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DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY AMIDST THE TOWER OF BABEL

INSIGHTS FROM LUXEMBOURGISH DELIBERATIVE MINI- PUBLICS

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Abstract

Deliberative democracy has become an increasingly important model for decision-making, especially through the use of deliberative mini-publics, such as citizens' assemblies, which aim to ensure that decision-making processes are inclusive, authentic, and consequential. While these ideals have been widely studied, one crucial yet often underexplored aspect in their realization is the role of language. Language serves not only as the medium for deliberation, which is fundamental to deliberative democracy, but also shapes the accessibility, quality of participation, and perceived legitimacy of democratic processes. In today's world, characterized by significant linguistic diversity and a demand for context-sensitive democratic processes, it is essential to understand how language influences deliberative practices, especially in multilingual societies. Without a deeper integration of linguistic considerations, the study and practice of deliberative democracy remain incomplete.

Drawing on literature beyond the field of deliberative democracy, particularly sociolinguistics, the thesis argues that despite the clear need to account for language in deliberative processes, it is often insufficiently addressed in existing research. Most studies on deliberative democracy have focused on the quality of deliberation in multilingual settings, neglecting the broader implications of multilingualism for inclusivity and consequentiality. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by empirically examining deliberative democracy, focusing on the interaction between multilingualism and deliberative practices in citizens' assemblies in Luxembourg, a multilingual society with a high proportion of non-national residents who lack electoral rights. This unique context provides a valuable lens through which to explore how linguistic diversity impacts the principles of deliberative democracy within the framework of citizens' assemblies.

Using a mixed-methods comparative case study approach, this dissertation explores two national-level citizens' assemblies in Luxembourg, namely the Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050 and the Klima Biergerrot. By employing both quantitative and qualitative data, the study investigates the experiences with and attitudes toward multilingual deliberative processes among participants, facilitators, organizers, and the broader public. It aims to highlight the significance of linguistic considerations in the study and practice of deliberative democracy. The research examines how multilingualism in these assemblies influences the inclusivity of participation, the authenticity of deliberation, and the consequentiality of the process. To achieve this, it constructs an operational matrix based on the commonly used input, throughput,

and output legitimacy framework in combination with an operationalization of multilingualism for deliberative processes.

The findings suggest that the BK and KBR closely approximate the normative ideals of deliberative democracy. Specifically, the multilingual deliberative processes ensured inclusivity by accommodating linguistic diversity, upheld authenticity by allowing meaningful discussions in multiple languages, and enhanced consequentiality by enabling preference transformation and public endorsement of multilingual processes. However, the research also reveals that linguistic diversity affects these principles in complex and nuanced ways, highlighting the need for further empirical studies on how language interacts with and influences deliberative processes.

By exploring the role of language in multilingual deliberative processes, this thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of deliberative democracy in linguistically diverse contexts. It challenges existing scholarship by addressing the gap in research regarding how multilingualism impacts deliberative practices. This work also offers practical insights for the future application of deliberative democracy in multilingual societies, advancing both academic and practical knowledge in the field. Ultimately, the thesis emphasizes the importance of considering linguistic factors when engaging with deliberative democracy.

Résumé

La démocratie délibérative est devenue un modèle de plus en plus important pour la prise de décision, notamment grâce à l'utilisation de mini-publics délibératifs, tels que les assemblées citoyennes, qui visent à garantir que les processus de prise de décision sont inclusifs, authentiques et conséquents. Bien que ces idéaux aient été largement étudiés, un élément crucial mais souvent sous-exploré de leur réalisation est le rôle de la langue. La langue n'est pas seulement le moyen de la délibération, qui est fondamentale pour la démocratie délibérative, mais elle façonne également l'accessibilité, la qualité et l'égalité de la participation et la légitimité perçue des processus démocratiques. Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, caractérisé par une diversité linguistique importante et une demande de processus démocratiques sensibles au contexte, il est essentiel de comprendre comment la langue influence les pratiques délibératives, en particulier dans les sociétés multilingues. Sans une intégration plus approfondie des considérations linguistiques, l'étude et la pratique de la démocratie délibérative restent incomplètes.

S'appuyant sur des travaux de recherche au-delà du domaine de la démocratie délibérative, notamment sociolinguistique, la thèse soutient que malgré la nécessité évidente de tenir compte de la langue dans les processus délibératifs, elle reste insuffisamment abordée dans les études existantes. La plupart des études sur la démocratie délibérative se sont concentrées sur la qualité de la délibération dans des contextes multilingues, négligeant les implications plus larges du multilinguisme pour l'inclusivité et la conséquentialité. Cette thèse vise à combler cette lacune en examinant empiriquement la démocratie délibérative en se concentrant sur l'interaction entre le multilinguisme et les pratiques délibératives dans les assemblées citoyennes au Luxembourg, une société multilingue avec une forte proportion de résidents non nationaux qui n'ont pas de droits électoraux. Ce contexte unique offre une perspective convaincante pour explorer comment la diversité linguistique influence les principes de la démocratie délibérative dans le cadre des assemblées citoyennes.

En utilisant une approche d'étude de cas comparative à méthodes mixtes, cette thèse explore deux assemblées citoyennes de niveau national au Luxembourg, à savoir le Biergerkommittee Lëtzebuerg 2050 et le Klima Biergerrot. En employant des données quantitatives et qualitatives, l'étude explore les expériences et les attitudes envers les processus délibératifs multilingues parmi les participants, les facilitateurs, les organisateurs et le grand public. Elle vise à souligner l'importance des considérations linguistiques dans l'étude et la pratique de la

démocratie délibérative. La recherche examine comment le multilinguisme dans ces assemblées influence l'inclusivité de la participation, l'authenticité de la délibération et la conséquence du processus. Pour y parvenir, elle construit une matrice opérationnelle basée sur le cadre de 'input, throughput, output legitimacy' en combinaison avec une opérationnalisation du multilinguisme pour les processus délibératifs.

Les résultats suggèrent que le BK et le KBR se rapprochent étroitement des idéaux normatifs de la démocratie délibérative. Plus précisément, les processus délibératifs multilingues ont assuré l'inclusion en s'adaptant à la diversité linguistique, ont maintenu l'authenticité en permettant des discussions significatives dans plusieurs langues et ont amélioré la conséquence en permettant la transformation des préférences et l'approbation publique des processus multilingues. Cependant, la recherche révèle également que la diversité linguistique affecte ces principes de manière complexe et nuancée, soulignant la nécessité de réaliser d'autres études empiriques sur la manière dont la langue interagit avec les processus délibératifs et les influence.

En explorant le rôle de la langue dans les processus délibératifs multilingues, cette thèse contribue à une compréhension plus approfondie de la démocratie délibérative dans des contextes linguistiquement divers. Elle remet en question les études existantes en comblant le manque de recherche sur l'impact du multilinguisme sur les pratiques délibératives. Ce travail offre également des perspectives pratiques pour l'application future de la démocratie délibérative dans les sociétés multilingues, faisant progresser à la fois les connaissances académiques et pratiques dans le domaine. En fin de compte, la thèse souligne l'importance de prendre en compte les facteurs linguistiques lors de l'engagement dans la démocratie délibérative.

Acknowledgments

Embarking on this Ph.D. journey is akin to setting out on a thousand-mile expedition, where the initial step is crucial yet merely the commencement of a lengthy and rewarding adventure. This journey would not have been possible without the invaluable guidance and support of many individuals who, in countless ways, have stood by me over the years.

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I feel privileged to have witnessed the realization of Luxembourg's first national-level citizens' assemblies. I am grateful to the organizers of the Biergerkommitee Lëtzebuerg 2050 and the Klima Biergerrot, as well as to the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning and the Luxembourgish Government, for providing me access to these groundbreaking processes. This opportunity instilled in me a strong sense of responsibility, and even a sense of urgency, to channel my research into a meaningful contribution to the political landscape. I hope this thesis can serve such a purpose; however modest it may be. My sincere thanks also go to the participants who generously took the time to complete the surveys and meet with me, sharing vital insights into their experiences. Your stories have been instrumental to this research, and I hope they will contribute to a broader purpose beyond this thesis. Without your participation, this work would not have been possible.

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"You must always have faith in people. And, most importantly, you must always have faith in yourself."

- Legally Blonde

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Preface

The empirical body of this thesis is centered around the following articles:

- Verhasselt, L. Exploring the (e)quality of a multilingual citizens' assembly: Insights from participants in the Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050. Under review.
- Verhasselt, L. At the crossroads of multilingual and digital deliberative democracy: Perceived effectiveness of multilingual DMPs across in-person and online settings. Accepted for publication as chapter in "Public consultations in times of digitalization. Diffusion, usage, and democratic challenges of e-consultations."
- Verhasselt, L. & Paulis, E. Exploring public attitudes toward deliberative democracy in a multilingual democratic context: The case of Luxembourg. Under review.
 - This paper has already been published as working paper: Verhasselt, L. & Paulis, E. (2024). "Exploring public attitudes toward deliberative democracy in a multilingual democratic context: the case of Luxembourg", ChangeCode Working Paper Series, no. 3, pp. 1-38.

These articles are meant to be individual pieces and may thus overlap with other sections.

Sections of this thesis have also been published as an article in Representation (Verhasselt, 2024). Furthermore, parts of this dissertation are included in the PLDP's Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2005 (Verhasselt et al., 2024) and Klima Biergerrot (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024) evaluation reports, as well as the Robert Bosch Stiftung's Country Report: Luxembourg (Kies et al., 2024).

“

Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. As people moved eastward, they found a plain in Shinar and settled there. They said to each other, ... ‘Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth.’ But the LORD came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. The LORD said, ‘If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other.’ So the LORD scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. That is why it was called Babel—because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world. From there the LORD scattered them over the face of the whole earth.¹

- Genesis 11:1–9.

