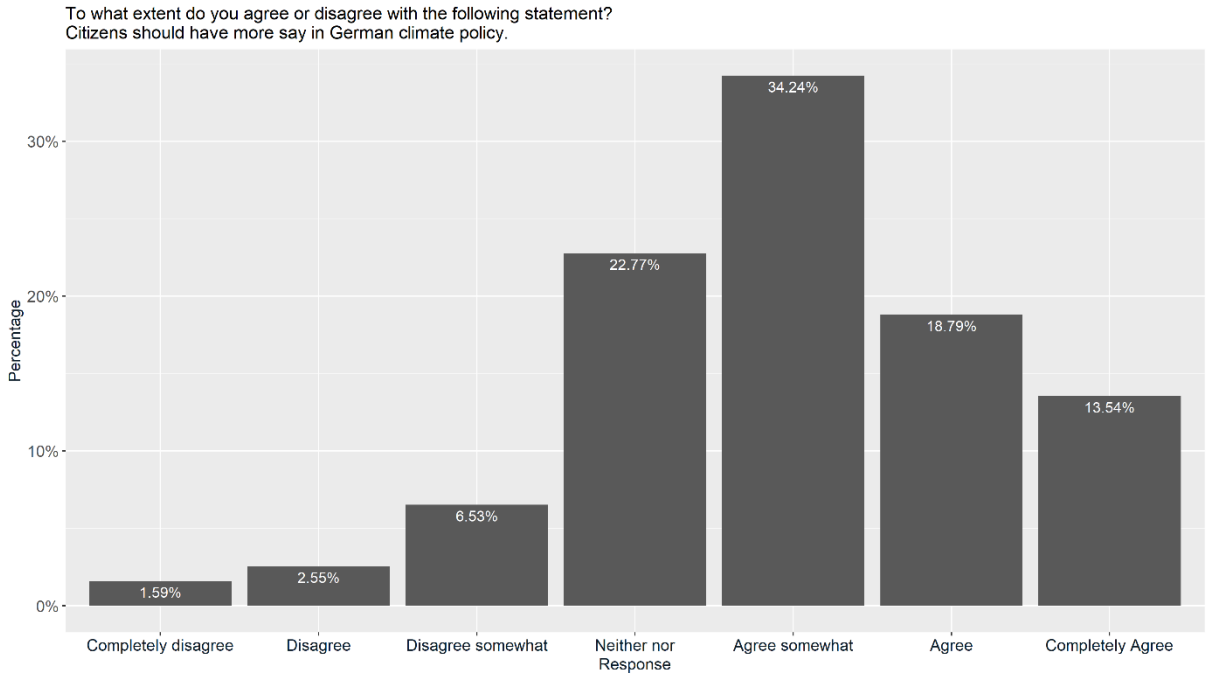
Appendix Figure 12



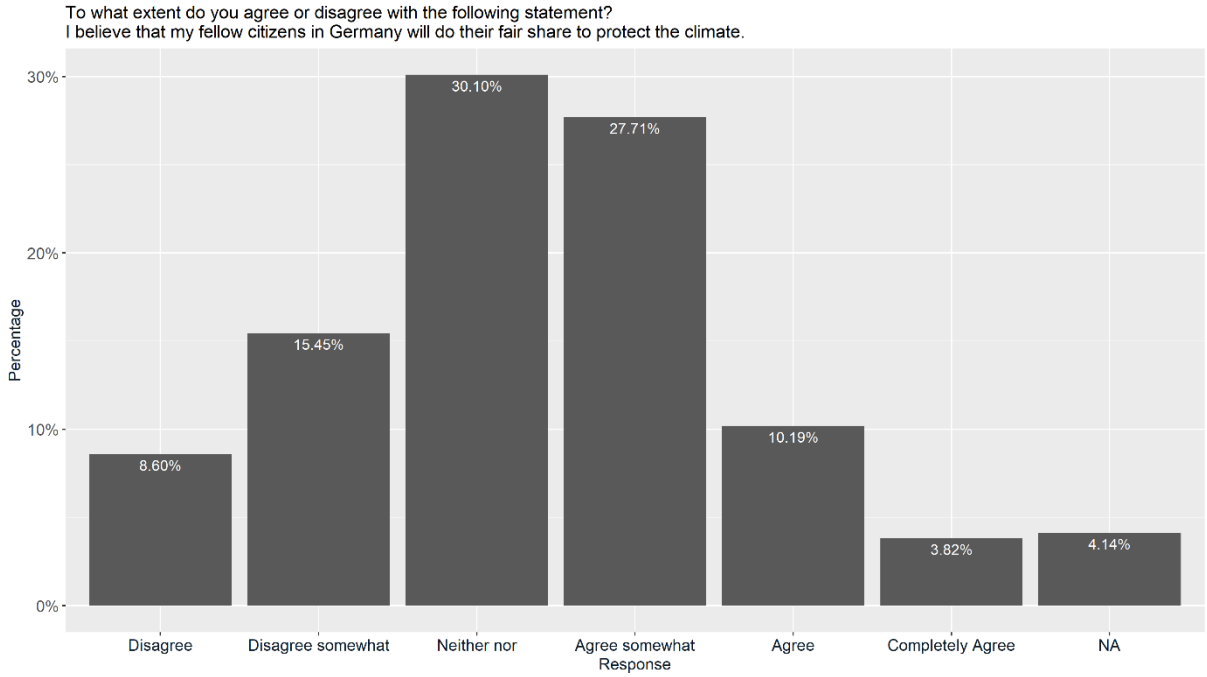
Appendix Figure 13



Appendix Figure 14



Appendix Figure 15



Appendix Figure 16

Appendix E: Summary of Qualitative Semi-Structured Interviews

41 semi-structured citizen interviews
Conducted online (via Zoom)
Length: about 30 minutes each
Dates of interviews: December 7 - 18, 2020
Full transcripts provided upon request

The following notes concern the semi-structured interviews that we conducted with 41 German citizens concerning the better legitimation of climate policy.

- We first asked all citizens about their opinion of the legitimacy of the current German climate policy and whether they thought it was representative of a broad variety of societal interests.
- We were secondly interested in citizens' thoughts on two further means of legitimation that could be introduced in addition to representative government: citizens assemblies that gather a representative subset of the population to deliberate on climate change and policy, and expert commissions that bring together different experts on climate change and policy to advise and inform policy-making. We asked citizens about their opinion of these additional means, and where they see possible advantages and disadvantages of these alternative channels of legitimation.

Interviewee 1

- Problem of climate policy: Demands of citizens do not reach politicians and are therefore not implemented
- Referendums: yes, but only for simple yes/no decisions, for small-scale issues
- Citizens assemblies: mixed form between citizens and experts would be the best; you need the experts (to understand the big picture); strengthen voice (beyond the 4-year cycle); but: there is a lack of trust in the average decision
- Civic councils are also unelected, lack legitimacy: "only acceptable if they decide in my favor"; elected politicians should be the final decision-makers
- So why are citizens assemblies good? Would strengthen the presence of climate policy in the public sphere and thus its legitimacy and enable a say in it

Interviewee 2

- Lobbyists are too powerful (car industry); politics is interspersed / controlled by lobby interests, not only in Germany, but globally
- Investing in the environment does not pay off for companies: profit goes against environment
- Citizens council: good & legitimate if socially representative, no one person is neutral
- Citizens must be heard more; in the end, unfortunately, it is usually the economy that decides
- The composition must be completely representative

Interviewee 3

- Expert advice is the best solution, as independent and protected from lobbies
- Voice: not enough, but if citizen council wants to promote e-cars, then "it doesn't represent me"
- Civic councils must not be driven only by popular trends

