Results of Participatory Surveys for
Public Deliberation on

Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

The Public Deliberation Committee on
Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

October 20, 2017

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Submission Message

Dear Prime Minister,

The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 conducted participatory surveys from July 24 to October 20, 2017, over a roughly three-month process of public deliberation aimed at reaching a societal consensus on whether construction should be suspended on the fifth and sixth reactors at the Shin-Gori Nuclear Power Complex.

As part of the consultations, 471 people were selected for a participatory deliberation group that engaged in a month-long critical deliberation program, based on which the group members provided our committee with intelligent and judicious responses.

Based on the findings of the surveys, we hereby submit the following policy recommendations on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

October 20, 2017

The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

Chairperson Kim Jihyung

Committee Members Kim Jungin

Kim Wondong

Kim Youngwon

Lee Heejin

Lee Sungjay

Lee Yunsuk

Ryu Bangran

Yu Taekyung

The 471 members of the Citizens' Group for Participatory Deliberation on the Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

i. Overview of the Process of Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

◆ Period: July 24–October 20, 2017

◆ Methodology: Participatory surveys

◆ Survey Administration

	First Survey	Second Survey	Third Survey	Fourth Survey
Dates	August 25–September 9	September 16	October 13	October 15
Participants	20,006	478	471	471

◆ Critical Deliberation Program

Basic Program	Supplementary Program
• Orientation • Deliberation sourcebook • E-learning and Q&A • General forum (two nights, three days)	• Regional public debates (seven) • Televised debates (five) • Future Generation Debate

ii. Policy Recommendations Based on Survey Findings

1. The committee recommends resumption of the currently suspended construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

The final survey findings showed 59.5% of respondents supporting **resumption of construction**, 19.0%p higher than the 40.5% supporting a permanent suspension. The margin of error for the findings was ±3.6%p with a 95% confidence level. The percentage of respondents supporting resumption rather than a permanent suspension was also significantly higher than in the first survey, with the difference increasing with each successive survey.

2. The committee recommends implementing energy policies that reduce the use of nuclear power.

The final survey findings showed 53.2% of respondents favoring **reduced use of nuclear power**, far outnumbering the 35.5% who favored continued reliance on nuclear power and the 9.7% who supported its expansion.

3. The committee recommends the swift formulation and execution of a detailed implementation plan for supplementary measures proposed by the participatory group for resumption of construction.

In the final findings, members of the participatory group proposed the following policy measures to supplement resumption of construction:

First, **"safety standards for nuclear power must be strengthened"** (33.1%).
Second, **"increased investment is needed for the expanded use of new and renewable energy sources"** (27.6%).
Third, **"solutions for spent nuclear fuel must be developed as soon as possible"** (25.3%).

Additionally, members of the participatory group agreed in their subjective responses on the need for **"elimination of corruption in the nuclear power industry and increased**

transparency in management" (74 responses) and **"formulation of measures concerning the lives, health, safety, and compensation of residents in communities around nuclear power plants (including Busan, Ulsan, and Gyeongsangnam-do)"** (59 responses).

iii. Additional Opinions

The public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 holds great significance as an example of participatory policymaking, in which the decision of whether to implement the President's election pledge to halt construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was reached through engagement by and consensus among citizens, themselves the consumers of energy, rather than made unilaterally by the government.

It is even more meaningful for having transformed the nuclear power issue from a topic that, due to its highly technical nature, was discussed mainly by direct stakeholders (including experts and local residents) into an issue of importance to the daily life of all citizens.

Additionally, as a democratic means of opinion-gathering in supplementation of Korea's representative democracy, the proceedings provided an opportunity to put into practice full-scale deliberative democracy.

It was also important as a new model for conflict resolution, one focused on bringing a serious conflict with sharply divided stakeholder interests into the forum for public discussion and consensus establishment.

We therefore request the administration's systematic support so that the experience gained through the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 consultations and the resulting materials can serve all of Korean society as useful tools for achieving democratic coexistence.

Contents

Report Objectives

This report on the findings of the participatory surveys conducted in the course of public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (hereafter "the report") was written to provide a comprehensive overview of the results of the deliberation process. The selected group of citizen representatives participated in surveys before and after the critical deliberation program, which included education and discussions. The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (hereafter "the committee") conducted a total of four surveys according to a participatory survey methodology. This report was written to carefully analyze and confirm the survey findings and apply them in issuing suitable policy recommendations to the administration regarding the issue requiring public deliberation, namely, the decision on whether to permanently suspend construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

The committee agrees with the proposition that "the truth lies between one position and the other" (Kwon Seokcheon, *The Supreme Court: Objection!*, 2017, p. 4). Its members see the emphasis in this proposition as falling on the word "between." The same applies if the

word "justice" is substituted for "truth." Positions may differ on what constitutes justice. When such positions are in conflict, either one may be just, but true justice may also be located somewhere in between those positions.

On the issue of the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, differing positions exist on whether it should proceed as initially conceived or be permanently suspended (the former will be hereafter referred to as "resumption proponents" and the latter as "resumption opponents"). These positions are not merely differing but very sharply opposed. Is it the case that only one position is true and just, while the other is neither true nor just? Is it possible that the true and just answer lies between these two differing positions? Determining what is true and just is always a serious and difficult issue. While it may be possible to choose only one of the two perspectives, is it necessarily correct to do so? Does no alternative exist somewhere in between?

The issues to be addressed by the committee in the process of public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 were accordingly serious and difficult. Fundamentally, the committee was launched to perform the duty of "choosing" one of the two positions. While it was important for the committee to choose one position, the committee was also obliged to recognize the tremendous importance of finding the "truth between the positions." Each position prioritizes certain values, and all of those values are extremely important and urgent. When one position is chosen and its values alone are safeguarded, the values represented by the other position receive no protection and are ultimately neglected and excluded. Can this truly be called truth and justice? Is there no way to coordinate and compromise between the two positions and their values?

In this way, our concerns deepened, and we devoted more time to our deliberation. The column quoted below, written by a prominent intellectual around the same period, identifies precisely this aspect of the committee's concerns.

The issues currently faced by humankind with regard to energy policy are highly complex. What we must make clear when it comes to the nuclear energy issue is the fact that this is **not a matter of ideology or "good and evil," but a question of choice.**

Fossil fuels such as coal, petroleum, and natural gas are causes of global warming. In the case of atomic energy, a radiation leakage incident, however low its likelihood, can cause horrifying damage and effects, as witnessed at Fukushima. Additionally, the question of how to permanently manage spent nuclear fuel remains unresolved. Renewable energy sources such as solar and wind power will require radical technological advancements and huge investments before they are able to meet energy demand.

Designing the right energy mix is therefore of vital importance. This is a **comprehensive choice** taking into account factors such as the environment, safety, affordability, substitutability, sustainability, and even public sentiment. Hopefully, the public deliberation committee's proceedings will be regarded as an opportunity not simply to answer the question of whether to resume construction on two nuclear reactors, but also to work with the public in resolving the essential issue of Korea's energy supply.

A key factor here is that the matter is one of a comprehensive choice rather than an "either-or" question. At the same time, there is the additional question of who should make that choice, and it was in this regard that the power and wisdom of a participatory group were essential. For this reason, a participatory group was seen as a promising option. Indeed, it was through this group that the committee was able to uncover a new "power of the people" and discover new hope. In this report, the outcome of these proceedings will be described in detail.

What follows is an overview of the public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (Section II), followed by an examination of the deliberation process and the major issues that emerged along the way (Sections III to V). Additionally, the key elements of the report are addressed, namely the survey findings and resulting policy recommendations (Sections VI and VII). Efforts were also made to include an assessment of the public deliberation process and reflection on potential areas of improvement (Section VIII). This report concludes with a consideration of the political and societal significance of the deliberation outcomes (Section IX).

[Reference] Terminology: Definitions of Major Terms Used in the Report

- **Public deliberation**

While the report will provide a detailed explanation of the concept of public deliberation, it is used in the report (as seen below) to refer to an "opinion-gathering procedure conducted prior to policy selection, in which various opinions are sought democratically from stakeholders, experts, and members of the public to form a public opinion in the process of seeking solutions to the social conflicts that are being or may be caused by a particular policy."

- **Deliberative polling**

Deliberative polling is a survey method in which opinion results are gathered from a certain number of representative citizens selected through random probabilistic extraction methods after they have engaged in sufficient study and debate based on information provided to them by experts and others. First proposed by professor James Fishkin of Stanford University, this method entails a representative group of poll participants and a substantive deliberation process as necessary elements for success. It is similar to opinion polling in being a procedure for gathering and confirming citizen views, but is distinctive in being a procedure in which (public) opinions are collected after a deliberation process of active learning and debate.

- **Participatory survey**

While the deliberative polling method proposed by Fishkin was used as a basis for our proceedings, we developed a distinctive form of a deliberative participatory survey including various supplementary features to increase the representativeness of the participatory group and substance of the deliberation process to more accurately access public opinion.

- **Participatory deliberation group**

This name is used to refer to citizen representatives selected through double sampling using information obtained from a large-scale initial survey performed to enhance

the representativeness of the sample used for the participatory survey designed for this public deliberation.

- **Critical deliberation**

A process of informed, thorough discussion of a particular issue.

- **Moderator**

Individual who supports discussions from a neutral perspective, encouraging maximum autonomy and diversity among participants and helping to organize the discussion content to provide for a rich learning experience based on debate and dialogue.

- **Stratified sampling method**

Method in which a population is divided into non-overlapping groups/strata from which samples are taken through probabilistic selection. The population is separated into strata consisting of mutually exclusive, homogenous units, and samples are distributed by stratus to reduce general deviation from or effectively calculate statistics for each stratum. Generally, the stratified sampling method results in less sampling error than simple random sampling, allowing highly reliable estimates to be obtained.

- **Double sampling**

Used in cases where there is a variable that one wishes to use as a stratification standard for efficient sample survey but no concrete information exists for prior stratification, this method involves taking a large first-phase sample and using information obtained from observing the desired stratification variable to stratify units extracted from the first-phase sample to extract another sample using a portion of the first-phase sample for each stratum. The final sample is referred to as a second-phase sample. Double sampling is frequently used to increase cost efficiency for situations in which the observation of a variable of interest is extremely costly.

- **Sampling**

"Sampling" refers to a series of procedures through which units of a population are selected as samples for the purpose of a survey. Because surveying an entire population is typically either impossible or extremely costly, sample surveys are used to statistically ascertain characteristics of a population. Sampling consists broadly of probability and non-probability sampling, where probability sampling is used in scientific surveys to select sample units according to probabilistic principles to identify the likelihood of a particular unit being extracted through a sample. Representative examples of probabilistic sampling include simple random sampling, stratified probabilistic sampling, and systematic sampling.

- **Simple random sampling**

Sampling approach used to extract sample size n from a population N, where the likelihood of all possible samples is made to be identical. This is a scientific sampling approach in which samples are taken at random rather than being arbitrarily assigned through the subjective judgments of the researcher(s).

- **Sampling error**

This refers to discrepancies between estimated and actual population values that arise when actual values representing a population's characteristics are estimated from a group selected through probabilistic sampling rather than a complete survey of the population. In the case of probabilistic sampling, sampling error is accounted for in terms of standard error in estimates or error limits. To say that a calculation has an "error limit of ±3.0%p with a 95% confidence level" means that error between the estimates and parameters will remain within ±3.0%p 95 out of 100 times when the survey is conducted using identical methods.

- **Energy**

"Energy" refers to the ability (power) to perform physical work. It exists in numerous forms, including kinetic, potential, thermal, light, sound, and chemical types. One form of energy may be transformed into another.

- **Energy source**

Resource serving as a source of energy (power). In addition to coal, petroleum, electricity, natural gas, and nuclear fuel, this category also includes solar light and heat, water, wind, and tidal and geothermal sources.

- **Renewable energy**

Article 2 of the Act on the Promotion of the Development, Use and Diffusion of New and Renewable Energy (formerly the "Act on the Promotion of the Development and Use of Alternative Energy) provides definitions of "new energy" and "renewable energy." New energy is defined as energy converted from existing fossil fuels or using electricity or heat through chemical reactions involving hydrogen, oxygen, etc., and includes hydrogen energy, fuel cells, energy from liquefied or gasified coal or from gasified heavy residual oil, and "energy prescribed by Presidential Decree, other than petroleum, coal, nuclear power or natural gas." Renewable energy is defined as energy from the conversion of renewable sources, including sunlight, water, geothermal, precipitation, and bio-organisms, and includes solar energy, wind power, water power, marine energy, geothermal energy, and bio energy converted from biological resources, energy from waste, and hydrothermal energy falling "within the criteria and scope prescribed by Presidential Decree." Collectively, new and renewable energy sources are referred to as "alternative energy sources," distinct from existing energy sources such as petroleum, coal, nuclear power, and natural gas. In terms of power generation, fossil fuels such as petroleum, coal, and natural gas and nuclear power generation represent existing energy sources, while the use of liquefied natural gas (LNG), solar energy, and wind or water power represent the use of new and alternative energy sources.

- **Energy policy**

"Energy policy" refers to policy involving energy development issues such as energy production, distribution, and consumption. Energy supply is fundamental to economic development, and energy demand is stimulated in response to economic development. The basic task of energy policy is to secure stable, long-term energy

supply inexpensively. In terms of energy demand in particular, consideration must be extended to the fact that independent demand areas have been established for various different energy sources, as has a competitive relationship among them. A defining characteristic of the energy industry is the high degree of convertibility among energy sources.

- **Nuclear power**

Energy released through conversion of the atomic nucleus. Nuclear power can be produced through nuclear fission and nuclear fusion. "Nuclear power technology" refers to technology related to nuclear power.

- **Nuclear power generation**

This refers to the production of large amounts of heat through nuclear fission, which is used to operate a turbine and generate power.

- **Nuclear power generation policy**

Generally, nuclear power generation policy refers to all policy measures that involve the use of nuclear power generation. For the purposes of this report, use of the term is restricted to three policy approaches, namely ① reduction of nuclear power generation, ② maintenance of nuclear power generation, and ③ expansion of nuclear power generation.

II

Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6: An Overview

1. Background

As a candidate in the 2017 Korean presidential election, current President Moon Jaein proclaimed a "safe Republic of Korea" and pledged to halt construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. As of late May 2017, however, construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was 28.8% complete following the June 2016 issuance of a construction permit. In consideration of this and the very large impact that the construction has had on the local economy, President Moon announced at an event on June 19, 2017, to commemorate the permanent decommissioning of the Gori 1 reactor that he would pursue a societal consensus on the issue of whether to halt construction on Shin-Gori 5 & 6, and that he would follow whatever decision was reached.

At the 28th cabinet meeting presided over by President Moon on June 27, 2017, the Korean government subsequently decided to submit the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 issue to a public

deliberation process to establish a societal consensus.[1] Accordingly, the administration established a taskforce in the Office for Government Policy Coordination to prepare for the deliberation process. On July 17, 2017, it enacted "Regulations on the Formation and Operation of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6" (Prime Minister Directive No. 690).

2. Committee Composition

Prior to the issuance of the directive, the administration established principles and procedures for the committee's composition on July 7, 2017. The committee would consist of nine members, including a chairperson, who would be selected as a neutral yet socially influential individual. The remaining members would consist of two representatives each for the areas of humanities and social sciences, science and technology, research and statistics, and conflict management. The committee would include a balanced ratio of male and female members as well as members aged 20–39, selected to serve as representatives of the future generation.

In the member selection process, three candidates were nominated for each area by expert institutions or groups[2] to establish an initial candidate pool. Institutions and groups with established positions for and against nuclear power were given the opportunity to present opinions in favor of disqualifying certain candidates, and the final eight committee

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1 At a press conference for his 100th day in office on August 17, 2017, President Moon said, "In the case of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, my initial campaign pledge was to cancel them outright. However, since the construction was approved in June of last year, considerable progress has been made on the construction, and a substantial amount of money has already been spent. Also, additional costs will reportedly be incurred for burial if [construction] is halted. Under the circumstances, I have decided that, rather than simply cancelling [construction] as I initially pledged, we will conduct deliberative polling to reach a decision on whether it is right to cancel it, or whether construction of Shin-Gori 5 & 6 should be continued in light of the investments already made. In short, I am promising to follow the results of a societal consensus as established through deliberative polling, which I believe to be a highly appropriate process. I also believe that if we are able to come to a reasonable decision through this deliberative polling process, this experience will serve as an important model for resolving conflicts in many other, similar areas of conflict going ahead." Ahead of the final public deliberation survey, President Moon reiterated on October 10 that the administration would "respect the outcome of the public deliberation in deciding whether to halt construction on Shin-Gori 5 & 6" and stressed that the "principle of neutrality was observed," with no interference or involvement by the administration in the public deliberation process. "I ask people on both sides of the issue, members of the participatory group, and members of the Korean public to respect the societal consensus established through this public deliberation process," he said.

2 Institutions and Groups Asked for Recommendations
- (Humanities and Social Sciences) Δ Economics, Humanities and Social Research Council Δ Korean Association for Public Administration
- (Science and Technology) Δ Korean Federation of Science and Technology Societies Δ Korean Academy of Science and Technology
- (Research and Statistics) Δ Seoul National University Institute for Social Development and Policy Research Δ Korean Association for Survey Research
- (Conflict Management) Δ Korean Sociological Association Δ ADR Center

members were selected from among the remaining 17 candidates after elimination of those disqualified by said institutions and groups.

Following the procedure outlined above, the committee was officially launched on July 24, 2017, with the Prime Minister's conferment of letters of appointment to the selected chairperson and committee members.

Kim Jihyung, former supreme court justice and managing partner at Jipyong, was appointed to chair the committee. Kim Jungin, professor at the College of Law & Political Sciences at the University of Suwon, and Ryu Bangran, vice president of the Korea Educational Development Institute, were selected as members for the area of the humanities and social sciences. Yu Taekyung, professor in the Department of Chemical Engineering at Kyung Hee University, and Lee Sungjay, professor at the Korea Institute for Advanced Studies, were selected for the area of science and technology. Kim Youngwon, professor in the Department of Statistics at Sookmyung Women's University, and Lee Yunsuk, professor in the Department of Urban Sociology at the University of Seoul, were selected for the area of research and statistics. Kim Wondong, professor of the Programs of Sociology at Kangwon National University, and Lee Heejin, secretary-general of the ADR Center, were selected for the area of conflict management.

To support the activities of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, a support team was established with 24 members (including four research and working-level staffers) sent from nine agencies and offices, including the Office for Government Policy Coordination and the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy. The team's director served as committee secretary.

Table 2.1. Members of Public Deliberation Committee

Position		Name	Current post
Chairperson		Kim Jihyung	Managing partner, Jipyong
Members	Humanities and social sciences	Kim Jungin	Assistant professor, College of Law & Political Sciences at the University of Suwon
		Ryu Bangran	Vice president, Korea Educational Development Institute
	Science and technology	Yu Taekyung	Associate professor, Department of Chemical Engineering at Kyung Hee University
		Lee Sungjay	Professor, Korea Institute for Advanced Studies
	Research and statistics	Kim Youngwon	Professor, Department of Statistics at Sookmyung Women's University
		Lee Yunsuk	Professor, Department of Urban Sociology at the University of Seoul
	Conflict management	Kim Wondong	Professor, Programs of Sociology at Kangwon National University
		Lee Heejin	Secretary-general, ADR Center

3. Significance and Basic Principles of the Public Deliberation Process

3-1. Public Deliberation as a Concept

Scholars have yet to agree on a clear definition of the concept of public deliberation, or a view reached through public deliberation. According to dictionary definitions, public deliberation refers to discussion by several members of the public, and an opinion formed through public deliberation is one members of the public come to hold on a particular issue. To more easily understand the concept of "an opinion formed through public deliberation" in daily life, it may be useful to compare it with that of "public opinion": if public opinion is the view of the majority, then an opinion formed through public deliberation is the publicly stated opinion of the majority. In other words, an opinion formed through public deliberation goes beyond individual opinions, referring to an opinion held from a public perspective and established by gathering opinions from various people following an active and rational process of discussion and argumentation. The methods of public opinion polling, which are

optimized for gathering temporary and emotionally based positions, are thus limited tools for the examination of an opinion formed through public deliberation.

In that sense, public deliberation may be defined as a process in which members of the general public come together to discuss and establish a position on a particular issue. In the process, participating individuals look beyond personal interests to pursue the public interest or public good from an objective, neutral perspective. It is for this reason that the process is as important as the outcome when discussing public deliberation. In contrast with its definition in the broad sense, "public deliberation" is often used in policy terms to refer to discussions as a process of gathering and reflecting the views of various stakeholders in order to increase societal receptiveness when implementing policies. Accordingly, the public deliberation process as it is discussed in this report was defined by the committee to be "an opinion-gathering procedure conducted prior to policy selection, in which various opinions are sought democratically from stakeholders, experts, and members of the public to form a public opinion in the process of seeking a solution to the social conflicts that are being or may be caused by a particular example of public policy."

3-2. Significance of the Public Deliberation Process

The public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 holds great significance as an example of participatory policymaking, in which the decision of whether to implement the President's election pledge to halt construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was reached through engagement by and consensus among citizens, themselves the consumers of energy, rather than made unilaterally by the government.

It is even more meaningful for having transformed the nuclear power issue from a topic that, due to its highly technical nature, was discussed mainly by direct stakeholders (including experts and local residents) into an issue of importance to the daily life of all citizens.

Additionally, as a democratic means of opinion-gathering in supplementation of Korea's representative democracy, the proceedings provided an opportunity to put into practice full-scale deliberative democracy. They were also important as a new model for conflict resolution, one focused on bringing a serious conflict with sharply divided stakeholder interests into the forum for public discussion and consensus establishment.

We therefore request the administration's systematic support so that the experience

gained through the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 consultations and the resulting materials can serve all of Korean society as useful tools for achieving democratic coexistence.

3-3. Basic Principles of Public Deliberation

A key element of the public deliberation process lies in its being designed and managed in an objective and equitable way in order to promote support and receptiveness by the entire public, including both resumption proponents and opponents. To this end, the committee's launch at its first regular meeting saw its adoption of the four chief principles of fairness, neutrality, responsibility, and transparency.

The public deliberation process was designed to be managed fairly, offering equal opportunities for participation to members of the public as well as stakeholders, including experts and local residents. Neutrality was to be strictly observed in the provision of information and establishment of procedures and rules. To ensure a responsible stance by the committee and the establishment of an outcome acceptable to the public, principles of active communication with the public and transparent disclosure of the entire public deliberation process were also established. As part of this effort, it was decided that spokesperson briefings would be held after each meeting, and meeting records made promptly available on the committee's homepage.

III

Basic Process of Public Deliberation

1. Overview

The Shin-Gori 5 & 6 public deliberation process centered on a committee receiving operational support from a support team, with subcommittees, an advisory committee, and a basic system for design, operation, and management of all proceedings. A public deliberation review committee was also established to promote the fairness and objectivity of the consultation, and a stakeholder communication council was established to ensure fairness in the implementation of the deliberation process. The public deliberation committee held one regular meeting each week to receive reports and formulate decisions on major issues related to the public deliberation, while individual subcommittees held periodic meetings on related matters for efficient management of the public deliberation process. Meetings of the advisory committee, review committee, and stakeholder communication council were held periodically as needed. Details of the public deliberation process are as follows.

2. Regular Meetings

The committee held regular meetings once a week to consider major decisions and areas of discussion related to the public deliberation process. A total of 14 regular meetings were held during the duration of the public deliberation, the results of which were disclosed to the public in a transparent manner through press briefings immediately after the meetings.

Additionally, the committee also held discussions the day prior to its regular meetings with those committee members who were able to attend in order to conduct a preliminary review of the matters to be addressed at the regular meetings.

Table 3.1. Regular Meetings of the Public Deliberation Committee

Round	Date	Major topics
1	July 24	Principles on managing public deliberation and operational plan and detailed principles on the committee
2	July 27	Basic directions of the first research
3	August 3	Process and composition of the participatory survey and establishment of subcommittees and selection of their chairs
4	August10	Roundtables with representative groups of resumption proponents and opponents, set up of technical review committee
5	August 17	Operation of Stakeholder Communication Council, arrangement of following schedule of public judgment
6	August 24	Selection of research firm
7	August 31	Process of the 1st research, procedure of the deliberation (tentative)
8	September 6	Plan on investigating the participatory deliberation group, set up of review committee (tentative)
9	September 13	Plan of orientation for the participatory deliberation group (tentative)
10	September 20	Orientation result, e-learning plan (tentative)
11	September 27	Proceedings of public deliberation (tentative)
12	September 29	Establishing the position on the issue that researchers from government-funded research institutions could participate in the public deliberation activities
13	October 11	Execution plan on the participatory deliberation group's general forum (tentative)
14	October 20	Report on the process of public deliberation and its result

3. Subcommittees

The committee established subcommittees for four key areas of the public deliberation process (legal matters, polling, critical deliberation program, and communication). Each committee was tasked with selecting, reviewing, and implementing major agenda items for each area to promote the efficiency of the public deliberation process. Subcommittee members were assigned in consideration of their respective areas of specialization.

Each subcommittee held autonomous meetings under its chairperson's supervision and was provided with administrative support through a support team leader assigned as secretary to assist with subcommittee operation. Expert committee members were also asked to attend subcommittee meetings so that members would be able to receive expert counsel by area.

Table 3.2. Subcommittees

Subcommittee	Law Subcommittee	Polling Subcommittee	Deliberation Subcommittee	Communication Subcommittee
Member	Kim Jihyung Kim Jungin	Kim Youngwon Lee Yunsuk	Lee Heejin Lee Sungjay Yu Taekyung	Kim Wondong Ryu Bangran

Table 3.3. Subcommittee Activities by Area

◈ Legal Subcommittee

Meeting or Advisory Session Date	Issues Discussed
1st meeting (August 8)	• Copyrights for reference materials on deliberative polling methods • Sharing of information on current legal actions and future plans • Appointment of advisory committee members
1st advisory session (August 9)	• Examination of written responses on Public Deliberation Committee's legal action → Supplementary measures, including information about the public deliberation process
2nd advisory session (September 12)	• Examination of obligation to disclose information about members of participatory group → Grounds for nondisclosure according to Information Disclosure Act; obligation to submit according to National Assembly legislation, but consideration required according to Personal Information Protection Act
3rd advisory session (September 14)	• Examination of interpretation standards when final poll findings fall within margin of error → Issue difficult to examine in legal terms; few relevant precedents. Various opinions presented for consultation when making policy decisions.
4th advisory session (September 25)	• Consideration of whether to allow participation of researchers affiliated with government-funded institutes → No legal grounds for barring participation

◈ Survey Subcommittee

Meeting Date	Issues Discussed
1st meeting (July 31)	• Deliberation of participants and scope of first survey • Methodology for first survey - Ratio of mobile phone to landline polling, stratification • Items for first survey • Eliciting consent for deliberation participation, frequency of discussions, etc.
2nd meeting (August 8)	• Usage of virtual numbers - Ratio of mobile phone to landline polling by age group - Plans to increase contact success and response rates • Survey period - Initial survey period of at least 15 days, given number of contact attempts and other factors
3rd meeting (August 16)	• Items for first survey • Encouraging jury participation (incentives for participation in critical deliberation program)
4th meeting (August 21)	• Final examination of first survey methodology and items • Total of four participatory surveys to be held - Plans for choosing survey items for each of the four surveys

5th meeting (August 30)	• Progress of first survey - Review of landline number inputting schedule and number of circuits • Appointment of advisory committee members to review surveys
6th meeting (September 4)	• Design of subsequent surveys (second to fourth) - Ideas for increasing mobile phone contact and response rates - Reviewing schedule and method for additional mobile phone number inputting • Items for second survey
7th meeting (September 11)	• Design of subsequent surveys (second to fourth) - Review of participatory group sample extraction methods • Items for second survey • Review of need for identical and duplicate items from first survey, etc.
8th meeting (September 25)	• Plans for design of third and fourth surveys • Items for third and fourth surveys - Review of methods of analysis for each item - Review of suitability of linkage analysis for different items
9th meeting (September 29)	• Items for third and fourth surveys - Development of items to establish compromise plan

◈ Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee

Meeting Date	Issues Discussed
1st meeting (August 1)	• Stakeholder determination and plans for opinion collection • Ideas for establishing information credibility
2nd meeting (August 8)	• Ideas for gathering stakeholder opinions • Information to be provided to participatory group
3rd meeting (August 15)	• Ideas for forming and managing communication council • Planning and production of deliberation sourcebook and video materials
4th meeting (August 21)	• Details of critical deliberation program • Composition of expert advisory group • Plans for encouraging participation
5th meeting (August 29)	• Major content for different deliberation programs • Progress and issues in sourcebook production

6th meeting (September 4)	• Details of orientation plan
7th meeting (September 5)	• Implementation plan for orientation • Progress of sourcebook production
8th meeting (September 8)	• Final sourcebook content, composition and establishment of expert group to review materials
9th meeting (September 11)	• Final sourcebook review • Implementation plan for orientation
10th meeting (September 14)	• Progress of sourcebook production • Implementation plan for orientation • Preparations for e-learning, future generation discussions
11th meeting (September 25)	• Ideas for general forum program composition

◈ Communication Subcommittee

Meeting Date	Issues Discussed
1st meeting (August 3)	• Review of areas for consideration prior to homepage establishment • Ideas for online promotion
2nd meeting (August 8)	• Homepage review • Implementation of promotion and advertisements for public deliberation • Report on card news, webtoons for public deliberation
3rd meeting (August 18)	• Plan for TV, newspaper interviews on public deliberation • Editing card news, webtoons, and other content
4th meeting (August 31)	• Plan for debate and roundtables • Implementation plan for major promotion areas for September and afterwards • Review of card news
5th meeting (September 21)	• Review of communication and promotion areas for public deliberation • Review of areas for consideration in TV and general forum (support for live TV coverage and news coverage)

4. Advisory Committee

In accordance with Article 9 of the "Regulations on the Formation and Operation of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6," the committee appointed advisory committees for each subcommittee to perform an advisory role on major areas related to the public deliberation process. Advisory committee members attended subcommittee meetings in person to provide counsel and submitted counsel in writing.

Table 3.4. Advisory Committee Membership

◈ Legal

No.	Name	Current Post
1	Kim Rin	Professor, Inha Law School
2	Kim Yongjin	Duroo
3	Kim Jin	Jihyang Law
4	Park Seongcheol	Jipyong
5	Shin Gwoncheol	Professor, University of Seoul Law School
6	Yeo Yeonsim	Jipyong
7	Yu Jiwon	L.K.B & Partners
8	Im Seonah	Haebyeol Law Firm
9	Jang Jongoh	Haebyeol Law Firm
10	Jang Hongrok	Haemaru Law Firm
11	Choi Jeonggyu	Jipyong

◈ Survey

No.	Name	Current Post
1	Lee Junung	Professor, Department of Communication at Seoul National University
2	Kim Jibeom	Professor, Department of Sociology at Sungkyunkwan University

◈ Critical Deliberation Program

No.	Name	Current Post
1	Kim Gyutae	Professor, Dongguk University
2	Kim Seongjung	Professor, Hanyang University
3	Seok Sangil	Professor, Ulsan National Institute of Science and Technology
4	Seong Changmo	Member, Technology Executive Committee, UNFCCC
5	Eom Wuyong	Professor, Pohang University of Science and Technology
6	Lee Jinhan	Professor, Korea University
7	Lee Changhun	Vice president, Korea Environment Institute
8	Jeong Heon	Vice president, Korea Institute of Energy Research
9	Jo Seonghan	Professor, Dongguk University
10	Jo Yeongtak	Professor, Hanbat National University
11	Kang Yeongjin	Copresident, ADR Center
12	Kim Hakrin	Professor, Dankook University

◈ Communication

No.	Name	Current Post
1	Lee Jonghyeok	Professor, School of Communications at Kwangwoon University
2	Kim Gucheol	Professor, Department of Mass Media & Visual Studies at Kyonggi University
3	Lee Cheolhan	Professor, Department of Advertising and Public Relations at Dongguk University
4	Jang Dami	Director, PR Analysis Division, Public Communications Office, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism

5. Review Committee

On September 8, 2017, the committee signed a working agreement with the Seoul National University Institute for Social Development and Policy Research (ISDPR) for a review of the public deliberation process for Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. Part of an effort to promote the fairness, neutrality, responsibility, and transparency of the public deliberation process, this was intended to ensure an objective review from a third-party perspective. The ISDPR agreed to form and operate an independent review committee.