”

¹ (The Bible, 2011)

Chapter 1: Introduction

From Tower of Babel to Deliberative Democracy: Acknowledging Linguistic Diversity

733. That is the number of deliberative processes the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (hereafter OECD) has registered worldwide, which continues to grow significantly (OECD, 2023). This remarkable expansion has promoted researchers to refer to a ‘deliberative wave’, thereby highlighting the increasing use and visibility of deliberative processes (Paulis et al., 2021; OECD, 2020; Escobar & Elstub, 2019; Courant & Sintomer, 2019). These processes are grounded in the broader concept of deliberative democracy, which emphasizes a talk-centric rather than a vote-centric approach to democracy (Chambers, 2003). More precisely, the deliberative model of democracy prioritizes dialogue as the foundation for collective decision-making, moving beyond the mere aggregation of individual preferences. In these discussions, participants are encouraged to consider and respect diverse perspectives, even when such perspectives challenge widely accepted beliefs and values. In essence, deliberative democracy is more than an abstract ideal; it is also a tangible practice as evident in deliberative mini-publics (hereafter DMPs).² These practices are intended to put deliberative democracy into action. Put differently, DMPs bring the principles of deliberative democracy to life, showing how deliberation, based on the ideal that all voices in society should be considered and valued (Dryzek, 2009), can be a key mechanism for decision-making (Bächtiger et al., 2018).

The appeal of DMPs arises from the need to address the limitations of traditional representative democracy (Geissel & Newton, 2012; Dryzek et al., 2019; Escobar & Elstub, 2019). Hence, the growing reliance on such practices reflects broader concerns about the legitimacy of existing democratic structures, often described as a ‘democratic deficit’ (Chomsky, 2006; Moravcsik, 2004). This so-called democratic deficit has fueled increased interest in democratic innovations that engage citizens in decision-making to counter declining public trust in traditional political institutions. In this context, deliberative processes serve as a remedy for

² This thesis explores the concept of deliberative democracy and its practices as complementary to representative democracy. In theoretical discussions, the so-called ‘problem-based’ or ‘toolbox’ perspective has attracted significant attention in democratic theory (Saward, 2021; Warren, 2017). It argues for moving beyond the mere competition between different models of democracy (Held, 2006), using representative democracy as a foundation while incorporating additional democratic mechanisms and practices. These enhancements aim to strengthen citizen participation in political decision-making, including the use of DMPs (Felicetti, 2021; Saward, 2021; Warren, 2017; Fung, 2012).

the diminishing trust among citizens, which has led to the decline of political engagement (Geissel & Newton, 2012) and the rise of populist movements (Doyle & Walsh, 2020). DMPs present an opportunity to bridge the gap between citizens and policymakers by creating spaces where diverse perspectives can inform policy through informed recommendations (Paulis et al., 2021; OECD, 2020; Dryzek et al., 2019). Advocates then argue that such processes foster greater citizen engagement and enhance the quality of decision-making by cultivating representation, informed decisions, legitimacy, and accountability (Lacelle-Webster & Warren, 2021; Elstub & Escobar, 2019; Curato & Böker, 2016; Bächtiger et al., 2014; Niemeyer, 2014; MacKenzie & Warren, 2012; Dryzek, 2010a; Smith, 2009; Fung, 2007b, 2006; Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Saward, 2000).

Among the various formats of DMPs, one stands out for its growing prominence: citizens' assemblies (hereafter CAs) (Smith, 2009).³ Per Fournier et al. (2011, p. 10), CAs represent “the most extensive modern form of collective decision-making by common folk.” Since their first appearance, they have been established to address various policy challenges across all political levels, from local communities to global arenas. Notable examples include the Belgian G1000, the French Convention Citoyenne pour le Climat, the Global Assembly, the Irish Constitutional Convention, the UK Climate Assembly, and the first permanent assembly in the German-speaking region in Belgium. These examples underscore that CAs exhibit considerable diversity in both composition and function. While many involve a small number of participants (Grönlund et al., 2014), some designs can accommodate significantly larger groups (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2015). Their roles in the broader policy process also vary widely, functioning anywhere from consultative bodies to decision-making entities with substantial authority (Smith, 2009).

Despite their differences in specifics, CAs are usually composed of randomly selected individuals who broadly represent the wider population. More specifically, these practices are based on the idea that everyone, regardless of their socio-demographic background, should have an equal opportunity to participate in the process (Steel et al., 2020; Wojciechowska, 2019; Pedrini et al., 2013; Wee, 2010; Smith, 2009a; Young, 2000). During these processes, participants receive expert information and engage in equal and respectful discussions within

³ Also more broadly referred to as deliberative mini-publics in the literature. Furthermore, DMPs was the term employed in the KBR surveys, rather than ‘citizens’ assemblies’. Accordingly, in this thesis, the terms ‘citizens’ assemblies’ and ‘deliberative mini-publics’ are used interchangeably. The thesis also uses the broader term ‘deliberative processes’.

facilitated working groups (Bächtiger & Parkinson, 2019; Owen & Smith, 2015; Goold et al., 2012; Bächtiger et al., 2010; Mansbridge et al., 2010; Dryzek, 2002). Ultimately, they develop judgments or recommendations on complex societal issues to inform decision-making processes and ideally play a critical role in shaping policy (Curato et al., 2021; Elstub, 2014; Grönlund et al., 2014; Ryan & Smith, 2014; Smith, 2012; Steiner, 2012; Dryzek, 2009; Fishkin, 2009). In this context, the effectiveness and legitimacy of CAs rest on three foundational principles: inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Inclusivity emphasizes that the assembly should represent those affected by the decisions, allowing diverse perspectives to be heard (Curato et al., 2019; Dryzek, 2010a, 2002; Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008). Authenticity underscores the need for equal, respectful, and high-quality deliberation among participants (Bächtiger et al., 2018; Mansbridge, 2015). Consequentiality highlights the necessity for the process to have tangible impacts on participants and the broader public (Pilet et al., 2023; Curato et al., 2017). These principles make CAs a powerful tool for addressing complex societal challenges.

To uphold these principles, CAs are structured around a fundamental element: representation (Castiglione & Warren, 2019; O'Doherty & Burgess, 2013; Caluwaerts & Ugarriza, 2012; Smith, 2012; Brown, 2006; Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Rowe & Frewer, 2000; Gastil, 2000). Following Goodin and Dryzek (2006, p. 220), CAs must be “small enough to be genuinely deliberative, and representative enough to be genuinely democratic.” Representation within CAs, however, extends far beyond simply mirroring majority opinions. As O'Flynn (2007, p. 733) explains:

Deliberative democracy requires us to shift away from an elite-driven process towards a process in which the decisions that result can, in a meaningful sense, be understood as expressions of the will of the people where ‘the people’ is construed [...] in terms of the full diversity of views and positions in society.

This perspective underscores the importance of demographic and political diversity as crucial components for effective representation, as emphasized by Gastil (2000). It also stresses the need to move beyond the “usual suspects” of political participation (Smith, 2012, p. 94). Recognizing the crucial importance of representation in deliberative processes, scholars have proposed various approaches to achieve it. For example, Dryzek and Niemeyer (2008) suggest identifying all key perspectives on an issue and selecting individuals to represent these viewpoints. However, Khoban (2021) raises concerns about the limitations of this approach.

Supported by previous research (Smith, 2009; Brown, 2006), they argue that representation based on predefined discourses may hinder participants' ability to genuinely engage with others' perspectives and limit opinion change. Instead of freely engaging in open dialogue, learning, and mutual reasoning with others, these participants may feel pressured to conform to the expectations of those who identify with the viewpoints they represent. This dynamic can stifle opportunities for meaningful opinion change and collaborative problem-solving, undermining the transformative potential of deliberative processes – a fundamental element of consequentiality.

Alternatively, other scholars advocate for – statistical – descriptive representation, which seeks to construct a mini-public that mirrors the broader population. This representation format aims to ensure that selected participants reflect the intrinsic traits and experiences of the population at large. Underlying this approach is the assumption that if the entire population engaged in deliberation, the resulting public opinion resembles the perspectives represented in such a diverse process. By incorporating a wide array of social perspectives, descriptive representation enhances the inclusivity and legitimacy of deliberative processes (Lemi, 2022; Smith, 2009; Young, 2000; Mansbridge, 1999b; Phillips, 1995; Pitkin, 1967). In addition to bolstering legitimacy, descriptive representation is critical in fostering intersubjective knowledge construction, as highlighted by Khoban (2021). By incorporating a variety of social and demographic perspectives, individuals engage in vital and collaborative ways, enhancing deliberative processes through deeper understanding, challenged assumptions, and more thoughtful dialogue. In this sense, descriptive representation transcends the goal of merely mirroring the population; it creates the conditions necessary for meaningful knowledge-building and elevates the deliberative quality of decision-making processes. These advantages underscore its frequent use in deliberative practices.

The foundation for descriptive representation, however, predates its application in such practices, tracing back to the seminal works of Pitkin (1967) and Phillips (1995), where it is identified as a critical tool for addressing systemic inequalities in diverse political settings. Phillips (1995), in particular, highlights the relationship between political exclusion and political presence. Political exclusion refers to the systematic underrepresentation or marginalization of certain groups in political institutions, whereas political presence ensures that these groups are meaningfully included and represented. They identify factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, and language as essential to understanding the dynamics of political

exclusion and the pursuit of equitable representation. While gender, race, and ethnicity often dominate the discourse, Phillips is not alone in highlighting the pivotal role of language in representation, emphasizing its significance in fostering a more inclusive and consequential form of political engagement.

For instance, Funk and Hinojosa (2023) critique the traditional emphasis within descriptive representation on easily measurable traits, such as the proportion of women or racial minorities in political institutions. They contend that this narrow focus fails to account for intersectional identities and risks ‘essentialism’, the assumption that all members of a group share a singular identity (Mansbridge, 1999b). Shifting the perspective, they underscore the critical role of language, noting that representatives use it to express identity and establish connections with specific groups. Similarly, Gerring et al. (2024) and Trechsel (2007) highlight the significance of language in descriptive representation, alongside traits such as gender, religion, and ethnicity. While Trechsel (2007) stresses that language is a critical factor in ensuring fair and inclusive representation, Gerring et al. (2024) consider language as a main descriptive trait. Research further illustrates the impact of language in shaping attitudes toward representation. Schildkraut (2013a; 2013b) finds that individuals prioritize shared language and background over other traits such as race or national origin when evaluating their representatives. More broadly, Fowler et al. (2014) emphasize the role of language in shaping identity and its consequential influence on perceptions of political representation. Collectively, these studies underline the importance of language in representation, highlighting the necessity of incorporating linguistic considerations into larger discussions about being representative and perceived as representative.