Interviewee 4

- Ordinary citizens should be more central to climate policy because it is about the community; so far, climate policy is ultimately controlled by the lobbies
- Expert commission is best, because they know what they are talking about.
- Politicians, on the other hand, are not necessarily experts, at least in Germany

Interviewee 5

- The greatest control effect is via the purse: politics would have to become much more active there, make specifications, etc.).
- More participation is important: A combination of different means would be best. Politicians must ultimately make the decision, but they should also hand over responsibility to create more acceptance (e.g. as with Corona - to experts, to citizens)
- Legitimacy of climate policy is strengthened if such a combination is pursued, would reduce conflict and contribute to better compromise (the more people involved, the better))
- People generally agree on the problem but not on the solutions, that's where civic councils can help.

Interviewee 6

- Renunciation is not the solution in climate policy; policy should not work through regulations, frame climate policy in a completely different way (educate people to love nature)
- Participation is possible and important, e.g. in traffic policy for pedestrians and cyclists
- Citizen council would be good and legitimate; has confidence in average citizen; but would not participate himself because his time is too valuable

Interviewee 7

- There are still too many unanswered questions in the science of climate change. The science is untrustworthy; critical voices are not heard; the science needs to be debated out
- Still finds climate policy good, such as the goal of fewer cars on the road
- Commitment: no time for politics, e.g. forest issue would be important, but participation is too complex; it's all not so simple; doesn't have the time for something like a citizens assemblies, even if that would be important
- Designing the citizens assemblies best as a mix of experts and citizens
- Creates legitimacy: insight that the problem has been looked at from all sides
- Reduces lobbying influence in politics and science
- People should engage the breadth of society and challenge policy assumptions

Interviewee 8

- Participation is only possible through parties, but Fridays for Future is better because it is more extreme than parties.
- Climate citizens council would be a good idea, but needs to be informed by experts
- Is a multiplier because people pass it on in their circles
- Basically, everything must be done and tried to make climate policy more legitimate
- Advantage of the citizens assemblies: creates publicity; legitimate, is democratic

Interviewee 9

- Politics is primarily driven by business, the lobby dominates
- Citizens assemblies: thinks a citizens assemblies is good; e.g. also Fridays for Future; but is skeptical that this can make a difference in implementation; without incentives and legal regulations it will not work out
- Problem Citizens assemblies: there is no economic power and no lobby behind it
- Politicians should stop thinking in 4-year cycles and think in the long term

Interviewee 10

- In politics there is too much talk and too little and too timid action because of lobby, e.g. RWE
- Citizens assemblies: would be better, because no compromises with lobbies are necessary as in politics, but: in the end it comes out the same, because the Citizens assemblies has no decision-making power
- Trust in cross-section of society that good decisions will be made

Interviewee 11

- Expert advice is important
- Citizens assemblies: only if it is really the breadth of society and well informed by experts; the more opinions represented the better
- Citizens assemblies better, because acceptance in society; no lobby, not "cheated"
- More legitimate, even if ultimately comes out the same as in politics
- Participation: does not have the feeling of being able to do something; in the end, it is of no use
- Referendum: not good because most people have too little idea
- Communication: experts must become more active, be more in the media, language must be clearer

Interviewee 12

- Having a say: It's difficult to make a difference as a citizen
- In Germany there is good will, but it all takes too long / is too slow
- Fridays for Future is great, brings something
- Companies have too much influence
- Expert advice: authoritative; citizens know too little and cannot assess what is reasonable and realistic (where are also the greatest potentials?); thinks other citizens also find it legitimate (no political motivation)
- Government: not expert; not neutral (experts are more neutral); want to be re-elected
- Citizens assemblies: lack of expertise (ideology; no expertise); already increases acceptance but it doubts the quality of the measures
- Referendum: is "well prepared" by politicians; people do not want to make unpleasant decisions

Interviewee 13

- Politics is not consistent and is guided too much by the lobby
- Expert advice best: can assess advantages and disadvantages (e.g. best practices from other countries); policy is guided too much by a few interests