Table 3.5. Members of Review Committee

	Name	Current Post
Representative	Kim Seokho	Professor, Department of Sociology at Seoul National University
Legal	Park Hyeongjun	Professor, Department of Public Administration at Sungkyunkwan University
Survey	Park Mingyu	Professor, Department of Statistics at Korea University
Critical Deliberation Program	Han Gyuseop	Professor, Department of Communication at Seoul National University
Communication	Park Wonho	Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University

The review committee reviewed the entire public deliberation process, from the composition and operation of the public deliberation committee to the design of the survey, the selection of the participatory group, the deliberation program, and efforts to communicate with the public. ISDPR director Kim Seokho was chosen to serve as representative of the review committee, with experts to participate in the four areas of laws/institutions, polling, the critical deliberation program, and communication.

To ensure the reliability of review findings, review committee activities were conducted independently from the public deliberation committee, with findings to be presented in report form by December 14, 2017.

6. Stakeholder Communication Council

At its fifth regular meeting on August 17, 2017, the committee decided to establish a communication council to serve as a channel for regular discussions with groups holding positions for and against resumption of construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. The group Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World participated in the council on behalf of resumption opponents, while the Korea Atomic Industrial Forum (KAIF) and Korean Nuclear Society (KNS) participated on behalf of resumption proponents.

Table 3.6. Communication Council Composition

	Resumption	Suspension
Participants	Korea Atomic Industrial Forum, Korean Nuclear Society, and Korea Hydro and Nuclear Power	Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World

The communication council served effectively as a communicative channel toward establishing a starting point for the design of a rational public deliberation methodology through coordination and consensus-building on an issue with competing stakeholder interests. While some difficulties did arise in the process of implementing council meetings on a closely contested issue, harmonious resolution was achieved each time through the generous cooperation of both sides.

Table 3.7. Communication Council Activities

Date	Issues Discussed
1st meeting (August 17–18)	• Plans for communication council operation • Opinions on demands of both sides • Cooperation on sourcebook production • Questionnaire for first survey
2nd meeting (August 23)	• Plan for first survey • Tentative main schedule for public deliberation • Tentative table of contents for sourcebook
3rd meeting (August 31)	• Sourcebook review (tentative) • Plan for data review expert group (tentative) • Video production (tentative)
4th meeting (September 8)	• Sourcebook table of contents and material • Video table of contents and production of e-learning materials • Operation of data review expert group • Review of committee composition and management • Orientation observer team composition and presenters for both sides • Regional touring debates
5th meeting (September 21)	• Sourcebook production and review • E-learning video production • Deliberation on debate participants
6th meeting (September 29)	• Plan for general participatory group forum (tentative) • Deliberation on means of expert participation
7th meeting (October 10)	• Detailed plan for general forum (tentative)

* In addition to regular meetings, coordination and agreement were also conducted by telephone and in writing as needed.

IV

Major Components of the Public Deliberation Process

1. Formation of a Participatory Deliberation Group

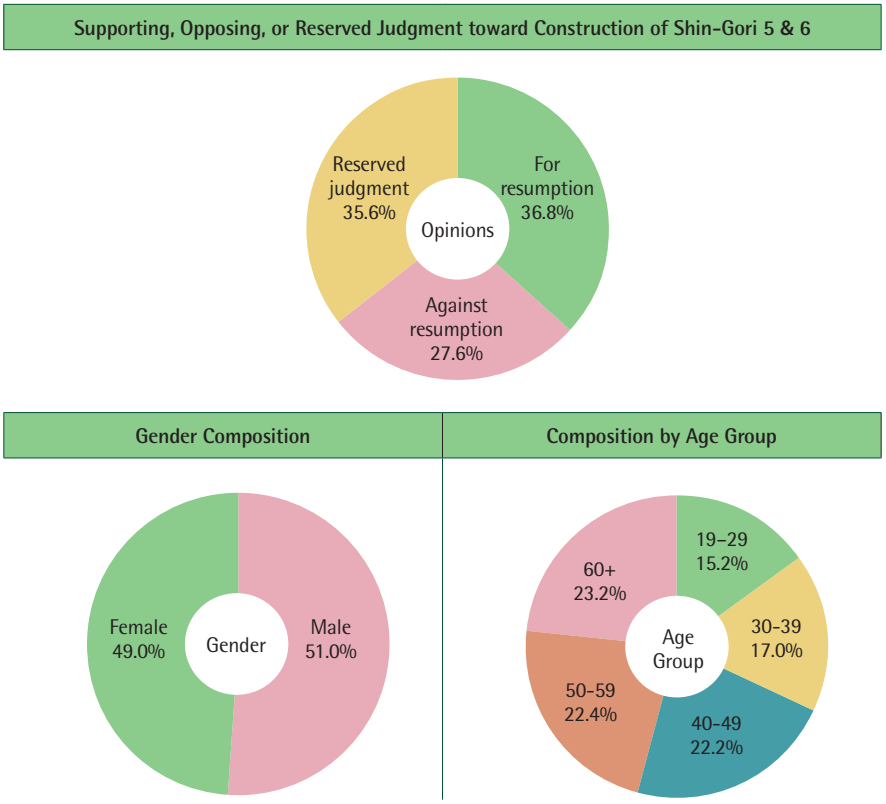
At its second regular meeting on July 27, 2017, the committee decided on the selection methodology and scale for the participatory group to take part in the participatory surveys, conducting in-depth discussions and examination of domestic and overseas precedents[1] to ensure that the group would be representative of the wider population.

Because of the great importance of establishing a representative participatory group, a methodology of double sampling for stratification was used, with the specific selection methods and scale as follows.

Registered residents with Korean citizenship aged 19 and older were stratified three-dimensionally by region (16 metropolitan cities and provinces), gender, and age group (160 total strata). A proportionally distributed group of 20,000 was obtained through stratified

1 412 in California (Next California, June 2011), 286 in Japan (deliberative survey on energy environment choice, August 2012), 173 in Korea (spent nuclear fuel, March 2015).

Table 4.1. Participatory Group Composition (500 members)



random sampling to form an initial sample pool, which was then stratified three-dimensionally by attitude on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (for resumption, against resumption, and reserved judgment), gender, and age group (30 total strata) to produce a proportionally distributed group of 500 through stratified random sampling.

2. Critical Deliberation Program

2-1. Basic Objectives

A key process in public deliberation, critical deliberation refers to "informed and thorough discussion." A crucial function of a critical deliberation program is to provide citizens with adequate information to deeply consider and sufficiently discuss an issue. Four basic

objectives were thus established for the critical deliberation program as part of the larger public deliberation process.

First, to provide the participatory group with an opportunity for focused deliberation and enable easy and accurate understanding of the public deliberation and debate issues during the limited deliberation period, a diverse collection of deliberation materials and information were provided, while the burden of offline participation was minimized and online deliberation participation was encouraged.

Second, to allow the participatory group to freely discuss individual parts of the public deliberation agenda, small groups were formed to provide opportunities for sharing of opinions and ample consideration.

Third, to facilitate stakeholder involvement and reflect different positions in the deliberation process, major stakeholder interests (including the discussion agenda and survey composition) were reflected in the deliberation process in a balanced and comprehensive manner.

Fourth, to foster a climate of deliberation not only by the participatory group but by the Korean public as a whole, opportunities were organized for members of the public to take an interest in and consider the question of whether to resume or suspend construction of Shin-Gori 5 & 6 and to share their ideas with the participatory group.

2-2. Major Elements of the Critical Deliberation Program

The critical deliberation program lasted 33 days, beginning with the final selection of the participatory group on Wednesday, September 13, 2017, and continuing to the final polling date of Sunday, October 15, 2017.

The critical deliberation program comprised a basic program for members of the participatory group and a supplementary program open to members of the public.

(1) Basic Program

The basic critical deliberation program for members of the participatory group consisted of a one-day orientation, a critical deliberation sourcebook, a three-day general forum, e-learning, and an online Q&A component. Details on the program elements are provided in the following section.

Table 4.2. Major Program Elements

Basic Program	Supplementary Program
For participatory group members	Conducted alongside program for the general public
· Orientation · Deliberation sourcebook · E-learning and Q&A · General forum	· Regional public debates · Televised debates · Future Generation Debate

- Orientation (September 16, 2017)

  Given the lack of familiarity with the public deliberation process in Korea, the purpose of the orientation was to inform the participatory group of the significance and aims of the critical deliberation program, encouraging their active participation by providing guidance on their role and the future deliberation process, and therefore ensuring that the deliberation program is carried out in a more effective way.

  A total of 500 members were invited to the participatory group, organized on Saturday, September 16, 2017, at Kyeseongwon (Kyobo Life HRD center) in Cheonan and lasting for four hours from 1:30 to 5:30 p.m. A total of 478 participatory group members (95.6%) attended the event, a higher-than-expected turnout that suggested a high level of interest among members.

  The orientation consisted chiefly of a second poll and explanations of the public deliberation process and the role of the participatory group. Members of the participatory group were given certificates of appointment, after which there were presentations by resumption proponents and opponents and a Q&A session.

Table 4.3. Orientation Schedule

Time	Event
1:30–2:00 p.m.	Second participatory group poll
2:00–2:25 p.m.	Pledge of Allegiance, orientation schedule, welcoming address, introduction to public deliberation process
2:40–2:50 p.m.	Presentation of certifications of appointment (10)
2:50–3:05 p.m.	Presentation of responses by participatory group (4)
3:05–3:25 p.m.	Explanation on participatory group's role, rules, and critical deliberation program
3:25–3:45 p.m.	Q&A session on deliberation program
4:00–5:00 p.m.	Presentations by resumption proponents and opponents (30 minutes each)
5:00–5:20 p.m.	Q&A session on presentations
5:20–5:30 p.m.	Information about return trip and declaration of orientation's completion

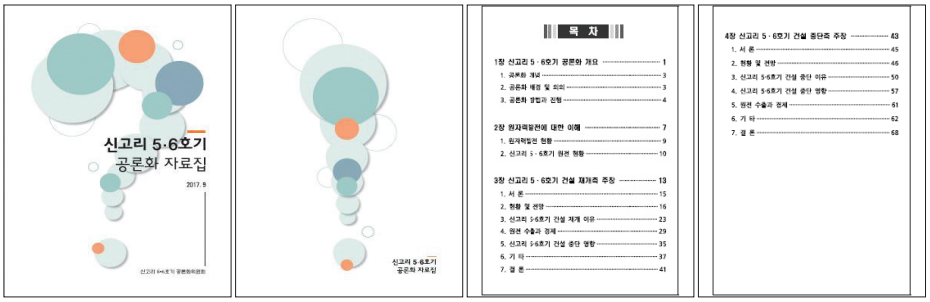
- Deliberation Sourcebook

  For the critical deliberation sourcebook provided to participatory group members, it was crucial to establish procedural legitimacy in the selection of issues to be included. In view of the sharp division in views between proponents and opponents of the construction's resumption, the inclusion of mutually acceptable content and arguments was of paramount importance.

  Based on these principles, the sourcebook was organized into four chapters. The first, an overview of the public deliberation process on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, and the second, an explanation about nuclear energy, were written by the committee, while the third and fourth chapters were written by resumption proponents and opponents. To ensure fairness, half of the sourcebook copies were printed with chapters 3 and 4 in reverse order.

  To ensure objectivity and fairness in the data, each side wrote a preliminary sourcebook draft for its position, after which the sides examined each other's draft. An expert review of the data was carried out before a final examination by the committee.

  By agreement between the two sides, the expert review was limited to the data cited in the sourcebook and their sources; examinations were conducted for the



areas of nuclear power safety, the environment, the economy, alternative energy sources, and geology. Representatives of both sides were asked to incorporate the opinions of expert examiners; in cases where the two sides did not agree, expert opinions were indicated with footnotes.

The 70-page sourcebook finally agreed upon by resumption proponents and opponents was mailed to members of the participatory group on September 28, 2017, and made available to the public on the committee's homepage.

- E-Learning and Q&A

  The e-learning system for members of the participatory group was provided to promote understanding through video lectures representing the two sides' positions on key issues in the Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 public deliberation process and to answer members' questions in real time via a platform allowing for bidirectional communication between them and experts on both sides.

  The e-learning system was designed for exclusive access and use by participatory group members and was made accessible by desktop, tablet computer, and mobile phone. The system was made officially available on September 21, 2017.

  The lecture content for the e-learning system's video materials was produced by both sides based on the critical deliberation sourcebook. By agreement between the two sides, video materials were submitted without cross-examination for expert review focusing solely on the data cited and their sources rather than the two sides' arguments. The materials were subsequently reviewed by the committee.

  The video materials consisted of 11 lectures posted in sequence between September 21 and October 7, 2017. In order, they were titled "Understanding the

Table 4.4. E-Learning Lecture Participation Rates (as of October 18, 2017)

Lecture	Participation Rate	
1. Understanding the Public Deliberation Process	96% (450/471)	
	Resumption Proponents	**Resumption Opponents**
2. Nuclear Power Safety	95% (449/471)	94% (445/471)
3. Electricity Supply and Rates	92% (434/471)	91% (427/471)
4. Effects on National Industry	93% (439/471)	90% (424/471)
5. Energy Policy Outlook	92% (432/471)	91% (430/471)
6. General Opinions	90% (426/471)	88% (415/471)
Overall Participation Rate	92%	

Public Deliberation Process"; "Is Nuclear Power Safe (Including Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6)?"; "How Does This Affect Electricity Supply and Rates?"; "How Does This Affect National Industry?"; "What Is the Outlook for Korean Energy Policy?"; and "General Opinions."

A "Q&A Room" was established on the e-learning system for experts to answer group members' questions about the video lectures, while experts on the two sides periodically checked and posted answers to member questions. Citizen representatives who experienced difficulties with the e-learning courses were given study opportunities during the general forum period.

- General Forum (October 13–15, 2017)

  The final part of the critical deliberation program was a general forum, designed to aid members' understanding of issues related to Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and help individual members to establish rational judgments and opinions through a final deliberation process.

  Accordingly, the basic general forum format consisted of four sections: a general discussion on the reasons for suspending or resuming construction, discussions on issues related to safety/environmental friendliness and electricity supply/economic effects, and a comprehensive discussion on the final choice and societal acceptance. To maximize accommodation of questions by group members, additional periods

were included for the first and second sections and for a Q&A session.

The first through third sections consisted of presentations by both sides, a small group discussion, and a Q&A session. The first session consisted of final presentations and small group discussions; once a final outcome was reached by a small group, a discussion was held on ideas for promoting societal acceptance.

"Video Messages for Members of the Participatory Deliberation Group" were also produced and screening times established to provide necessary information to group members on construction conditions at Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and opinions on resumption or suspension from members of the future generation and surrounding communities during the deliberation process.

The specific organization of discussion sections, including the order of presentations and the allotment of Q&A periods, was decided by agreement with resumption proponents and opponents in an effort to promote fairness and receptiveness on both sides.

As a key component of the general forum, the small group discussions were designed for autonomous and self-driven participation by participatory group members based on a principle of mutual respect. The aim was to allow for more rational decision-making as members shared opinions on issues they learned about through the critical deliberation program and posed questions to the experts.

To support the group members' deliberation and mutual learning process, small groups of nine to ten members were formed and a moderator assigned to each to lead discussions. Small group moderators were provided with two sessions of special instruction on maintaining neutrality and supporting jury member discussions. Recognizing the importance of the moderators' neutrality and expertise in organizing discussions, the committee assigned 53 experts in conflict management in various fields (including attorneys) to ensure smooth group discussions.

Each discussion session consisted of a presentation, small group discussion, and Q&A session with the presenter. To promote group member understanding, the Q&A sessions were focused on providing information and intended as responses to group questions rather than speaker-centered presentations and responses.

Designed to provide information, presentations included the general arguments of resumption proponents and opponents (25 minutes), the two issue areas (15

minutes), and a summary (10 minutes). The small group discussions were designed so that jury members could engage in mutual learning as they shared opinions and thoughts on their understanding of the presentations by experts on both sides, and devise questions to receive expert information to promote deeper understanding.

Each small group selected one question each for the resumption proponent and opponent sides, or two questions in total. Selection was focused on the most frequently asked questions. Within the groups that wrote the questions, citizen jury members were given up to one minute to ask their questions. The overall Q&A session consisted of 20 questions, or 10 each for the resumption and suspension sides (two minutes per response). To permit mutual review of the claims made by the resumption proponents and opponents, presenters and respondents were offered opportunities for rebuttal (two minutes) and rebuttal response (one minute). Presentations were given by one representative each from the resumption and suspension sides, while Q&A sessions were conducted by four representatives each, including the presenter.

The general forum was held at Kyeseongwon (Kyobo Life HRD center) in Cheonan over a three-day period from 7 p.m. on Friday, October 13, to 4 p.m. on Sunday, October 15, 2017, with a total of 650 people attending, including the 471 members of the participatory group and 53 moderators.

A total of 471 of the 478 group members who attended the orientation (98.5%) were present, while seven declined to participate due to health and other reasons. Members attended for three days and two nights as they learned in depth about issues related to the positions in favor of resuming and suspending construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. To conclude the critical deliberation program,

Table 4.5. Major Components of General Forum

Date	Time	Content	Additional Information
Friday, October 13	7:00–7:40 p.m.	Third survey	
	8:00–8:15 p.m.	Opening ceremony	Press coverage
	8:35–9:00 p.m.	Small group introductions and rules of discussion	
Saturday, October 14	9:00 a.m.–12:50 p.m.	Session 1: General discussion	Broadcast live
	2:10–5:40 p.m.	Session 2: Issue discussion (1)	
	7:10–7:25 p.m.	Video Message to Members of the Participatory Deliberation Group—Information on construction environment, future generation/local resident opinions	
	7:25–8:00 p.m.	Supplementary Q&A for Sessions 1 & 2	
Sunday, October 15	8:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.	Session 3: Issue discussion (2)	
	1:20–2:50 p.m.	Session 4: Closing discussion	
	2:50–3:30 p.m.	Fourth survey	
	3:30–4:00 p.m.	Closing Ceremony: Farewell address, certificate conferment, participant responses	Press coverage

a final poll of the participatory group was conducted on October 15, the final day of the general forum.

The general forum included an opening and closing ceremony, two surveys, and four discussions. In contrast with the orientation, it was focused on discussion rather than different programs, with the aim of providing group members with maximum information on the positions in favor of resumption or suspension of construction.

The forum provided members with a focused opportunity for critical deliberation, as the entire process, including presentations, small group discussion, and Q&A sessions, lasted 675 minutes (over 11 hours), not including travel time.

Participatory group members were also given certifications to honor their efforts and promote a sense of pride in having responsibly participated in a month-long deliberation process.

[Reference] Feedback from Participatory Deliberation Group Members on the General Forum

First, the inclusion of participants of different genders, ages, and perspectives in the small groups created an opportunity for members to share their diverse opinions and to hear and understand different perspectives and thoughts.

"It's hard enough to talk to my parents, so I was concerned about how I was going to have a conversation with all these different age groups. It turned out to be great."

"Before, I used to think, 'Young people these days….' But I really got the sense that young people have a lot of ideas, and you can have dialogue with them."

"I've spent a lot of time at home since retiring, so I'd had a lot of opportunities to encounter information on TV or in the newspaper, but almost no opportunities to participate in society. It's great to be able to participate in the formulation of state policy, regardless of differences of age, occupation, or economic status. It was wonderful to be able to talk to young people and hear different opinions."

Second, the forum appears to have promoted understanding of the issues, helping participants form reasonably informed ideas as they debated with people with other perspectives, and sometimes leading to a process of change.

"I wondered before if it was possible to have an open enough mind to change, but what I heard was a bit different."

"I didn't really have an opinion of my own when I came, so going through the expert presentations, the Q&A sessions, and the small group discussions really helped me in forming my own perspective."

Third, participation in small group discussions in addition to attendance at expert presentations allowed members to share their understanding and thoughts and formulate questions, which appears to have helped foster a sense of responsibility and ownership.

"I used up what little leave time I had to come here, and I ended up being glad I did. For all that politicians say about serving the people, I never really got the sense that they were thinking about the majority's perspective. By participating in this process, people were able to share their stories and communicate the majority's thoughts, which was great."

Fourth, the small group discussions lasted 60 minutes with ten members to a group, allowing opportunities to speak for just over two minutes on a single topic. Unfortunately, the fact that so much time was given to developing questions left insufficient time for discussion.

"Instead of having one hour to talk about topics like environmental friendliness and safety, it would be good idea to allow for a fuller conversation in the small group discussions."

"The small group discussion periods need to be longer. The time is too short for the number of people."

Fifth, the discussions appear to have contributed to promoting a democratic consciousness, civic participation, and awareness of the importance of public deliberation.

"I always thought there wasn't enough civic consciousness in Korea, but over the course of this debate I realized that I was wrong about that, and I felt proud to be a citizen."

"I felt a sense of responsibility in the way my opinion and choice as an individual was determining the future of the country, and I learned a lot through the critical deliberation program. It's an approach to debate that I think I could apply to other settings."

"I felt pride in the experience of being able to hear other people's opinions, hold discussions, learn, and deliberate rather than having to produce an agreed-upon outcome, and in the way citizens were participating directly in deciding important state policy."

(2) Supplementary Program

In addition to the critical deliberation program for the participatory group, the committee believed it would be equally important to organize a supplementary deliberation program for the wider Korean public. While it was the role of the participatory group to make an important decision on behalf of the public, the committee also prepared a variety of programs to promote a more accurate understanding among the general public of the major issues being discussed in the public deliberation process and encourage maximum acceptance of the outcome.

- Regional Public Debates

  The committee planned and organized regional public discussions as a platform for debate in regions around the country. These discussions were designed to allow residents of each region to participate and to gather the opinions that they presented.

  Under the auspices of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and the supervision of such eminent academic societies as the Korean Association for Conflict Studies (KACS) and the Korean Association for Local Government Studies (KALGS), a total of seven discussions were held in the Seoul Metropolitan Area and the Busan/Ulsan, Honam (Jeolla-do), and Chungcheong-do regions.

  Focusing on the topic of whether construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should be resumed or suspended, the discussions consisted of presentations from both sides, followed by a discussion of the relevant topic and a Q&A session with the audience. The discussions were moderated and chaired by the supervising academic association or a third party to ensure maximum objectivity. Presenters and discussion group members were recommended by groups representing the two sides of the debate.

  The first regional debate was held on August 1, 2017, at the Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Seoul. Focusing on the topic "How should public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 be pursued to gain societal acceptance?", it included Korea Institute of Public Administration senior research fellow Eun Jaeho presenting on "the concept of public deliberation and plans for systematization." Discussion group participants were KDI School of Public Policy

Table 4.6. Regional Public Debate Locations and Content

Date	Location	Major Discussion Topic
August 1	Seoul	How should the public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 be pursued to gain societal acceptance?
September 7	Gwangju	How is energy policy viewed from a regional standpoint?
September 13	Daejeon	Safety-related issues concerning suspension and resumption of construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
September 18	Busan	What should be done about Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6?
September 26	Seoul	Issues of energy policy outlook, safety, and economy in the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
September 28	Suwon	The changes that our choice will bring
October 11	Ulsan	Local communities and atomic energy

and Management professor Park Jin, Green Korea Legal Center deputy director Shin Jihyeong, Korea Center for Social Conflict Resolution director Lee Kangwon, Catholic University of Korea professor Lee Yeonghui, Korean Nuclear Society general affairs director Im Chaeyeong, and Korea Hydro and Nuclear Power regional shared growth office director Han Janghui, who shared their positions on the public deliberation method for the Shin-Gori Nuclear Power Plant.

The discussion was a significant occasion in which major issues and matters related to the public deliberation process were discussed, including ideas for ensuring the public deliberation committee's independence and objectivity and the representativeness of the participatory group, methods and procedures for public deliberation, and the survey and deliberation procedures.

The second discussion, on the topic "How is energy policy viewed from a regional standpoint?", was organized by KALGS on September 7, 2017, at the Conference Hall in Gwangju's Asia Culture Center.

Catholic University of Korea professor Lee Yeonghui and Sungkyul University professor Im Jeongbin presented on issues and topics in the Shin-Gori public deliberation process, while Korean Federation for Environmental Movements Gwangju team leader Kim Jongpil, Chosun University professors Kim Bongcheol and Song Jongsoon, KAIST professor Lee Wonjae, Energy Justice Actions representative

Lee Heonseok, and Korean Nuclear Society general affairs director Im Chaeyeong held a discussion on issues related to energy policy decision-making.

The Honam region is home to the headquarters of electricity-related public institutions such as the Korea Electric Power Corporation (KEPCO) and Korea Power Exchange (KPX). This fact, along with the operation of the nearby Yonggwang Nuclear Power Complex, may account for the considerable interest shown in the debate on energy policy from a regional standpoint, with numerous nuclear power plant employees and environmental group members in the audience.

The third debate was held in Daejeon on September 13, 2017. Organized by the Dankook University Center for Dispute Resolution (DUCDR), it was held at the Large Auditorium at Daejeon City Hall and focused on the topic "Safety-related issues concerning suspension or resumption of construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6."

Moderated by DUCDR director Ka Sangjun, the debate included Korean Nuclear Society general affairs director Im Chaeyeong presenting on the need to resume construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, Greenpeace senior campaign Jang Daul on the need to halt their construction, and Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety scholar Han Byeongseop and KAIST professor Jeong Yonghun on safety issues related to the resumption/suspension of construction on the reactors. The presentations were followed by a debate between Korea Center for Social Conflict Resolution research fellow Seo Jeongcheol and Conflict Coaching Group Eoullim president Baek Dohyeon on methods of resolving conflicts concern the resumption or suspension of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6's construction.

The Daejeon area is home to a large number of research complexes and offers many benefits, particular in terms of ease of transportation. These aspects contributed to a relatively large audience of around 400 people, and enthusiastic audience Q&A and debate sections continued even after the organizers ran out of prepared sourcebook copies.

The fourth debate took place in Busan, which is located near Ulsan and has five nuclear reactors currently in operation. Organized by KACS, the Busan discussion was held at BEXCO on September 18, 2017, on the topic "What should be done about Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6?"

Greenpeace senior campaigner Jang Daul presented on "The changes that our choice will bring," while KAIST professor Jeong Yonghun presented on "The need for construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6."

The presentations were followed by an in-depth discussion of nuclear power safety and the future direction of energy policy, with Dongkuk University professor Mun Juhyeon and KEPCO International Nuclear Graduate School professor Yang Jaeyeong representing the position in favor of resuming construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and Korean Federation for Environmental Movement assistant director YangLee Wonyeong and Korea Atomic Safety Protection Institution director Han Byeongseop representing the position in favor of suspending it.

In addition to drawing a large audience of around 300 stakeholders, scholars, and members of the public, the debate elicited a strong show of interest in the Q&A session as audience members asked questioned about major issues such as nuclear power safety, the possibility of the local population suffering damages in the effect of an accident, and ideas for ensuring safety.

The fifth debate was held on the afternoon of September 26, 2017, in the large auditorium of the Dongdaemun District Residents' Center in Seoul. Organized by KACS, it focused on the topic "Issues of energy policy outlook, safety, and economy in the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6."

Korean Federation for Environmental Movement assistant director YangLee Wonyeong presented on the topic of "The current status of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and proposals for an energy transition," and Kyung Hee University nuclear engineering professor Jeong Beomjin on "Why Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 are necessary." The presentations were followed by a debate, with Sejong University Climate Change Research Center research fellow Lee Seongho arguing on the need for investment in wind and solar power and other renewable energy infrastructure, and KAIST professor Jeong Yonghun arguing on the logic of resuming construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. The debate was chaired by Korea Institute of Public Administration senior research fellow Eun Jaeho, with Hanbat University professor Jo Yeongtak presenting opinions on the resumption/suspension issue from a neutral perspective, with a focus on the examination of relevant concerns.

The debate for the Gyeonggi region was organized by DUCDR at IT Convention

in Suwon on September 28, 2017. Presentations had been scheduled for both the resumption and suspension sides, but differences between representative groups on the participation of researchers from government-funded institutes in the public deliberation process resulted in the presentation from the resumption side being omitted, while Seoul National University professor Hong Jongho delivered a presentation on "the changes that our choice will bring" from the suspension side.

The subsequent discussion included a debate with Peace and Conflict Center director Jeong Jujin and Center for Conflict Transformation director Park Jiho presenting their opinions from a neutral perspective, followed by a Q&A session with debate attendees.

The final regional debate took place on October 11, 2017, just before the three-day participatory group debate, and was held in Ulsan, the location of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6's construction. Organized by KALGS, it was staged before a large audience in the small theater of the Ulsan University Student Union.

Pusan National University professor Yun Byeongjo and Kyungsung University professor Kim Haechang presented on the topic of "local communities and atomic energy," while KEPCO International Nuclear Graduate School professor Yang Jaewon and Dongguk University professor Park Jongun engaged in a lively group discussion.

Proponents of resumption and suspension of construction clearly expressed their positions in the region, and the debate drew a capacity crowd of over 300, as well as more enthusiastic press coverage than previous events. The atmosphere after the debate became somewhat heated due to the actions of certain members of the audience, but the event concluded in a relatively orderly and successful fashion thanks to the mature civic consciousness of Ulsan residents.

- Televised Debates

  In addition to the regional debates, the committee also planned and organized televised debates to address regional limitations and promote national interest in the public deliberation process.

  Broadcast on August 27, 2017, the "pros and cons" debate was organized by a station (Ulsan MBC) located in the Ulsan area, the central setting for the current debate and a region where stakeholder interests are in sharp opposition. The group included members nominated by representative groups on both sides, with KAIST professor Jeong Yonghun and Seosaeng-myeon Resident Council chairman Lee Sangdae representing resumption proponents and Dongguk University professor Park Jinhui and Ulsan Citizen Movement Headquarters for Cancellation of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 executive committee co-chairman Kim Hyeonggeun representing suspension proponents.

  On September 27, 2017, a debate was broadcast live on SBS TV as a feature discussion during the program *Ju Yeongjin's News Briefing,* which airs daily between 2 and 4 p.m. Moderated by editorialist Ju Yeongjin, the SBS TV debate featured a group including Korean Federation for Environmental Movements assistant director YangLee Wonyeong and Green Energy Strategy Institute director Lee Sanghun representing the suspension side and Kyung Hee University professor Jeong Beomjin and KAIST professor Jeong Yonghun representing the resumption side. A number of issues related to Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 were addressed in the debate, including safety, alternative energy sources, and electricity rates.

  YTN special broadcasts of the "Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 Debate" took place over a three-day period during the extended Chuseok holiday from October 5 to 7, 2017. Discussions lasted for 25 minutes from 11:00 to 11:25 a.m. and featured one representative each from the resumption and suspension sides discussing areas of contention in a "battle debate" format.

  For the first day on October 5, discussions on the topic of "safety" were held by KAIST professor Jeong Yonghun for the resumption side and Korean Federation for Environmental Movements assistant director YangLee Wonyeong for the suspension side. On October 6, discussions on the topic of "electricity rates and energy policy" were held by Korean Nuclear Society general affairs director Im Chaeyeong for

Table 4.7. Television Debate Dates and Topics

Date	Venue	Chief Debate Topic
August 27	Ulsan MBC	Pros and cons of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
September 27	SBS	Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6: To continue or suspend construction?
October 5	YTN	Safety
October 6	YTN	Electricity supply, effects on electricity rates, and energy policy
October 7	YTN	Effects on national industry, local residents, and related businesses

the resumption side and Seoul National University professor Hong Jongho for the suspension side. On October 7, the two sides' perspectives on the topic "effects on local residents and related businesses" were discussed in a group consisting of Pusan National University professor Yun Byeongjo for the resumption side and Kyungpook National University professor Jin Sanghyeon for the suspension side.

In addition to the discussions planned and organized by the committee, individual networks also demonstrated considerable interest in the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 and post-nuclear power policy issues by planning and airing their own televised discussions.

JTBC broadcast an all-night debate titled "Abandoning Nuclear Power: Win or Loss?" on July 28, 2017; KBS aired a live Sunday debate titled "How Should the Fate of Shin-Gori 5 & 6 Be Decided?" on July 30, 2017; MBC broadcast a 100-minute debate on "The Fate of Nuclear Power?" on August 29, 2017; and Channel A organized and broadcast numerous televised debates on the topic "The Post-Nuclear Power Solution?" as a "emergency diagnosis" feature for the Chuseok holiday.