Given this foundation, it seems evident that any democratic model prioritizing representation must treat language as a fundamental element, not as an afterthought. However, despite Phillips’ groundbreaking work three decades ago and subsequent scholarly contributions underscoring language as a medium of inclusivity and consequentiality, its significance remains underexplored within the realm of deliberative democracy. This oversight is particularly notable given the central role of language in the deliberative democratic model.⁴

⁴ This thesis acknowledges that communication cannot solely be reduced to oral language, with body language also playing a significant role. It is, nevertheless, important to highlight that oral language cannot be entirely replaced by body language, certainly not in deliberative processes. While written language predominates in online deliberative processes, especially in asynchronous formats, this dissertation places the focus on spoken language.

At its heart, deliberative democracy envisions the public sphere as a space for discussion, a process primarily mediated through language. As Susen (2018) notes, Habermas, whose work is foundational to deliberative democracy, argues that the core of a democratic society is not only its legal structures but also the active participation of citizens through collective discussions. Since such discourse is inherently dependent on language, it becomes clear that language is indispensable to the very functioning of deliberative democracy. It serves as the medium through which ideas, values, and perspectives are expressed, negotiated, and understood. Language, therefore, is far more than a tool for communication; it is the essential vehicle that enables democratic engagement and collective decision-making. Casullo (2020, pp. 27–28) reinforces this point, asserting that “deliberative democratic theory is inseparable from language” because “deliberation [...] is primarily linguistic because only in and through language can reasoning take place.”

Building on this, the field of sociolinguistics emphasizes how language reflects and perpetuates power imbalances, influencing access to resources and opportunities. More specifically, linguistic disparities directly affect individuals’ ability to participate in society and, consequently, in democratic processes. In this context, language is pivotal in determining who is included or excluded from political discourse (Phillipson, 2012, 1992, 1988; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988). These dynamics are particularly significant for deliberative democracy, where it is widely asserted from a normative perspective that inclusivity means “all persons should have the right and opportunity to participate in the deliberation and decision making of the institutions to which their actions contribute or which directly affect their actions” (Young, 2011, p. 91). As Piller (2016) emphasizes, language is integral to ensuring such access since it can either facilitate or obstruct participation, functioning as both a bridge and a barrier.

Additionally, power dynamics within discourse are both a reflection and a result of disparities in access to participation. Indeed, Van Dijk (1993) argues that power disparities among individuals and groups significantly influence both access to and participation in discourse, with language serving as a key factor in shaping these dynamics. This is particularly critical, as the authenticity of deliberative processes hinges on a genuine exchange of ideas, where all participants can engage on equal terms, speak freely, and be heard without prejudice (Steel et al., 2020; Gardner, 2013; O’Doherty & Burgess, 2013; Caluwaerts & Ugarriza, 2012; Karpowitz et al., 2009; Brown, 2006; Rowe & Frewer, 2000). However, this ideal of equal

engagement is influenced by social and cultural factors, including linguistic dynamics (Peled & Bonotti, 2019; Gumperz, 1982). In line with this, Lupia and Norton (2017) contend that language can act as a powerful ‘weapon’ in deliberative processes, shaping the discourse and profoundly impacting its outcomes. Ultimately, language is a determining factor in who can participate, how effectively their voices are heard, and how their contributions are valued.

Drawing on these insights, language transcends being a mere component of the deliberative process; it forms its very foundation. It determines who can participate, sets the conditions for deliberation, and serves as the medium through which ideas are articulated, evaluated, and negotiated. Moreover, language, as a critical element of descriptive representation, plays a pivotal role in shaping representation and public attitudes. In this context, language emerges as closely intertwined with the core principles of deliberative democracy: inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. This fundamental connection highlights the need to prioritize language in discussions of deliberative democracy, which seeks to strengthen democratic decision-making by expanding opportunities for participation, ensuring more inclusive access, and enhancing the overall legitimacy of the democratic system. However, despite its acknowledged significance in shaping access, participation, and perceived legitimacy, the role of language in deliberative democracy continues to be largely overlooked. Research on deliberative democracy often fails to treat language as a distinct issue, instead addressing deliberation in broader, generalized terms, underestimating how it can actively shape deliberative processes. This oversight risks neglecting a critical element essential to the effective functioning of deliberative democracy.

Notably, close to two decades ago, Addis (2007, p. 119) emphasized the urgent need to integrate language into the discourse on deliberative democracy:

How would a theory of deliberative democracy resolve a contest when that contest is over the very means of deliberation? Astonishingly, this issue, despite being so central to the deliberative process, is often bracketed or simply ignored by scholars, even distinguished ones. On the rare occasion when the issue is raised, it is done in a cursory way.

In addition to highlighting the importance of language, Addis encourages us to recognize language as inherently plural. The “contests over the very means of deliberation” point to the existence of linguistic diversity, revealing the complexities embedded within the framework of democratic deliberation, where language shapes not only the discourse but also the process.

Yet, Peled and Bonotti (2019) argue that theoretical discussions of language often rely on idealized assumptions that do not address the complex realities of communication. For too long, these realities have been overlooked or dismissed, partly driven by the misguided belief that “one who accepts deliberative democracy must reject multilingualism” (Addis, 2007, p. 129). This oversight presents a substantial challenge to the core of deliberative democracy, which is inherently tied to language and, therefore, linguistic diversity. Ultimately, acknowledging the significance of language requires moving beyond simplistic notions of linguistic uniformity and recognizing the practical realities of linguistic pluralism. Linguistic considerations within deliberative democracy must acknowledge diversity and complexity, just as language itself is not singular.

7,164. That is the astounding number of languages actively spoken across the globe today (Eberhard et al., 2024), highlighting the remarkable linguistic diversity that defines our world. While the exact count of languages remains a matter of debate, one thing is clear: Multilingualism is far more common than we might assume. Given that the number of recognized countries ranges from 193 to 237, depending on the source, it is possible to state that the majority of nations are home to a mosaic of languages (Saunders, 2024). This observation aligns with Schmidt’s (2014, p. 396) concept of “ontological multilingualism”, which underscores “the fundamental reality that virtually all contemporary nation-states have multiple language groups among their citizens.” Hence, far from being an anomaly, multilingualism⁵, referring to the coexistence of multiple languages within societies, institutions, or individuals (European Commission, 2007), is a widespread and increasing social and global phenomenon (De Zarobe & De Zarobe, 2015). More precisely, multilingual practices are increasingly prevalent worldwide, extending even to regions historically considered monolingual. This shift is fueled by factors such as migration, globalization, and heightened mobility. As a result, multilingualism has become deeply embedded in contemporary communication and societal structures, including political structures. At the same time, the complexities of today’s linguistic globalized landscape challenge and expand the traditional concept of the national public sphere (Volkmer, 2014).

Accordingly, the management of linguistic pluralism has, unsurprisingly, become a significant focus in scholarly inquiry and political discourse. In the context of representative democracy, much has been written about the connection between multilingualism and social exclusion,

⁵ In this thesis, multilingualism is also referred to as ‘linguistic diversity’ and ‘linguistic pluralism’.

with a particular focus on the inclusive potential of multilingualism (Piller, 2016). More precisely, addressing linguistic considerations is essential to ensuring that individuals can fully participate in political and social debates. In this reading, the language question is inherently tied to the broader question of linguistic justice, which centers on the fair management of linguistic diversity within political frameworks (De Schutter & Song, 2023). Nevertheless, whereas linguistic pluralism has been thoroughly explored within the framework of liberal representative democracy (De Schutter & Robichaud, 2016; Patten, 2014, 2009; Van Parijs, 2011a; Kymlicka & Patten, 2003), the deliberative model democracy has received comparatively little attention (with notable exceptions such as Bonotti & Stojanović, 2022; Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018; Schmidt, 2014; Caluwaerts, 2012). Deliberative democracy has not yet fully examined how linguistic diversity intersects with deliberative processes. This is a significant shortcoming, not only due to its potential impact on core principles but also because of the focus on designing contextually relevant processes.

Over two decades ago, Wheatley (2002, 2003) called for a pluralistic approach to deliberation that acknowledges the inherent diversity of modern societies. Since then, several scholars have expanded on this idea. O'Flynn (2007) argues that political systems can only thrive if they reflect and align with the societies they represent. Similarly, Böker (2017) contends that deliberative events are inseparable from the broader socio-political contexts in which they occur. These perspectives converge on a crucial point: Democratic processes must engage with and adapt to the complexities of the societies they seek to serve. Rubin (2014) makes the connection with language as one such complexity and emphasizes that linguistic considerations are vital to deliberative processes, particularly in linguistically diverse societies. Drawing on the literature discussed above, it becomes evident that neglecting these considerations risks not only detaching deliberative democracy from the lived experiences of its participants but also potentially reinforces exclusionary practices, as well as impacting the public's perceptions, thereby challenging the core principles of deliberative democracy. As such, the time has come for deliberative democracy to recognize the linguistic diversity that characterizes the multilingual reality of contemporary societies (Pym, 2013; Doerr, 2012; Trudgill, 2000)

This multilingual reality is particularly pronounced in international and transnational contexts, where multilingual deliberative processes are essential for navigating the linguistic and geographical boundaries that naturally exist. In these settings, linguistic diversity is not an optional consideration but an inherent feature, making multilingual approaches vital. Similarly,

in officially multilingual nations, the case for multilingual CAs is especially compelling, as they reflect society's linguistic and cultural composition. In such contexts, multilingual deliberative processes are not just beneficial but a democratic imperative. However, the importance of linguistic considerations extends beyond these scenarios. In non-officially multilingual societies – or multilingual contexts with minority, Indigenous, and/or migrant languages – language remains a significant barrier, particularly for linguistic minorities, Indigenous peoples, and migrants. These groups often face challenges that impede their full participation in democratic life (Bonotti & Willoughby, 2022; Piller, 2016; McNamara & Shohamy, 2008; Shohamy, 1997). As Gardner (2013, p. 468) highlights, “deliberative democracy's goals and methods [...] stress at every turn the inclusion of many voices, especially those of minorities and of the socially and politically excluded.” More broadly, failing to consider linguistic diversity risks silencing certain voices, not due to a lack of valuable contributions, but because participants may lack the linguistic resources to engage equally.