- Citizens: in breadth & all strata; in combi with experts; then more legitimate than politics (would be more likely to stand behind it - if supported by experts and the breadth of society)
- Citizens generally have too little say (is such a feeling; not involved)
- Referendums: good; no specific issue in mind regarding climate

Interviewee 14

- Participation: sees no options other than elections; tends to have an effect on acquaintances ("why don't you leave the car for a while?" etc.)
- Fridays for Future: skeptical; too aggressive (don't know who's pulling the strings; but the
- Government: not credible; often bypasses people; driven by lobby
- All three options are ok, but citizen councils are best.
- Referendums: good; best via Internet (e.g. summer and winter time), small expenditure

Interviewee 15

- Citizens Council is democratic and the best solution
- Referendum: only at the local level (where it is 'about the matter'); at the federal level the result would be a 'dictatorship of the stupid' (the average citizen is smarter than you think and has some common sense but polarizing is very easy via the new media / the internet)

Interviewee 16

- Citizens assemblies: good if citizens involved; everyone needs to be considered
- Difficult when people from every stratum are thrown together (don't think it will come to a conclusion - because they all represent their interests)
- The problem cannot be solved bottom-up; clear, stark decisions are needed (no more long discussions)
- Legitimate, but: hesitant about whether she would accept anything against her opinion
- Little confidence that average citizens can make good decisions
- Expert advice: can clearly inform the public (but: what does the policy make of it?)

Interviewee 17

- Low trust in politics (does not believe in climate targets, lacks will)
- Lobby ultimately pulls the strings (business has politics in its hands)
- Participation: citizens assemblies best, because citizens' voice is missing (not heard and, if, misinterpreted; people are not involved)
- Expert advice: depends on who is behind it, at least the normal expert reflects the will of the citizens
- Citizens assemblies is legitimate, even if it is a compromise

Interviewee 18

- Voice: not possible; climate policy is driven by lobby (constant legislative changes)
- Civic council: depends on staffing (afraid of influence of right-wing forces)
- Expert advice: is more unbiased than politics (there, power ambitions come directly into play)
- Referendum: people are too mis-informed and manipulable (generally good, but comes to mind); people no longer inform themselves wisely (very concerning, shocking)

Interviewee 19

- Participation: Politics, experts and citizens together
- Politics strongly dominated by lobby
- Citizens: legitimate; trust; but: also want to protect interests

Interviewee 20

- Climate policy is dominated by large companies (Lufthansa; car lobby); the small ones are not heard; enormous sums flow and consumers get no support
- Citizens assemblies: best - close to people; more people are approached and gain trust
- Trust: good decisions by citizens assemblies (the average is able to make good decisions).

Interviewee 21

- Commitment: distrustful person; feels left out
- Citizen forums: good, should be online; allow to be heard and noticed more; more legitimate; but: should not have final decision (always let experts look over it)
- Referendum: generally good; but: there are too many stupid people; she trusts herself more than the average (doesn't want to be in citizens assemblies - too impressionable)

Interviewee 22

- No trust in science: too pompous; no clear words
- All three options are good (e.g., local senior citizens council as advisory body for policy)
- Citizens Council: good - understanding of people's everyday lives; politics is too detached (von der Leyen)
- Referendums: only with high participation (so that not only those with strong opinions vote)
- Has confidence in average of population (but: everyone has own interests)

Interviewee 23

- Citizens Council: win-win situation; people would feel more noticed; trusts average people ("let's give it a try")
- Referendum: difficult, because susceptible to populism (e.g. CO2 tax)

Interviewee 24

- Citizens Council: good because close to real life; paired with experts; better process than politics
- But: is unsure about the quality of the measures
- Generally participation: creates new input and more dialogue (multiplier)
- Referendum: no; people too impressionable (e.g. Brexit - opponents made it easy)