- Future Generation Debate

  The Future Generation Debate was held for four hours from 2 to 6 p.m. on September 30, 2017 (the first day of the extended Chuseok holiday), at Artee Hall in Seoul's Sejong Center, with 106 students attending from 20 different high schools in central Seoul. The scheduling of the debate on the first day of the Chuseok holiday raised concerns that student attendees might be difficult to find, but no major problems were encountered thanks to the cooperation of the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education and attendee incentives such as volunteer activity credits and gift certificates for books. Beginning

with an explanation of the public deliberation process from consultation subcommittee chairperson Lee Heejin, the day's debate featured Seoul National University Graduate School of Environmental Studies professor Yoon Soonjin and Kyung Hee University nuclear engineering professor Kim Myeonghyeon presenting for 25 minutes each for the suspension and resumption sides, followed by a 45-minute period for questions from students. After this came a 70-minute small group discussion period involving ten groups of 10 to 11 members each. One student for every ten attending was selected beforehand and provided with two hours of instruction to serve as a moderator for his or her respective group. Students at the debate showed a great deal of enthusiasm in asking questions about the two professors' presentations, and a great variety of opinions were exchanged on both positions in the small group discussions.

3. Communicating with the Public

3-1. On-Site Visit and Stakeholder Roundtables

On August 28, 2017, members of the committee paid an in-person visit to the construction site for Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 in Seosaeng-myeon of Ulju-gun, Ulsan. The visit took place at the request of resumption proponents, including KAIF and KNS, and the chairperson indicated that the information ascertained during the visit would be "used as a basis for the public deliberation procedure." A roundtable discussion was planned for that afternoon with local stakeholders on both the resumption and suspension sides. While a discussion with local

stakeholders on the suspension side did take place at 4:30 p.m. at Ulsan Station, no discussion was held with local stakeholders from the resumption side. Nevertheless, committee members visiting the construction site were able to talk to stakeholders on the ground and hear their demands. Another opportunity to hear opinions came on September 18 with a roundtable discussion with Busan-area residents in conjunction with the Busan Citizens' Alliance for Abandoning Nuclear Power.

3-2. Local and Overseas Press

(1) Press Briefings

To satisfy the public's curiosity about the somewhat unfamiliar "deliberative survey" concept and the public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and encourage active participation in the participatory survey, the committee members gave official briefings through periodic television and newspaper interviews. Over the course of several interviews, members discussed the background and significance of the public deliberation process, its progress and schedule, and major issues related to the proceedings.

The chairman appeared in person on news programs such as YTN *News Q* and KBS *Newsline* to explain about the progress of the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 public deliberation and survey design process. In particular, he called on the public to participate actively during the first round of surveys (August 25–September 9, 2017), which was conducted by landline and mobile phone.

After the first survey, the committee members had opportunities to offer detailed explanations to the public about the composition and role of the participatory group and the

Table 4.8. Press Interviews by Committee Members

Date	News Outlet	Appearance by
August 24, 2017	*News Q*, YTN	Chairman
August 25, 2017	*Newsline*, KBS	Chairman
August 29, 2017	*Kwak Sujong's Head to Head*, YTN	Chairman
August 30, 2017	"Direct Hit Interview," *News Scene*, JTBC	Chairman
August 30, 2017	*This Is Current Affairs Jockey Jeong Gwanyong*, CBS Radio	Committee member
September 1, 2017	"Direct Hit Interview," *News A*, Channel A	Chairman
September 8, 2017	"Focused Interview," *Policy Today*, KTV	Committee member
September 11, 2017	Radio Interview, *Kim Eojun's News Factory*, TBS	Chairman
September 12, 2017	"Power Interview," *News 9*, TV Chosun	Chairman
September 12, 2017	Interview, *News Scene*, Yonhap News TV	Chairman

public deliberation schedule and express the committee's commitment to fairly managing the deliberation process. They also provided explanations on the committee's role and position in order to directly address any misunderstandings about it.

A talk with locally stationed members of the foreign press was also held on Friday, September 29, 2017, at the Foreign Press Center Korea. Attended by reporters from the AP, *Wall Street Journal*, NHK, *Asahi Shimbun*, and other major overseas news outlets, the talk was designed to relay the significance of and details concerning the progress of the public deliberation with foreign as well as local audiences. The attending members of the foreign press expressed a high level of interest, posing questions about the characteristics of the deliberative polling, the deliberation process, the significance of its final recommendation, and the committee's future schedule. In his closing remarks, the chairman reaffirmed his pledge to working to establish the public deliberation process as a new democratic model for producing consensus and proceeding toward greater integration and shared benefits for Korean society.

With these activities, the chairman and committee members communicated in various ways with the Korean public and domestic and foreign press to share information about the public deliberation process locally and internationally in a timely and transparent manner. The aim was to satisfy curiosity about the public deliberation process while correcting misinformation for local and overseas audiences and helping bring the process to a successful conclusion.

(2) Support for Press Coverage

To ensure transparency in the public deliberation process, the committee shared about the process publicly through briefings for the local and foreign press immediately after its weekly regular meetings. Press coverage of the participatory group orientation and general forum, which were the subject of intense media attention, was afforded the maximum level of support that could be provided without being disruptive to the deliberation process.

At the participatory group orientation on Saturday, September 16, 2017, the welcome ceremony and introduction to the public deliberation process were covered by seven television networks (MBC, SBS, YTN, MBN, TV Chosun, Channel A, and JTBC) and four newspapers and news agencies (Yonhap News, *Hankyoreh*, Newsis, and *Energy Economic News*).

For the culmination of the deliberation process, the three-day general forum from Friday, October 13 to Sunday, October 15, 2017, focused real-time coverage was provided for the opening ceremony, discussions, closing ceremony, and participatory group responses by three terrestrial networks (KBS, MBC, SBS), ten other networks (including Yonhap News, YTN, JTBC, and MBN) and 26 newspapers (including the *Chosun Ilbo*, *JoongAng Ilbo*, *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Hankyoreh*, *Kukmin Ilbo*, and *Kyunghyang Shinmun*). Part of the general discussion on Saturday, October 14, was aired live on KTV and reported on by nine networks.

(3) Radio Advertising

Recorded messages from the chairperson were broadcast on radio programs with large audiences (including KBS-1R and MBC-FM) to share news about the first survey and call for the public's participation.

- Dates: August 21–September 20, 2017 / once a day per program
- Programs
  - (KBS-1R) "*Good Day, This is Yoon Joonho*" / (SBS-Power FM) *Cultwo Show*, *Park Sohyun's Love Game* / (MBC FM4U) *Noh Hongchul's Good Morning FM* / *Kim Eojun's News Factory*
- Promotion Text
  - "Hello, this is Kim Jihyung, chairman of the Public Deliberation Committee on on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. The building of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 has been the subject of great debate. The public deliberation process is a national consensus-building process aimed at resolving that debate. To do this, we first need to form a participatory group for in-depth discussion of the issue. Our committee will begin holding the necessary surveys around August 25. We hope you will actively participate in these surveys, and we look forward to broad-based participation in the participatory group. Please lend your support so that our society can overcome division and animosity and proceed on a path toward unity and coexistence. Thank you."

(4) Online Portal Advertising

- First Round (August 21–September 3, 2017)

  To promote public access to the public deliberation process and related information and encourage participation in and support for the public deliberation, banner advertisements were placed on the main pages of online portals like Naver (rolling board/PC, mobile) and Daum (pop-up banner/PC, mobile). After clicking on the banner, users were connected to a page on the committee's official website on participation in the participatory group, with detailed information about how to take part in the public deliberation process. CTR[2] is typically viewed as the most important means of gauging effectiveness of online portal advertisements; for these public deliberation advertisements, the CTR was 0.24%. The advertising effect was thus twice as high as the 0.13% average CTR for online banner advertisements including private advertising, and the 0.1% average for government advertising alone. This indicator may be viewed as showing the strong level of public interest in the public deliberation.

- Second Round (October 2–15, 2017)

  To foster a culture of widespread public support and acceptance for the committee's final recommendation, a second round of online advertising was used to share information about the committee's neutrality, its principle of fairness, and the significance of the public deliberation process. As with the first round of advertising, banner advertisements were placed on the main pages of Naver and Daum (PC and mobile), and users who clicked on them were redirected to a pop-up window from the homepage showing a letter to the public by the chairman.

  In the advertisement, the committee noted that despite some difficulties, the public deliberation process on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 reactor issue was proceeding normally and compromises being sought through generous concessions on both sides, even with competing stakeholder interests. It also provided brief information about the 478-member participatory group and its critical deliberation program. It stated that various regional debates and televised debates were being organized to support deliberation by the larger population in addition to the participatory group,

2 CTR (click-through rate): The number of a time a single banner online is clicked when shown is typically referred to as the click-through rate.

with all related materials made public on the homepage; members of the public were encouraged to show their interest and participate. Most importantly, the committee used the advertising to emphasize that all actors directly and indirectly involved in the public deliberation process bore a social responsibility to conclude it in a dignified manner, and that the process was intended as a forum for harmony and achieving unity and coexistence rather than as an arena for "victory or defeat."

- Electronic Display Advertising

  To promote public awareness of the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 public deliberation process and participation in and cooperation with the deliberative polling, advertisements were shown on approximately 210 electronic displays in September and October 2017 following document-based review by an operating committee for national electronic advertising.

Table 4.9. Electronic Display Advertising Messages

Series	Advertising Messages
First (September)	• Participatory group members are now being recruited for deliberative polling on the Shin-Gori 5 and reactors. • A successful public deliberation depends on the participation of the public! • We look forward to your attention and participation. • Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
Second (October)	• We will carry out fair and transparent public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. • Public Deliberation Committee on on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

- Online Communication Channels

  On August 10, 2017, the committee launched an official website (www.sgr56.go.kr) to share information about its activities and the public deliberation process in a transparent manner. The aim of the site was to demonstrate the neutrality and objectivity of the public deliberation process and obtain feedback from the public in real time. Opened for the duration the committee's activities, the site consisted of three main sections: "About the Committee," "Why Public Deliberation?" and "Public

Table 4.10. Components of Online Promotion

Type	Main Content
Card News	• Questions about Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 public deliberation process • Truths and misunderstandings about Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 public deliberation process
Webtoons	• Team project announcements for Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (1 and 2) • Introduction to the participatory group for public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 • The launch of the participatory group and its activities
Cartoons	• Significance of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 public deliberation process (1 and 2)

Deliberation Participation Room."

The "About the Committee" section was used to promptly and transparently share information about the committee's activities through subsections including introductions to the chairman and members, interviews with the press by the chairman, general meeting press releases[3], meeting minutes, schedule information, and weekly plans.

The "Why Public Deliberation?" section included card news, webtoons, cartoons, and other content designed to share information about the public deliberation process with the public in an accessible and entertaining way, including its significance, the background behind it, and its specific procedures.

The "Public Deliberation Participation Room" section included a suggestion page to allow anyone to suggest ideas for the public deliberation process in real time. As of October 15, 2017, a total of 8,197 suggestions were registered, including opinions about the process and arguments for and against Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and nuclear power in general. The room also included a subsection on "Public Deliberation Data," which included videos of the participatory group's e-learning process (six lectures), material on the regional public debates, and videos of televised debates (KBS, MBC, SBS, and YTN [three debates]). This subsection was provided to promote public acceptance of the public deliberation verdict by enabling deliberation

3 Thirty-six (as of October 15, 2017) since briefing on the pursuit of a public deliberation on the Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 issue (June 27, 2017, Office for Government Policy Coordination, Prime Minister's Secretariat).

by members of the public not chosen for the participatory group.

In addition to the homepage, a Facebook page (@singori56) was launched on August 28, 2017, to allow the public easier access to information about areas of interest by providing real-time coverage of televised debates and portions of the general forum along with various other materials.

4. Survey Design and Administration (First to Fourth)

4-1. Overview of First Survey

The main purposes of the first survey were to assess general public opinions on construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 by region, gender, and age group and confirm intent to participate on the participatory group. The findings were also to be used as basic data to ensure the representativeness of the group. Findings from the first survey were used not only in selection of the participatory group but also as base data for statistical analysis of findings from the fourth and final survey.

Questions for the first survey examined opinions on whether to resume, suspend, or reverse judgment on the construction; opinions about the direction of nuclear power policy; and availability to participate in the orientation and three-day general forum. The questions in the first survey were also designed to provide a stratification standard for the stratified sample extraction used to ensure greater representativeness in the participatory group.

The committee conducted the first survey over a 16-day period from August 28 to September 9, 2017. Among the 20,006 respondents for the first survey, a random sampling of 5,981 who expressed a willingness to participate on the participatory group was used for final selection of the 500-member jury on September 13, 2017.

4-2. First Survey Details

The initial telephone survey was to be conducted with a combination of 90% mobile phones and 10% landline telephones; in the actual administration, additional landline numbers were added to increase the likelihood of successfully contacting women aged 40 and over in

Table 4.11. Distribution of Mobile and Landline Telephones for the Final Respondent Pool

Category		Target	Completed	Distribution Ratio
All		20,000	20,006	100%
	Mobile	18,000	17,430	87.1%
	Landline	2,000	2,576	12.9%

certain regions. Table 4.11 shows the distribution of mobile and landline telephones for the final respondent pool.

For the first survey, Koreans aged 19 and older (registered residents as of July 31, 2017) were assigned to a total of 160 strata based on region (16 metropolitan cities and provinces[4]), gender, and age group (19–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60+). Twenty thousand people were proportionally distributed by the number of registered residents per stratum, and random samples were extracted for each stratum.

The first survey was conducted over a 16-day period from August 28 to September 9, 2017. A total of 90,570 telephone numbers were used, and 20,006 people were surveyed. In the case of mobile telephone users, a total of 77,076 virtual mobile numbers (also known as secure numbers) provided by KT, SKT, and LGU+ were used to complete surveys of 17,430 people. For landline telephone users, a total of 13,494 numbers selected by random digit dialing were used to complete surveys of 2,576 people.

A strategy of step-by-step inputting was used to minimize the number of telephone number circuits in the survey. In the case of virtual mobile numbers, information could be obtained about the user's place of residence, gender, and age. First, a total of 37,172 numbers were inputted, and survey completion was confirmed for each stratum according to region, gender, and age group, after which additional mobile telephone numbers equivalent to double the shortfall for each stratum were included. This three-stage process of virtual number inputting allowed for a higher rate of successful contact and response than in any other domestic or overseas telephone polling. Table 4.12 shows the number of mobile and landline telephone circuits inputted at each stage, the number of respondents, and the survey period.

4 Sejong was included as part of Chungcheongnam-do.

Table 4.12. Circuit Inputs by Telephone Survey Stage and Survey Periods

Survey Method	Stage	Circuits Inputted	No. of Respondents	Survey Period	Maximum Contact Attempts
Mobile	1	37,172	10,554	August 29–September 5	14
	2	15,805	4,110	September 4–September 7	11
	3	24,099	2,766	September 8–September 9	10
Landline	1	6,000	1,840	August 25– August 31	14
	2	1,000	160	September 1–September 3	4
	3	6,494	576	September 9	5

Table 4.13. Successful Contact and Response Rates for the First Telephone Survey

	Successful Response	Contact Success Rate	Response Rate (Cooperation Rate)	Refused to Respond	Contacted	Failed to Contact
Mobile	17,430	47.4%	50.2%	17,325	34,755	39,960
Landline	2,576	51.6%	49.9%	2,588	5,164	5,257
Total	20,006	47.9%	50.1%	19,913	39,919	45,217

To minimize bias from failure to contact or elicit responses, caller ID for mobile phone users was set to show "Shin-Gori Public Deliberation Committee" as the caller, and efforts to share the number with the public and encourage participation were made in publicity for the press. A call-back rule was also strictly observed: up to 14 call-back attempts would be made for landline and mobile telephones alike in an effort to promote survey quality.

The successful contact and response rates obtained for the first survey as a result of these various efforts are shown in Table 4.13 for the categories of mobile and landline telephones. Successful contact rates were 47.4% for mobile phones and 51.6% for landline phones, while rates of response were 50.2% for mobile phones and 49.9% for landline phones. This indicates a survey of very high quality, with higher rates of successful contact and response than in other local or overseas telephone polling. The successful contact rate here indicates the proportion of successful contacts made for all telephone circuits used, while the response rate refers to the percentage of successful contacts for which responses were completed. For reference, the successful contact and response rates indicated can be multiplied to obtain the response rate

Table 4.14. Final Respondents for First Telephone Survey

Region	Total	19–29		30–39		40–49		50–59		60+	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nationwide	20,006	1,841	1,665	1,793	1,724	2,084	2,021	2,012	1,981	2,200	2,685
Seoul	3,944	368	369	378	381	388	395	360	378	430	497
Busan	1,385	122	111	114	110	129	129	138	147	173	212
Daegu	963	94	78	79	76	99	99	98	103	106	131
Incheon	1,119	109	102	108	103	121	118	120	119	99	120
Gwangju	548	55	51	49	49	60	60	52	53	52	67
Daejeon	569	58	52	52	51	61	63	56	57	52	67
Ulsan	447	46	36	43	39	48	48	52	50	42	43
Gyeonggi-do	4,851	460	423	465	451	549	536	497	473	448	549
Gangwon-do	608	54	42	44	42	59	56	65	59	86	101
Chungcheongbuk-do	614	56	47	52	47	62	58	65	61	74	92
Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	901	77	66	85	77	96	84	88	81	109	138
Jeollabuk-do	719	61	55	54	50	72	63	72	69	103	120
Jeollanam-do	739	58	50	53	48	72	62	77	70	110	139
Gyeongsangbuk-do	1,064	88	70	83	76	102	93	111	108	145	188
Gyeongsangnam-do	1,290	113	93	113	104	138	131	136	130	145	187
Jeju	245	22	20	21	20	28	26	25	23	26	34

type 4 (RR4) used by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR).

Table 4.14 shows the gender, age, and regional distribution for the 20,006 final respondents in the first telephone survey. The rates of support for resumption of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, support for suspension, and withheld opinions were 36.6%, 27.6%, and 35.8%, respectively, for the first survey. Table 4.15 shows the proportions of support for resumption, support for suspension, and withheld opinions in the first survey when categorized according to gender, age, and region.

Table 4.15. Opinions on Resumption or Suspension of Construction (first survey)

(Units: %)

		For Resumption	Against Resumption	Undecided
All		36.6	27.6	35.8
Gender	Male	47.8	25.8	26.4
	Female	25.6	29.3	45.1
Age	19–29	17.9	28.9	53.3
	30–39	19.5	41.9	38.6
	40–49	28.0	39.8	32.2
	50–59	49.2	22.3	28.5
	60+	59.3	10.4	30.3
Region	Seoul	36.3	27.6	36.1
	Busan	37.0	35.0	28.0
	Daegu	45.9	20.3	33.8
	Incheon	36.2	26.8	37.0
	Gwangju	22.5	36.1	41.4
	Daejeon	37.4	25.6	37.0
	Ulsan	41.9	32.6	25.5
	Gyeonggi-do	35.6	28.7	35.8
	Gangwon-do	40.7	20.5	38.9
	Chungcheongbuk-do	37.6	25.6	36.8
	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	33.9	26.5	39.6
	Jeollabuk-do	25.3	34.0	40.7
	Jeollanam-do	28.7	28.0	43.4
	Gyeongsangbuk-do	49.2	17.8	33.0
	Gyeongsangnam-do	39.9	25.2	34.9
	Jeju	30.4	33.3	36.2

4-3. Composition of the Participatory Deliberation Group

Among the 20,006 respondents in the initial telephone survey, a total of 5,981 stated their willingness to participate as group members. After exclusions based on telephone number error, retractions of willingness, or refusal to be contacted, a pool of 5,047 people was used to establish the participatory group. Thirty strata were established according to opinion

Table 4.16. Gender and Age Distribution of Individuals Stating Willingness to Participate in Participatory Deliberation Group

(Units: No. of individuals [%])

Age Gender	19–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60+	Total
Male	437 (8.7)	528 (10.5)	628 (12.4)	685 (13.6)	759 (15.0)	3,037 (60.2)
Female	349 (6.9)	326 (6.4)	392 (7.8)	454 (9.0)	489 (9.7)	2,010 (39.8)
Total	786 (15.6)	854 (16.9)	1,020 (20.2)	1,139 (22.6)	1,248 (24.7)	5,047 (100.0)

Table 4.17. Regional Distribution of Individuals Stating Willingness to Participate in Participatory Deliberation Group

Regional	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)	Region	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)
Seoul	1,011	20.0	Gangwon-do	134	2.7
Busan	375	7.4	Chungcheongbuk-do	128	2.5
Daegu	240	4.8	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	221	4.4
Incheon	285	5.7	Jeollabuk-do	207	4.1
Gwangju	150	3.0	Jeollanam-do	189	3.7
Daejeon	149	3.0	Gyeongsangbuk-do	259	5.1
Ulsan	113	2.2	Gyeongsangnam-do	337	6.7
Gyeonggi-do	1,182	23.4	Jeju	67	1.3

on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 construction (support for resumption, support for suspension, and opinion withheld) as stated in the first survey, gender, and age group. Following proportional distribution for each stratum, a participatory group of 500 was chosen through systematic sampling.

In some cases, individuals who had previously stated their willingness to participate changed their minds during the final selection process, in which case they were substituted with another willing participant with similar characteristics from the same stratum. While regional variables were not used as stratification standards when establishing a participatory group, they were applied as sorting variables in the systematic sampling of jury members from each stratum in order to achieve regional balance through internal stratification.

For reference, Tables 4.16 and 4.17 show the gender and age distribution ratios and regional distribution of the 5,047 candidates for the group.

4-4. Second to Fourth Surveys

To obtain final findings comparing responses before and after the critical deliberation program (including the effects of the program and trends in changes of opinion among group members), the committee conducted the second to fourth surveys on the people selected through the first survey. A second survey was administered to the 478 of 500 participatory group members who attended the orientation (September 16, 2017), while the third survey was held on the first day and the fourth and final survey on the last day of the three-day general forum (October 13–15, 2017).

In devising the second to fourth surveys, the seriousness of the situation and its huge potential impact on the final outcome had to be considered, and measures had to be taken to increase the survey's fairness and the quality of its questions. To this end, two polling experts were asked to serve as advisory committee members, and questions for the second to fourth survey were developed over the course of four rounds of meetings and in-depth discussions. All questions were written in consideration of the recommendation to be drafted and the in-depth analysis from various perspectives to be included in the final report. Accordingly, all three of the surveys included questions about value judgments on the areas of issues (important elements in the decision on whether to resume or suspend construction) and level of knowledge about the Shin-Gori plant and nuclear power in general. Additional items were specific to the individual surveys, including questions about demographic and social characteristics and assessments of the public deliberation process.

The second survey was administered to the participatory group members attending the orientation to examine their level of awareness prior to the critical deliberation program and compare their responses before and after the program. The survey consisted of 11 total items, including three that asked about the respondent's value judgments on the issue, his or her level of interest in information, and the reliability of his or her sources of information, and eight aimed at establishing the level of the respondent's understanding on Shin-Gori and nuclear power.

The third survey was administered on the first day of the three-day general forum (October 13, 2017) to ascertain the effects of the sourcebook and e-learning materials and characteristics of the individual group members. It included a total of 23 items, including nine (with two sub-items) concerning opinions about resuming or suspending construction,

nuclear power policy, and level of sympathy with the opposing side's arguments; eight aimed at establishing the respondent's level of understanding on Shin-Gori and nuclear power; and nine concerning the respondent's academic history, occupation, and other areas for basic statistical purposes.

The fourth survey was administered on the third day of the three-day general forum (October 15, 2017) for a general assessment of the final outcome and public deliberation process. It consisted of a total of 29 items, including 14 (with four sub-items) concerning opinions about resuming or suspending construction, priorities in follow-up measures after resumption or suspension, and willingness to respect an outcome differing from their own position; eight aimed at establishing the respondent's level of understanding on Shin-Gori and nuclear power; and seven (with one sub-item) concerning political attitudes and assessment of the public deliberation process.

V

Controversy over the Public Deliberation Process and Responses Thereto

The construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is a matter of public interest and a deeply divisive issue between those supporting and opposing the resumption of construction. As such, proponents of resumption and suspension, local stakeholders, the National Assembly and the media have raised various issues and made various demands regarding this issue.

In this regard, the public deliberation committee was committed to upholding four principles—impartiality, neutrality, accountability, and transparency—and searching for various alternatives to provide a publicly acceptable outcome. Controversies over the public deliberation process and the public deliberation committee's responses thereto were as follows.

1. Composition and Operation of the Public Deliberation Committee

1-1. "The Public Deliberation Committee Lacks a Legal Basis and There is Confusion over the Committee's Role and Function"

The Cabinet Meeting held on June 27, 2017, had decided on the establishment of a public deliberation committee, and "Regulations on the Formation and Operation of the Public

Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 and 6" (Prime Minister Directive No. 690) were subsequently enacted on July 17. The National Assembly and the media raised legality issues over the creation of a public deliberation committee on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

However, the public deliberation committee is only responsible for designing and managing a public deliberation process and does not produce the outcome of public deliberation. Moreover, the outcome of public deliberation is the result of opinion polls and not legally binding on its own.

The government also stated that as the public deliberation committee serves as a consultative body, the final decision is up to the government, as the public deliberation committee's decision is not binding externally and thus does not require legal grounds.

During the plenary session held on August 3, 2017, the public deliberation committee clarified its role as a consultative body. In a press release dated July 26, 2017, and the chairman's statement on July 28, 2017, the public deliberation committee explained that it does not have authority to decide whether to resume the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 but only to deliver the deliberation result to the government. In addition, during a press conference held on July 31, 2017, the Prime Minister put an end to controversy, reiterating that in any event, the government has the final say, and the final decision will be made with the decision of the citizen's panel of the public deliberation committee's being taken into full consideration. Related court rulings also confirmed that the committee's deliberation and voting results are not externally binding.[1]

The confusion over the committee's role stemmed from the use of a tentative term, citizen's jury panel, in the early phase of the public deliberation process. During a third plenary session, the committee officially named the panel the Citizens' Group for Participatory Deliberation on the Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (abbreviated as the participatory deliberation group), adding clarity to its role and functions. The committee made it clear that the decision of a participatory deliberation group, which is not a civic jury, is not legally effective, and a participatory deliberation group comprising sample respondents will facilitate the public deliberation committee's function as an advisory and consultative body by taking part in the deliberation and final

1 The first-instance court rejected an injunction request to block the public deliberation committee on Shin-Gori 5 & 6, stating it is the government's decision, not the committee's deliberation and voting result, that is externally binding.

polling on behalf of the whole population.[2]

1-2. "Discussions Should Take Place Through the National Assembly"

Some argued that the decision on whether to restart the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should take place through the National Assembly, a representative body of the general public, not through a participatory deliberation group, given the magnitude of economic impacts at the regional and national level.

The agenda of public deliberation is to sound out public opinions on whether the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should be resumed. Legislative discussions might be needed according to the outcome of public deliberation. In other words, public deliberation does not necessarily exclude parliamentary deliberation.

Accordingly, it is necessary to distinguish public deliberation of this kind from legislative deliberation. The public deliberation committee believed that public deliberation is instrumental to consulting the general public about construction on the two plants, which is a high-profile issue, in that the creation of a public forum will promote democracy and raise civic awareness by enabling the public to directly participate in the policy decision-making process.

1-3. "Experts Were Excluded from the Public Deliberation Committee"

The public deliberation committee did not involve nuclear and energy experts, which raised doubts over its contribution to policy decision-making related to the construction of Shin-Gori 5 & 6.

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2 The Cabinet Meeting held on June 27, 2017, decided to sound out public opinion through the creation of a neutral and objective committee and "deliberative polling" by a citizen jury of a certain size. Ahead of the second plenary session, the committee invited experts on deliberative polling and conflict management to a conference, which found that a citizen jury and deliberative poll are different ways of implementing public participatory deliberation, and developing a new methodology might be an option, but deliberative polling is the most reliable and practical way to go. Given such opinions, the committee decided to design a public deliberation process modeled on deliberative polling and rename the "citizen jury" to eliminate confusion. Given that citizens play a key role in deliberation, all agreed that the panel should include "citizen or civic" in its title. Various titles were discussed such as a "citizen panel" to emphasize its role as a debater, "citizen representatives" given that the panel is constructed in a way that represents the entire population through a statistical probability sampling, and "civic participation group" or "civic deliberation group" given that unlike opinion polls, the panel actively engages citizens in a deliberation process. Through in-depth discussions, the committee decided during the third plenary session to name the panel the Citizens' Group for Participatory Deliberation on the Construction of Shin-Gori 5 & 6 (abbreviated as a participatory deliberation group), to highlight its public representativeness and engagement.

However, the public deliberation committee does not have the authority to make a decision on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 but rather designs and manages a fair public deliberation process, which calls for the neutrality of its members.

Accordingly, the public deliberation committee is made up of neutral figures to design and manage a public deliberation process objectively and impartially from the perspective of a third party that does not have any stakes in the resumption or suspension of the construction on the two plants.

1-4. "It Is Too Important to Be Left at the Hands of the General Public"

Some critics argued that the future of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is too technical an issue to be decided by the general public. However, the purpose of public deliberation is to solicit the informed views of the public about President Moon's campaign promise to suspend the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. As such, public deliberation targeted the general public—the energy consumers, rather than experts with conflicting interests. The public deliberation took place in the form of a participatory survey, which is well-suited for canvassing public views with a view to deliberative democracy.

A public deliberation process of this kind does not exclude experts from public discussions but rather provides a platform through which experts can take part in the policy decision-making process more aggressively and proactively. Based on their expertise, experts have responsibilities to promote better understanding and persuade citizens. National policies are invariably directed toward citizens. A public deliberation process ensures that citizens better understand and assess government policies to make right decisions by providing experts, stakeholders, and ordinary citizens with an opportunity to learn from each other and hold discussions together and thus helps form well-reasoned, deliberated opinions.

1-5. "Three Months Is Not Sufficient for Public Deliberation"

Some raised concerns that the Korean government rushed the deliberation process to introduce a nuclear-free energy policy, citing overseas examples where governments had more than thirty years of public discussions to phase out nuclear power.

However, the deliberation period of over thirty years in the aforementioned examples

dates back to when the issue first entered public debate, and deliberative polling itself did not take long.[3] In addition, as the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 had been temporarily halted, it was possible that a protracted deliberation process would add to economic loss and result in escalation of social conflicts. With these factors taken into account, a three-month long deliberation is not too short.

2. Controversy over Impartiality of the Public Deliberation Process

2-1. "Public Deliberation Is a Mere Formality Capping a Fait Accompli"

Some argued that the operation of a public deliberation committee would be a mere formality, as the government had already likely decided to abandon the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 as part of its nuclear-free energy policy.

However, the public deliberation committee's system to guarantee impartiality renders this argument invalid. The public deliberation committee is made up of neutral figures as mentioned above. Moreover, the public deliberation process abided by the principles of coordination and consensus and organized stakeholder communication council meetings with proponents and opponents of resuming construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. Furthermore, the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research at Seoul National University was brought along as a review committee to ensure that the impartiality of the public deliberation process could be assessed from the standpoint of an objective third party.

In addition, the entire public deliberation process was transparently disclosed through regular briefings and the online publication of meeting proceedings to verify impartiality. The public deliberation process was structured from the beginning in a way that would not impose a predetermined conclusion but rather ensure that the participatory deliberation group took their own stance and drew their own conclusion accordingly.

3 - Germany: Two-month deliberation (April 4–May 30, 2011) from the first meeting of the Ethics Commission for Safe Energy Supply (Ethikkommission Sichere Energieversorgung) to the result submission
- Japan: Two-month deliberation (June 29–August 22, 2012) from the date of deliberative polling titled "Deliberative Poll on Energy and Environmental Policy Options"

2-2. "The Composition of the Legal Subcommittee Is Politically Biased"

The public deliberation committee formed a legal subcommittee and appointed legal experts as advisors to duly implement the public deliberation process within the framework of the applicable laws. Some criticized that there was a predetermined decision, and the public deliberation process was no more than a formality, claiming that advisors with anti-nuclear and progressive disposition were overrepresented on the legal subcommittee.

However, the public deliberation process is designed to ensure that the participatory deliberation group, not the public deliberation committee, makes a decision, and advisors for the legal subcommittee have no influence over the deliberation outcome because their function is limited to the provision of legal support to the public deliberation committee on the operational front. Accordingly, the concerns that the politically biased composition of the legal subcommittee may guide the public deliberation process in a predetermined way is due to a lack of understanding about the public deliberation process.

Legal expertise was the key criteria for selecting advisors, and political orientation was not part of the consideration. Indeed, legal advisors reviewed various operational issues such as an injunction lawsuit against the public deliberation committee and the questions of whether to disclose the participatory deliberation group's members and whether to allow the participation of researchers from government-funded research institutes and provided an amicus curie on the guideline for interpreting poll results within a margin of error. The public deliberation committee never sought consultation about the overall deliberation process. As such, the role of advisors was restricted to providing the public deliberation committee with legal expertise, when needed.