Essentially, there are numerous theoretical reasons to expect that deliberative practices should take linguistic considerations into account, especially given the importance of language for inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Furthermore, linguistic considerations are central to ensuring the practical application of deliberative processes in – officially – linguistically diverse settings. In this way, linguistic considerations are not just a theoretical or academic concern but a practical necessity for the functioning of democratic processes in certain instances. Put differently, these considerations strengthen deliberative democracy's democratic foundations and make its practices more realistic and applicable to real-world scenarios (Goodin, 2018). However, as noted in this introduction, research on the relationship between deliberative democracy and language is relatively limited, as also Kjær and Adamo (2016, p. 1) note:

Theorists of political science and sociology do not often ask themselves how deliberative democracy should function in polities that are made up of many linguistic groups and seem to forget the impact that linguistic diversity may have on political communication and mutual understanding across languages.

Notwithstanding the limited attention devoted to multilingual deliberative democracy and its practices, three areas of empirical research offer valuable insights into how linguistic diversity intersects with democratic deliberation. These studies examine the effects of multilingualism

in distinct contexts: (i) ‘elite’ deliberation, which involves dialogue among individuals in positions of power or influence, such as political leaders, experts, or institutional representatives, rather than lay citizens⁶ (Pedrini, 2015; Doerr, 2012, 2009, 2008), (ii) transnational deliberation, which explores deliberative processes at the supranational and international levels (Curato et al., 2023; Fiket et al., 2014, 2011; Fishkin, 2011), and (iii) national-level deliberation, which focuses on deliberation within the confines of a single nation (Caluwaerts, 2012; Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018). Collectively, these studies, further discussed in Chapter Two, emphasize that linguistic differences do not make deliberation impossible. In a nutshell, the current body of empirical evidence on multilingual deliberation presents a fairly positive outlook regarding its feasibility, highlighting both its benefits and challenges.

Although current studies generally present an optimistic perspective, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations in the existing research. To start, empirical studies on multilingual DMPs have predominantly focused on how multilingualism influences deliberation and the ability to achieve mutual understanding. This focus likely arises from the prevailing assumption that multilingualism presents an inherent challenge to democracy and deliberation, a topic explored in detail in Chapter Two. As a result, scholars often prioritize the quality of deliberation while treating multilingualism as a secondary or unavoidable complication rather than addressing it as a foundational issue for the core principles of deliberative democracy. In emphasizing the quality of deliberation, or authenticity, researchers have inadvertently overshadowed the other two principles of deliberative democracy: inclusivity and consequentiality. This neglect is particularly striking because research outside the field of deliberative democracy has highlighted the significant role that language plays in access, participation, and public perceptions. Thus, the attention given to the quality of deliberation creates a critical gap in our understanding of how multilingualism impacts deliberative practices *per se*.

Another significant shortcoming in existing research is the inadequate consideration of participants’ perspectives. There has been insufficient attention to how linguistic diversity influences their experiences within deliberative processes. Notably, following Anderson et al.

⁶ While ‘elite’ deliberation does not occur in deliberative settings like DMPs, this field of research offers valuable insights into multilingual deliberation, particularly in light of the limited knowledge on multilingual DMPs.

(2005, p. 2), “to say that both the functioning and the maintenance of democratic polities are intimately linked with what and how citizens think about democratic governance is perilously close to stating a tautology.” This gap is further compounded by the limited focus on the broader public’s attitudes toward multilingual deliberative processes, which are crucial for evaluating their effectiveness, legitimacy, and sustainability.

Overall, the existing literature on the intersection of language and deliberative democracy is fragmented and lacks a cohesive framework that addresses how multilingualism interacts with deliberative democracy, which represents a significant gap in our understanding of deliberative democracy and its practical applications. Despite the pervasive nature of multilingualism and its potential impact on inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, our grasp of how language influences deliberative democracy and its practices remains limited, a surprising and unjustifiable issue. Put differently, while the impact of multilingualism has been acknowledged, it has not been explained in the context of deliberative processes. Consequently, several key questions remain unanswered, particularly regarding whether and how language affects the core principles of deliberative democracy. To address this gap, a comprehensive approach is needed that broadens the scope of inquiry to include a more nuanced understanding of language’s role in deliberative processes, adopting a holistic perspective that encompasses all involved and the broader public. It is, therefore, crucial to put multilingual deliberative processes in the hot seat – that is, to go beyond merely observing patterns in the quality of deliberation to consider the multilingual DMPs overall.

This thesis advances the discussion by taking a crucial next step. More precisely, it focuses on multilingual CAs and their unfolding within linguistically diverse societies. As these assemblies aim to embody the core principles of deliberative democracy, they provide a valuable opportunity to explore whether and how language influences deliberative principles in practice. To guide this exploration, an exploratory approach is adopted, using deliberative theory as a framework for analyzing deliberative practices. Given the established role of language in supporting the fundamental principles of deliberative democracy, these values serve as the benchmark for the analysis. Furthermore, instead of theorizing, measuring, or implementing deliberation, this research seeks to understand how multilingual CAs are

experienced in real-world contexts (Ercan et al., 2022). Ultimately, this thesis is guided by the following central research question:

How does linguistic diversity impact the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of citizens' assemblies?

To address the research question, this thesis employs the widely recognized framework of input, throughput, and output legitimacy (Bekkers & Edwards, 2007; Edwards, 2007). This framework is particularly suited for studying deliberative democracy because the legitimacy of deliberative processes is essential for enhancing the overall legitimacy of the political system (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2015). Moreover, it aligns well with the principles of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, providing a structured perspective for evaluating multilingual CAs. Both the legitimacy framework and deliberative principles emphasize critical aspects of participation, process, and outcomes. More specifically, they stress the importance of broad and equitable participation, high-quality interaction, and meaningful outcomes that include impacts on participants and the maxi-public. This approach then serves as a systematic and robust tool for analyzing the relationship between language and deliberative principles, allowing for an evaluation of how the input, throughput, and output legitimacy of real-world multilingual deliberative practices (i.e., what is) aligns with the ideals of deliberative democracy, namely inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality (i.e., what ought to be).

Building upon the core principles of deliberative democracy and drawing on the works of Courant (2021), as well as Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2018), this thesis defines input, output, and throughput legitimacy as follows (see Table 1). Input legitimacy pertains to representation and inclusion within the deliberative process. It considers how linguistic diversity shapes access to participation, ultimately influencing the representativeness and inclusivity of the process.⁷ Throughput legitimacy focuses on the quality of the deliberative process. It examines the conditions under which participants interact and how multilingualism shapes participation. While these conceptualizations of input and throughput legitimacy are consistent with common interpretations, this thesis takes a slightly different approach to output legitimacy. It does not

⁷ The thesis explores representation in a broader sense beyond just linguistic representation. Specifically, it examines how linguistic diversity contributes to creating a more accurate and inclusive reflection of society as a whole.

concentrate on the tangible outcomes of deliberation, such as the weight of the results or responsiveness and accountability. Instead, output legitimacy in this context emphasizes the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and the broader public endorsement of multilingual DMPs. This perspective is grounded in a procedural understanding of support, which prioritizes the integrity of the decision-making process rather than the specific decisions made (Christiano, 2010; Holzhaecker, 2007; Waldron, 1999; Gaus, 1997; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 1995; Tyler, 1990). Ultimately, by integrating these dimensions, this thesis aims to provide a nuanced framework for understanding how multilingualism intersects with the principles of deliberative democracy, offering insights into “what may work, how, when, and why – and what may be difficult” (Dryzek 2007, p. 240).

Table 1 Analytical framework

Type of Legitimacy	Dimension Assessed	Meaning	Key Question
Input Legitimacy	Inclusivity	All those affected must have a chance to take part.	Who takes part?
Throughput Legitimacy	Authenticity	Qualitative deliberation must occur under conditions of respect and equality.	How do participants interact?
Output Legitimacy	Consequentiality	Preference transformation: participation must lead to revisions or changes in opinion.	Do participants' attitudes change throughout the process?
		Public endorsement: the maxi-public must support the process.	To what extent is the process accepted by the maxi-public?

To capture the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of multilingual CAs at the hand of the legitimacy framework, there is a need to draw practical lessons from the scale of existing multilingual deliberative processes. Therefore, this thesis focuses on two real-world examples of multilingual CAs in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg: The Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050 (hereafter BK) and Klima Biergerrot (hereafter KBR). The decision to examine Luxembourg, a country renowned for its unique socio-demographic composition, is a deliberate one.

Luxembourg's multilingual landscape is notable, with three official languages, Luxembourgish, French, and German, coexisting alongside a diverse array of languages spoken by residents from 170 different nationalities. This linguistic richness creates an environment where language is intricately woven into both daily life and political spheres (Fehlen et al., 2021). At the same time, nearly half of Luxembourg's resident population lacks national citizenship, excluding them from participating in national electoral politics and, by extension, the representative democratic system.⁸ Given the practical and inclusive imperatives for integrating linguistic considerations into deliberative practices, Luxembourg offers a distinctive but particularly compelling case. It highlights the intricate and often messy reality in which DMPs are situated and is therefore interesting to consider how multilingualism shapes the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of CAs. In other words, Luxembourg exemplifies the logic of most likely case design, based on the inverse Sinatra inference (Levy, 2002): If multilingual CAs cannot thrive in Luxembourg, a nation uniquely equipped for multilingualism, it raises significant questions about their feasibility and effectiveness in other contexts. Simply put, 'if not here, then where?'.

"A multilingual setting is inevitable for a country like Luxembourg, where multiple languages are spoken day by day."