Interviewee 25

- Citizens Council: would need to be knowledgeable (not experts); factors time & interest.
- Representative but balance of power (important: moderators ensure balance of power)
- Commitment: is possible; Citizen's Office
- Lobby work prune

Interviewee 26

- Advantage of citizens council vs. politics: the latter too caught up in the nitty-gritty, citizens focus on the big issues

Interviewee 27

- Citizens council: good, but only as a mix with experts; increases participation
- Fridays for Future: often too radical (you also have to look at the economy)

Interviewee 28

- Expert advice: has the most expertise
- Better than government: lobby, profiling; less interest
- Better than citizens assemblies: too many particular interests
- Average of the population: not capable of making good decisions
- Referendum: too influenceable (incl. by the question)
- Political commitment: only possible via parties

Interviewee 29

- Citizens assemblies: the best; but: how to communicate better?
- Is a member of Deutsche Bahn's Customer Advisory Board (is questioned - e.g. how is communication done, etc. - body that is also listened to)
- Citizen: not strategic; has confidence that average will make good decisions; don't engage for strategy but for implementation (close to citizen)
- Parliament: is representative; but: no feedback to the people

Interviewee 30

- Politics is not consistent: riddled by lobby
- Citizens assemblies: sensible idea; but: will not be implemented; would be there if requested
- Citizen referendum: generally good & legitimate; but: susceptible to lobbying

Interviewee 31

- Legitimation channels: In the best case, a mixture of everything
- Citizens assemblies: more from the region; would influence; to control policy.
- Does not trust fellow citizens with the final decision (should remain with politicians and experts)

Interviewee 32

- Legimiation channels: all three approaches together
- Citizens assemblies: 150 people too few; more people & voting by tool
- Little trust: many stupid people
- Referendum: nevertheless sensible; lower age (under 18)

Interviewee 33

- Citizens assemblies: a point to strengthen the dialogue; important from a communication point of view.
- Skeptical whether representative: but still good
- Can go one way or the other

Interviewee 34

- Government: heavily influenced by lobby; misallocates funds (needs to invest more in renewables)
- Citizens assemblies: better; closer to the people (concerns receive more attention)
- Trust: yes; is legitimate; brings in different perspectives

Interviewee 35

- Participation: yes, e.g. there are many citizens' initiatives on wind energy
- Trust in others: yes, something is happening, especially among young people
- Good about Citizens assemblies: making people feel heard

Interviewee 36

- Participation: there is a lack of education; too few opportunities to become active
- Citizens council: can make the whole more human
- But: people don't want to be guinea pigs (important: if political implementation is not clear, then support will drop)

Interviewee 37

- Lobby associations too strong (the concepts are in the drawer)
- Politicians: experts on call; party book dominates; parliament lacks a grip on reality
- Citizens assemblies: people from the breadth of society; many are not informed
- But: has confidence (because it is a broad mass)
- Problem: A hodgepodge of opinions and interests (everyone has their own opinion)
- Referendum: sensible but participation too low

Interviewee 38

- Citizens assemblies: good; "from all strata" (cross-section - old, young, etc.); politics does not know public opinion
- Referendum: for basic stuff; has trust (broad cross-section; more trust in fellow citizens than in politicians)

Interviewee 39

- Politics: no expertise available
- Citizens assemblies: useful; knows the reality of the people
- But: easily influenced (e.g. car lobby)

Interviewee 40

- Citizens assemblies: finds participation good; but only if it is representative and independent
- Referendum: difficult for complex issues (see Brexit) - the loud dominate

Interviewee 41

- Participation: in the end, the lobby decides anyway
- Pressure from civil society is needed (Fridays for Future is good)
- Expert advice: good because not dependent on influences (lobby, party book & will of voters)
- Civic council: most people can't oversee it (loud spokespeople can influence others, etc); complete knowledge is lacking
- Referendum: no; people are too manipulable; cannot assess consequences of decisions