2-3. "The Participatory Deliberation Group Should Have Visited the Construction Site"

There was a clear divide between advocates and opponents of the project about the necessity of the participatory deliberation group making a visit to the construction site before reaching a decision on the future of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. Those supporting the resumption of construction argued that it was natural for the participatory deliberation group to visit the construction site for Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 &

6, the subject of the deliberation. Those against the project were opposed to a site visit by the deliberation group due to concerns over the effects of biased information on the deliberation, and they argued that a visit to Shin-Gori 5 & 6 sites should be counterbalanced by a visit to the Fukushima nuclear disaster site.

Proponents and opponents of a site visit could not see eye to eye and agreed to follow the public deliberation committee's internal discussion and decisions. The public deliberation committee decided to make a film on the construction site as an alternative to a site visit, taking into account the risks of accidents in transporting the 500-strong deliberation group, a possible disclosure of the participatory deliberation group's members, and the standpoint of those who desired to visit the construction site. People on both sides of the issue accepted the committee's offer. On the second day of the general forum (October 14, 2017), the participatory deliberation group watched a video about the construction site. The participatory deliberation group also watched video-taped interviews of local residents around the plant. The alternative helped eliminate concerns over the lack of a site visit by the participatory deliberation group.

3. Design and Implementation of Deliberative Polling

3-1. Intellectual Property Infringement Risks

It was decided that the deliberation method for the Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 project would be designed after deliberative polling, first developed by professor James Fishkin of Stanford University. However, the deliberative polling method served only as a model, and the specifics of the deliberation method were determined in the Korean context through the public deliberation committee's continuous discussions, and not according to the polling method and procedures set by James Fishkin. In this regard, there was a need to assess whether the deliberation method may risk infringing intellectual property and copyright, or if there are any fees to be paid, especially in relation to copyright and trademark.

A request for an authoritative interpretation was made to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism with regard to copyright protection. The authoritative interpretation reads that what copyright law protects is "a creative expression of ideas and feelings" and an idea

or a polling method itself is not protected under the Copyright Act, and thus the act of referring to a polling method does not constitute copyright infringement.

The Korean Intellectual Property Office responded that what the Trademark Act protects is "registered trademarks" and there are no registered trademarks other than Deliberative Polling®. As such, as long as the polling is called a participatory survey, it does not violate trademark law or other intellectual properties.

As utility models, design registration, and patents are not at issue here, a public deliberation model designed after a deliberative polling method does not infringe intellectual property rights or any other applicable laws.

3-2. Regional Underrepresentation and Weighting of Votes

After an orientation session, stakeholders raised the issue of underrepresentation of a certain region, claiming that Ulsan (1.4%) was underrepresented in the participatory deliberation group versus Daejeon (3.6%) and Gwangju (3.4%).

However, the objective of public deliberation was to consult public opinion through representatives who would deliberate about whether to restart the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. Specifically, the entire population was divided into 160 subgroups or strata by region (16 municipalities and provinces), gender (male/female) and age groups (19 to 29, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, 50 to 59, and 60 and over) to ensure the representativeness of the sample. The first survey of 20,000 respondents was conducted to ensure balanced responses across subgroups. A total of 5,981 respondents, who expressed their willingness to take part in a participatory deliberation group, were implicitly divided into 30 strata based on their position on the project as well as their gender and age group, the criteria included in the first survey, to form a 500-strong participatory deliberation group proportional to regional distribution.

Accordingly, the regional distribution of the participatory deliberation group is designed in a way that approximates, if not replicates, the national population ratio as closely as possible to prevent the overrepresentation of a certain region and ensure representation of the entire population.

In addition, those in favor of discontinuing construction raised the question of regional representativeness, and those supporting the project resumption demanded that the participatory deliberation group include 150 local residents. The rift between the two sides

and media attention[4] gave rise to a controversy over the application of the regional variable.

The Committee's Responses to Issues Raised by Resumption Opponents

[Ulsan Citizen Movement Headquarters for Cancellation of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (September 19, 2017)]

→ (Issue) After an orientation session held on September 16, 2017, some raised an issue over the consistency and representativeness of the participatory deliberation group, arguing that Ulsan (1.4%) was underrepresented relative to Daejeon (3.6%) and Gwangju (3.4%).

→ (Response) The sample population was divided into 30 implicit strata to guarantee the regional representativeness of the participatory deliberation group. Accordingly, the regional distribution is designed in a way that approximates, if not replicates, the national population ratio as closely as possible to ensure the representativeness of the entire population. In addition, the national distribution of opinions on whether to suspend the construction was based on the first survey result.

However, the claim about regional overrepresentation and the demand for regional weighting may risk undermining the representativeness of the participatory deliberation group because the very purpose of public deliberation was to consult the entire population[5] on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

Accordingly, the committee provided local residents and other stakeholders with opportunities to set out their opinions by allowing the participatory deliberation group to hear out the impartial and objective opinions of the two sides during their deliberation process through the deliberation program, e-learning videos and three days of general forum.

As aforementioned, the public deliberation committee was able to smooth out differences by following up on the issues raised and communicating with all stakeholders, while respecting the principles for the organization and operation of the participatory deliberation group to ensure its representativeness.

4 "Call for a greater weight on the votes from groups representative of local residents living near the nuclear power plant sites" (August 18, 2017, Yonhap News)

5 Despite President Moon's campaign pledge to suspend the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, the government decided to implement a public deliberation procedure, recognizing the need for building public consensus on the issue, given sunk costs, the local situation, and the percentage of construction completed. (Cabinet Meeting on June 27, 2017)

3-3. Release of First Survey Findings

Some news reports[6] voiced concerns that the first and intermediate results had been kept undisclosed until the final result was out.

However, the first survey aimed at collecting information needed to form a participatory deliberation group representative of the entire population. The public deliberation committee decided the release of first survey results might: 1) escalate conflicts between different stakeholders by unnecessarily antagonizing them; and 2) create a bandwagon effect on the participatory deliberation group's deliberation and the final survey results, compromising the neutrality and impartiality of public deliberation.

Through press briefings and a public announcement on its website, the public deliberation committee actively communicated its decision to adhere to a strict principle of releasing the results of the four surveys at once, after having completed a comprehensive analysis of the survey results. By doing so, the committee was able to address the issues highlighted by the media and ensure the neutrality and impartiality of the public deliberation process.

4. Design and Operation of the Deliberation Program

4-1. "The Participatory Deliberation Group Does Not Have Sufficient Time to Deliberate on the Issue"

The subject of the public deliberation was whether to restart construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, in which KRW 1.6 trillion won had already been invested. As it was a major project, the outcome of the public deliberation would likely make a significant impact on the regional economy, not to mention national economy.

Given this, some critics argued that a public deliberation process should take place over a long period of thorough and prudent review, and ordinary citizens who are non-experts in nuclear energy policies must be given sufficient time for deliberation to make a reasonable and wise decision.

These arguments suggested 33 days may fall far short of the time needed for such a

6 "Shin-Gori deliberative poll is off to a start... The KRW 2.4 bilion poll keeps the public in the dark." (Channel A, August 25, 2017)

Table 5.1. Comparison of Deliberation Period of Deliberative Polling

Country	Topic	Polling Period	Deliberation Period
Brazil	Public servants' compensation and career	June 2009	Two nights, three days
US	By the People: Future of California	June 2011	Two nights, three days
Japan	Energy environment policies	August 2012	10 days
Korea	Spent nuclear fuel	March 2015	One night, two days
Australia	Deliberative polling on constitutional monarchy and republicanism	October 1999	Two nights, three days

deliberation. However, a number of experts supported a short deliberation period, arguing that the longer deliberation continued, the greater the likelihood that participants would drop out of the participatory deliberation group and external factors distort the outcome of public deliberation.

Moreover, many examples in Korea and abroad show that a deliberative polling normally took place over a short period of time, roughly two or three days. In the case of Japan, this period was relatively long (i.e., 10 days). Given this, the deliberation period for the Shin-Gori project was not too short. Rather, respondents were provided with many learning opportunities through various methods such as unprecedented e-learning courses to enable sufficient deliberation.

4-2. Conflicts and Controversies over the Production of the Briefing Materials

As part of the deliberation programs, the public deliberation committee decided to prepare briefing materials for the participatory deliberation group in consultation with the project's opponents and advocates, who are relevant stakeholders. Deliberations were to take place through communication council meetings represented by both sides.

During the first communication council meeting from August 10 to 11, 2017, the public

deliberation committee proposed both sides create a five-chapter table of contents of a neutral nature for the briefing materials, with a focus on contentious issues. Those in favor of restarting the construction agreed, whereas those against the resumption of the project did not. Therefore, both sides agreed to submit their proposals based on the public deliberation committee's suggestion.

On August 23, 2017, the public deliberation committee held the second communication council meeting and recommended a compromise between the proposals from both sides after a comprehensive review to address their differences. However, those in favor of discontinuing construction took a negative stance on the compromise, citing difficulties in the development of logical arguments.

Despite limited time to prepare the briefing materials, both parties were split from the beginning on how to structure the table of contents. Both sides failed to reach an agreement on the table of contents and submitted the draft versions of their briefing materials on the agenda set by the public deliberation committee.

To verify the data, both sides recommended experts for a joint expert group. In regard to the scope of verification, those for resuming construction wanted to verify the entire argument, but that was not the case for those against the project. Under these circumstances, the public deliberation committee recognized the need to, at the very least, verify the data, and prepared a proposal. It was agreed that the respective parties would present counterarguments, and the public deliberation committee would select an expert group to verify data quoted in the briefing materials and its sources.

Subsequently, three communication council meetings were held, and despite continuous efforts to work out the differences regarding the table of contents and the content of the draft briefing materials, both sides failed to reach an agreement, causing a delay in the publication schedule for the briefing materials. Contrary to the initial plan, the briefing materials were not distributed to the participatory deliberation group at the orientation session.

After the orientation session, the public deliberation committee continued discussions with both sides and mediated between them to work out an agreement as soon as possible, in order to minimize the negative impact that the delayed distribution of the briefing materials might have on the deliberations of the participatory deliberation group. Both sides finally reached an agreement and the briefing materials were distributed to the participatory deliberation group on September 28, 2017.

4-3. Controversies over the Participation of Researchers from Government-Funded Research Institutes

Another point of controversy was whether researchers from government-funded institutes should be allowed to participate in the debate organized by the public deliberation committee on whether to restart the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. The controversy had a far-reaching impact on the public deliberation process.[7] The participation of researchers affiliated with government-funded institutes emerged as a contentious issue because it was the government that set the agenda for public deliberation. Given its agenda-setting role, the government should withhold its opinion to maintain its neutrality and objectivity.

In this regard, those in favor of resuming construction and those in favor of discontinuing construction made opposite arguments. Those supporting the project argued that government-affiliated researchers should not be restricted from voicing their opinion through debates because they can deliver high-quality information to the participatory deliberation group. In contrast, those against the project argued participation in debates by government-affiliated researchers must be restricted because their opinions can be seen as the government's stance. Notably, those in favor of discontinuing construction made an official request for a ban on the involvement of government-affiliated researchers in the public deliberation committee's public deliberation activities.

As part of the efforts to narrow the differences between the two sides and in response to the demands by the project's opponents, the public deliberation committee requested on September 20, 2017, that the related authorities—the Ministry of Science and ICT (MSIT) and the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy (MOTIE)—should confirm their stances in this regard. As such, the MOTIE and the MSIT each sent letters of cooperation to their respective umbrella organizations, the Korea Energy Economics Institute (KEEI) and the Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute (KAERI), calling for appropriate measures to be taken in accordance with applicable rules to ensure the neutrality and impartiality of researchers engaged in public deliberation.

However, the letters of cooperation fell short of bridging the gap between the two sides.

7 Due to difficulties in narrowing differences over the participation in public deliberation by researchers affiliated with government-funded institutes, a debate tour (Ulsan) in which government-affiliated researchers were scheduled to attend was pushed back, and both sides expressed reservation about the participation in debates (debate tour in Suwon, TV debate on YTN).

The public deliberation committee held further discussions with the two sides to find common ground, to no avail, until the general forum drew to a close. Eventually, the public deliberation committee decided that it would set out clear principles by taking into consideration the arguments made by the two parties and communicating its stances on the issue.

The public deliberation committee reviewed the following four areas to clarify where it stood on the issue. First, the committee examined if government-funded research institutes could restrict their employees from conducting external activities in accordance with the rule of employment, internal rules, or applicable laws. Second, the committee reviewed whether it was proper to restrict the participation of government-affiliated researchers in public deliberation under the constitutional provisions on fundamental rights from an objective perspective. Third, the committee checked whether applicable laws[8] regulated the participation of government-affiliated researchers in public deliberation. Fourth, the committee examined if researchers affiliated with government-funded institutes were in a position to represent the government's stance. The review led to the decision that there were no legitimate reasons to restrict the participation by government-affiliated researchers in public deliberation activities. However, regardless of where they work, if participation in public deliberation may violate the code of ethics or be morally and legally reprehensible due to other reasons, the public deliberation committee decided to take an individual approach to the restriction of participation in public deliberation.

On October 2, 2017, the public deliberation committee communicated its stance to both sides in the form of an official letter. Those for restarting the construction welcomed it, whereas those in favor of discontinuing construction voiced dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, the two sides put their differences aside, respecting the public deliberation committee's final decision, and collaborated to complete the comprehensive debates without major obstacles.

8 Act on the Establishment, Operation and Fostering of Government-Funded Research Institutes and its enforcement decrees; The Act on the Establishment, Operation and Fostering of Government-Funded Science and Technology Research Institutions and its enforcement decree

VI

Analysis of Participatory Survey

1. Survey Outline

The participatory survey took place in the following sequence. The first survey was conducted with a representative sample of citizens drawn from the whole population through a probability sampling method. The second survey was given to the participatory deliberation group, which was selected from the first survey's sample population with a double sampling method. The third and fourth surveys were implemented during the course of the deliberation process.

For the first survey, an initial random sample was drawn from each stratum of the Korean population aged 19 or older (based on the public register as of July 31, 2017) that had been divided into 160 strata based on geographic location (16 municipalities and provinces; Sejong City was included in Chungcheongnam-do), gender (male/female) and age groups (19 to 29, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, 50 to 59, and 60 and over). The first survey asked the respondents for their opinions on resuming construction and their availability for the orientation session

and three-day-long comprehensive debates.

Of the 20,006 respondents to the first survey, 5,981 expressed a willingness to take part in the participatory deliberation group, and they were divided into a total of 30 strata according to their opinion on the resumption of construction at Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (those for and against the project, those undecided), gender and age groups. Then, 500 respondents were systematically selected within each stratum proportionate to the size of the sample to form a participatory deliberation group. The second survey was conducted with the 478 respondents present at the orientation session held on September 16, 2017. The third and fourth surveys were conducted on the first and last day of the comprehensive debates, which took place from October 13 to 15, 2017.

This chapter will look into the opinions in favor of and against resuming construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, nuclear energy policy, and evaluations of the deliberation process. To do so, this chapter focuses on the results of the fourth survey and where necessary, the changes in responses across the first, second, and third survey results.

2. Opinions For and Against the Resumption of the Construction

2-1. Comprehensive Overview

The fourth survey asked two questions (Q1 & Q7) about whether respondents favored or opposed the continuation of the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 project. The first question gave respondents four choices to choose from: "I am in favor of discontinuing construction," "I am in favor of resuming construction," "I haven't decided yet," and "I don't know." Q7 gave only two choices: "I am in favor of discontinuing construction" and "I am in favor of resuming construction."

When asked about their opinion in Q7, the participatory deliberation group chose one of the two responses—"I am in favor of discontinuing construction" or "I am in favor of resuming construction"—after taking all factors into account. A total 59.5% of the participants responded that they were in favor of resuming construction, while 40.5% responded that they were in favor of discontinuing construction. The difference of 19.0%p was statistically significant, given a 95% confidence level with a 3.6% margin of error. When given four responses—"I am in favor of discontinuing construction," "I am in favor of resuming construction," "I haven't decided yet," and "I don't know" (Q1) —57.2% of the 471

Table 6.1. Respondent Opinions on Whether to Resume Construction (fourth survey)

(Unit: %)

		Two-response question		Three-response question		
		For	Against	For	Against	Undecided
Total		59.5	40.5	57.2	39.4	3.3
Gender	Male	66.3	33.7	62.7	32.6	4.7
	Female	52.7	47.3	51.9	46.1	2.0
Age	19–29	56.8	43.2	53.1	41.7	5.2
	30–39	52.3	47.7	47.0	44.9	8.1
	40–49	45.3	54.7	42.0	54.7	3.3
	50–59	60.5	39.5	60.5	38.8	0.8
	60+	77.5	22.5	77.5	21.7	0.8
Region	Seoul	57.4	42.6	52.8	41.5	5.7
	Incheon, Gyeonggi-do	58.6	41.4	58.6	40.8	0.7
	Daejeon, Chungcheong-do	65.8	34.2	65.8	34.2	-
	Gwangju, Jeolla-do, Jeju	45.1	54.9	41.1	52.8	6.1
	Daegu, Gangwon-do, Gyeongsangbuk-do	68.7	31.3	66.7	31.3	2.0
	Busan, Ulsan, Gyeongsangnam-do	64.7	35.3	61.2	32.2	6.6

participants were in favor of resuming the construction work, 39.4% supported discontinuing construction, and 3.3% indicated that they were undecided. A total of 2.2% of respondents who answered "I haven't decided yet" in Q1 were in favor of resuming the construction and 1.1% were in favor of discontinuing the project when asked again in Q7. In Q1 and Q7, none of the respondents changed their opinion from supporting resumption to supporting discontinuation, and vice versa. That is, regardless of whether the response set included "I haven't decided yet," the majority of those surveyed voted in favor of resuming construction.

Responses to the question of whether they were in favor of restarting or discontinuing construction were divided by gender, age group, and geographical location. By gender, 66.3% of the male respondents and 52.7% of the female respondents were in favor of resuming construction. That is, more than 50% of both the male and female respondents approved

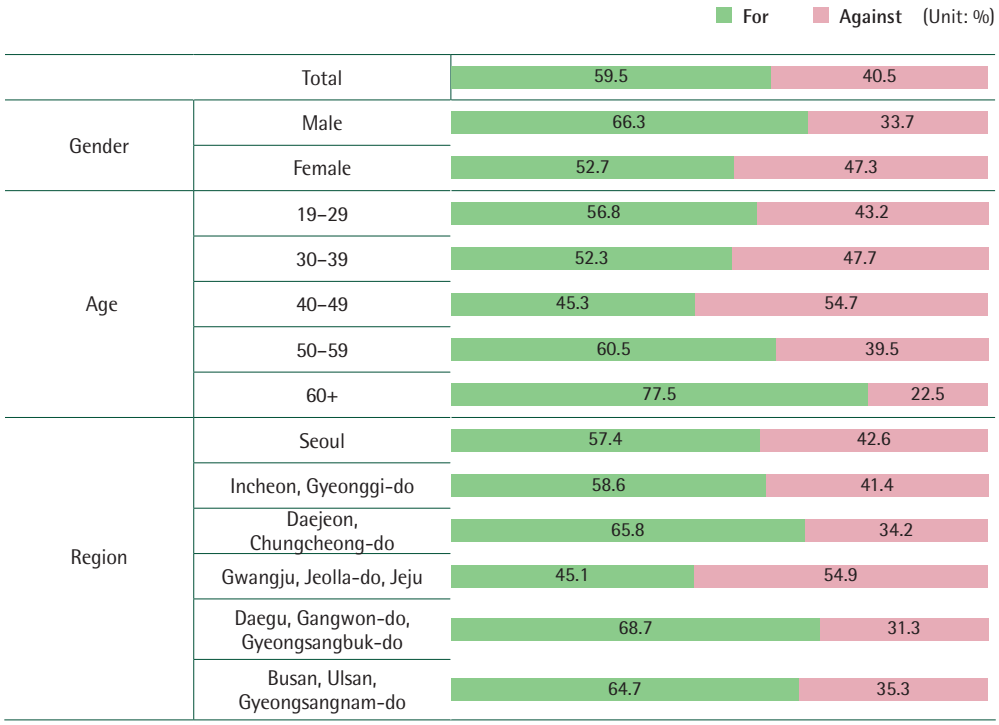


Figure 6.1. Respondent Opinions on Whether to Resume Construction by Gender, Age, and Geographical Location (fourth survey)

of resuming the project. By age group, 56.8% of those in their 20s, 52.3% of those in their 30s, 45.3% of those in their 40s, 60.5% of those in their 50s, and 77.5% of those in their 60s were in favor of resuming the project. Those in their 60s and older were most supportive of the project. At the same time, more than 50% of those in their 20s and 30s were in favor of completing the construction. By geographical location, the ratio of those for and against the resumption of construction among respondents living in the Seoul Metropolitan Area was on par with the national average. Those in favor of resuming construction outnumbered those in favor of discontinuing construction among respondents living in Jeolla-do, whereas the opposite was true among respondents living in Chungcheong-do and Gyeongsangbuk-do.

2-2. Changes in Opinions

The first question, which gave three responses to choose from (in favor of resuming construction, in favor of discontinuing construction, not yet decided) was included in the first, third, and fourth surveys. Changes in the opinions of the participatory deliberation group can be tracked by checking how respondents answered the first question over the three surveys. First, the initial survey results, applicable for 20,006 respondents, were compared against those of the first, third, and fourth surveys conducted of the participatory deliberation group. Lastly, question seven was added to the fourth survey, excluding the undecided option from the responses.

The first survey found that 36.6% of the respondents were in favor of resuming construction, 27.6% were in favor of discontinuing construction, and 35.8% were undecided. The difference between those in favor of resuming and those in favor of discontinuing construction was 9.0%p. The large percentage of those undecided indicated that many people still considered the arguments from both sides. Based on opinion on the construction, gender, and age group, the respondents of the preliminary survey were divided into subsets, from which sample units were pooled to form a participatory deliberation group. The estimation method used in the stratified sampling ensured that the distribution of opinions among the participatory deliberation group equaled that of the 20,006 respondents.

After an orientation session where participants were provided with briefing materials and access to e-learning programs, the third survey was conducted with the participatory deliberation group on the first day of the three-day deliberation. Some 44.7% of the participants were in favor of resuming construction, 30.7% were in favor of discontinuation, and 24.6% were undecided. Compared to the results of the first survey, the percentage of undecided respondents fell by 11.2%p, whereas those in favor of resuming the project increased 8.1%p, and those against the project increased 3.1%p. Accordingly, the difference between the proponents and opponents widened to 14.0%p.

With regard to the first question of the fourth survey conducted on the last day, 57.2% of the participants were in favor of resuming the construction work, 39.4% disapproved of the project, and 3.3% were undecided. The percentage of undecided respondents decreased by 32.5%p and 21.3%p, respectively, compared to the results of the first and third surveys. The three-day comprehensive debates apparently led to a lower percentage of those undecided.

Table 6.2. Changes in the Percentage of Those For and Those Against Resuming Construction

(Unit: %)

Survey		For	Against	Undecided
General survey (20,006 persons)		36.6	27.6	35.8
Participatory deliberation group	1st	36.6	27.6	35.8
	3rd	44.7	30.7	24.6
	4th	57.2	39.4	3.3
	Final	59.5	40.5	-

* The second survey did not include a question with three choices (for, against, and undecided). The fourth survey asked respondents to choose from two responses, taking all factors into consideration.

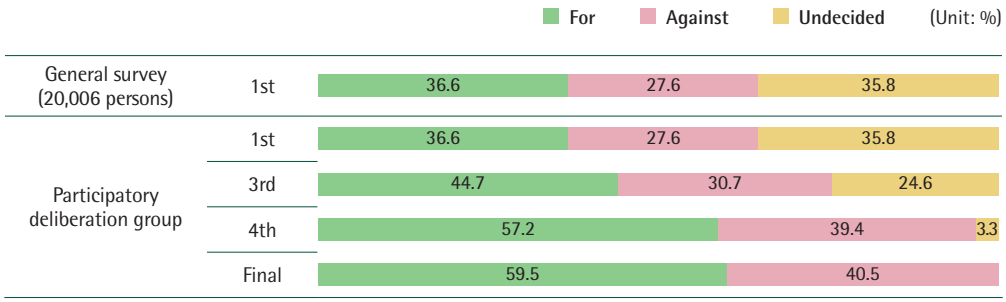


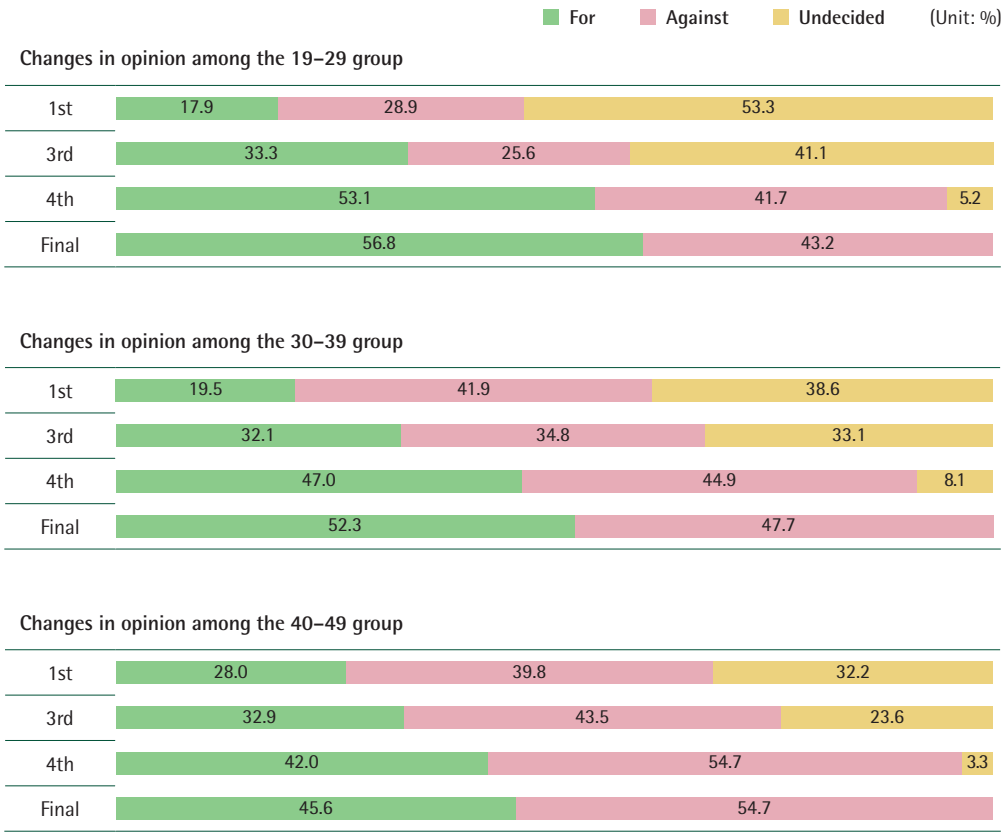
Figure 6.2. Changes in the Percentage of Those For and Those Against Resuming Construction

Meanwhile, the percentage of those in favor of restarting the construction increased by 20.6%p and 12.5%p, respectively, compared to the results of the first and third surveys, and opposition to the project also increased by 11.8%p and 8.7%p. When the final survey was conducted, with the exclusion of the undecided option from the response category, 59.5% of the respondents were in favor of restarting the construction work, up 22.9%p, 14.8%p, and 2.3%p from the first, third, and fourth surveys. Some 40.5% disapproved of the project, up 12.9%p, 9.8%p, and 1.1%p respectively from the results of the first, third, and fourth surveys.

2-3. Changes in Opinion by Age Group

The participatory deliberation group's opinion on whether to restart or abandon the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was divided by age group. Age was categorized into 10-year age groups. (i.e., 19–29 years, 30–39 years, 40–49 years, 50–59 years, 60+ years).

More than 50% of those aged 60 or older supported resuming construction. The percentage of those in favor of resuming increased by 10%p in the third survey compared to the first survey and another 10%p in the fourth survey compared to the third survey. Approximately 50% of those in their 50s also supported resuming construction in the first survey. After the provision of briefing materials and participation in the e-learning programs, the percentage of those in favor of resuming construction increased by 10%p.



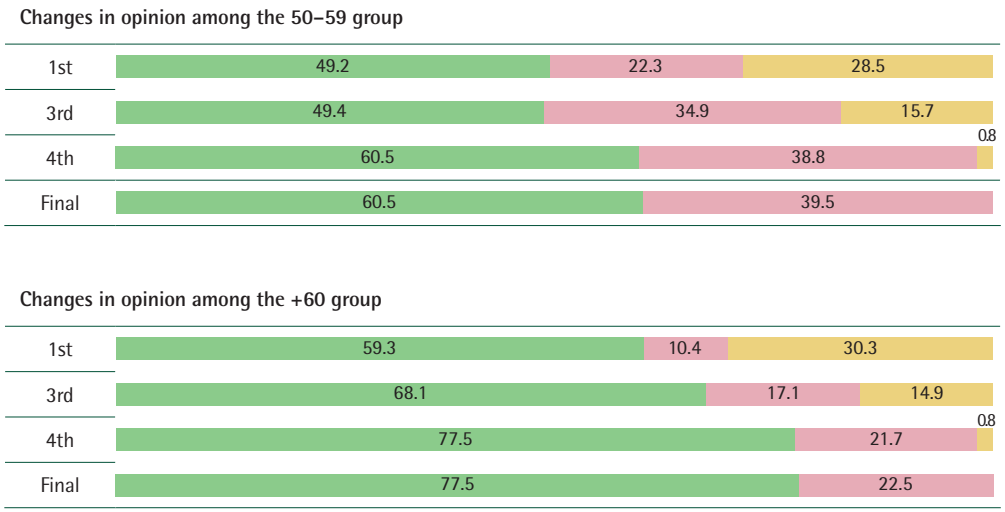


Figure 6.3. Changes in the Percentage of Those For and Against Resuming Construction (by age)

In contrast, the first survey found that less than 20% of those in their 20s and their 30s supported resuming the project, whereas 53.3% of those in their 20s and 38.6% of those in their 30s were undecided. However, in both age groups, the percentage of those in favor of resuming construction increased by more than 10%p from the first survey to the third one and from third to fourth survey, respectively. As a result, the fourth survey found that approximately 50% of those in their 20s and their 30s were in favor of resuming construction.

2-4. Changes in the Participatory Deliberation Group's Opinion on Whether to Resume Construction

A comparison between the first survey, which included an undecided option in the response choices, and the fourth survey, which didn't have the undecided option, was made to see how the participatory deliberation group's opinion had changed or stayed the same.

The first and fourth surveys found that 22.3% of the respondents were in favor of resuming the project and 34.4% were in favor of discontinuation. That is, 56.7% maintained their opinion from the first through the fourth surveys. The percentage of those who

Table 6.3. Changes in the Participatory Deliberation Group's Opinion on Whether to Resume Construction

(Unit: %)

		Fourth survey		
		For	Against	Total
First survey	For	34.4	2.2	36.6
	Against	5.3	22.3	27.6
	Undecided	19.7	16.1	35.8
	Total	59.5	40.5	100.0

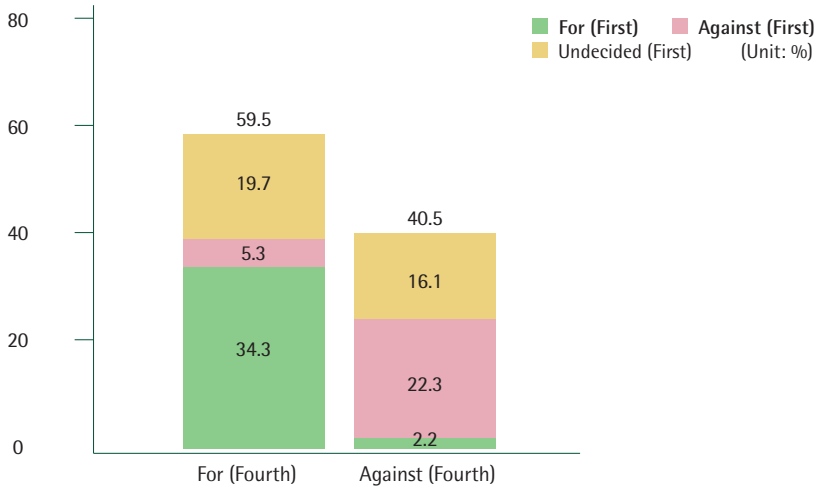


Figure 6.4. Changes in the Participatory Deliberation Group's Opinion on Whether to Resume Construction

changed their opinion from supporting discontinuation to supporting resumption, and vice versa, stood at 5.3% and 2.2%, respectively. Only 7.5% of those surveyed changed their view on whether to resume construction. In contrast, of the 35.8% who were undecided in the first survey, 19.7% answered in favor of resuming the project and 16.1% answered in favor of discontinuing the project.