- BK member

Accordingly, the BK and KBR present laboratory-like environments to study multilingual CAs. As revelatory cases, they offer a platform to uncover empirical insights into a phenomenon that

⁸ Non-national residents in Luxembourg can vote in municipal elections, allowing them to participate in local governance. However, their exclusion from national elections signifies their absence from the broader democratic framework. Voting in national elections is essential for participation in the country's representative democracy, as it directly influences the composition of the Chamber of Deputies and, consequently, the government. Being absent from national elections effectively means lacking a voice in the national legislative process, which impacts one's influence on national policies and decisions. Interestingly, non-national residents' participation in municipal elections is steadily increasing (Fassone, 2025).

has received little prior academic attention (Elstub & Pomatto, 2022; R. Yin, 2014). From early February to December 2021, the Biergerkomitee brought together 29 participants living or working in Luxembourg to deliberate on how the country can achieve carbon neutrality by 2050. Following this, the Klima Biergerrot convened from late January to October 2022, engaging 100 participants (60 active members and 40 substitutes) to discuss strategies for combatting climate change. Both processes were organized at the national level and entirely multilingual. The BK employed Luxembourgish, French, and German, requiring participants to have passive knowledge of these languages.⁹ In contrast, the KBR used Luxembourgish, French, and English, demanding proficiency in only one of these languages. Moreover, the BK conducted proceedings without translation services, whereas the KBR provided simultaneous translation and organized focus groups based on participants' language preferences. In summary, although both processes occurred within the same country, at the same political level, around the same time, and shared a focus on climate-related issues, they diverged in their approach to linguistic considerations. These differences make the BK and KBR remarkable complementary cases.

The BK and KBR cases are particularly significant for thorough analysis due to their relevance to multilingual deliberative democracy. Thus, the relatively narrow focus of this thesis on Luxembourg should not be viewed as a limitation; rather, it is an advantage that allows for a closer examination of the underexplored phenomenon of multilingual CAs. Indeed, Elstub and Pomatto (2022) note that generalization is not always a necessary goal in case study research, especially when a case has unique and intrinsic value. The BK and KBR cases exemplify this uniqueness, making them worthy of examination in their own right. By concentrating on these specific instances, this research gains the depth and nuance needed to illuminate the broader challenges and opportunities associated with multilingualism in DMPs, including its impacts on inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. In other words, the generalizability of this thesis arises from the alignment between its objectives and the chosen cases.

To analyze these cases, the thesis develops an operational matrix grounded in the legitimacy framework and applied through a mixed-method research design (Elstub & Pomatto, 2022; Escobar, 2022) that combines quantitative and qualitative data as complementary approaches. Quantitative data, gathered via closed-ended survey questions, contribute structured, replicable

⁹ Passive knowledge refers to the ability to comprehend a language when it is spoken or written, without necessarily being able to actively produce or speak it.

insights into patterns and impacts, whereas qualitative data, gathered via open-ended survey questions and interviews, uncover the rich, subjective experiences that underpin those patterns. Together, they provide a comprehensive framework for exploring deliberative processes, where the interplay between empirical evidence and contextual dynamics is critical to understanding multilingualism's role in shaping deliberative principles. By adopting such a methodology, this thesis bridges the interpretive and positivist paradigms, capturing measurable patterns and nuanced meanings, as well as blending statistical analysis with narrative insights. Overall, this approach ensures a robust exploration of multilingual CAs, ensuring that the findings are both descriptive, shedding light on existing practices, and prescriptive, offering actionable insights into a complex and underexplored phenomenon.

To conclude, the primary claim of this thesis is that the interaction between deliberative democratic practices and linguistic considerations requires, even demands, research attention. Indeed, if a deliberative model of democracy is to thrive, it is imperative to challenge foundational assumptions that are often commonly assumed without question. For instance, can deliberative processes function effectively and uphold the core principles of deliberative democracy only within a monolingual setting? Are current practices adequately prepared to navigate and embrace the complexities of linguistic diversity in today's increasingly pluralistic societies? These inquiries represent the core motivation guiding this research. What this thesis will go on to argue is that linguistic considerations seem a worthwhile investment for the study and practice of deliberative democracy. Linguistic diversity should not be a limitation to democracy, especially not for a model that prioritizes dialogue and is hence dependent upon language. Yet, despite the presence of multilingual DMPs, we know little about the impact of integrating multilingualism on deliberative processes, particularly beyond their deliberative quality, due to a lack of dedicated research.

Essentially, the key objective of this thesis is to fill the existing gap in empirical research by providing a systemic and comprehensive exploration of the intersection between multilingualism and deliberative processes. By concentrating on the relationship between linguistic diversity and inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, this thesis seeks to (i) broaden the scope of empirical research on deliberative democracy and its practices, and (ii) outline pathways for future research and practical implementation. In doing so, this dissertation elevates the role of linguistic considerations within contemporary debates on deliberative democracy and its practices, highlighting the necessity of continued inquiry into and adaptation

to address the dynamic and evolving – linguistic – landscapes shaping democratic engagement and innovations. However, it is important to underscore that this thesis does not aim to provide a theoretical discussion on linguistic justice within deliberative democracy, nor does it argue that all deliberative processes must be multilingual. Instead, the dissertation focuses on exploring the practical implications of multilingualism within specific deliberative contexts and understanding the insights these processes can offer.

Research Questions

There is a pressing need for a research agenda that bridges the gap between deliberative democracy and linguistic considerations, one that draws practical insights from existing deliberative experiments. By examining multilingual CAs in Luxembourg, this thesis contributes to this dialogue. It engages with theory and lived experiences in a flexible and evolving manner, ensuring that both theoretical and practical aspects develop concurrently. Ultimately, the dissertation fosters conversation and reflection on the issue at hand, aiming to enhance our understanding of how multilingualism interacts with deliberative processes.

This, in my opinion, is an understudied area of research. Consequently, the primary question addressed in this thesis is: *How does linguistic diversity impact the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of citizens' assemblies?* This question is asked with a pre-understanding of language constituting an essential part of deliberative processes.

Before this thesis can provide a conclusive answer to its central question, it must first examine the three key principles in detail. This is accomplished through the empirical chapters. Since three out of the four empirical chapters are based on standalone publications, each takes a slightly different approach or emphasizes distinct elements while remaining complementary and aligned with the overarching thesis. This section briefly outlines the rationale behind the empirical chapters, their contributions, and how they collectively fit within the broader framework of the thesis. The following paragraphs provide a concise overview of each chapter, demonstrating how they explore different yet interrelated aspects of the relationship between multilingualism and deliberative processes.

I. The – perceived – inclusivity of multilingual DMPs: a case study of the BK and KBR

The first consideration, inclusivity, is explored in Chapter Four, which examines how multilingualism shapes representation and inclusivity in the BK and KBR. Building on the

operationalization of multilingualism outlined in Chapter Two, this chapter focuses on input legitimacy and assesses the representativity of these processes. It also centers on the perspectives of participants, moderators¹⁰, and organizers, offering a nuanced understanding of inclusivity. This focus is particularly significant as the inclusivity of multilingual DMPs has received limited attention to date, despite broader research highlighting language's role in shaping and restricting access. Additionally, existing studies often overlook participants' perspectives, making this chapter's investigation especially valuable. This chapter is guided by the following questions:

- How is multilingualism practically integrated into the BK and KBR?
- What impact does multilingualism have on their representativity?
- How do participants perceive and experience their inclusivity?

Ultimately, the BK and KBR serve as compelling case studies due to their differing approaches to multilingualism, from language selection to linguistic accommodations, which allows for an interesting examination of the practical integration of linguistic diversity and its impact on inclusivity. The findings, grounded in measurable data and participant perceptions, hold significant implications for deliberative democracy. They demonstrate that multilingualism in DMPs is not merely about the quality of deliberation but a fundamental aspect of representation in linguistically diverse societies, shaping access to democratic participation.

II. Experiences and perceptions of participants in multilingual DMPs: a case study of the BK

In the first publication, Chapter Five of this thesis, the focus is on participants' experiences within a multilingual CA. The case study centers on the Biergerkomitee, a unique and compelling example for examining how multilingualism shapes authenticity in deliberative processes. This focus is particularly significant given the frequently cited advantages of linguistic homogeneity for democratic discourse and deliberation. Furthermore, existing research on the impact of multilingualism on deliberation has often overlooked the perspectives of participants and primarily concentrated on settings where linguistic accommodation is central.

¹⁰ In this thesis, 'moderator' and 'facilitator' are used interchangeably.

Unlike most multilingual deliberative settings, which rely heavily on linguistic accommodation strategies such as translation, the BK employed a strict linguistic selection criterion to create a mixed-language discourse environment. This approach makes it a distinctive model for empirically analyzing multilingual deliberation and its authenticity, as well as for investigating how participants navigate the linguistic dynamics of deliberative processes. Given the limited insights from the field of deliberative democracy, this research expands its scope by integrating insights from studies on multilingual communication. Particular attention is given to the concepts of translanguaging, inclusive multilingualism, and *lingua receptiva*, which highlight the ability of participants to leverage their multilingual skills in creating spaces for authentic and meaningful deliberation.

Similar to the overall dissertation, this article uses the input-throughput-output model, although here employed to examine: (i) the conditions that facilitate effective multilingual communication, (ii) the authenticity of this communication, and (iii) the outcomes it generates at both the individual and process levels. To address these issues, the research employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative analyses to explore three key questions:

- How do participants perceive the overall (e)quality¹¹ of deliberation within a multilingual process?
- How do participants believe the multilingual setting impacts, both positively and negatively, the deliberative process?
- What elements do participants identify as contributing to the effectiveness of a multilingual deliberative process?

By analyzing the BK as a case study, this publication challenges traditional assumptions about the necessity of linguistic homogeneity and accommodation, demonstrating how multilingualism can contribute to, rather than detract from, authentic deliberation. The findings, grounded in participants' experiences, have significant implications for both theory and practice, offering a fresh perspective on the role of language in shaping deliberative processes. By doing so, the study lays a concrete foundation for the thesis' broader claims regarding the

¹¹ By '(e)quality', this chapter refers to both the equality and quality of deliberations. This term highlights the dual importance of ensuring that all participants have equal opportunities to contribute meaningfully while also fostering high-quality interactions for deliberative processes to be effective.

importance of linguistic diversity; it highlights that multilingualism is not merely a logistical challenge but, depending on the context in which the DMP unfolds, a key factor that shapes perceptions of authenticity. Furthermore, the research identifies specific conditions for effective multilingual communication, offering actionable insights for designing deliberative processes that uphold democratic ideals. Overall, it underscores the importance of dismantling monolingual assumptions to align democratic practices with multilingual realities.