3. Rationale for Supporting and Opposing the Resumption of the Construction

3-1. Key Deciding Factors

The participatory deliberation group was informed about the issue with the briefing materials and videos provided by both sides and was divided into small groups to hold discussions for two nights and three days. The participatory deliberation group presented a final opinion after

Table 6.4. Key Factors in the Final Decision (fourth survey)

Factor	Important (%)	Not important (%)	Level of importance (on a 7-point scale)
1) Safety	98.3	0.6	6.7
Resumption proponents	97.9	1.1	6.6
Resumption opponents	98.9	-	6.8
2) Stability of energy supply	93.7	1.2	6.3
Resumption proponents	99.0	0.3	6.6
Resumption opponents	86.0	2.6	5.9
3) Costs to supply electricity	89.0	3.2	6.0
Resumption proponents	96.7	1.8	6.4
Resumption opponents	77.6	5.3	5.4
4) Effects on regional and national industry	89.7	3.6	5.9
Resumption proponents	94.4	1.5	6.2
Resumption opponents	82.8	6.5	5.6
5) Electricity rates	82.7	4.4	5.7
Resumption proponents	90.6	1.9	6.0
Resumption opponents	71.0	8.0	5.2
6) Environment	96.3	1.2	6.3
Resumption proponents	95.4	2.1	6.2
Resumption opponents	97.7	-	6.4

deliberation. The participatory deliberation group was asked to rate the six factors (safety, stability of energy supply, costs to supply electricity, effects on regional and national industry, electricity rates, and the environment) on the basis of how important they thought each factor was to their decision on the question of whether to restart or abandon the project. On a seven-point scale, responses ranged from "Not important at all" to "Very important." This question was included in the second, third, and fourth surveys.

The fourth survey asked the respondents how important each factor was in making the final decision and found that safety (98.3%, an average score of 6.7) ranked the highest, followed by environment (96.3%, an average score of 6.3), and stability of energy supply (93.7%, an average score of 6.3). Of the participatory deliberation group, those supporting the resumption of the project prioritized stability of energy supply and safety, whereas those supporting the suspension of the project ranked safety and environment as the most important factors to consider.

3-2. Changes in Key Deciding Factors

The second, third, and fourth surveys showed marginal changes in the key factors that respondents considered the most important in their decision on whether construction should be resumed. In contrast to significant changes in opinions on whether to resume construction, there were relatively limited changes to how respondents felt about the key factors that

Table 6.5. Changes in the Importance of Key Deciding Factors (on a scale of seven)

Key factors	Total			For			Against		
	2nd	3rd	4th	2nd	3rd	4th	2nd	3rd	4th
1) Safety	6.70	6.71	6.70	6.78	6.82	6.85	6.64	6.63	6.59
2) Stability of energy supply	6.32	6.27	6.33	6.01	5.76	5.86	6.54	6.61	6.64
3) Cost to supply electricity	6.00	5.87	5.97	5.51	5.26	5.39	6.34	6.28	6.37
4) Effects on regional and national industry	5.75	5.67	5.92	5.38	5.17	5.59	6.00	6.02	6.14
5) Electricity rates	5.63	5.63	5.66	5.11	5.09	5.19	5.99	6.01	5.98
6) Environment	6.37	6.32	6.29	6.54	6.53	6.43	6.25	6.18	6.20

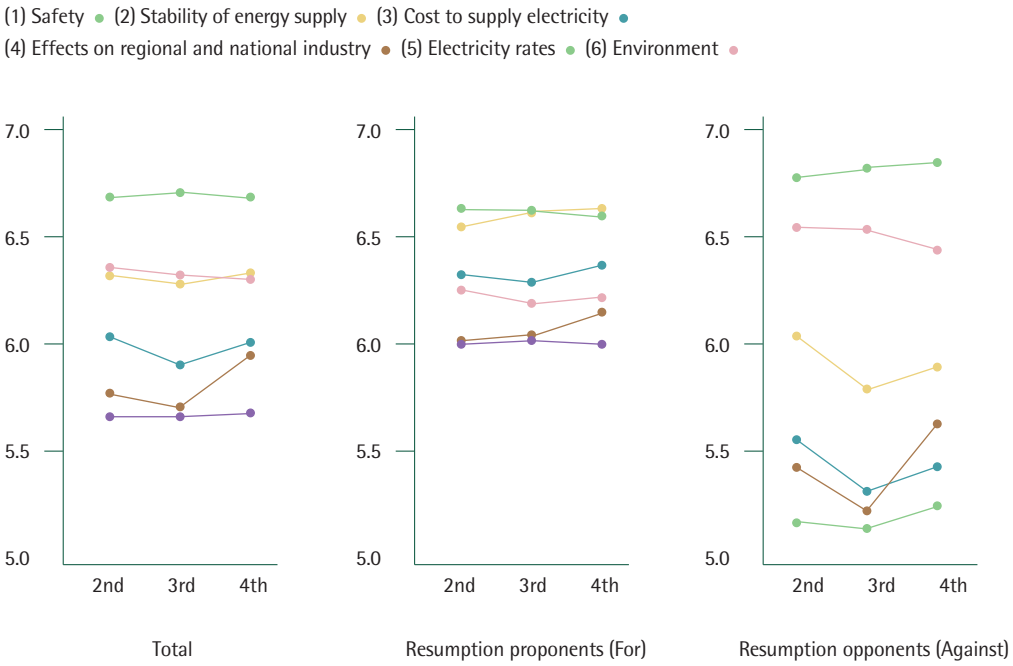


Figure 6.5. Changes in the Importance of Key Deciding Factors (on a scale of seven)

shaped their opinion. Overall, the participatory deliberation group always picked safety as the most important factor. The second, third, and fourth surveys found that safety was the most important factor with an average score of 6.70, followed by stability in energy supply with an average score of 6.33. Among resumption proponents, the importance of stability in energy supply and effects on regional/national industry increased, albeit only slightly. On the other hand, resumption opponents clearly prioritized safety.

4. Follow-up Measures after the Participatory Deliberation Group's Decision to Resume the Construction

The analysis of the participatory deliberation group's final opinion showed the percentage of those in favor of resuming the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was higher than those in favor of discontinuing construction. Even if the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is to resume, supplementary measures must be explored to

Table 6.6. Necessary Measures upon the Resumption of Construction

(Unit: %)

Measures	Tighter safety standards	Zero nuclear policy	Spent fuel treatment	Greater investment in new renewable energy
Total	33.1	13.3	25.3	27.6
Resumption proponents	38.0	7.3	28.9	25.4
Resumption opponents	25.7	22.2	20.0	31.1

* Based on a multiple response analysis; 1/2 of response rate
(The sum of response rates for a multiple response analysis equals the total number of responses multiplied by 100%. Regarding the measures to be taken after the resumption of the construction, the sum of response rates comes in at 200%. For greater readability, the figure was halved, so that the sum of response rates would be 100%. Accordingly, 33.1% means that the percentage of those who chose one of the top two responses was 66.2%.)

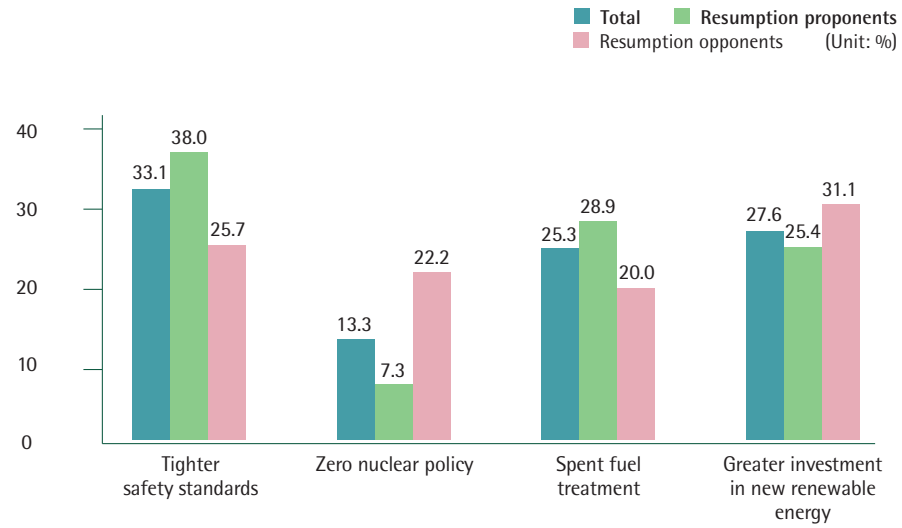


Figure 6.6. Necessary Measures upon the Resumption of Construction

ensure that the Korean society will be able to move beyond conflict toward reconciliation and integration. The fourth survey asked what measures the participatory deliberation group thought should be put in place upon the resumption of the construction. The response category included the following answers: "The government must further strengthen nuclear

safety measures"; "the nuclear-free policy must be maintained"; "the government must promptly prepare a plan to resolve the spent fuel issue"; and "more" investments should be made to increase the share of renewable energy in the energy mix." In the first and second surveys, respondents were asked to rank the top two responses. Disregarding the rankings, the analysis found that "the government must further strengthen nuclear safety measures" was the most chosen response by the participatory deliberation group when asked about the measures to be taken upon the resumption of the project. The second and third most frequently chosen responses were "more investments should be made to increase the share of renewable energy in energy mix" and "the government must promptly prepare a plan to resolve the spent fuel issue." The most chosen response among opponents of resumption was "the government must further strengthen nuclear safety measures."

The participatory deliberation group was also given the option to write in their own responses. Open-ended responses included policy suggestions to ensure safety and financial compensation for local residents living close to the nuclear power plant site (a total of 59 respondents, of which 32 were opposed to resumption of construction), and greater transparency and management to root out corruption (a total of 74 respondents, of which 31 were opposed to resumption of construction). Notably, the need for greater transparency was also echoed by those in favor of resumption (43 respondents).

5. Opinions on Direction of Nuclear Energy Policy

5-1. Preferred Policy Direction for Nuclear Energy

Aside from the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, the participatory deliberation group was asked about their preference for Korea's future nuclear energy policies. The fourth survey showed that 53.2% of the respondents called for scaling back nuclear power generation, 35.5% supported maintaining the current share of nuclear energy in the energy mix, and only 9.7% wanted an expansion of nuclear power production. The majority of the respondents supported restarting the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 but supported the scaling back of nuclear power generation over the long term.

Preference for the nuclear energy policy was divided by gender, age, geographical

location, and opinion on whether construction should resume. There were no significant gender differences about energy policy directions. However, that was not the case in terms of age groups. Among those aged 60 or older, 29.2% supported a nuclear scale-back and 49.3% supported maintaining the share of nuclear in the energy mix at the current level. In contrast, among those in their 30s, 69.9% supported a nuclear scale-back but 22.2% supported the status quo. Among those in their 20s, 55.5% supported a nuclear scale-back and 41.3% supported the status quo. By geographical location, respondents living in Incheon and Gyeonggi-do were most supportive of a nuclear scale-back (61.6%). Last but not least, by opinion of whether the construction should resume, 32.2% of proponents supported a nuclear scale-back, 50.7% supported the status quo, and 16.3% supported expanding nuclear power generation. In contrast, 84.0% of those opposed to resuming construction supported a nuclear scale-back, 13.2% supported the status quo, and none of them supported expanding nuclear power generation.

Table 6.7. Preferred Policy Direction for Nuclear Energy (fourth survey)

(Unit: %)

		Scale-back	Status quo	Expansion	Don't know
Total		53.2	35.5	9.7	1.6
Gender	Male	52.0	36.1	10.0	1.9
	Female	54.4	35.0	9.4	1.3
Age	19-29	55.5	41.3	3.1	-
	30-39	69.9	22.2	6.5	1.4
	40-49	65.8	26.6	6.3	1.2
	50-59	53.1	34.3	11.7	0.9
	60+	29.2	49.3	17.8	3.7
Region	Seoul	53.0	38.7	6.3	2.0
	Incheon, Gyeonggi-do	61.6	28.6	8.4	1.4
	Daejeon, Chungcheong-do	49.2	42.0	8.8	-
	Gwangju, Jeolla-do, Jeju	42.2	44.4	7.5	5.9
	Daegu, Gangwon-do, Gyeongsangbuk-do	47.8	37.0	15.3	-
	Busan, Ulsan, Gyeongsangnam-do	53.1	30.8	16.1	-

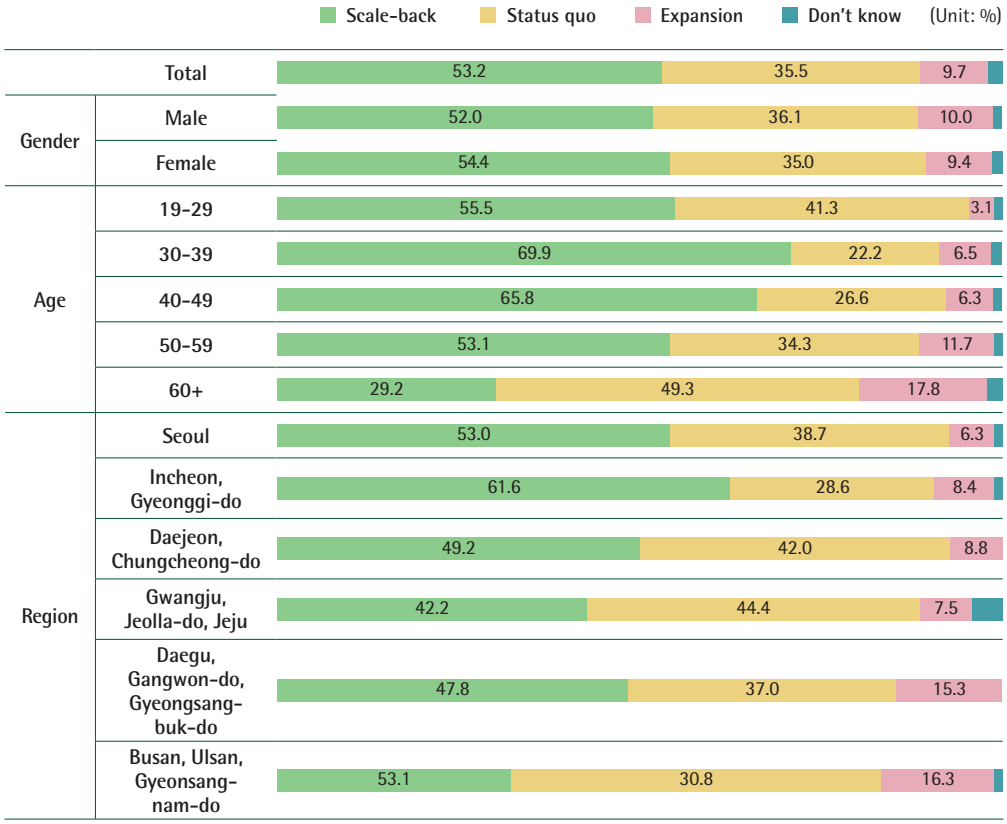


Figure 6.7. Preferred Policy Direction for Nuclear Energy (fourth Survey)

Table 6.8. Preferred Policy Direction for Nuclear Energy by "For" and "Against" Groups (fourth survey)

(Unit: %)

Measures	Scale-back	Status quo	Expansion	Don't know
Total	53.2	35.5	9.7	1.6
For	33.2	50.7	16.3	0.7
Against	84.0	13.2	-	2.8

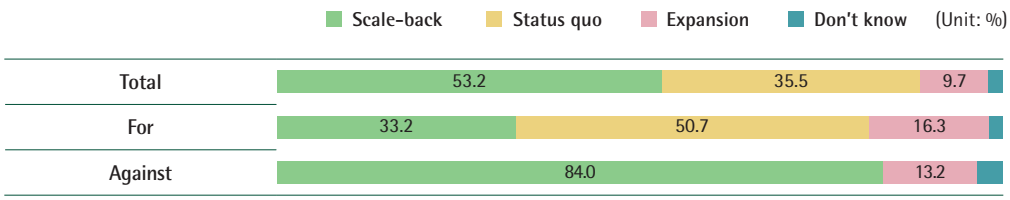


Figure 6.8. Preferred Policy Direction for Nuclear Energy by "For" and "Against" Groups (fourth survey)

5-2. Changes in Opinion on Directions for Nuclear Energy Policy

The first, third, and fourth surveys included a question on the preferred direction of nuclear energy policy. This report tracked how the participatory deliberation group's opinion changed over the three surveys.

The percentage of those in favor of scaling back nuclear power generation changed marginally from 45.6% in the first survey to 45.9% in the third survey and increased by 7.3%p to 53.2% in the fourth survey. In contrast, the percentage of those supporting the status quo stood at 32.8% in the first survey, 37.2% in the third survey, and 35.5% in the fourth survey without exhibiting any distinctive trend. The percentage of those supporting the expansionary nuclear energy policy gradually declined from 14.0% in the first survey to 13.3% and 9.7% in the third and fourth surveys. With regard to the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, the percentage of those supporting the project resumption increased from the first survey to the fourth survey. In contrast, those in favor of scaling back nuclear power generation over the long term increased the most from the first survey to the final one.

Table 6.9. Changes in the Preferred Nuclear Energy Policy Direction

(Unit: %)

Type of survey		Scale-back	Status quo	Expansion	Don't know
General Survey (20,006)		39.2	31.1	12.9	16.8
Participatory deliberation group	1st	45.6	32.8	14	7.5
	3rd	45.9	37.2	13.3	3.6
	4th	53.2	35.5	9.7	1.6

* Note: The second survey did not ask the preferred nuclear energy policy direction

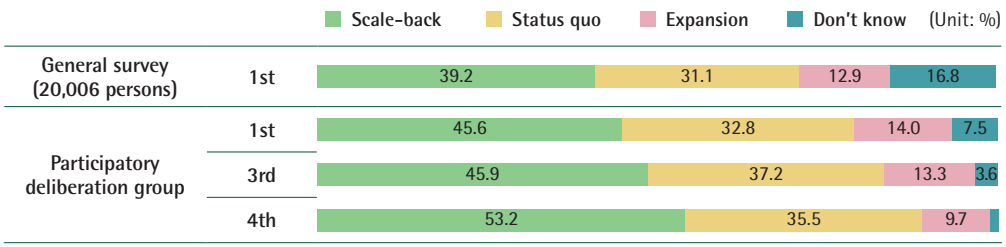


Figure 6.9. Changes in the Preferred Nuclear Energy Policy Direction

Table 6.10. Changes in the Preferred Nuclear Energy Policy Direction by "For" and "Against" Group

(Unit: %)

		Scale-back	Status quo	Expansion	Don't know
For	1st survey	25.1	45.5	20.5	9.0
	3rd survey	23.0	51.7	21.7	3.5
	4th survey	32.2	50.7	16.3	0.7
Against	1st survey	75.7	14.3	4.6	5.4
	3rd survey	79.5	16.0	0.9	3.6
	4th survey	84.0	13.2	-	2.8

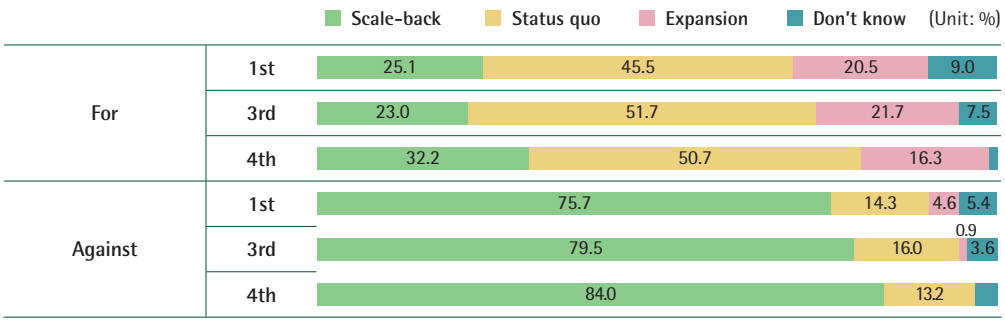


Figure 6.10. Changes in the Preferred Nuclear Energy Policy Direction by "For" and "Against" Group

6. Evaluation of the Public Deliberation Process

6-1. The Level of Respect for the Final Result

The fourth survey asked the participatory deliberation group about how much respect they would have for the final result of the deliberative poll, even if it contradicted their own opinion. The analysis of the responses to this question showed that most of the participatory deliberation group would respect the final result, even if it contradicted their own opinion. More than one third responded that they would respect the final result very much. No

significant gender difference was observed. By age group, younger respondents showed greater levels of respect toward the final result than their older counterparts. Some 97.1% of the respondents in the 19–29 age group said they would respect the final result, 95.0% in the 30–39 age group, 95.3% in the 40–49 age group, 91.3% in the 50–59 age group, and 89.2% in the 60+ age group. No patterns were identified by geographical location. The level of respect was highest among respondents living in Daejeon and Chungcheong-do (95.7%) and lowest among those living in Busan, Ulsan and Gyeongsangnam-do (90.3%).

Table 6.11. The Level of Respect for the Final Result, Even if It Contradicts One's Own Opinion (fourth survey)

(Unit: %)

		Will respect			Won't respect		
			Completely	Moderately		Moderately	At all
Total		93.2	32.1	61.1	6.8	5.3	1.5
Gender	Male	93.5	39.2	54.3	6.5	4.7	1.7
	Female	92.9	25.2	67.6	7.1	5.9	1.3
Age	19–29	97.1	47.1	50.0	2.9	2.9	-
	30–39	95.0	36.3	58.8	5.0	3.8	1.3
	40–49	95.3	29.9	65.4	4.7	4.7	-
	50–59	91.3	33.7	57.7	8.7	6.7	1.9
	60+	89.2	20.7	68.5	10.8	7.2	3.6
Region	Seoul	94.5	29.4	65.1	5.5	4.6	0.9
	Incheon, Gyeonggi-do	93.5	35.5	58.0	6.5	5.1	1.4
	Daejeon, Chungcheong-do	95.7	34.0	61.7	4.3	2.1	2.1
	Gwangju, Jeolla-do, Jeju	91.2	33.3	57.9	8.8	5.3	3.5
	Daegu, Gangwon-do, Gyeongsangbuk-do	93.0	28.1	64.9	7.0	5.3	1.8
	Busan, Ulsan, Gyeongsangnam-do	90.3	30.6	59.7	9.7	9.7	-

6-2. Level of Agreement with Proponents and Opponents of Resuming Construction

In the fourth survey, the participatory deliberation group was asked to indicate how much they agreed with the arguments that matched or contradicted their own positions on a scale of seven. A cross-table analysis was conducted to compare the respondents' opinion with their responses to this question.

Among the respondents, 96.5% agreed with the arguments that matched their own position, giving a 6.3 on a seven-point scale. In contrast, 28.8% of the respondents said they agreed with the arguments that contradicted their own position, giving a 3.4 on a seven-point scale. The gap in the level of agreement was visible among proponents and opponents of resuming construction. The level of agreement was relatively high among proponents of resuming construction. However, the high level of agreement was attributable to the fact that they outnumbered opponents of resumption. In short, there was no significant difference between the opponents and proponents of the construction in terms of the level of agreement.

Table 6.12. Level of Agreement with Arguments from Both Sides (fourth survey)

(Unit: %)

Description	Agree (%)	Don't agree (%)	Level of agreement (on a scale of seven)
Arguments supportive of my position	96.5	0.6	6.3
Arguments contradictory to my opinion	28.8	48.6	3.4
1) Resumption opponents	55.0	30.1	4.5
Argument in favor of discontinuing construction	96.9	-	6.3
Argument in favor of resuming construction	26.1	50.8	3.3
2) Resumption proponents	70.6	18.9	5.2
Argument in favor of discontinuing construction	32.9	45.3	3.5
Argument in favor of resuming construction	96.1	1.0	6.3

6-3. Level of Knowledge about Nuclear Power Generation

The participatory deliberation group was given eight questions based on the briefing materials to see how much knowledge they had about nuclear power generation. In the second survey before the briefing materials were provided, the participatory deliberation group got 2.8 correct answers on average, and in the third survey after they were informed with the briefing materials and e-learning programs, the participatory deliberation group got 4.8 correct answers. In the fourth survey that took place after comprehensive debates, the group got 6.0 correct answers on average.

Table 6.13. Average Number of Correct Answers by Question

(Unit: %)

	Second survey			Third survey			Fourth survey		
	Total	For	Against	Total	For	Against	Total	For	Against
Average number of correct answers	34.6	35.8	33.0	60.0	59.8	60.3	74.7	73.4	76.7
Number of nuclear power plants	37.2	38.5	35.4	77.8	78.8	76.3	93.8	91.9	96.7
Location of the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 nuclear reactors	30.0	33.0	25.6	57.6	57.5	57.7	71.2	69.5	73.7
Nuclear power plant fuel	55.6	57.6	52.7	79.5	78.1	81.6	89.3	87.4	92.0
Largest storage for spent nuclear fuel	26.4	26.7	25.9	42.0	42.7	41.0	61.0	60.2	62.3
Country with the largest number of nuclear reactors	40.8	44.0	36.0	66.6	68.5	63.7	80.7	80.1	81.6
Country with the largest share of renewable energy in the energy mix	11.4	10.4	12.8	33.4	28.6	40.4	53.9	50.5	58.8
Largest energy source	21.8	22.4	20.9	43.4	44.8	41.3	61.0	59.2	63.5
Permanently suspended power plants	53.9	53.5	54.5	79.7	79.6	80.0	87.1	88.5	85.1

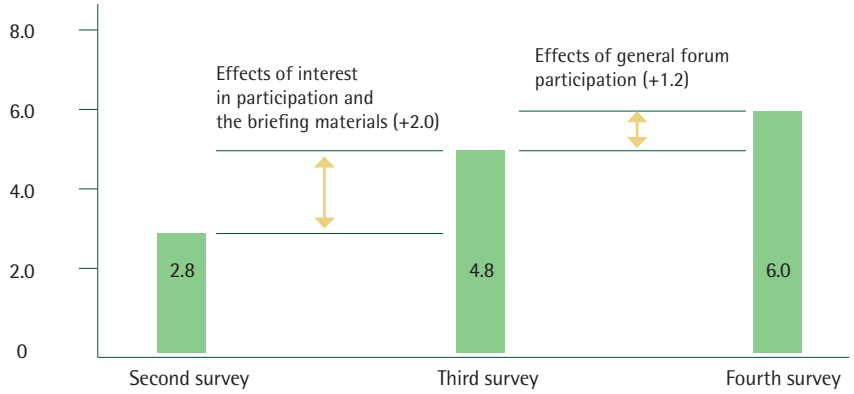


Figure 6.11. Changes in the Average Number of Correct Answers by Question

6-4. Evaluation and Level of Satisfaction: Small Group Discussion and the Public Deliberation Process

In the fourth survey, the participatory deliberation group evaluated the discussion within the small groups to which they belonged. Participants were asked to indicate how much they agreed with the following statements on a scale of seven: "I actively shared my opinion during the small group discussion," "I paid attention to what others argued during the small group discussion," "The small group to which I belonged had active exchanges of opinions," "Discussions took place in a fair manner within the small group to which I belonged," and "Discussions took place with mutual respect within the small group to which I belonged." The average scores of the five questions were used to evaluate the small group discussions.

The participatory deliberation group rated small group discussions at an average score of 6.16 out of seven. Resumption proponents gave a higher score to small group discussions than opponents. Respondents who changed their opinion from the first survey to the fourth survey gave a relatively low score to small group discussions.

The fourth survey also evaluated the overall public deliberation process. Respondents were asked how much they agreed with the following statements on a scale of seven: 1) I gained more knowledge about energy policies by participating in the public deliberation process, 2) I became more interested in sociopolitical issues by participating in the public deliberation process, 3) The government should make more efforts to canvas public opinion

through a public deliberation process, 4) Even if the government makes a decision that contradicts my view, I will trust the government's decision, and 5) I would like to participate in a participatory deliberation group in the future, if possible. The average scores of the five answers were used to evaluate the public deliberation process.

The participatory deliberation group rated the overall public deliberation process at an average score of 6.16 out of seven. Resumption proponents gave a higher score to the overall public deliberation process than opponents. Respondents who changed their opinion from the first survey to the fourth survey gave a relatively low score to small group discussions.

Table 6.14. Evaluation of Small Group Discussion and the Public Deliberation Process (on a scale of seven) (fourth survey)

Final opinion	Evaluation of small group discussion	Evaluation of the public deliberation process
Total	6.16	6.12
For	6.17	6.00
Against	6.14	6.31

Change from 1st to 4th surveys	Evaluation of small group discussion	Evaluation of the public deliberation process
Opinion maintained	6.17	6.07
Opinion changed	6.11	6.22
Change from undecided to decided	6.16	6.18

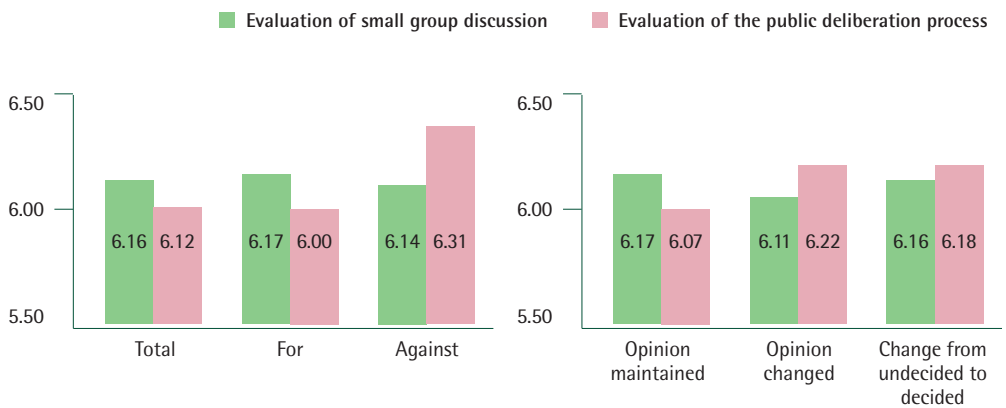


Figure 6.12. Evaluation of Small Group Discussions and the Public Deliberation Process (on a scale of seven) (fourth survey)

The level of satisfaction with the public deliberation process was relatively high at 88.8% with an average 3.24 out of 4. The level of satisfaction was lower among the resumption proponents (an average score of 3.21, 87.7%) than resumption opponents (an average score of 3.28, 90.4%). Those who maintained their opinion throughout the four surveys were less satisfied with the public deliberation process (3.20, 88.4%) than those who had changed their opinions (3.29, 88.5%) and those who shifted from "undecided" to choose either one of the two sides (3.29, 89.4%).

Table 6.15. Overall Satisfaction with the Public Deliberation Process (on a scale of four) (fourth survey)

Final opinion	Satisfaction with the public deliberation process
Total	3.24
For	3.21
Against	3.28

Change from 1st to 4th surveys	Satisfaction with the public deliberation process
Opinion maintained	3.20
Opinion changed	3.29
Change from undecided to decided	3.29

VII

Policy Recommendations

1. Resumption of the Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 after a Temporary Suspension

In the final poll, the respondents who voted in favor of resuming construction (59.5%) outnumbered those who voted in favor of discontinuing construction (40.5%) by 19.0%p. The result had a 95% confidence level with a 3.6% margin of error. Moreover, the percentage of those in favor of resuming construction was significantly higher than those who were against resuming construction in the first survey, and the gap widened survey after survey.

2. Future Energy Policy Direction: Scale-Back of Nuclear Power in National Energy Mix

The final poll showed that those in favor of scaling back nuclear power generation stood at 53.2%, much higher than those in favor of the status quo (35.5%) and expansion (9.7%).

3. Need for Action Plans to Follow Up on the Participatory Deliberation Group's Suggestions

According to the final poll, the participatory deliberation group made the following policy suggestions as complement measures for the resumption of the construction.

1) Safety standards for nuclear power generation must be enhanced. (33.1%)
2) Investments should expand to increase the share of renewable energy in the national energy mix. (27.6%)
3) Spent fuel disposal measures must be prepared as soon as possible. (25.3%)

Open-ended responses included policy suggestions to protect public safety and health conditions and provide financial compensation for local residents living in Busan, Ulsan, and Gyeongsangnam-do (a total of 59 respondents) and greater transparency and tighter management to root out corruption (a total of 74 respondents).

4. Additional Opinions

The public deliberations on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 hold great significance as an example of participatory policymaking, in which the decision of whether to implement the President's election pledge to halt construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was reached through engagement by and consensus among citizens, themselves the consumers of energy, rather than made unilaterally by the government.

They are even more meaningful for having transformed the nuclear power issue from a topic that, due to its highly technical nature, was discussed mainly by direct stakeholders (including experts and local residents) into an issue of importance to the daily life of all citizens.

Additionally, as a democratic means of opinion-gathering in supplementation of Korea's representative democracy, the proceedings provided an opportunity to put into practice full-scale deliberative democracy.

They were also important as a new model for conflict resolution, one focused on bringing a serious conflict with sharply divided stakeholder interests into the forum for public

discussion and consensus establishment.

We therefore request the administration's systematic support so that the experience gained through the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 consultations and the resulting materials can serve all of Korean society as useful tools for achieving democratic coexistence.

VIII

Major Achievements and Areas for Improvement

The public deliberation process for Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was implemented by the government under a high level of public attention. This report intends to review the public deliberation with a focus on major achievements and areas of improvements and to provide guidance for future public deliberations. Details left out of this report will be covered by the white paper and the public deliberation manual to be published after the public deliberation committee submits its recommendations to the government.

1. Major Achievements

1-1. A New Korean Model for Deliberative Polling: "Participatory Survey"

The public deliberation process can be called a Korean model for deliberative polling, which has a more elaborate design than conventional deliberative polling. As a result, the participatory survey takes deliberative polling to a higher level, in that it has a more

representative composition and a larger sample with a higher level of reliability compared with conventional deliberative polls.

◆ High level of representativeness of the population

The survey method adopted for the public deliberation process on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is characterized by the high level of representativeness of the sample population compared to the conventional deliberative poll. To ensure representativeness of the population, stratified double sampling was applied to sample design. Differences between this method and the conventional deliberative poll can be summarized as follows.

Table 8.1. Differences in the Structure of a Participatory Survey and a Conventional Deliberative Poll

	Participatory poll	Conventional deliberative poll
1st survey sample	• Stratified sampling - Random sampling based on 160 subsets divided by region, gender, and age	• Simple random sampling
Deliberation Participant selection	• Stratified double sampling - Randomly selected sample units from the first survey's population divided into 30 subsets by poll results (For/Against/Undecided), gender, and age	• Recruit participants, who desire to participate in deliberation
Representativeness of population	• Deliberation group is representative of the population - Post-deliberation final poll results can be seen as the opinion of the population	• Deliberation group is not representative of the population - Post-deliberation final poll results cannot be seen as the opinion of the population
Selection bias	• Selection bias minimized	• Selection bias likely

As seen in the table above, the sample for the participatory survey was designed with extra care to ensure that deliberation results could be interpreted as the entire population's opinion. For this purpose, a stratified double sampling method was applied to make the sample more representative of the population. In short, the first survey was conducted among 20,006 persons randomly selected from the population, which was divided into 160 strata by gender, age, and geographical location. Of these 20,006 persons, 5,981 respondents expressed their willingness to take part in the deliberation process and were subsequently divided into 30 subgroups by gender, age, and opinion (proponents and opponents of resuming construction, as well as undecided), of which 500 people were randomly selected.

A conventional deliberative poll has a risk of a selection bias by constructing a deliberation group with those who expressed their willingness to take part in the survey, and applying a simple calculation method. If the deliberation group is overrepresented by those with a certain orientation or strong ties with the issue, a selection bias is more likely to emerge. This method may give an inaccurate representation of what the entire population thinks. The participatory survey sought to reduce the risk of selection bias from the designing stage to address problems inherent in a conventional deliberative poll. That is, the participatory survey employed a statistical methodology by introducing proper stratification variables to the sampling process. Moreover, the result estimation process adopted a statistical estimation method based on the methodologies used in sample design to reduce the risk of selection bias.

◆ A larger sample size to ensure reliability

The participatory survey enhanced the reliability of the survey results by adopting a larger sample size than is typical in a conventional deliberative poll. A conventional deliberative poll conducts the first survey of 2,000–3,000 respondents, of which 200–300 participants are selected to form a deliberation group. In contrast, the participatory survey expanded the sample size to 20,006 persons in the first survey and 500 participants for participatory deliberation. Accordingly, the survey could produce a result reliable enough to be used as a basis for policy decisions.

◆ Efforts to put true public deliberation into practice by increasing public participation

The response rate of the first survey, conducted among a large-scale population (20,006 persons), reached 50.1%. Some 95.8% of the 500-member participatory deliberation group took part in the orientation session, and 98.5% of the participatory deliberation group took part in the final comprehensive debates. This deliberative polling recorded a high participation rate without precedent anywhere else in the world.

Such a high level of participation is attributable to the following: The government's commitment to incorporating the participatory deliberation group's decision in the policy-making process motivated citizens to take part in the deliberation process. The topic of deliberative polling was power generation, which is a topic that is highly relevant to daily life. Sufficient financial compensation was provided as a payment for time lost in the course of attending the comprehensive debates, which lasted three days.

The high level of participation contributed to creating a "small Korea" comprised of diverse members representing various age groups, genders, geographic locations, levels of financial standing, health conditions, and opinions on the agenda. As a result, the deliberation process allowed participants to express diverse views and created a public forum that promoted better understanding about each standpoint and provided fresh perspectives to change views. The public polling process helped realize true public deliberation, which seeks to build social consensus.

1-2. Fair Public Deliberation through System Building

The achievements of the public deliberation process are attributable to an impartial, well-established system encompassing the public deliberation committee, the communication council meeting, and the review committee. It is necessary to keep a distance from stakeholders to maintain neutrality and impartiality but also to communicate with stakeholders on both sides for a fair public deliberation process through coordination and consultation. The public deliberation committee and the communication council meeting played such a role.

◆ A committee of neutral figures to ensure impartiality

If a public deliberation committee is made up of experts or stakeholders, it is difficult to ensure neutrality and fairness in the public deliberation process. Accordingly, the public deliberation committee excluded stakeholders related to nuclear power and included only those recommended by various organizations representing all walks of life. The candidate recommendation process allowed representatives from both sides to eliminate candidates deemed unfit to create a neutral public deliberation committee. The successful completion of the public deliberation process is attributable to the fair and neutral deliberation process made possible through mediation by the public deliberation committee.

◆ Consensus-building efforts focused on engagement with both sides

The public deliberation committee hosted communication council meetings on an ongoing basis to consult and coordinate with representatives from both sides. Through the communication council meetings, the committee reached an agreement in the following areas with the leading organizations representing proponents and opponents of resumption.

- Publication of briefing materials: Table of contents
- Production of e-learning videos: Subject, duration of each lecture, recording method
- Comprehensive debate methods: Order of presentation, Q&A sequence and time allocation, detailed operating methods

Reaching an agreement on each issue was not easy. Despite various trials and errors through the coordination process, the committee was devoted to coordinating with the two parties. Through the communication council meetings, the committee sought to ensure procedural impartiality, and despite various difficulties, the participatory deliberation group was able to engage with both sides throughout the deliberation process.

1-3. Critical Deliberation Programs

◆ The operation of the online deliberation program to enhance learning efficiency and information accessibility for the participatory deliberation group

The participatory survey introduced an e-learning program, an unprecedented feature in conventional deliberative polling. Both parties released e-learning videos produced by their own experts, the first of this kind in deliberative polling. When the participatory deliberation group asked questions after watching videos, experts on both sides answered them through a Q&A bulletin. The interactive bulletin facilitated learning, allowing the deliberation group of non-experts to better understand complicated and difficult energy issues and get answers on a real-time basis.

An informed, thorough deliberation process is essential to deliberative polling. However, there are limitations to extending the deliberation because the longer the debate continues, the more likely participants are to drop out of the participatory deliberation group. E-learning deliberation programs were introduced to address this problem. E-learning deliberation program is meaningful in that it helps prevent dropouts resulting from a prolonged deliberation and thus ensures maximum representativeness of the sample.

E-learning deliberation programs were made available online via desktop PC and various mobile environments, so that the participatory deliberation group could obtain access no matter where they were, even in the midst of their busy daily schedules. As a result, the e-learning program, consisting of 11 videos over six chapters, received a positive response from the participatory deliberation group, with the total rate of completion reaching 92%.

◆ **Thematic debates and small group discussions to maximize the effects of deliberation**

Citizens with diverse backgrounds in terms of gender, age, and geographical location took part in small group discussions to exchange their opinions and learn from each other to further develop their opinions. As a result, the undecided participants were able to come to a decision, and some of those who were decided in their views changed their mind after deliberation.

1-4. Open and Transparent Communication

◆ **Shifting from an "expert-driven agenda" to "civic agenda" in discussions on nuclear energy policy**

The public deliberation process marks a significant departure from the past, when discussions on nuclear power generation and nuclear energy policy were carried out within a closed community of experts. This time, the scope of the public deliberation was confined to the government's policy decision on whether to resume construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 rather than overall policies governing nuclear power generation. Nevertheless, discussions on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 were accompanied by an overview of nuclear power generation and current nuclear energy policies.

That is, nuclear energy became a topic of discussion not just for a small community of relevant experts and but also for citizens. The participatory deliberation group as well as ordinary citizens exchanged their views on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and looked up related news articles and information to discuss nuclear power generation and nuclear energy policy. As such, discussions on nuclear energy policy were no longer dominated by a small group of relevant experts, as citizens were able to discuss and develop opinions about the nuclear energy policy, an issue close to their daily lives, in the context of wider energy policies. Through the participatory survey, a majority of the participatory deliberation group raised issues about the closed nature and secrecy of the nuclear power industry, and called for an end to corruption and greater transparency. Public deliberation brought the nuclear power industry and the energy industry "closer" to the daily lives of ordinary citizens, opening the door to opportunities for more democratic growth and evolution in the nuclear power industry and the energy industry.

◆ **Transparent disclosure of the entire public deliberation process**

The public deliberation committee sought to take transparency in the public deliberation process to the next level as a part of efforts to promote understanding about public deliberation and ensure procedural impartiality. On the official website, apart from a general introduction to the public deliberation committee's activities, the committee provided information on why public deliberation is needed and a section for participation in the public deliberation process. Timely updates about the public deliberation process were provided in the form of card news, and informative posts (a total of 110 posts) such as webtoons and various content related to the public deliberation process (e.g., debates, e-learning materials for the participatory deliberation group) were also published. Moreover, the committee also added a suggestion page to the website, allowing those interested in public deliberation to freely share their views and opinions. As part of the efforts to take public opinion into greater consideration, the public deliberation committee monitored and analyzed public recommendations (8,197 recommendations as of October 15, 2017) on a daily basis and actively incorporated constructive recommendations into the public deliberation process.

◆ **Efforts to promote understanding about public deliberation and public acceptance of the poll result**

The public deliberation committee established multi-stage promotion strategies on various media platforms such as its official website, TV, radio, Facebook, and online portals. The committee tailored its promotion strategy to the different stages of the public deliberation process, from the period prior to the first survey to the implementation of the first survey, the recruitment of the participatory deliberation group, the duration of the deliberation process, and the final survey. Notably, prior to the first survey, the committee produced introductory content about the public deliberation process and launched active ad campaigns on radio and online portals to increase telephone survey response rates and thus promote public participation in deliberative polling. After the participatory survey process began in earnest following the administration of the first survey and the creation of the participatory deliberation group, the committee aired regional debates and national debates to involve the participatory deliberation group as well as the entire population in the deliberation process. The orientation session for the participatory deliberation group and comprehensive debates were made open to the media to an appropriate extent, in various forms such as

live broadcasting, to ensure the impartiality of the public deliberation process and make the result of the deliberative poll more acceptable to the public.

2. Areas for Improvement

2-1. Implications for the Preparatory Stage of Public Deliberation

(1) Agenda-setting for public deliberation through conflict diagnosis and conflict analysis

In the preparatory stage of public deliberation, it is imperative to make a preliminary review of the agenda through conflict diagnosis and conflict analysis and check if the agenda is suitable for public deliberation. It is important that the government create a forum for public discussion before implementing public policies and also actively incorporate public opinion into the decision-making process. However, public deliberation may cause new social conflicts when there are sharp conflicts of interests between different stakeholders or various other risk factors. Accordingly, thorough preparation is needed to determine whether the agenda in question is suitable for public deliberation.

(2) Organization of a consultative body representative of stakeholders

Public deliberation should be designed with conflict management in mind by identifying who the stakeholders are, where they stand, and what their interests are. Then, it is necessary to form a consultative body representative of stakeholders and encourage its active participation in the public deliberation process to make the process more acceptable to the public and maintain procedural impartiality. The public deliberation process on the Shin-Gori reactors confirmed a wide gap in the way stakeholders view public deliberation, which is according to their own interests. Moreover, some stakeholders denied the value of the public deliberation process itself or refused to take part in it. Indeed, proponents and opponents of the project who took part in the communication council meeting were not representative of all stakeholders. Accordingly, it is essential to establish and operate a consultative body that encompasses stakeholders from different backgrounds.

(3) Preparation of objective and reliable reference materials

The briefing materials that are provided to the participatory deliberation group are

instrumental to the deliberation process, as they provide information and knowledge to enrich discussion and learning. The briefing materials and videos had to be created under time constraints for the participatory deliberation group during the public deliberation process, and the sharp conflicts of interest between the proponents and opponents of the project made it difficult to prepare the briefing materials with an eye to reliability.

Sufficient time must be given to experts so that they can prepare objective and reliable deliberation materials based on research and discussions. For this purpose, a neutral, specialized group of experts should be formed to establish a comprehensive plan for the briefing materials, and the deliberation materials that are easier to understand should be prepared in advance for the participatory deliberation group.

2-2. Implications for the Implementation of the Public Deliberation Process

(1) Outlining of basic rules for the overall process

The engagement of stakeholders is key to fair and transparent public deliberation, and basic rules should be outlined in advance to prevent conflicts on potentially contentious issues. For example, basic rules need to be in place for important aspects of public deliberation such as the question of adopting final poll results, preparation of briefing materials, expert panel selection, and data verification.

Due to time constraints, communication council meetings were held with rules drawn up on an ad hoc basis. This led to non-compliance with rules as well as confusion over ambiguous rules. Accordingly, if basic rules are prescribed for stakeholders in advance, it would facilitate communication to ensure the smooth execution of the public deliberation process. Moreover, when there is a sharp conflict of views, it may be advisable to invite neutral experts in conflict management to help effectively handle contingency events.

(2) Systemic classification of agenda for debates

The public deliberation committee engaged the general public in deliberation and hosted regional debates and TV debates to provide the participatory deliberation group with information. The debate planning process gave rise to two suggestions: 1) Provide repeated coverage of the same topic and 2) Thematically classify the topic and in-depth debates by topic.

The public deliberation committee opted for the first option, which better serves the purpose of informing the citizens from different regions. However, the second option would be more suitable if the purpose is to provide the participatory deliberation group with information. Accordingly, the benefits of different approaches should be carefully weighed during the agenda-setting process.

(3) Systematic organization and operation of comprehensive debates

Although the committee made utmost efforts to provide accurate information about nuclear power generation, a highly technical subject, the participatory deliberation group said it was confusing to see the sharply conflicting views of the proponents and opponents of the project and their failed attempt to reach an agreement. Presentations, small group discussions, and Q&A sessions should be systematically structured to amplify the effects of deliberation, allowing participants to preview the arguments from both sides and providing a more detailed agenda as well as more in-depth information.

Moreover, it is necessary to provide the space and time for members of the participatory deliberation group to freely exchange their views and listen to the opinions of others to enable effective small group discussion. Notably, a safe and independent setting should be secured to ensure that small group discussions can proceed without any distractions to concentration. More attention to detail is needed regarding such matters as the allocation of time and resources by priority on the agenda.

(4) Media strategies to help the public understand the concept of public deliberation

The public deliberation committee's basic role is to produce reasonable results that approximate public opinion, and it does so by fair and objective implementation of the participatory survey. In this regard, it is important to promote public deliberation itself and assure the public about procedural impartiality. The following areas needed to be addressed to overcome limitations.

First, the public deliberation had to focus on promoting public awareness about public deliberation and making the results of the deliberative poll widely acceptable, as it took place when public deliberation was a new concept to many. Moreover, there were limitations in demonstrating the impartiality of the survey itself because information had to be provided about issues over which the proponents and opponents deeply disagreed.

Second, due to the absence of mutual trust between proponents and opponents of resuming construction, the public deliberation committee was limited in its efforts to assure the public of its impartiality. Accordingly, it would be advisable for public deliberation to proceed on the basis of solid social trust through communication with the stakeholders participating in the public deliberation and greater efforts to secure impartiality.

Third, there were limitations as a result of media coverage of the deliberation process, which tended to focus excessively on which side would emerge as a victor. As a lot of media reports framed the public deliberation process as a dichotomy, depicting it as a "win or lose" situation, the more nuanced aspects of public deliberation were not communicated to the public. Moreover, due to an excessive focus on the impartial execution of public deliberation, the public deliberation committee was unable to sufficiently explain the significance of the public deliberation process to the general public. Going forward, various publicity efforts should be taken into consideration to ensure that the meaning of the public deliberation process and information about related agenda can be communicated without misunderstanding.

As a result, public deliberation requires sufficient discussions on agenda, preparations, and the development of social consensus. The public deliberation took place at a rapid pace over a three-month period. More systematic preparations should be undertaken prior to the execution of a public deliberation. The process could have been completed more smoothly, so it is regrettable that the process had to be rushed due to time pressures, giving rise to thorny issues between proponents and opponents of resumption.

IX

Conclusion

French economist Thomas Piketty, well known for his book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, said that no gradual, consensual, conflict-free evolution has ever taken place in human history. Conflicts are inevitable in any society where individuals and groups with different values and views coexist. As such, the existence of social conflicts is not abnormal or extraordinary but universal. In this sense, conflicts can provide a catalyst or opportunity for social development. To make this possible, the proper management, coordination, and resolution of conflict situations is critical. If one party is left to dominate or subjugate the other, it only magnifies conflicts. There must be continued social efforts to bring together different parties by way of compromise, concession, and persuasion and reduce conflicts by offering alternatives conducive to conciliation and coordination

Public deliberation is a socially significant procedure to address conflicts over government policies through consensus-building. Public deliberation takes place through a democratic process, engaging the representatives of the civil society in a process of collecting mature, informed opinions. In this regard, public deliberation has political significance as a democratic

exercise of state authority.

Historically, there are many examples where a handful of policymakers at the top of the government made important policy decisions and pushed their plans forward despite widespread public opposition. Often in such cases opponents of these policies resorted to extreme measures to fight for their cause, resulting in conflicts and clashes and often accompanied by violence and self-destructive antagonism at great cost to the larger society.

Public deliberation is a consensus-building procedure that helps society emerge from division and confrontation. A certain number of citizen representatives are selected through a statistical sampling methodology, and the panel of citizens deliberates on a set agenda to make a decision on the feasibility of a government policy, with their decision to be reflected in the government's final decision-making process. It is a truly democratic decision-making method, one that prioritizes deliberation over struggle and directly engages citizens, the source of sovereign power, in the policy-making process. In this regard, "deliberative democracy" is viewed as an evolved form of democracy.

The beauty of democracy lies in the process of rational discussion. As the aim of the process is to narrow and overcome differences, discussions can be full of disagreement and conflict until a final decision is reached. Yet this is the natural course of any discussion, unless conflicts are coordinated with patience and an openness to dialogue. The same is true of a public deliberation process. Citizen representatives play an active role in public deliberation by taking steps to learn and engage in discussions with each other on contentious policy issues.

During the larger public deliberation process, critical deliberation enables citizen representatives to express and share their opinions and exchange views with others. In this regard, critical deliberation is widely viewed as a rational communication process that enables a compromise between parties rather than the adoption of one opinion or view at the expense of the other. Notably, it is not unilateral but rather two-way communication and debate that makes it more likely participants in a process of deliberation will accept the final outcome. This makes final policy decisions more acceptable and thus reduces the likelihood of social conflict.

The advantages of public deliberation can be applied in a more forward looking way to address divisive and controversial policy issues that may occur following public deliberation. If public deliberation develops a positive track record, it has the potential to serve as a driving force behind the further development of democracy. Furthermore, policy decisions

made by one administration by means of a public deliberation process are likely to be upheld over subsequent administrations, barring exceptional circumstances, which can provide a firm basis for policy stability and sustainability.

With regard to the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, final policy recommendations were made by the public deliberation committee in the name of a 471-strong panel of citizens who took part in the participatory deliberation group. The public deliberation committee strongly hopes that the government and other stakeholders who directly or indirectly participated in the public deliberation process, as well as wider Korean society, will respect the policy recommendations agreed on by the participatory group through the deliberation process. In addition, the public deliberation committee calls for the media, in its highly influential role in shaping public opinion, to take the initiative in creating a culture in which the outcomes of public deliberation are respected regardless of which side has the majority. As such, the committee hopes that the public deliberation on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 serves as a model for the future, so that the importance of political and social consensus will be further highlighted going forward.

Attachment 1 Timeline of Major Events in the Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

Date	Content
June 27, 2017	In a cabinet meeting (session 28) chaired by the president, it was decided that a Public Deliberation Committee be established to build consensus by carrying out a public deliberation process based on deliberative polling concerning the issue of construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 as part of a process of consensus-building and that construction on the reactors would be temporarily suspended
June 29, 2017	The cooperation of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy was requested for the temporary suspension of construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
July 7, 2017	The Office for Government Policy Coordination began the process of organization the Public Deliberation Committee (temporary designation) on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
July 14, 2017	The proposal to temporarily suspend construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was passed in a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Korea Hydro & Nuclear Power Co., Ltd.
July 14, 2017	The Office for Government Policy Coordination sent a list of 29 possible candidates for the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 to major groups in favor of or opposed to further construction on Shin-Gori plant in order to determine their suitability.
July 17, 2017	The Office for Government Policy Coordination (under a directive by the prime minister) laid out "Regulations on the Formation and Operation of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6"
July 24, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was officially launched.
July 24, 2017	The 1st regular meeting was held.
July 26, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee held it 1st discussion session.
July 27, 2017	The 2nd regular meeting was held, at which the committee decided on the selection process and size of the participatory deliberation group (about 20,000 participants in the initial survey and about 350 for deliberative polling).
July 28, 2017	A televised debate was held on JTBC's *Night Debate*.
July 31, 2017	The Survey Subcommittee held its 1st meeting.
August 1, 2017	The Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee held its 1st meeting.
August 1, 2017	Rounds of regional open debates were begun (Seoul, under the supervision of the Korea Academy for Conflict Studies).
August 2, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee held its 2nd discussion session.

Date	Content
August 3, 2017	The committee's 3rd regular meeting was held, at which subcommittees were organized and their heads appointed.
August 3, 2017	At the 3rd regular meeting, the role of the committee was clarified. (The committee is not to decide whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should be stopped but to serve as an independent advisory body providing the government with recommendations based on a fair and impartial assessment of the public deliberation on the issue.)
August 3, 2017	At the 3rd regular meeting, the committee decided on the term "participatory deliberation group."
August 3, 2017	The Communication Subcommittee held its 1st meeting.
August 8, 2017	The Survey Subcommittee held its 2nd meeting.
August 8, 2017	The Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee held its 2nd meeting.
August 8, 2017	The Communication Subcommittee held its 2nd meeting.
August 8, 2017	The Legal Subcommittee held its 1st meeting.
August 8–22, 2017	An urgent announcement was made, inviting citizens to provide their services by partaking in a participatory survey to formulate an opinion, formed through public deliberation, on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.
August 9, 2017	The Legal Subcommittee held its 1st consultation meeting.
August 9, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee held its 3rd discussion session.
August 10, 2017	The 4th regular meeting was held.
August 10, 2017	The committee opened its official website (www.sgr56.go.kr).
August 10, 2017	Discussions were held with a group opposed to resuming construction (Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World).
August 11, 2017	Discussions were held with groups in favor of resuming construction (the Korea Atomic Industrial Forum and the Korean Nuclear Society).
August 15, 2017	The Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee held its 3rd meeting.
August 16, 2017	The Survey Subcommittee held its 3rd meeting.
August 16, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee held its 4th discussion session.

Date	Content
August 17, 2017	The 5th regular meeting was held, at which it was decided that stakeholder communication council meetings would be held.
August 17, 2017	The 6th regular meeting was held.
August 17, 2017	The 1st communication council meeting opened, and a draft sourcebook was handed out without full agreement on the contents.
August 18, 2017	The Communication Subcommittee held its 3rd meeting.
August 18, 2017	The 1st Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
August 21, 2017	The Survey Subcommittee held its 4th meeting.
August 21, 2017	The Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee held its 4th meeting.
August 21–September 3, 2017	1st online advertisements: Naver Rolling Board, available for both desktops and mobile devices, and a banner ad on the Daum main page, also targeting both desktops and mobile devices.
August 22, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee held its 5th discussion session.
August 23, 2017	The 2nd Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
August 23, 2017	Evaluation of businesses proposing to provide services for the participatory surveys for public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
August 24, 2017	The 6th regular meeting was held.
August 24, 2017	The Korea Research Consortium was selected to carry out the surveys.
August 25–September 9, 2017	The 1st survey was conducted.
August 27, 2017	Televised debate on Ulsan MBC on the pros and cons of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
August 28, 2017	Committee members visited the construction site of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, located in the Seosaeng-myeon of Ulju-gun, Ulsan.
August 28, 2017	The committee held discussions with local parties in favor of discontinuing construction.
August 29, 2017	The Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee held its 5th meeting.

Date	Content
August 30, 2017	The Survey Subcommittee held its 5th meeting.
August 30, 2017	The Public Deliberation Committee held its 6th discussion session.
August 31, 2017	The 7th regular meeting was held.
August 31, 2017	The Communication Subcommittee held its 4th meeting.
August 31, 2017	The 3rd Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
September 4, 2017	The 6th meeting of the Survey Subcommittee
September 4, 2017	The 6th meeting of the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee
September 5, 2017	The 7th meeting of the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee
September 5, 2017	The 7th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
September 6, 2017	The 8th regular meeting
September 7, 2017	Regional open debate in Gwangju, supervised by the Korean Association for Local Government Studies
September 8, 2017	The 8th meeting of the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee
September 8, 2017	An agreement was signed with the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research of Seoul National University to form and operate a monitoring committee.
September 8, 2017	The 4th Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
September 8–9, 2017	Public Deliberation Committee workshop
September 11, 2017	The 7th meeting of the Survey Subcommittee
September 11, 2017	The 9th meeting of the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee
September 12, 2017	The 2nd consultation with the Legal Subcommittee

Date	Content
September 12, 2017	The 8th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
September 13, 2017	The 9th regular meeting
September 13, 2017	An expanded participatory deliberation group of 500 was selected.
September 13, 2017	Regional open debate in Daejeon, supervised by the Dankook Center for Dispute Resolution
September 14, 2017	The 10th meeting of the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee
September 14, 2017	The 3rd consultation with the Legal Subcommittee
September 14, 2017	The Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World issued a statement that it was considering not participating in the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.
September 15, 2017	A luncheon press conference was canceled.
September 15, 2017	The 9th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
September 16, 2017	Participatory deliberation group orientation was held at Kyeseongwon (Kyobo Life HRD center), in Cheonan, without distributing sourcebooks.
September 16, 2017	The 2nd survey was conducted.
September 18, 2017	A regional open debate was held in Busan, supervised by the Korean Academy for Conflict Studies.
September 19, 2017	The 10th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
September 19, 2017	The headquarters of the Ulsan Citizen Movement Headquarters for Cancellation of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 raised objections to the proportion of Ulsan citizens included in the participatory deliberation group.
September 20, 2017	The 10th regular meeting was held.
September 21, 2017	The 5th meeting of the Communication Subcommittee
September 21, 2017	The 5th Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
September 21, 2017	The 1st lecture of the e-learning system, on understanding the public deliberation process, was opened.

Date	Content
September 24, 2017	The 2nd lecture of the e-learning system, on the safety of nuclear power, opened.
September 25, 2017	The 8th meeting of the Survey Subcommittee
September 25, 2017	The 11th meeting of the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee
September 25, 2017	The 4th consultation with the Legal Subcommittee
September 26, 2017	Regional open debate in Seoul, supervised by the Korean Academy for Conflict Studies
September 26, 2017	The 11th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
September 27, 2017	The 11th regular meeting
September 27, 2017	Televised debate on SBS, titled "Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6: To Build or Not to Build?"
September 27, 2017	The 3rd lecture of the e-learning system, on the distribution of electricity and electricity rates, opened.
September 28, 2017	Sourcebooks were mailed out.
September 28, 2017	A regional open debate was held in Suwon, Gyeonggi-do, supervised by the Dankook Center for Conflict Resolution.
September 29, 2017	The 9th meeting of the Survey Subcommittee
September 29, 2017	The 12th regular meeting was held.
September 29, 2017	The 6th Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
September 30, 2017	The 4th lecture of the e-learning system, on the influence on regional and national industries, was opened.
September 30, 2017	A debate with representatives of future generations was held at the Sejong Cultural Center.
October 2, 2017	Televised debate on Channel A
October 2–15, 2017	2nd online advertisement

Date	Content
October 3, 2017	The 5th lecture on the e-learning system, on energy policies and their outlook, was opened.
October 5, 2017	Televised debate on YTN's Special Project, titled "Debate on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6: A Focus on Safety"
October 6, 2017	Televised debate on YTN's Special Project, titled "Debate on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6: Distribution of Electricity, the Effect on Your Electric Bill, and Energy Policies"
October 7, 2017	The 6th lecture on the e-learning system, on an overview of views on the issue, was opened.
October 7, 2017	Televised debate on YTN's Special Project, titled "Debate on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6: National Industries, Regional Residents, and Effects on Related Businesses"
October 9, 2017	The 12th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
October 10, 2017	The 7th Stakeholder Communication Council Meeting
October 10, 2017	The 13th discussion session of the Public Deliberation Committee
October 11, 2017	The 13th regular meeting
October 11, 2017	A regional open debate was held in Ulsan, supervised by the Korean Association for Local Government Studies.
October 13–15, 2017	General debate (two nights, three days long)
October 13, 2017	The 3rd survey
October 15, 2017	The 4th survey
October 20, 2017	The 14th regular meeting was held and recommendations were submitted by the committee.

Participatory Surveys for Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (First survey)

Hello. My name is _____ and I am an interviewer at the consortium of Hankook Research and World Research, professional public opinion research firms. At the request of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, a consulting panel for the Prime Minister, this survey is being conducted to gather citizens' opinions on whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should (be discontinued/be resumed).

This simple survey will only take three minutes, and all the respondents will be given a mobile gift card worth KRW 5,000. The survey results will be important resources for formulating national policy. Your participation would be greatly appreciated.

(Alternate between the expressions "be discontinued" and "be resumed.")

* Commissioned by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

* Conducted by Hankook Research and World Research

Pre-question 1. Where do you currently reside?

① Seoul
② Busan
③ Daegu
④ Incheon
⑤ Gwangju
⑥ Daejeon
⑦ Ulsan
⑧ Gyeonggi-do
⑨ Gangwon-do
⑩ Chungcheongbuk-do
⑪ Chungcheongnam-do (including Sejong)
⑫ Jeollabuk-do
⑬ Jeollanam-do
⑭ Gyeongsangbuk-do
⑮ Gyeongsangnam-do
⑯ Jeju

Pre-question 2. Gender (Interviewer to mark answer without asking)

① Male
② Female

Pre-question 3. How old are you?

① Under 18
② 19–29
③ 30–39
④ 40–49
⑤ 50–59
⑥ 60 or older

Q1. There has been controversy over whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should (be discontinued/be resumed). The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 was established to gauge public opinion on the issue. Were you aware of this situation?
(Alternate between "be discontinued" and "be resumed.")

① Yes, I was.
② No, I was not.

Q2. There are varying opinions on whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should (be discontinued/be resumed). What is your opinion on the issue? (Alternate the order of answers 1 and 2)

① I am in favor of discontinuing construction. (Go to Q2-1)

② I am in favor of resuming construction. (Go to Q2-2)

③ I haven't decided yet. (Go to Q3)

⑨ I don't know. (Go to Q3)

Q2-1. (For respondents who answered "1" in Q2) What is the biggest reason you support discontinuing construction on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 reactors?

① Because of the risk of nuclear accidents like those that occurred in Chernobyl and Fukushima

② Because radiation from nuclear waste will pose a danger to human beings for tens of thousands of years

③ Because nuclear power generation is expensive considering the costs of waste disposal and decommissioning

④ Because the current trend in energy is toward nuclear-free generation and incorporation of renewable energy sources

⑤ Other

⑨ I don't know

Q2-2. (For respondents who answered "2" in Q2) What is the biggest reason you support resuming construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6?