III. Deliberative formats and perceived effectiveness of multilingual DMPs: a case study of the KBR

The second publication, Chapter Six of this thesis, explores output legitimacy by focusing on the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and how it may be influenced by the deliberative format. According to Cooke (2000, p. 947) deliberation is defined as “an unconstrained exchange of arguments that involves practical reasoning and always potentially leads to a transformation of preferences.” With the increasing prevalence of online deliberative processes, it is critical to understand the interplay between multilingualism and digital formats, as the convergence of these two dimensions is becoming increasingly unavoidable. However, existing research on multilingual and online deliberative processes has largely developed in isolation.

While studies on online deliberation have examined the differing impacts of in-person and online formats on participants’ experiences, particularly regarding preference transformations, research on multilingual deliberation has generally overlooked the effects of deliberative format. Furthermore, the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation, an essential aspect of consequentiality, remains underexplored. This chapter addresses these gaps by (i) exploring the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and (ii) examining whether and how the deliberative format affects this potential for transformation. To explain variations in participants’ attitudes toward multilingual DMPs, the study analyzes a range of influencing factors categorized into two main groups: online factors and linguistic factors. The study employs a purely quantitative methodology, drawing on participant surveys. It is guided by the following research questions:

- How do participants’ perceptions regarding the effectiveness of multilingual deliberative mini-publics evolve across in-person and online deliberative formats?

- Under what conditions is multilingual deliberation most likely to foster transformative potential?
- What online and linguistic factors influence participants' evaluations of multilingual DMPs?

By bridging the gap between research on multilingualism and online deliberation, this chapter provides valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities of their convergence. The findings not only enhance our understanding of how multilingual and digital dimensions interact but also contribute to the broader theory of deliberative democracy by investigating the consequentiality of multilingual DMPs. By doing so, the research places particular emphasis on identifying the contexts in which multilingual deliberation is most likely to yield transformative effects. Understanding how attitudes shift across formats provides actionable insights for designing multilingual deliberative processes that maximize transformative benefits. These insights are particularly crucial given the evolving landscape of online and hybrid processes and the unavoidable use of multilingual DMPs in certain settings.

IV. Public endorsement of multilingual DMPs: a case study of the Luxembourgish population

In the third publication, Chapter Seven of this thesis, the focus shifts to examining the maxi-public's perceptions of multilingual deliberative processes. Given the inherently small size of CAs, their broader legitimacy depends significantly on how the maxi-public reacts to and perceives these processes. While public opinion research on deliberative democracy is gaining traction, the role of linguistic diversity and its impact on public attitudes remain underexplored. This is a particularly crucial oversight given that even the most basic design features of deliberative mini-publics, such as the size of the group or who initiated the event, can affect their wider societal and political impact.

Using Luxembourg as a case study, this research situates multilingual DMPs within the broader debates on societal participation and integration. These themes are particularly salient in a multilingual and multicultural society like Luxembourg, where language is central to discussions of identity and inclusion. Accordingly, relying on a panel survey of a representative sample of the Luxembourgish population conducted alongside the KBR, the study adopts a twofold approach. First, it examines how perceptions of multilingual DMPs vary by (i) linguistic skills and (ii) nationality, including linguistic identity. To do so, it distinguishes

between native nationals (individuals with the nationality and associated with the ‘dominant’ national language(s)) and non-native non-nationals (non-national residents with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds). Second, this study uses a vignette experiment to evaluate how information about linguistic accommodations affects public perceptions.

At the hand of quantitative data, the research addresses the following questions:

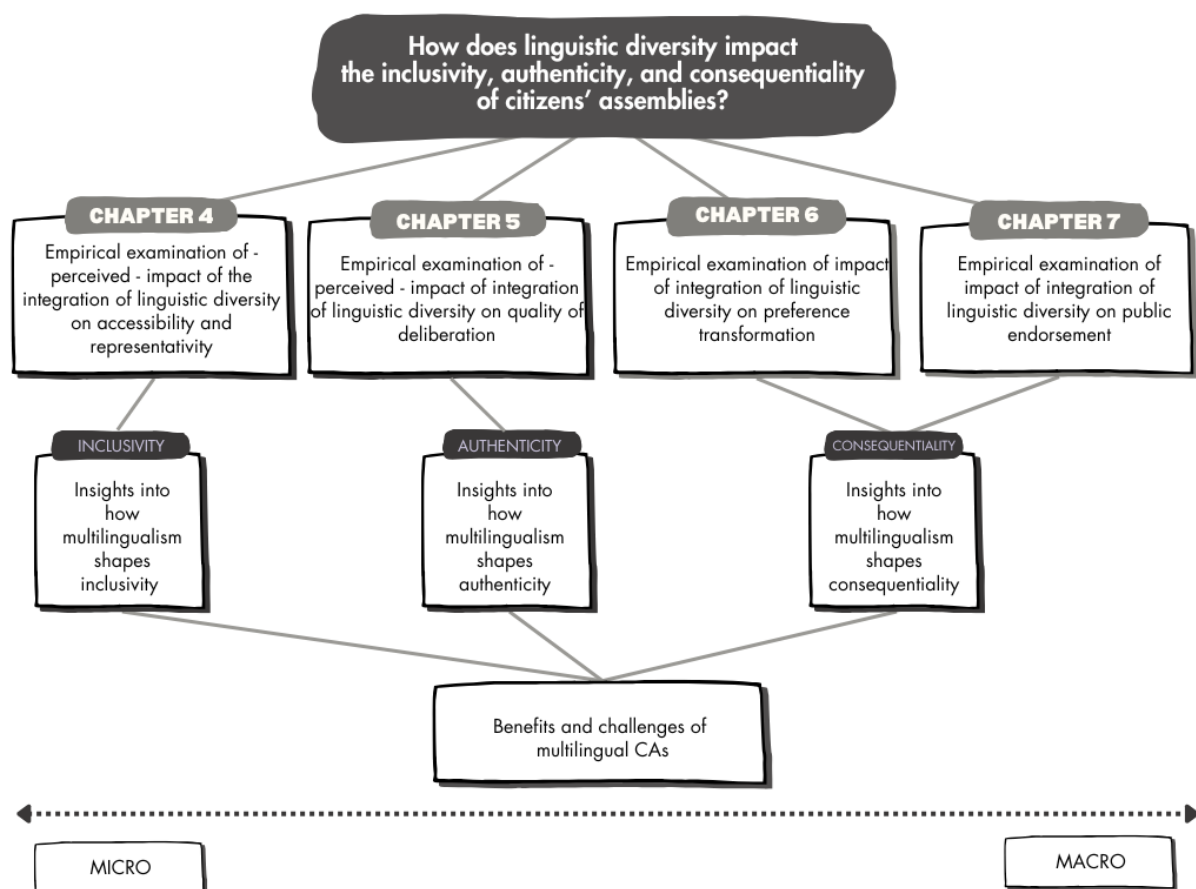
- How is the number of languages individuals report being able to speak associated with their support for multilingual deliberative processes?
- Are non-national residents and foreign speakers more supportive of multilingual deliberative processes compared to national residents and native speakers?
- Does providing information about linguistic accommodation increase support for multilingual deliberative processes?
- Do initially neutral or negative respondents become more supportive of multilingual deliberative processes after being informed about linguistic accommodation?

The insights from this analysis contribute to the overall thesis by focusing on the maxi-public’s perceptions. This broadens the thesis’ scope beyond the internal dynamics of deliberative mini-publics. By exploring variations in public attitudes across demographic groups, the publication underscores the connection between deliberative processes and broader societal debates. This provides insights into how societal dynamics influence the support for and long-term viability of multilingual DMPs. Moreover, the study examines how linguistic accommodations impact public support for multilingual deliberative processes, offering practical insights into the effectiveness of these accommodations and the extent to which they are endorsed by the public. In essence, the research offers pathways for designing and implementing deliberative processes that align with the multilingual realities of modern societies.

Collectively, these chapters offer a comprehensive understanding of multilingual DMPs by connecting individual, procedural, and societal dimensions. Building on Chapter Four, which discusses the inclusivity of multilingual DMPs and sets the stage for further empirical research, Chapter Five explores the practical challenges and benefits associated with multilingual deliberation, which is essential for understanding how linguistic diversity affects perceptions of authenticity. Chapter Six investigates the consequentiality of multilingual DMPs by

examining the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and its impact on outcomes. Chapter Seven focuses on the second aspect of consequentiality, specifically the perceptions of the maxi-public regarding multilingual DMPs. This layered analysis advances empirical research on multilingual DMPs, resulting in a thorough analysis of multilingual CAs, shedding light on their inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Overall, while each analysis addresses a distinct aspect of multilingual CAs, together they create an interconnected narrative linking the internal dynamics of deliberative practices to their broader societal implications (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Interconnection between empirical chapters



Contributions of the Dissertation

The primary aim of this thesis is to advance the relatively underexplored field of research on multilingual deliberative processes. Specifically, it seeks to analyze multilingual CAs in an officially multilingual context to understand how linguistic diversity influences the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of these assemblies. While the main emphasis of the study is to enhance academic understanding of multilingual deliberative processes, the unique

characteristics of the subject also lead to significant methodological and practical contributions. Therefore, the contributions of this thesis can be grouped into four categories: theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and practical. An overview of these contributions is provided in Table 2, with further elaboration in the remainder of this section.

Table 2 Contributions of this dissertation

Contribution	Description
Theory	<p>Enriches academic understanding of the critical role of language by integrating perspectives from diverse research fields.</p> <p>Advances the academic debate on multilingual deliberative democracy by emphasizing the importance of integrating linguistic considerations into CAs, thereby challenging the monolingual assumptions often underpinning deliberative democratic theory.</p> <p>Enhances academic understanding of multilingual deliberative processes by examining their input, throughput, and output legitimacy, offering a more comprehensive understanding that extends beyond the prevailing emphasis on deliberative quality.</p>
Conceptual	<p>Clarifies the understanding and role of multilingualism in the study and practice of deliberative democracy.</p>
Methodology	<p>Integrates the legitimacy framework with the core values of deliberative democracy, namely inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, creating a robust analytical foundation.</p>

	<p>Develops an operational matrix regarding the integration of linguistic diversity in deliberative processes, which facilitates examining and designing multilingual DMPs.</p> <p>Advocates for a mixed-method approach, combining interpretive and positivist paradigms, to provide a comprehensive exploratory analysis of multilingual DMPs, incorporating the perspectives of those involved and the broader public.</p>
Practice	<p>Clarifies the benefits and challenges of multilingual DMPs by illuminating their inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, providing actionable insights for designing multilingual deliberative processes that uphold deliberative democratic principles.</p> <p>Explores how the maxi-public perceives multilingual DMPs and reveals how these innovations intersect with societal values and debates, emphasizing the importance of understanding public perceptions as key to integrating democratic innovations.</p>

Theoretical contribution

The originality of this thesis lies first in its contribution to the field of deliberative democracy. Indeed, it addresses a critical gap in the research on deliberative democracy, specifically, the lack of systematic research on multilingualism. While much of the existing research on deliberative democracy implicitly or explicitly assumes that deliberative practices are most effective in monolingual or linguistically homogeneous contexts, this assumption leaves a critical gap in understanding how deliberation functions in linguistically diverse societies. Such an oversight is particularly significant given the increasing globalization and linguistic plurality of democracies. If deliberative democracy is truly fragile in multilingual settings, these contexts become essential testing grounds for exploring the viability and adaptability of deliberative processes in the face of linguistic diversity. By incorporating interdisciplinary insights from sociolinguistics, representation, and linguistic justice, this thesis reframes

language not merely as a logistical or secondary concern but as a fundamental element deeply tied to the core principles of deliberative democracy: inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. This expands the field of deliberative democracy by integrating crucial insights from other scholarly fields.

Furthermore, this dissertation enhances the existing literature on multilingual DMPs. It advances the field by shifting the focus from merely assessing how multilingualism affects the quality of deliberation to understanding how real-world linguistic complexities influence the effectiveness and legitimacy of these processes. The thesis posits that it is crucial not only to investigate whether DMPs can function in multilingual settings – particularly whether deliberative quality is maintained – but also to flip this inquiry. Namely, how the linguistic characteristics of a political environment shape the effects of linguistic diversity on both participants and the broader public. By addressing this question, the dissertation provides a more nuanced and practical understanding of multilingual DMPs, taking into account the differing ways in which participants and the larger public perceive the multilingual aspects of the process. This approach is essential for creating an accurate portrayal of how multilingual DMPs function in practice. By doing so, this dissertation aims to underscore the necessity of researching multilingual DMPs.

Conceptual contribution

Building on the theoretical contribution, the conceptual contribution of this study lies in advancing our understanding of multilingualism within the framework of deliberative democracy. Traditionally, deliberative democracy has been predicated on ideals of rational discourse and mutual understanding. However, these ideals often assume a shared linguistic medium, thereby considering multilingualism as a barrier, a challenge, or even a complexity. This research challenges such assumptions and reconceptualizes multilingualism as an integral, rather than incidental, feature of democratic deliberation – especially in officially multilingual settings.

This dissertation highlights language's potential as a democratic resource rather than viewing multilingualism as a barrier to effective deliberation. Accordingly, this dissertation advances the line of research on multilingual DMPs by examining how linguistic diversity influences the foundational principles of democratic deliberation, which enhances deliberative theory by offering a more nuanced understanding of the role of language in promoting and hindering

democratic principles. Ultimately, this conceptual contribution clarifies the understanding and role of multilingualism in the study and practice of deliberative democracy, highlighting it as a potentially crucial factor shaping inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, or even as an inescapable reality in many contexts. In conclusion, this thesis redefines linguistic diversity not as a limitation but as an integral aspect of deliberative democracy and its practices.

Methodological contribution

This thesis makes a methodological contribution by developing a comprehensive matrix designed to address linguistic diversity in deliberative processes. Central to this contribution is the adaptation of the widely recognized input, throughput, and output legitimacy framework, which has long been used to assess the legitimacy of democratic processes. This thesis reinterprets the framework through the lens of core deliberative values, tailoring it to specifically account for the complexities introduced by multilingualism. Furthermore, the thesis operationalizes multilingualism within this legitimacy framework, offering concrete measures to assess how language diversity is integrated and managed within deliberative processes. Essentially, the matrix introduced in this thesis offers a structured way to evaluate how linguistic diversity impacts deliberative processes across the three dimensions of legitimacy. Overall, the methodological innovation of this thesis lies in its ability to extend and refine an often-used framework to address multilingualism, ensuring the framework remains relevant in linguistically diverse societies.

To operationalize this matrix, the thesis adopts a methodological approach that blends both quantitative and qualitative data within an integrated mixed-methods framework. This hybrid methodology draws on the strengths of both interpretive and positivist paradigms, allowing for a thorough and multifaceted exploration of multilingual deliberative processes. By employing this approach, the thesis captures both the empirical rigor and the rich, contextual understanding needed to fully assess how linguistic diversity shapes DMPs. The integration of these paradigms enables a nuanced analysis that not only identifies patterns and trends but also delves deeply into the lived experiences of participants, offering a more holistic view of multilingual processes. This aspect is crucial for understanding the dynamics of multilingual DMPs, offering insights that purely quantitative methods may miss and providing essential context for interpreting the empirical data. Essentially, this approach emphasizes the importance of capturing the complexities of multilingual experiences, ensuring the findings reflect the real-world dynamics of multilingual deliberation. Put differently, by blending

quantitative and qualitative approaches, the thesis provides robust evidence that can be applied directly to the design and implementation of multilingual deliberative processes. Additionally, it also underlines the importance of giving a voice to those involved in deliberative processes, as well as to the maxi-public.

Practical contribution

The matrix facilitates the empirical evaluation of multilingual deliberative processes while also providing valuable guidance for designing and implementing multilingual DMPs. It offers a robust, context-sensitive tool for examining and shaping deliberative processes in linguistically diverse settings, underscoring the practical value of this research. By presenting a detailed, structured approach, the matrix enables policymakers, practitioners, and scholars to assess and refine the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs, ensuring these processes remain inclusive, authentic, and consequential. It offers actionable strategies for selecting languages and accommodating linguistic diversity in deliberative settings and serves to identify potential pitfalls in managing multilingual participation. In doing so, this thesis ensures that multilingualism is not merely a theoretical concern but a practical framework applicable to real-world deliberative practices.

In addition to its academic contributions, this thesis holds significant societal relevance. The growing prevalence of DMPs in recent years has spurred a need for context-sensitive approaches to these processes, hence the existence of multilingual DMPs. However, despite their existence, the research landscape lacks sufficient empirical studies focusing on multilingual DMPs. This research gap has left practitioners and policymakers with limited empirical knowledge and few best practices when designing and organizing multilingual DMPs (Roberts et al., 2023). This thesis, by critically examining the opportunities and challenges of multilingual DMPs through the lens of two case studies, the BK and KBR, aims to fill this crucial gap in the literature. Through an empirical analysis of these two real-world multilingual CAs, the thesis provides an in-depth understanding of how linguistic diversity shapes their inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, offering valuable lessons on why and how to design multilingual DMPs. This thesis further highlights the connection between deliberative processes and wider sociopolitical challenges, enhancing the thesis' relevance to contemporary governance and offering vital insights for practitioners designing deliberative processes in linguistically heterogeneous environments, including the importance of transparently

communicating about multilingual DMPs to maximize public support and democratic legitimacy.

Essentially, it provides valuable insights for enhancing the design and execution of multilingual DMPs in real-world contexts. These insights aim to enrich the ongoing societal debate, offering a reality check for the expectations of policymakers, practitioners, and scholars regarding the effectiveness and legitimacy of DMPs in linguistically diverse contexts. Furthermore, this thesis seeks to underscore the critical need for more transparent and open communication regarding multilingual DMPs.

To sum up ...

In sum, this thesis combines theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and practical contributions, advancing the field of multilingual deliberative democracy.

The BK and KBR and, more broadly, Luxembourg, serve as a valuable case study, demonstrating how multilingual DMPs can thrive in diverse linguistic environments, offering hope and guidance for other societies. At the hand of the BK and KBR, this thesis aims to foster a more informed and realistic understanding of the potential of DMPs to embrace the complexities of linguistic diversity while also underlining how they resonate with participants and the maxi-public in linguistically heterogeneous contexts. While the specific languages and linguistic practices of Luxembourg are unique and whereas the specifics of language use and linguistic pluralism (i.e., official, non-official, minority, Indigenous, and migrant languages, etc.) may differ, the core principles of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality have universal relevance. Furthermore, by addressing the gap between the practice of multilingual DMPs and the limited scholarly attention they receive, this research contributes to both the academic discourse and the ongoing societal debate around DMPs. Therefore, although much work remains to be done to fully develop a multilingual understanding of deliberative democracy, this research lays the groundwork for further exploration in this vital and timely field.

More generally, this thesis highlights the critical importance of grounding theoretical and normative principles, such as deliberative democracy, in real-world contexts. It advocates ensuring that these principles remain relevant, adaptable, and resilient in the face of evolving

societal realities. In doing so, the thesis challenges deliberative theorists to re-examine implicit assumptions that may constrain the inclusivity and applicability of democratic practices.

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter Two offers a comprehensive conceptual framework that introduces and explains three core concepts: deliberative democracy, citizens' assemblies, and multilingualism. These concepts serve as the foundation of the study, providing a lens to understand why the relationship between multilingualism and deliberative democracy is significant to consider. Building on the above introduction, which outlines the significance of linguistic considerations, this chapter further explores whether multilingualism is an essential consideration in deliberative democracy and its practices. It starts from the perspective that deliberative democracy has often favored a linguistically homogeneous viewpoint, raising questions about why this is the case and why it should be challenged. Once it becomes clear that deliberative democracy and its practices need to move away from a common-language ideology, despite the complexities it may introduce, this chapter offers suggestions for a multilingual path forward. Following this, the operationalization of the core concepts is detailed, explaining their application within the research context. This includes creating a matrix that facilitates an examination of the input, throughput, and output legitimacy of multilingualism in citizens' assemblies. In other words, Chapter Two establishes clear parameters for systematic examination, ensuring that abstract concepts are translated into measurable phenomena.