① Because higher electric bills will increase the burden on families and other businesses

② Because it will result in unstable electricity supply

③ Because if construction is discontinued, it will mean a loss of KRW 1.8 trillion

④ Because the economy will suffer as jobs disappear and opportunities to export nuclear plants are lost

⑤ Other

⑨ I don't know

Q3. What direction do you think Korean government policy should take regarding nuclear power? (Alternate the order of answers: 1-2-3 and 3-2-1)

① Expand nuclear power

② Maintain the current levels

③ Reduce nuclear power

⑨ I don't know

Q4. The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is currently recruiting members for a participatory deliberation group to take part in public deliberation on whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should (be discontinued/be resumed). There will be a program of critical deliberation that will take place over three days, from Friday, October 13, to Sunday, October 15, 2017. Participants are also required to attend an orientation on September 16, 2017. Would you like to participate in the deliberation group as a citizen representative? Transportation and accommodation expenses will be covered, and participants will be provided with remuneration of KRW 850,000.
(Alternate between "be discontinued" and "be resumed.")

① Yes, I would like to participate in the deliberations.

② No, I do not want to participate in the deliberations.

③ It depends.

Q5. What do you do for a living?

① Agriculture/forestry/fishery

② Self-employed

③ Sales/service

④ Manufacturing/technical/labor

⑤ Office worker/administrator/specialist

⑥ Housewife (no other employment)

⑦ Student

⑧ Unemployed/Retired

⑨ Don't know/no response (Don't read this answer out loud)

Q6. Which political party do you support? I will list the Korean political parties in the order of number of seats in the National Assembly.

① Democratic Party (The Minjoo Party of Korea)

② Liberty Korea Party

③ People's Party

④ Bareun Party

⑤ Justice Party of Korea

⑥ Other

⑱ I don't support any party.

⑲ Don't know/no answer (Interviewer should not read this option out loud)

If the respondent is using a landline phone

Q7. Thank you for your responses. We would like to send you a mobile gift card of KRW 5,000 that you can use in convenience stores across Korea. Could you tell us your mobile phone number?

(※ If asked by the respondents on the landline: "Your landline number was randomly selected for this call, so we don't know your mobile phone number.")

① If the respondent has a mobile phone (No:_____), go to Q8.

② If the respondent does not have a mobile phone, go to Q7-1.

⑨ If the respondent refuses to give their mobile number, go to Q 7-1.

If the respondent is using a mobile phone

Q7. Thank you for your responses. We would like to send you a mobile gift card of KRW 5,000 that you can use in convenience stores across Korea. Could you tell us your mobile phone number?

(※ When asked by respondents referred to via temporary "safe number" service: "We were referred to you via your temporary 'safe number' so we don't know your actual mobile phone number.")

① If the respondent gives their number (No:_____), go to Q8.

⑨ If the respondent refuses to give their mobile number, go to Q7-1.

Q7-1. We would still like to send you KRW 5,000 through your bank account as an expression of our appreciation. Could you give us the account number where you would like to receive the reward money?

① The respondent gives their account number (Account no:_____/

Name on account:_____).

② The respondent refuses to provide their account number (and refuses the monetary gift).

Q8. (For respondents who answered "1" or "3" in Q4) We would like to contact you after September 11 to ask you to attend the orientation on September 16 and participate in the three-day debate from October 13 to October 15. May we contact you regarding these matters?

① Yes (Name:_____).

② No.

Thank you.

The information you provided will be used for statistical purposes only, and your personal information will be kept strictly confidential.

Participatory Surveys for Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (Second survey)

*** Commissioned by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6**

*** Conducted by Hankook Research, World Research, and the Korean Center for Social Conflict Resolution**

Hello. This is an interviewer at the consortium of Hankook Research, World Research, and Korean Center for Social Conflict Resolution. The consortium has been tasked with conducting the second participatory survey of members of the participatory deliberation group regarding Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.
Thank you for agreeing to participate in the deliberation group.

You and other members of the group will be participating in four surveys. Today's survey is the second, and we would appreciate your thorough responses to the questions.

Your answers will be used for statistical purposes only, and your personal information will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with Article 33 of the Statistics Act.

Please write down your ID, name, and contact information.

ID		Name	
Mobile phone number			

Q1. In your opinion, how important are the following factors in deciding whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is discontinued or resumed?

	Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Average	Not very important	Not important	Not important at all
1) Safety	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Stability of energy supply	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Costs to supply electricity	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Effects on regional and national industry	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) Electricity rates	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) Environment	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q2. Over the last month, how frequently have you done the following?

	Frequently	Somewhat frequently	Average	Not so frequently	Seldom
1) Watched a TV program on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
2) Read news articles on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
3) Searched the Internet for information the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
4) Talked (or exchanged opinions) with acquaintances on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤

Q3. How much do you trust the following sources for information on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants?

	Completely	Moderately	Somewhat	Average	Somewhat distrust	Moderately distrust	Completely distrust
1) Government	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Nuclear power experts	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Nuclear power plant developer	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Civic groups	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) Mass media, including newspapers and TV broadcasting stations	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) Information on the Internet	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

※ The following questions are on nuclear power plants, including the Shin-Gori plant. Please answer as best as you can based on your background knowledge.

Q4. Do you know how many nuclear power plants are currently generating electricity in Korea?

① 20 plants ② 22 plants ③ 24 plants

④ 26 plants ⑤ I don't know

Q5. Do you know where Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 are located?

① Ulju ② Gyeongju ③ Yeonggwang

④ Uljin ⑤ I don't know

Q6. What kind of fuel is used in nuclear power plants in Korea?

① Cesium ② Uranium ③ Thorium

④ Plutonium ⑤ I don't know

Q7. Among the nuclear power plant sites in Korea, which has the largest amount of spent nuclear fuel (according to the Nuclear Safety and Security Commission as of 2017)?

> ※ **Spent nuclear fuel**
>
> Spent nuclear fuel refers to nuclear fuel used at nuclear power plants. Its appearance does not change before and after use. It must be safely managed due to radioactivity.

① Gori ② Wolseong ③ Hanbit (Yeonggwang)

④ Hanul (Uljin) ⑤ I don't know

Q8. Do you know which country currently operates the most nuclear power plants (according to the World Nuclear Association as of 2017)?

① Korea ② France ③ Japan

④ United States ⑤ I don't know

Q9. Do you know which country has the largest share of renewable energy in the energy mix (according to the International Energy Agency as of 2017)?

① Germany ② Korea ③ Austria

④ Portugal ⑤ I don't know

Q10. Which energy source generates the most electricity in Korea? (according to 2016 Statistics of Electric Power in Korea)

① New and renewable energy ② Gas (LNG) ③ Nuclear power

④ Coal ⑤ I don't know

Q11. Which of Korea's nuclear reactors was taken permanently offline in June 2017?

① Yeonggwang 1 ② Wolseong 1 ③ Gori 1

④ Uljin 1 ⑤ I don't know

Participatory Surveys for Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (Third survey) [A type]

* Commissioned by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

* Conducted by Hankook Research, World Research, and the Korean Center for Social Conflict Resolution

Hello. This is an interviewer at the consortium of Hankook Research, World Research, and Korean Center for Social Conflict Resolution. The consortium has been tasked with conducting the third participatory survey of members of the participatory deliberation group regarding Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.
Thank you for agreeing to participate in the deliberation group.

You and other members of the group will be participating in four surveys. Today's survey is the third, and we would appreciate your thorough responses to the questions.

Your answers will be used for statistical purposes only, and your personal information will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with Article 33 of the Statistics Act.

Please write down your ID, name, and contact information.

ID		Name	
Mobile phone number			

Q1. There are varying opinions on whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should (be discontinued/be resumed). What is your opinion on the issue?

① I am in favor of discontinuing construction. (Go to Q1-1)

② I am in favor of resuming construction. (Go to Q1-2)

③ I haven't decided yet. (Go to Q2)

④ I don't know. (Go to Q2)

Q1-1. (For respondents who answered "1" in Q1) What is the biggest reason you support discontinuing construction on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 reactors?

① Because of the risk of nuclear accidents like those that occurred in Chernobyl and Fukushima

② Because radiation from nuclear waste will pose a danger to human beings for tens of thousands of years

③ Because nuclear power generation is expensive considering the costs of waste disposal and decommissioning

④ Because the current trend in energy is toward nuclear-free generation and incorporation of renewable energy sources

⑤ Other

⑥ I don't know

Go to Q2 after answering Q1-1

Q1-2. (For respondents who answered "2" in Q1) What is the biggest reason you support resuming construction on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 reactors?

① Because higher electric bills will increase the burden on families and other businesses

② Because it will result in unstable electricity supply

③ Because if construction is discontinued, it will mean a loss of KRW 1.8 trillion

④ Because the economy will suffer as jobs disappear and opportunities to export nuclear plants are lost.

⑤ Other

⑥ I don't know

Go to Q2 after answering Q1-2

Q2. What direction do you think Korean government policy should take regarding nuclear power?

① Expand nuclear power ② Maintain the current levels

③ Reduce nuclear power ④ I don't know

Q3. In your opinion, how important are the following factors in deciding whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is discontinued or resumed?

	Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Average	Not very important	Not important	Not important at all
1) Safety	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Stability of energy supply	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Costs to supply electricity	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Effects on regional and national industry	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) Electricity rates	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) Environment	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q4. Over the last month, how frequently have you done the following?

	Frequently	Somewhat frequently	Average	Not so frequently	Seldom
1) Watched a TV program on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
2) Read news articles on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
3) Searched the Internet for information the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
4) Talked (or exchanged opinions) with acquaintances on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants	①	②	③	④	⑤
5) Watched public debate(s) held by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6	①	②	③	④	⑤
6) Read the sourcebook provided by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6	①	②	③	④	⑤
7) Accessed e-learning material available on the website of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6	①	②	③	④	⑤
8) Participated in the Q&A section of the website of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6	①	②	③	④	⑤

Q5. How much have you read of the sourcebook?

① All of it

② More than half (around 3/4)

③ About half (around 1/2)

④ Less than half (around 1/4)

⑤ Haven't read it yet

Q6. The following are the arguments each side is making through brochures and video materials. Do you agree with these arguments? Or do you disagree with them?

	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 put us in greater danger.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 are the safest of all of Korea's nuclear reactors.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Even if construction of nuclear power plants is discontinued starting with Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, it will still be possible to maintain a stable supply of electricity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) If construction of nuclear power plants is discontinued starting with Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, it will soon be impossible to maintain a stable supply of electricity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) It is time for the money saved by discontinuing construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 to be invested in developing renewable energy.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) The construction and operation of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 will vitalize the national economy.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7) The issue of higher electricity bills as a result of discontinuation of construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 can be addressed through society-wide consensus-building.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
8) If construction is discontinued on Shin-Gori 5 & 6, it will be necessary to build power plants that produce energy at a higher cost, which will lead to higher electricity bills.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
9) Nuclear power will no longer be as affordable to produce as it once was.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
10) Nuclear power is the cheapest source of power.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q7. Those opposed to resuming construction rely on various arguments, as do those in favor of resuming construction. How much do you agree with the arguments of each of the following positions?

	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) Anti-construction	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Pro-construction	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

※ The following questions are on nuclear power plants, including the Shin-Gori plant. Please answer as best as you can based on your background knowledge.

Q8. Do you know how many nuclear power plants are currently generating electricity in Korea?

① 20 plants ② 22 plants ③ 24 plants

④ 26 plants ⑤ I don't know

Q9. Do you know where Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 are located?

① Ulju ② Gyeongju ③ Yeonggwang

④ Uljin ⑤ I don't know

Q10. What kind of fuel is used in nuclear power plants in Korea?

① Cesium ② Uranium ③ Thorium

④ Plutonium ⑤ I don't know

Q11. Among the nuclear power plant sites in Korea, which has the largest amount of spent nuclear fuel (according to the Nuclear Safety and Security Commission as of 2017)?

> ※ **Spent nuclear fuel**
>
> Spent nuclear fuel refers to nuclear fuel used at nuclear power plants. Its appearance does not change before and after use. It must be safely managed due to radioactivity.

① Gori ② Wolseong ③ Hanbit (Yeonggwang)

④ Hanul (Uljin) ⑤ I don't know

Q12. Do you know which country currently operates the most nuclear power plants (according to the World Nuclear Association as of 2017)?

① Korea ② France ③ Japan

④ United States ⑤ I don't know

Q13. Do you know which country has the largest share of renewable energy in the energy mix (according to the International Energy Agency as of 2017)?

① Germany ② Korea ③ Austria

④ Portugal ⑤ I don't know

Q14. Which energy source generates the most electricity in Korea? (according to 2016 Statistics of Electric Power in Korea)

① New and renewable energy ② Gas (LNG) ③ Nuclear power

④ Coal ⑤ I don't know

Q15. Which of Korea's nuclear reactors was taken permanently offline in June 2017?

① Yeonggwang 1 ② Wolseong 1 ③ Gori 1

④ Uljin 1 ⑤ I don't know

※ **The following questions will be used solely for statistical purposes.**

DQ1. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

① Middle school ② High school ③ University or higher

DQ2. If you were to divide Korean society into ten brackets, which bracket would your family belong to?

The lowest bracket is 1 and the highest is 10 Please choose a number between 1 and 10.

Low (bottom)				Average					High (top)
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨	⑩

DQ3. What is your political ideology (orientation)?

Very progressive	Progressive	None	Conservative	Very conservative
①	②	③	④	⑤

DQ4. What do you do for a living?

① Agriculture/forestry/fishery
② Self-employed
③ Sales/service
④ Manufacturing/technical/labor
⑤ Office worker/administrator/specialist
⑥ Housewife (no other employment)
⑦ Student
⑧ Unemployed/retired

DQ5. What is your household's net monthly income?

① Less than KRW 1 million
② Between KRW 1 million and 2 million
③ Between KRW 2 million and 3 million
④ Between KRW 3 million and 4 million
⑤ Between KRW 4 million and 5 million
⑥ Between KRW 5 million and 6 million
⑦ Between KRW 6 million and 7 million
⑧ More than KRW 7 million

DQ6. What is your religion?

① Christian ② Buddhist ③ Catholic ④ Other ⑤ Non-religious

Participatory Surveys for Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (Fourth survey) [A type]

*** Commissioned by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6**

*** Conducted by Hankook Research, World Research, and the Korean Center for Social Conflict Resolution**

Hello. This is an interviewer at the consortium of Hankook Research, World Research, and Korean Center for Social Conflict Resolution. The consortium has been tasked with conducting the fourth participatory survey of members of the participatory deliberation group regarding Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.
Thank you for agreeing to participate in the deliberation group.

You and other members of the group will be participating in four surveys. Today's survey is the fourth, and we would appreciate your thorough responses to the questions.

Your answers will be used for statistical purposes only, and your personal information will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with Article 33 of the Statistics Act.

Please write down your ID, name, and contact information.

ID		Name	
Mobile phone number			

Q1. There are varying opinions on whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should (be discontinued/be resumed). What is your opinion on the issue?

① I am in favor of discontinuing construction. (Go to Q1-1)

② I am in favor of resuming construction. (Go to Q1-2)

③ I haven't decided yet. (Go to Q2)

④ I don't know. (Go to Q2)

Q1-1. (For respondents who answered "1" in Q1) What is the biggest reason you support discontinuing construction on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 reactors?

① Because of the risk of nuclear accidents like those that occurred in Chernobyl and Fukushima

② Because radiation from nuclear waste will pose a danger to human beings for tens of thousands of years

③ Because nuclear power generation is expensive considering the costs of waste disposal and decommissioning

④ Because the current trend in energy is toward nuclear-free generation and incorporation of renewable energy sources

⑤ Other

⑥ I don't know

Go to Q2 after answering Q1-1.

Q1-2. (For respondents who answered "2" in Q1) What is the biggest reason you support resuming construction on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 reactors?

① Because higher electric bills will increase the burden on families and other businesses

② Because it will result in unstable electricity supply

③ Because if construction is discontinued, it will mean a loss of KRW 1.8 trillion

④ Because the economy will suffer as jobs disappear and opportunities to export nuclear plants are lost

⑤ Other

⑥ I don't know

Go to Q2 after answering Q1-2.

Q2. What direction do you think Korean government policy should take regarding nuclear power?

① Expand nuclear power

② Maintain the current levels

③ Reduce nuclear power

④ I don't know

Q3. In your opinion, how important are the following factors in deciding whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 is discontinued or resumed?

	Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Average	Not very important	Not important	Not important at all
1) Safety	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Stability of energy supply	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Costs to supply electricity	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Effects on regional and national industry	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) Electricity rates	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) Environment	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q4. How much do you trust the following sources for information on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6 plants?

	Completely	Moderately	Somewhat	Average	Somewhat distrust	Moderately distrust	Completely distrust
1) Government	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Nuclear power experts	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Nuclear power plant developer	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Civic groups	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) Mass media, including newspapers and TV broadcasting stations	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) Information on the Internet	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7) Experts who support discontinuing construction	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
8) Experts who support resuming construction	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q5. The following are the arguments each side is making through brochures and video materials. Do you agree with these arguments? Or do you disagree with them?

	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 put us in greater danger.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 are the safest of all of Korea's nuclear reactors.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Even if construction of nuclear power plants is discontinued starting with Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, it will still be possible to maintain a stable supply of electricity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) If construction of nuclear power plants is discontinued starting with Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, it will soon be impossible to maintain a stable supply of electricity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) It is time for the money saved by discontinuing construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 to be invested in developing renewable energy.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) The construction and operation of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 will vitalize the national economy.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7) The issue of higher electricity bills as a result of discontinuation of construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 can be addressed through society-wide consensus-building.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
8) If construction is discontinued on the Shin-Gori 5 & 6, it will be necessary to build power plants that produce energy at a higher cost, which will lead to higher electricity bills.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
9) Nuclear power will no longer be as affordable to produce as it once was.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
10) Nuclear power is the cheapest source of power.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q6. Those opposed to resuming construction rely on various arguments, as do those in favor of resuming construction. How much do you agree with the arguments of each of the following positions?

	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agreed	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) Anti-construction	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Pro-construction	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q7. If you had to choose, considering all the relevant factors, what is your opinion on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6? Do you think construction should be discontinued or resumed?

① I am in favor of discontinuing construction.

② I am in favor of resuming construction.

Q8. How much would you respect the final decision on construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, even if it differs from your opinion?

Fully respect	Respect	Would not respect	Would not respect at all
①	②	③	④

Q9. Some say if construction is discontinued, follow-up measures will be necessary. Which of the following do you believe are the most important follow-up measures? (Identify a first choice and second choice).

First choice_____ Second choice_____

Measures
① Human resource development should be supported to ensure safe operation of existing plants.
② Continuous efforts must be made to promote nuclear exports.
③ Investments should be made in developing and maintaining nuclear technology.
④ Measures should be taken to enhance the morale of professionals in the nuclear industry.

Q9-1. If construction is discontinued, what other measures do you think are needed in addition to those mentioned above? Please write down the measures you think are needed.

Q10. Some say if construction is resumed, follow-up measures will be necessary. Which of the following do you believe are the most important follow-up measures? (Identify a first choice and second choice).

First choice_____ Second choice_____

Measures
① The government must further strengthen nuclear safety measures.
② The nuclear-free policy must be maintained.
③ The government must promptly prepare a plan to resolve the spent fuel issue.
④ More investments should be made to increase the share of renewable energy in the energy mix.

Q10-1. If construction is resumed, what other measures do you think are needed in addition to those mentioned above? Please write down the measures you think are needed.

※ The following questions are on nuclear power plants, including the Shin-Gori plant. Please answer as best as you can based on your background knowledge.

Q11. Do you know how many nuclear power plants are currently generating electricity in Korea?

① 20 plants ② 22 plants ③ 24 plants

④ 26 plants ⑤ I don't know

Q12. Do you know where Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 are located?

① Ulju ② Gyeongju ③ Yeonggwang

④ Uljin ⑤ I don't know

Q13. What kind of fuel is used in nuclear power plants in Korea?

① Cesium ② Uranium ③ Thorium

④ Plutonium ⑤ I don't know

Q14. Among the nuclear power plant sites in Korea, which has the largest amount of spent nuclear fuel (according to the Nuclear Safety and Security Commission as of 2017)?

※ **Spent nuclear fuel**

Spent nuclear fuel refers to nuclear fuel used at nuclear power plants. Its appearance does not change before and after use. It must be safely managed due to radioactivity.

① Gori ② Wolseong ③ Hanbit (Yeonggwang)

④ Hanul (Uljin) ⑤ I don't know

Q15. Do you know which country currently operates the most nuclear power plants (according to the World Nuclear Association as of 2017)?

① Korea ② France ③ Japan

④ United States ⑤ I don't know

Q16. Do you know which country has the largest share of renewable energy in the energy mix (according to the International Energy Agency as of 2017)?

① Germany ② Korea ③ Austria

④ Portugal ⑤ I don't know

Q17. Which energy source generates the most electricity in Korea? (according to 2016 Statistics of Electric Power in Korea)

① New and renewable energy ② Gas (LNG) ③ Nuclear power

④ Coal ⑤ I don't know

Q18. Which of Korea's nuclear reactors was taken permanently offline in June 2017?

① Yeonggwang 1 ② Wolseong 1 ③ Gori 1

④ Uljin 1 ⑤ I don't know

Q19. What is your opinion on the following?

	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) Politicians are interested in what ordinary people like me think.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) Most public policies are too complicated for people like me to understand.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) Ordinary people do not have any influence on government policies.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) I have personal opinions on politics and social issues that I'd like to express.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) I'm more interested in political and social issues than others.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) I respect other people's opinions even if I don't agree with them.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7) I can debate and reach a consensus with people whose opinions are different from mine.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
8) I can compromise in order to reach a consensus with others.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

The following questions concern the public deliberation process.

Q20. In your opinion, how fair was the public deliberation process?

	Very fair	Fair	Somewhat fair	Average	Somewhat unfair	Unfair	Not fair at all
1) Brochure	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) E-learning video content	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) MC	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Moderator (chairperson of group discussion)	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) The overall public deliberation process	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q21. How helpful were these materials in helping you decide your opinion on the issue?

	Very helpful	Helpful	Somewhat helpful	Average	Somewhat unhelpful	Unhelpful	Not helpful at all
1) Brochure	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) E-learning video content	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) MC	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) Moderator (chairperson of group discussion)	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) The overall public deliberation process	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) Group discussions	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
7) Conversations and exchanges of opinion with acquaintances	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
8) Media coverage	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
9) The public deliberation process as a whole	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q22. How would you describe your experience of the group discussions held during the debate?

Activity	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agreed	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) I actively expressed my opinion during the group discussion.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) I tried to listen carefully to others during the group discussion.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) There was a healthy exchange of opinion during the group discussion.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) The group discussion was fairly moderated.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) Participants of the group discussion respected one another's opinions.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q23. How true are the following statements?

Activity	Very much agree	Agree	Somewhat agreed	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Very much disagree
1) I answered the questions in this survey to the best of my ability.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
2) I became more knowledgeable about energy policy through my participation in the public deliberation process.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
3) I developed a stronger interest political and social issues through my participation in the public deliberation process.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
4) The government should make greater efforts to hold public deliberations as a means to seek out the opinions of its citizens.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5) I will trust decisions made by the government even if I do not agree with them.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
6) If given the chance, I would be willing to participate in another public deliberation.	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

Q24. How satisfied were you with the public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6?

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Unsatisfied	Not satisfied at all
①	②	③	④

Q24-1. Why so? Please feel free to provide additional details.

Attachment 3 Results of the First Survey

1. Awareness of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

(Unit: %)

Category		Sample size	Already aware	Hearing about it for the 1st time
All		20,006	77.7	22.3
Gender	Male	9,930	83.2	16.8
	Female	10,076	72.2	27.8
Age	19–29	3,506	46.6	53.4
	30s	3,517	71.6	28.4
	40s	4,105	85.6	14.4
	50s	3,993	91.3	8.7
	60+	4,885	86.5	13.5
Region	Seoul	3,944	78.1	21.9
	Busan	1,385	83.8	16.2
	Daegu	963	77.5	22.5
	Incheon	1,119	75.9	24.2
	Gwangju	548	75.0	25.0
	Daejeon	569	78.0	22.0
	Ulsan	447	86.3	13.8
	Gyeonggi-do	4,851	77.4	22.6
	Gangwon-do	608	74.3	25.7
	Chungcheongbuk-do	614	73.6	26.4
	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	901	74.9	25.2
	Jeollabuk-do	719	74.7	25.3
	Jeollanam-do	739	76.6	23.4
	Gyeongsangbuk-do	1,064	77.0	23.0
	Gyeongsangnam-do	1,290	79.1	20.9
	Jeju	245	76.2	23.9
Occupation	Agriculture, forestry, fishery	604	83.1	16.9
	Self-employed	3,412	89.2	10.9
	Sales/service	2,039	74.0	26.1
	Manufacturing, technical, labor	1,784	80.5	19.5
	Office worker, administrator, specialist	5,427	80.5	19.5
	Housewife	3,727	76.6	23.4
	Student	1,545	45.1	54.9
	Unemployed, retired	1,409	78.2	21.8
	Do not know, no answer	59	47.6	52.4

2. Opinions on the Resumption or Suspension of Construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

(Unit: %)

Category		Sample size	For suspension	For resumption	No opinion	Don't know
	All	20,006	27.6	36.6	20.5	15.3
Gender	Male	9,930	25.8	47.8	17.1	9.2
	Female	10,076	29.3	25.6	23.8	21.3
Age	19–29	3,506	28.9	17.9	27.8	25.5
	30s	3,517	41.9	19.5	23.6	15.0
	40s	4,105	39.8	28.0	21.8	10.5
	50s	3,993	22.3	49.2	17.7	10.8
	60+	4,885	10.4	59.3	14.2	16.1
Region	Seoul	3,944	27.6	36.3	21.8	14.3
	Busan	1,385	35.0	37.0	17.2	10.8
	Daegu	963	20.3	45.9	17.2	16.6
	Incheon	1,119	26.8	36.2	21.8	15.3
	Gwangju	548	36.1	22.5	23.0	18.4
	Daejeon	569	25.6	37.4	21.1	15.9
	Ulsan	447	32.6	41.9	14.8	10.6
	Gyeonggi-do	4,851	28.7	35.6	21.1	14.7
	Gangwon-do	608	20.5	40.7	19.7	19.2
	Chungcheongbuk-do	614	25.6	37.6	18.9	17.9
	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	901	26.5	33.9	20.0	19.6
	Jeollabuk-do	719	34.0	25.3	22.8	17.9
	Jeollanam-do	739	28.0	28.7	23.5	19.8
	Gyeongsangbuk-do	1,064	17.8	49.2	17.1	15.9
	Gyeongsangnam-do	1,290	25.2	39.9	21.1	13.8
	Jeju	245	33.3	30.4	18.0	18.3
Occupation	Agriculture, forestry, fishery	604	13.6	55.4	13.4	17.6
	Self-employed	3,412	25.4	50.4	15.6	8.6
	Sales/service	2,039	29.4	30.7	22.6	17.3
	Manufacturing, technical, labor	1,784	21.0	43.4	20.9	14.8
	Office worker, administrator, specialist	5,427	37.9	30.4	21.2	10.5
	Housewife	3,727	22.5	32.3	22.4	22.9
	Student	1,545	27.6	18.8	27.8	25.8
	Unemployed, retired	1,409	18.5	51.3	15.7	14.5
	Do not know, no answer	59	20.3	23.8	16.9	39.0

3. Reasons for Supporting Resuming Construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

(Unit: %)

Category		Sample size	①	②	③	④	⑤	Don't know
All		7,327	13.5	38.8	20.1	23.4	2.8	1.5
Gender	Male	4,753	12.5	40.6	20.9	22.1	3.2	0.9
	Female	2,574	15.4	35.6	18.6	25.9	2.0	2.6
Age	19–29	625	16.5	44.5	13.4	21.3	3.2	1.1
	30s	686	15.6	43.5	16.2	21.9	2.0	0.9
	40s	1,148	12.6	40.3	19.9	22.8	3.7	0.7
	50s	1,966	13.7	39.1	20.2	23.5	2.9	0.7
	60+	2,902	12.6	35.7	22.4	24.4	2.4	2.5
Region	Seoul	1,435	13.5	39.8	19.7	23.1	2.9	1.1
	Busan	512	13.5	39.5	22.7	20.3	2.7	1.4
	Daegu	443	16.9	37.7	20.3	21.7	2.0	1.4
	Incheon	398	13.0	36.0	20.2	28.0	1.8	1.0
	Gwangju	123	10.6	34.1	25.2	24.4	1.6	4.1
	Daejeon	211	12.7	39.3	21.6	22.6	2.4	1.4
	Ulsan	188	12.7	31.4	20.9	31.7	2.1	1.2
	Gyeonggi-do	1,722	12.9	41.3	18.7	22.8	2.9	1.5
	Gangwon-do	249	15.7	41.0	18.7	21.0	2.4	1.2
	Chungcheongbuk-do	231	13.9	40.7	22.5	20.4	2.2	0.4
	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	305	11.5	38.0	21.6	24.3	3.3	1.3
	Jeollabuk-do	185	12.6	37.4	22.5	20.1	2.7	4.9
	Jeollanam-do	213	12.1	35.1	22.9	25.1	3.8	1.0
	Gyeongsangbuk-do	524	14.9	34.8	20.2	25.2	2.7	2.3
	Gyeongsangnam-do	514	14.6	37.9	17.3	24.7	4.1	1.4
	Jeju	74	8.1	44.6	20.3	25.8	1.4	0.0
Occupation	Agriculture, forestry, fishery	335	16.7	38.0	21.2	20.2	1.2	2.7
	Self-employed	1,719	12.7	37.6	21.8	24.8	2.2	0.9
	Sales/service	624	15.5	38.8	19.1	22.0	3.5	1.1
	Manufacturing, technical, labor	773	13.7	34.8	23.2	24.5	2.7	1.2
	Office worker, administrator, specialist	1,648	11.6	44.8	19.1	21.0	3.2	0.4
	Housewife	1,200	15.0	35.2	17.7	26.5	2.4	3.2
	Student	290	16.9	46.9	12.4	21.4	1.7	0.7
	Unemployed, retired	724	11.9	35.6	22.8	22.9	4.3	2.6
	Do not know, no answer	14	35.6	35.7	7.1	21.6	0.0	0.0

① Because higher electric bills will increase the burden on families and other businesses
② Because it will result in unstable electricity supply
③ Because if construction is discontinued, it will mean a loss of KRW 1.8 trillion
④ Because the economy will suffer as jobs disappear and opportunities to export nuclear plants are lost
⑤ Other

4. Reasons for Supporting Discontinuing Construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

(Unit: %)

Category		Sample size	①	②	③	④	⑤	Don't know
	All	5,522	37.7	28.2	10.0	21.8	1.6	0.7
Gender	Male	2,561	33.4	21.9	13.7	28.2	2.2	0.5
	Female	2,961	41.5	33.5	6.8	16.3	1.1	0.9
Age	19–29	1,013	51.1	24.1	7.3	15.3	1.6	0.6
	30s	1,474	38.9	26.0	9.5	23.6	1.9	0.2
	40s	1,634	34.6	28.8	11.6	23.3	1.5	0.3
	50s	890	30.6	32.0	11.5	23.8	1.2	1.0
	60+	511	30.5	34.0	9.0	21.2	2.0	3.3
Region	Seoul	1,088	35.1	29.6	10.4	22.1	1.8	0.9
	Busan	485	47.4	20.6	7.6	20.6	2.1	1.7
	Daegu	195	38.5	31.3	6.7	21.0	2.0	0.5
	Incheon	304	33.1	25.1	13.2	26.0	1.6	1.0
	Gwangju	198	37.8	26.8	9.6	25.3	0.5	0.0
	Daejeon	146	37.0	29.4	12.4	20.5	0.7	0.0
	Ulsan	146	47.2	28.7	8.2	12.4	2.1	1.4
	Gyeonggi-do	1,392	36.1	28.9	10.4	22.7	1.4	0.7
	Gangwon-do	124	42.9	28.9	9.7	17.0	1.6	0.0
	Chungcheongbuk-do	157	33.7	30.6	10.8	23.6	0.6	0.6
	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	239	32.2	32.2	13.0	21.4	0.8	0.4
	Jeollabuk-do	244	35.6	28.4	9.4	23.2	2.5	0.8
	Jeollanam-do	207	32.4	30.4	10.1	26.2	0.5	0.5
	Gyeongsangbuk-do	189	45.0	25.4	9.5	16.4	3.2	0.5
	Gyeongsangnam-do	326	42.0	27.6	8.3	19.3	2.5	0.3
	Jeju	82	44.9	30.5	7.4	17.2	0.0	0.0
Occupation	Agriculture, forestry, fishery	82	30.5	36.5	12.3	17.1	3.7	0.0
	Self-employed	867	32.4	26.1	12.7	25.4	2.7	0.8
	Sales/service	601	39.1	29.1	8.2	21.7	1.3	0.7
	Manufacturing, technical, labor	374	33.9	24.1	14.2	24.9	2.7	0.3
	Office worker, administrator, specialist	2,058	35.9	28.6	10.8	23.5	1.0	0.2
	Housewife	841	39.8	35.3	6.2	16.1	1.3	1.3
	Student	427	53.1	20.4	7.0	17.1	1.4	0.9
	Unemployed, retired	260	40.8	23.8	8.4	20.4	3.1	3.5
	Do not know, no answer	12	75.1	0.0	16.6	0.0	0.0	8.3

① Because of the risk of nuclear accidents like those that occurred in Chernobyl and Fukushima
② Because radiation from nuclear waste will pose a danger to human beings for tens of thousands of years
③ Because nuclear power generation is expensive considering the costs of waste disposal and decommissioning
④ Because the current trend in energy is toward nuclear-free generation and incorporation of renewable energy sources
⑤ Other

5. Preferences Concerning Nuclear Power Generation

(Unit: %)

Category		Sample size	Should be expanded	Should be maintained	Should be reduced	Don't know
All		20,006	12.9	31.1	39.2	16.8
Gender	Male	9,930	16.2	34.2	39.1	10.5
	Female	10,076	9.7	27.9	39.3	23.1
Age	19–29	3,506	9.7	31.1	36.8	22.4
	30s	3,517	7.5	25.2	54.5	12.9
	40s	4,105	8.6	26.3	54.4	10.7
	50s	3,993	15.6	34.9	35.9	13.6
	60+	4,885	20.6	36.0	19.8	23.5
Region	Seoul	3,944	13.7	29.4	40.8	16.2
	Busan	1,385	12.6	29.5	42.2	15.7
	Daegu	963	16.8	35.1	32.8	15.4
	Incheon	1,119	12.9	30.4	39.8	17.0
	Gwangju	548	7.9	27.8	46.9	17.5
	Daejeon	569	13.8	33.8	34.3	18.1
	Ulsan	447	9.1	30.9	46.8	13.2
	Gyeonggi-do	4,851	12.5	31.5	40.7	15.4
	Gangwon-do	608	14.7	33.8	33.1	18.4
	Chungcheongbuk-do	614	15.3	30.9	32.9	20.9
	Chungcheongnam-do + Sejong	901	13.0	28.9	38.9	19.3
	Jeollabuk-do	719	7.8	28.5	43.6	20.1
	Jeollanam-do	739	6.5	29.8	41.5	22.2
	Gyeongsangbuk-do	1,064	16.4	35.6	29.5	18.5
	Gyeongsangnam-do	1,290	15.0	33.4	35.5	16.1
	Jeju	245	11.1	27.1	43.1	18.8
Occupation	Agriculture, forestry, fishery	604	16.3	36.9	23.9	22.9
	Self-employed	3,412	17.1	34.1	38.5	10.3
	Sales/service	2,039	12.7	29.3	40.4	17.5
	Manufacturing, technical, labor	1,784	16.3	33.9	31.9	18.0
	Office worker, administrator, specialist	5,427	9.9	27.9	52.2	10.1
	Housewife	3,727	11.0	29.5	31.9	27.6
	Student	1,545	9.7	34.5	35.2	20.6
	Unemployed, retired	1,409	17.8	33.3	29.3	19.6
	Do not know, no answer	59	13.6	16.9	18.6	50.9

Attachment 4 The Concept and Types of Public Deliberation

1. The Concept of Public Deliberation

The term "public deliberation," which is in everyday usage is often equated with "public consensus," may be more easily understood by comparison with the idea of public opinion. If public opinion is the view of the majority, then an opinion formed through public deliberation is the publicly stated opinion of the majority. In other words, an opinion formed through public deliberation goes beyond individual opinions, referring to an opinion held from a public perspective and established by gathering opinions from various people following an active and rational process of discussion and argumentation. The methods of public opinion polling, which are optimized for gathering temporary and emotionally based positions, are thus limited tools for the examination of an opinion formed through public deliberation.

In that sense, public deliberation may be defined as a process in which members of the general public come together to discuss and establish a position on a particular issue. In the process, participating individuals look beyond personal interests to pursue the public interest or public good from an objective, neutral perspective. It is for this reason that the process is as important as the outcome when discussing public deliberation. In contrast with its definition in the broad sense, "public deliberation" is often used in policy terms to refer to discussions as a process of gathering and reflecting the views of various stakeholders in order to increase societal receptiveness when implementing policies.

2. Ways to Build Consensus

2-1. Regulatory Negotiation

Regulatory negotiation is a method that came into use in the United States in the 1970s. It is a consensus-building process whereby representatives of affected parties and sectors of the public work together with government officials and regulatory bodies to develop policies and regulations. One of its aims is to reduce the costs incurred because of noncompliance with regulations. To carry out this process, representatives of various interest groups, administrative bodies, and relevant experts form a negotiating committee of 15 to 20 members. The committee is guaranteed independence from the regulatory bodies involved. Before negotiations begin in earnest, the participants are given sufficient training.

The negotiations usually go on for four to eight months. As the negotiations progress, the administrative bodies take an active part in considering the issues brought up by the participants and work to find common ground and persuasive compromises. If no agreement is forthcoming, the administrative bodies involved simply revert to their usual procedure of enforcing regulations.

2-2. Citizen Jury

The citizen jury method was devised in the 1970s by the Jefferson Center, an American nonprofit organization. First, ordinary citizens who are not directly involved with the policy in question are chosen at random to form a jury of about 20 or more members. For about three months, they are provided with all the data and other information they need to become well versed in the issues at hand so that they will be able to properly deliberate about them. Then the jury holds meetings for four or five days, during which they hear testimony by consultants and witnesses and carry out their deliberations. On the last day, they submit their policy recommendations, and the responsible agency announces the results. The aim in encouraging the formulating of policy recommendations by a citizen jury is to have a full grasp of the opinions of ordinary citizens before pushing ahead with full-fledged policy decisions. In order for this method to succeed, it must have the full support and active participation of the citizens involved, the composition of the jury must be truly representative, and the members of the jury must be provided with information and training that is complete and balanced.

2-3. Consensus Conferences

Consensus conferences were first introduced in Denmark in 1987. They are mainly used in the process of determining policy regarding science and technology. This method is useful in strengthening public trust and support and in legitimizing policies regarding the introduction of science and technology that may involve uncertainties.

To conduct a consensus conference, first an operating committee is formed and random sampling is used to select a citizens' panel of about 15 members. In a preliminary meeting, an overall outline is presented and learning opportunities are provided up until the main event. During the three-night, four-day conference, in-depth discussions are held on the basis of Q&A sessions held with a panel of experts. Then a final report is written and submitted. If

any errors of fact are discovered in the technical parts, they are corrected by the panel of experts. The final report serves as the conference's recommendation. Consensus conferences help legitimize policy decisions and prevent conflict.

2-4. Scenario Workshops

Scenario workshops were first tried by a Danish technical committee in 1991. They are mainly used in determining policies on the complex, uncertain environment of the future, especially in high-risk fields of science and technology. Four groups concerned with the policy in question (policy makers, technical experts, personnel from related industries, and ordinary citizens) write scenarios and then cull them for their advantages and disadvantages, perfecting them stage by stage.

2-5. Deliberative Polling

Deliberative polling was first proposed in 1988 by professor James S. Fishkin of Stanford University. Basically, it is a way of gathering public opinion with the aim of arriving at a social consensus, through discussion and debate carried out by participants who have been given thorough, balanced briefing materials so that they will be well informed and more engaged with the issues. At the beginning stage, a representative sample of the citizenry (usually 2,000 to 3,000 people) are asked their opinions about the issues in question. Then, 200 to 300 people are selected for an original sample by a proportionate sampling method considering sex, age, and region. After this smaller group is surveyed again, the participants listen to presentations by experts. They are then divided into smaller groups to carry out in-depth discussions and take part in Q&A sessions with experts. After sufficient deliberation, they are surveyed for a third time in order to determine how their responses have changed over the course of the three surveys. Questions about the process remain concerning how representative it is and how thoroughly the issues can be debated.

3. Examples of Deliberative Polling in Various Countries

Country	Topic	When	No. of participants in 1st poll	No. of participants in 2nd poll	Length of deliberation
Australia	Constitutional monarchy vs. republic	Oct. 1999	1,220	347	3 days
Canada	Nova Scotia Power Generating Plant Consumer Energy Forum	Nov. 2004	852	135	2 days
China	Investment in social overhead capital facilities	Apr. 2005	275	235	1 day
Greece	Selection of the first opposition-party candidate for mayor of Marousi	Jul. 2006	1,275	138	1 day
EU	The future of Europe	Oct. 2007	3,500	362	1 day
USA	Future energy policies of the state of Vermont	Nov. 2007	750	146	2 days
Argentina	Solutions to La Platas traffic problems	Oct. 2009	1,476	62	1 day
Brazil	Improving the work experience and treatment of civil servants	Jun. 2009	1,651	226	3 days
USA	By the People: California's Future	Jun. 2011	712	412	3 days
Japan	Energy environment policies	Aug. 2012	6,849	285	10 days
Korea	August 31 real estate policy	2005	511	486	1 day
Korea	Korea–USA FTA	2006	800	599	2 days
Korea	Bukhang redevelopment project	2007	1,099	544	1 day
Korea	GMO	2008	1,518	100	1 day
Korea	Reunification policies	2011	-	193	2 days
Korea	Kookmin University open forum on job polarization welfare	2014	967	254	2 days
Korea	Spent nuclear fuel	Mar. 2015	2,321	173	2 days

Attachment 5 The Decision Concerning the Participation of Researchers from Government-Funded Research Institutes

[The final decision by the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 concerning the participation of researchers from government-funded research institutes in the activities of assessing public judgment]

Summary

◆ The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 (hereinafter referred to simply as "the Committee"), in order to determine whether construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 should be discontinued (hereinafter referred simply as "the Issue"), held communication and consultation meetings with groups supporting the permanent suspension of construction (hereinafter referred to as "Resumption Opponents") and groups supporting the resumption of construction (hereinafter referred to as "Resumption Proponents," with the two groups referred to together as "Both Sides"). The Committee has continued to conduct consultations with Both Sides in order to arrive at a consensus.

◆ There have been complications in various matters, such as the preparation of briefing data and other materials, but the Committee has held to the principle of respectful dialogue and compromise in dealing with Both Sides and at each critical point has succeeded in achieving an amicable resolution thanks to the mutually broad-minded willingness to compromise on Both Sides.

◆ The most recent problem raised in this process is whether researchers from government-funded research institutes should be permitted to participate and present their opinions in panel discussions and debates that the Committee hosts or is otherwise involved in.

◆ The two sides are diametrically opposed on the Issue, so the Committee has had to expend great effort, mainly through the Critical Deliberation Program Subcommittee, to get Both Sides to come to an agreement.

◆ Nevertheless, it has not yet been possible to narrow the gap between the two sides, and it is clear that we can no longer put off proceeding until a compromise is reached. Therefore, as the Committee publicly made clear early on, it will act, on the basis of the rights and responsibilities it has been delegated, to establish ground rules concerning this problem and requests that Both Sides respect these rules and cooperate for the sake of a smooth deliberation process.

Sorting Out the Issues

◆ The government has decided to make its final policy decision only after the deliberation process. It will refrain from putting forth any opinion on the issue, maintaining a neutral, objective stance until the deliberation process is complete.

◆ The sharp division of opinion between the two sides about the Issue is well-known. Under the circumstances, one must seriously question whether the participation in discussions and presentations by researchers working for government-funded research institutes would not unfairly favor only one of the two sides by putting forth opinions in support of that one side.

Conflicts of Opinion and the Results of Consultations

◆ The opinions of the two sides are completely opposite. Resumption opponents have demanded that researchers from government-funded research institutes be prevented from taking part in any of the debates or other events the Committee hosts or is otherwise involved in, while Resumption proponents insist that such experts should not be prevented from expressing their opinions at such events.

◆ The Committee has tried to resolve this conflict through dialogue and compromise in consultation with Both Sides but has had no success.

◆ After multiple discussions about this problem, the Committee has decided that, before making a final determination, it should find out the stance of the relevant government

agencies in the Ministry of Science and ICT and the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, which supervise government-funded research institutes. To this end, the Committee has sent official requests to the two ministers of said agencies asking them to review the demands of the Resumption Opponents. Some of the content of the official requests is quoted below. (Italics are added to show emphasis.)

(Previous text omitted)

2. The Public Deliberation Committee is carrying out a process of public deliberation on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6
3. The Korea Atomic Industrial Forum is supporting the Resumption Proponents, while the Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World is supporting the Resumption Opponents. Our Committee has been conducting consultation meetings with these two groups.
4. In regard to this, the *Resumption Opponents*, for the sake of a fair process of determining the public judgment, *have requested the following. Please have the relevant departments in your ministry review this matter and notify us of the results of that review.*

① (Omitted)

② *Stop the activities of the Korea Hydro & Nuclear Power Co., Ltd., and government-funded institutes for the Resumption Proponents (Industry Dept., Science and Technology Communication and Information Dept.)*

③ (Omitted)

◆ In response, the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, regarding the Korea Energy Economics Institute, and the Ministry of Science and ICT, regarding the Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute, asked the concerned agencies to take appropriate steps to ensure that researchers from those institutes maintain fairness and neutrality in their participation in the deliberation process. If we take this official document at face value, it means the following. (Italics are added to show emphasis.)

(Previous text omitted)

3. The Public Deliberation Committee is conducting consultations with the Resumption Proponents (the Korea Atomic Industrial Forum) and the Resumption Opponents (Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World), in which *the Resumption Opponents have demanded* that researchers from your institute cease any participation in the deliberation process, and the Public Deliberation Committee has requested this ministry's cooperation in this matter.
4. In regard to this request, you are hereby asked *to take appropriate steps to ensure that the related regulations are followed* in order to ensure that your researchers maintain fairness in their participation in the public deliberation process.

[from the official document sent by the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy to the director of the Korea Energy Economics Institute]

(Previous text omitted)

3. The Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, chaired by Kim Jihyung, is conducting consultations with the Korea Atomic Industrial Forum (supporting the Resumption Proponents) and Citizen Movement to Cancel Construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 for a Safe World (supporting the Resumption Opponents) concerning the process of determining the public judgment on this issue.
4. In order to keep the environment in which this process will be carried out fair, the Committee has requested this ministry's cooperation regarding *the Resumption Opponents'* demand that government-funded research institutes cease their activities supporting the Resumption Proponents. We hereby ask that you *take appropriate measures to see that regulations are followed* to ensure that researchers from your institute will not carry out any further activities that may compromise the fairness of the public deliberation process on the Issue.

[from an official document sent by the Ministry of Science and ICT to the Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute]

◆ In spite of these official requests, the conflict of opinion was not resolved, so the Committee conducted further discussions with Both Sides to sound out the possibility of compromise. This led nowhere, so the Committee's only recourse was to render a final decision.

The Committee's Final Decision

◆ The Committee held discussions about this problem multiple times, during which the members were divided in their views on the participation of researchers at government-funded research centers. One view held that the validity of research conducted by an individual researcher on his own or as a part of the activities of his academic organization must be guaranteed, and the other held that a researcher should not present opinions biased toward one or the other side of the Issue.

◆ The Committee held many long discussions on how to integrate these two viewpoints and decided on the following unified judgment.

◆ First, since the cooperation of the heads of the concerned agencies had already been requested through official channels as shown in the documents referred to above, the problem now became whether the external activities of researchers at government-funded research organizations could be restricted in accordance with the pertinent rules of employment, internal regulations, or related laws. On this issue, the Committee consulted with three advisers from the Legal Subcommittee and examined Supreme Court precedents. It was determined that such researchers are obligated to obey the restrictions as long as they do not infringe upon the academic freedom and freedom of expression guaranteed by the Constitution.

An examination of government-funded research organizations' internal regulations, such as rules of employment or articles of association, reveals that there are rules or guidelines that require employees to report or receive formal approval on any lectures, presentations, debates, evaluations, advisory work, or expressions of opinion they are to be involved in at extramural seminars, public hearings, panel discussions, presentations, symposiums, educational events, or meetings. This means that in principle, such external activities are permitted as long as the researcher in question follows the internal regulations.

◆ Next, we shall look at this problem from the viewpoint of the objective ordering of values in accordance with the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Our Constitution guarantees such basic rights as academic freedom (Article 22), freedom

of expression (Article 21), freedom of conscience (Article 19), and freedom of action (Article 10). From the viewpoint of an objective ordering of values that advocates the guaranteeing of these basic rights, researchers from government-funded research institutes must be free to express their personal opinions and present their arguments in extramural academic activities. According to Article 37, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution, such activities can be curtailed or forbidden only when necessary for the protection of national security, maintenance of order, or public welfare, and even in such cases, the fundamental essence of the guaranteed freedoms is not to be infringed upon.

In this regard, neither the Law on the Establishment, Operation, and Support of Government-Funded Research Institutes and its enforcement ordinance nor the Law on the Establishment, Operation, and Support of Government-Funded Research Institutes in Fields of Science and Technology and its enforcement ordinance contain any regulations that would restrict researchers at government-funded research institutes from presenting their ideas or expressing their personal opinions during academic activities conducted outside the institute they are employed at.

◆ Let us examine whether there are any specific problems with the way researchers from government-funded research institutes participated in our public judgment activities. The question is whether the expression by such researchers of an opinion that coincides with one side or the other in discussions held by the Committee or in which the Committee was involved would hamper the fairness of the public deliberation process.

Since the government initiated the public deliberation process, it promised to maintain a neutral, objective stance until that process was complete. Therefore, if in the public deliberation process someone presents a government assertion as a spokesman for the government, that can indeed impinge upon fairness. Nevertheless, the Committee deems such researchers presenting their own personal ideas in public deliberation discussions not to be acting as spokesmen for the government.

First, though such research institutes operate with government funding, by law they are guaranteed independence and freedom (the Law on the Establishment, Operation, and Support of Government-Funded Research Institutes, Article 10, Paragraph 1, and the Law on the Establishment, Operation, and Support of Government-Funded Research Institutes

in Fields of Science and Technology, Article 10, Paragraph 1). Therefore, they cannot be regarded as the same as the government, nor can the researchers who work at such institutes be regarded as equivalent to government employees.

Also, when the opinions expressed by such researchers are their own personal views and not those of the government nor of the government-funded research institute at which they work, they must be seen as having nothing to do with the issue of whether the government is properly maintaining its neutral stance. (According to Supreme Court decision 2014Du12765 of 28 February 2016, even if such a researcher is introduced as being from a government-funded research institute, the opinions he puts forth cannot be regarded as the official opinions of the institute to which he belongs.)

◆ However, we are still left with the problem of how the Committee should treat a researcher from a government-funded research institute who is expected to present a personal opinion that is biased toward one side of the Issue. Even though such researchers are, according to regulations, qualified to take part in public deliberation discussions, as the sponsor of such discussions, the Committee has the right to limit participation in order to keep the public judgment process operating properly.

First, though the Committee is a private advisory body, its function is of a public nature, so unless there are special circumstances, in accordance with the Constitution's guarantee of basic rights it is appropriate for the Committee to grant individuals academic freedom and freedom of expression.

To block a researcher from presenting his expertise as a private individual, there has to be some clear reason and supporting evidence to justify it. With Both Sides engaged in fierce arguments about the Issue, the Committee deemed the fact that a researcher's opinions may favor one side or the other to be insufficient for preventing his participation.

In order to provide the public and the participatory deliberation group with the data and knowledge they need to enhance the quality of their deliberations, the participation of experts is needed. This is yet another reason for not unnecessarily limiting participation.

In addition, there are different experts that can support one side or the other, which is all the more reason not to limit participation by experts that may favor one side.

◆ However, when there are special reasons to regard participation by a particular party as being unsuitable for the public deliberation process, the Committee is in a position, as the body leading that process, to limit that party's participation. This applies to anyone, not just researchers from government-funded research institutes.

Therefore, if a researcher has violated the research code of ethics or may be subject to criticism for other ethical or legal reasons, the Committee is clearly justified in taking steps to prevent his participation.

Conclusion

◆ This summarizes the Committee's final decision on the participation of researchers from government-funded research institutes in public deliberation activities. The Committee asks that everyone involved, no matter which side their opinion falls on, cooperate in keeping the public deliberation process running smoothly.

Attachment 6 Report on the Participatory Surveys for Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6

Introductory Greeting

◆ Hello, everyone. I am the chairman of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. On behalf of the Committee, I would like to summarize for you our report on the Participatory Surveys for Public Deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

◆ I stand here before you in what is for me personally one of the most serious events of my life. Rather than feeling a sense of relief that the burden of the work I've been doing for the past three months is now lifted off my shoulders, I find myself going over the work in my mind to see if I properly carried out my duties. Still, I can tell you that the one thing that reassures me about what we accomplished is the participatory deliberation group. I want to once again express my gratitude and respect to the members of the group. I'd like to begin by saying that I'm delivering this report in the name of the 471 citizen representatives who made up the group.

The Purpose of This Report

◆ First, let me explain the purpose of the report. We carried out a process of public deliberation on the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 The participatory deliberation group, their deliberations, and the surveys they participated in were central to this process. The Committee designed participatory surveys, carried out in four stages, to determine the position of the participants. After the final survey, the data collected was closely analyzed, and on the basis of the results of that analysis, we prepared a report with recommendations to submit to the government about the participatory deliberation group's consensus on whether or not to permanently suspend construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6.

The task we faced was truly burdensome and difficult. The stances of the opposing sides, one for resuming construction and one for permanently suspending construction, were all

too different. The Committee initially set out to select one of those alternatives as its final recommendation, but it turned out that the stances of both sides had validity that could not be denied. Simply picking one side to defend would marginalize or even completely exclude the valid aspects of the other side's viewpoint. Would that be just? Would there be no way to mediate the two standpoints and bring them closer together? We were deeply worried about these matters.

This made the strength and wisdom of the participatory deliberation group all the more necessary. That is why they were our hope. Finally, after three days and two nights of discussions and debates, the 471-member deliberation group gave the Committee a wise, sensible answer.

◆ The Committee's report contains an overview of public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, an examination of the deliberation process and the major issues that emerged along the way, the results of the final survey, policy recommendations, an assessment by the committee of the public deliberation process and reflection on potential areas of improvement, the political and societal significance of the deliberation outcomes, and concluding remarks.

The Significance of the Public Deliberation Process and a Request

◆ In today's summary, however, I will focus on the final survey results and the policy recommendations. But first I would like to explain the significance of what we did and also pass along a request.

◆ Our society is composed of individuals and groups with diverse values and viewpoints, so it's natural that conflicts will arise. If we accept such conflicts as normal, we can harness them in a positive way to drive social progress. To achieve that, there must be suitable ways of managing such conflicts. Working toward public consensus in conflicts involving government policies is a process of arriving at social agreement through mediation. It is this point that gives public deliberation as a means of managing conflict its social significance.

◆ Public deliberation is a democratic process in which mature opinions of representatives

of the citizenry are gathered and analyzed. It has political significance as a democratic exercise of national authority.

◆ In this process of citizen deliberation, the participants have opportunities not only to state their ideas and opinions but also to listen to the ideas and opinions of others. Such deliberation is valued as a very rational and effective process of communication.

The process is not simply a matter of accepting one stance and completely discarding the others. Rather, it offers the possibility of finding a compromise that encompasses elements of both sides of an argument. Such two-way exchanges increase the possibility that the final judgment will be acceptable to all the representatives and that the government's final policy determination will be broadly accepted by society.

Though there were more than a few shortcomings in our Committee's deliberation process, I can say with confidence that at the very least we were able to directly experience the advantages of the deliberation process I have described here.

◆ The Committee is presenting its final policy recommendations in the name of the 471 members of the participatory deliberation group. We strongly hope that the government and all others with a direct or indirect interest in the public judgment process, including Korean society as a whole, will fully honor the recommendations made in the participatory deliberation group's final selection. I also hope that the media, which play a leading role in shaping public opinion, will help promote a culture in which the results of our work can be accepted.

The Results of the Participatory Surveys

◆ Now I'll present a summary of the core points of the final results of our participatory surveys. There are some very interesting points in the analysis and evaluation of the final survey, but because my time is limited, today I will speak only about the most important results that pertain to our policy recommendations. Other details will be made public separately. I thank you for your understanding on this.

◆ The biggest controversy regarding the analysis and evaluation of the survey results was how great the difference would have to be between the side in favor of resuming construction and the side against it to be considered a significant deviation. As we have already stated, the size and composition by sex and age of the participatory deliberation group that participated in the general debates would be taken as the basis for determining sampling error, and in case the difference between responses in favor and responses against (resumption) exceeded the range of error, the policy recommendations would be based on the majority opinion. After the initial general discussions, the 471 members of the participatory deliberation group selected either the pro-resumption stance or the anti-resumption stance in the fourth and final survey they underwent. Therefore, the key point here is whether the difference between the votes in favor of resumption and against it among the 471 votes exceeded the range of error or not.

The confidence level of the range of error on the fourth and final survey was calculated to be 95% plus or minus 3.6% points, and the deviation between the two sides was 19% points. This was a statistically significant difference since the it exceeded the range of sampling error. Thus, the question of what to do when there was no significant difference of opinion became moot.

◆ Still, the question of whether to base all policy recommendations on the majority opinion alone remained. I would like to say something about this. The process of defining an agenda for the project went like this. When the current government came to power, it established a nuclear power policy that would gradually reduce our dependence on nuclear power generation until it reached zero in 2080. In line with this aim, any plans to construct new nuclear power plants have been canceled, extending the lifespan of reactors has been prohibited, and Wolseong Reactor 1 (currently under extended operation) will soon be decommissioned. However, Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 were already under construction, so instead of sticking to the original plan to halt construction, the government decided that, in consideration of the project's safety, the amount of construction already completed, the investments and expenditures already made, and the level of reserve electric power facilities, it would be best to seek social consensus on whether or not to discontinue construction. That is the background against which the Committee was formed to carry out the required research.

Thus we see that the public deliberation process began on the premise that nuclear power generation is to be phased out, but there was strong insistence on the part of the Korean Nuclear Society and others in the nuclear power industry that the government should not phase out nuclear power but maintain and even expand it, and therefore construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 must not be suspended.

For this reason, the government changed its original intention regarding public deliberation on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 to determine whether nuclear power generation should be reduced, maintained it at its current level, or expanded. This was the controversy amid which the public deliberation project began.

It was impossible to avoid this dispute during our work, so in our surveys of the participatory deliberation group, we had to include the question, "Which of these three policies concerning nuclear power generation do you support: reduction, maintenance at current levels, or expansion?" The differences of opinion in this case too were statistically significant.

◆ Next, I would like to speak about our search for a way to reduce the social conflict surrounding the construction of Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6 and achieve unity and coexistence. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, the Committee made clear its stance that its ultimate goal was not to judge any one view—that is, resuming construction or stopping it altogether—as totally right or totally wrong, nor was it to declare one opinion or the other as good or evil, as the winner or the loser. Rather, we sought to find a way for everyone in our society to come out a victor by overcoming divisiveness and confrontation and achieving unity and coexistence. This is in line with what we originally set out to do: that is, to provide the government with recommendations based on the results of the participatory surveys in consideration of their fundamental meaning and of the role played by the Committee in carrying them out. We asked the participatory deliberation group to bring its wisdom to bear in coming to a sensible final judgment.

In this connection, we included the following two questions in our final survey: "Even if the final outcome of the consultation is for ceasing construction, what sort of supplementary action needs to be taken from the standpoint of the side that supports resuming construction?" and "Even if the final outcome of the consultation is for resuming construction, what sort of supplementary action needs to be taken from the standpoint of

the side that supports ceasing construction?" These questions were both multiple-choice and open answer, allowing for the respondents to write their own answer in addition to choosing one, if they wished.

The results were surprising. Nearly everyone in the participatory deliberation group wrote thorough answers, filling all the space available on the questionnaire. This was not just because they had reflected deeply on the issues but also because they truly felt the need to work toward unity and coexistence. This will be faithfully reflected in our reports and our policy recommendations.

Strategy Recommendations for the Government

◆ On the basis of the final results of the surveys, the Committee intends to propose the following recommendations to the government.

◆ The first recommendation is in regard to the issue of whether or not to permanently suspend construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6. A majority of respondents, that is, 59.5%, supported resuming construction, which was 19% points higher than the 40.5% who supported ceasing construction. This is statistically significant because it exceeds acceptable sampling error with a confidence level of 95% plus or minus 3.6%. In addition, the number supporting resuming construction was also significantly higher than the number supporting discontinuation in the previous surveys, beginning with the very first one, and the difference grew with each successive survey.

The changes in the distribution of opinion by age were also noteworthy. In all age groups, the level of support for resuming construction increased in each survey. The increase was greatest among those in their 20s and 30s. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the government resume construction on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, which has been temporarily suspended.

◆ Our second recommendation regards the direction of future policy: Should it favor reduction, maintenance at current levels, or expansion of nuclear power generation? In the final survey, 53.2% supported reduction of nuclear power generation. This was followed by 35.5% supporting maintenance at current levels and only 9.7% supporting expansion.

These results were all statistically significant. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the government carry out a policy of reducing nuclear power generation.

◆ The Committee's third recommendation concerns the supplementary steps that need to be taken if construction on the new Shin-Gori reactors is resumed. Our final survey results showed that the highest number of respondents, that is, 33.0%, supported strengthening the safety standards of nuclear power generation. This was followed by the opinion that there should be greater investment in renewable energy resources, at 27.6%, and that there is an urgent need to solve the problem of spent nuclear fuel disposal, at 25.3%. In addition, 74 members of the participatory deliberation group wrote in their open answer that corruption in the nuclear energy sector must be rooted out and that management of nuclear power should be more transparent.

Also, 59 members of the participatory deliberation group said that measures must be taken to protect the lives, health, and safety of the people of Busan, Ulsan, and Gyeongsangnam-do, who reside in the vicinity of nuclear plants.

Therefore, the Committee recommends that the government give thorough, careful consideration to the supplementary measures that the participatory deliberation group deemed necessary and quickly develop specific, detailed plans to carry them out.

◆ With that, I have completed my summary of the Committee's report. For further information, please refer to the complete text of the report, which we are distributing to you, and to our press releases.

In Conclusion

◆ In accordance with Article 2 of the Supplementary Provisions (by a directive from the prime minister) regarding Regulations on the Formation and Operation of the Public Deliberation Committee on Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6, the Committee exists only until it announces the final results of its work. The Committee will thus be dissolved after tomorrow.

◆ As we finish our work, there are many people to whom we should express our gratitude. We feel that gratitude for the 471 good, wise citizen representatives of our small country who partook in the public deliberation. They gave us the great gift of healing and consolation. If we have succeeded in public deliberation, it is through their service.

Everyone on both sides who took part in the communication council meetings and the local residents who got involved taught us the importance and the challenges of communication. We thank you and congratulate you on your hard work.

We offer some words of comfort to those of you involved in civic action. Though the participatory deliberation group did not receive the support of the majority of you, you drew great public attention to the issue of nuclear energy. That in itself is a great achievement.

I also owe an eternal debt of gratitude to the other members of the Committee and to all those involved in our support groups. There were several moments of crisis that could have undermined our efforts, but thanks to their dedication and hard work, we were able to overcome those difficulties.

That I stand before you like this today is like a dream, and I am truly happy to have these people by my side.

I also want to thank the members of the subcommittees, the advisory committee, the monitoring commission, and the staff of the Korea Research Consortium, who did an outstanding job conducting the surveys and organizing the deliberation program.

Also, the members of the press, who spent so much time following and reporting on our progress, deserve our gratitude as well. We won't forget you.

Looking back, I realize that there were a few times when I was hurt in some small and some bigger ways in my work as the head of the Committee. The pain was not inflicted by others but by my own realization of my flaws. I'll wipe those difficult times out of my memory. But if caused pain for any of you during our work together, please be aware that I never intended to do you harm, and I hope you will grant me your kind forgiveness.

Thank you for your attention.

The Public Deliberation Committee on
Shin-Gori Nuclear Reactors No. 5 & 6