Chapter Three provides a comprehensive outline of the methodological framework, detailing the structured approach that underpins the operational matrix introduced in Chapter Two and the publications that constitute the body of this thesis. It begins with an overview of empirical studies on deliberative democracy, contextualizing the chosen methodology and laying the groundwork for the subsequent methodological choices. The chapter then moves to introduce the overarching research design of exploratory case study research, justifying its selection as the most appropriate approach for addressing the thesis' central research question. The decision to use case studies is supported by a discussion of how they provide a detailed examination of real-world phenomena, offering rich insights into the complexities of multilingual deliberative practices. Following this, the chapter elaborates on the mixed-methods approach, which combines both interpretive and positivist paradigms, allowing for a more comprehensive exploration of the subject. It highlights how this approach integrates both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods to capture the full range of insights from those involved

and the broader public, as well as to generate a more robust understanding of the dynamics at play in multilingual deliberative processes. The subsequent section clarifies how this methodology aligns with the study's goals. Finally, the chapter discusses the case selection process in depth, explaining the rationale behind choosing Luxembourg as the focal context for the research. It emphasizes the significance of the BK and KBR processes, detailing how these case studies were selected to reflect the complexities and practicalities of multilingual CAs in a real-world setting. Through a thorough explanation of the cases, the chapter underscores their relevance to the research objectives, demonstrating how these examples can shed light on the operationalization of multilingual deliberative processes and contribute to broader theoretical and practical discussions surrounding multilingual deliberative democracy.

Chapter Four provides a detailed analysis of the composition and functioning of the BK and KBR processes. This chapter relies on the operational framework developed in Chapter Two to assess how multilingualism is integrated into these deliberative processes. The chapter explores the specific ways in which the languages were selected and used within these settings, paying particular attention to the criteria for linguistic inclusion, the multilingual method, and the accommodations made to ensure accessibility for participants from diverse linguistic backgrounds. By evaluating the role of multilingualism in shaping input legitimacy, the analysis highlights its influence on representativity across a range of socio-demographic factors, including gender, age, nationality, education, and income. This approach provides insights into how the integration of linguistic pluralism can enhance, or hinder, the inclusivity of deliberative processes. The chapter further considers the perceived inclusivity and representativity of the BK and KBR processes, drawing on perspectives and experiences from participants, organizers, and facilitators to understand the extent to which these processes are seen as truly inclusive and representative of the broader society. Through this exploration, Chapter Four illuminates how linguistic diversity shapes input legitimacy, both from a positivist and interpretive perspective.

The following three chapters of this thesis are based on three publications that form the core of the work. These publications investigate the intersection of deliberative democracy and multilingualism, progressing from an analysis of participants' experiences and interactions in multilingual deliberative settings to broader societal perspectives on multilingual deliberative mini-publics. This progression connects theoretical frameworks with practical implications,

offering a comprehensive analysis that spans from the individual (micro) level to the societal (macro) level.

Chapter Five focuses on participants' experiences with multilingual DMPs, analyzing how multilingualism and CAs intersect and function in practice. The chapter begins by exploring existing literature on multilingual DMPs and highlighting key principles of multilingual communication that are valuable in deliberative contexts. It then introduces the BK as a case study and outlines the methodology employed. Using the input-throughput-output analytical model, the chapter examines the lived experiences of BK participants. To do so, it is organized around three main themes: (i) participants' perceptions of the (e)quality of multilingual deliberation, (ii) the perceived impact of multilingualism on the deliberative process, and (iii) insights into the effectiveness of multilingual communication. To ensure a rigorous and comprehensive analysis, thematic coding and the Perceived Discourse Quality Index (hereafter PDQI) are employed to systematically categorize and assess participant responses, accurately reflecting the nuanced views of the participants. The third section provides an overview of participants' language profiles, setting the stage for the subsequent sections. The fourth and fifth sections analyze data collected from the participants to explore their experiences and perceptions of multilingualism within the BK. The former presents quantitative and qualitative findings regarding participants' views on multilingual deliberation and its quality. The latter delves deeper into their experiences, offering insights into the observed effectiveness of multilingualism within the BK. Finally, the sixth section synthesizes the key findings and discusses the input, throughput, and output dimensions of a multilingual citizens' assembly. By centering on the participants' lived experiences, Chapter Five provides valuable insights into the real-world dynamics of multilingual DMPs, illustrating how linguistic pluralism is appreciated by participants and can be effectively integrated into deliberative processes while highlighting the challenges that need to be addressed.

Chapter Six investigates the impact of different deliberative formats on participants' attitudes toward multilingual deliberative processes, thereby showcasing the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation. The chapter starts with a review of existing research on multilingual and online deliberative processes, addressing the longstanding separation between these two fields and advocating for the necessity of bridging this gap, especially in light of the digital revolution reshaping democratic innovations. The methodological framework is then presented, detailing case selection and the processes of data collection, operationalization, and

analysis. Utilizing the Luxembourgish KBR, which incorporated both an in-person and online phase, the chapter explores how different deliberative environments, face-to-face versus online settings, affect participants' perceptions of multilingual DMPs. By employing longitudinal quantitative surveys, the KBR facilitates comparison of participants' attitudes at three key points: before deliberation, after the in-person phase, and following the online phase. The analysis utilizes a two-step approach. It first examines general trends across the entire sample and subsequently focuses on a subset of respondents. Descriptive statistics, which include frequency distributions, cross-tabulations, and paired t-tests, provide a clear overview of participants' evolving attitudes. The results section is divided into two subsections. The first examines shifts in participants' attitudes across the three phases, while the second explores potential explanations for these shifts, particularly factors related to the online setting and the linguistic dimension of the process. The chapter concludes by identifying implications for designing effective deliberative processes in an increasingly interconnected, digitalized, and multilingual democratic landscape. Through its analysis, Chapter Six elucidates the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and the complex interplay between deliberative environments and participants' views on multilingual DMPs, demonstrating how the format of deliberation can enhance participants' appreciation of multilingual processes. The findings contribute to broader discussions on the future of democratic innovations and their potential to evolve in more inclusive, multilingual settings.

Chapter Seven focuses on public endorsement of multilingual DMPs by examining the attitudes of the broader population toward multilingualism in these contexts. The first section presents a brief review of existing literature on public support for democratic innovations, including DMPs. It enhances this literature by incorporating insights from sociolinguistic and acculturation research, highlighting the significance of language as a factor that may shape public support for DMPs. This is crucial because even basic design features of DMPs, such as the group size or the event's initiation, can impact their societal and political effects. Building on this research, four hypotheses are developed to differentiate between citizens who oppose and those who support multilingual DMPs. The hypotheses also explore whether offering linguistic accommodations increases support for these processes. Specifically, they focus on (i) how perceptions of multilingual DMPs vary based on (a) linguistic skills and (b) nationality, including linguistic identity, and (ii) how information about linguistic accommodations in DMPs influences these perceptions. The third section outlines the data and variables used in the analysis, including how they are operationalized. This chapter utilizes a unique survey of

the Luxembourgish population, featuring a vignette experiment designed to assess public perceptions regarding linguistic accommodations. In the fourth section, the results are analyzed with a focus on public attitudes toward the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs, particularly examining the practical and symbolic dimensions of language. This is followed by a discussion of the findings and their implications in the fifth section. Here, the chapter draws heavily on acculturation research to explain the observed variations. By considering the perspectives of the wider public, this chapter connects views on democratic innovations to broader societal debates. Ultimately, it provides valuable insights into how public attitudes toward multilingualism can influence the legitimacy and long-term success of multilingual deliberative processes.

Chapter Eight, the conclusion, synthesizes the findings from the empirical analyses. The first section of the conclusion revisits the thesis' argument, while the following section summarizes the conclusions of the empirical chapters. The conclusions underscore how linguistic diversity impacts the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of multilingual CAs. The next section details the implications of these findings, while the fourth and fifth sections delve into the limitations of this thesis and avenues for future research. The sixth section concludes the dissertation with some final reflections. All in all, the thesis emphasizes the significance of language in deliberative democracy, insisting upon nuanced, context-specific strategies to DMPs. Notably, linguistic considerations in deliberative democracy are about more than language, they are about accessibility, inclusivity, and cultural resonance. Essentially, this thesis positions multilingualism as an opportunity rather than an obstacle, enriching deliberative processes and thereby offering a roadmap for embracing linguistic diversity in deliberative processes.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

Language as a Bridge: Unlocking Multilingualism in Deliberative Democracy

This chapter lays the conceptual groundwork for this thesis by focusing on three key ideas: (i) deliberative democracy, (ii) citizens' assemblies, and (iii) multilingualism. Since multilingualism is a broad concept that has been analyzed from various perspectives and fields, this section specifically explores what scholars have said about the challenges and opportunities posed by linguistic diversity in democratic processes. By examining this body of research, the study positions itself within the wider academic discourse, providing a critical backdrop for understanding the intersection of multilingualism and deliberative democracy. Collectively, these three concepts are essential for understanding why multilingual deliberative processes require further research attention. Therefore, after a glance at these concepts, the next part of this chapter offers an exploratory overview of the relationship between deliberative democracy and multilingualism. It finds that traditional approaches to deliberative democracy have often overlooked the importance of linguistic diversity, largely due to the prevailing belief that a common language is a prerequisite for democracy and communication. This chapter also examines why reconciling democratic deliberation with multilingualism is worthwhile, exploring both the benefits and challenges of integrating linguistic pluralism into deliberative democracy. Furthermore, it provides insights into potential strategies for accommodating multilingualism in deliberative processes. Finally, this chapter explains how these concepts are applied in the analysis, establishing the operational matrix.

Deliberative Democracy: State of the art

“The old saying that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy is not apt if it means [...] introducing more machinery of the same kind” (Dewey, 1946, p. 144).

In recent years, there has been a notable rise in the implementation of new forms of citizen participation around the globe (Smith, 2009; Scarrow, 2001). This shift comes against the backdrop of increasing discontent with political systems worldwide. As dissatisfaction grows, deliberative theories of democracy have gained traction as a promising alternative. Proponents of deliberative democracy argue that conventional methods of political representation and decision-making are no longer sufficient to address the complex policy challenges of contemporary societies. These traditional approaches, they contend, fall short of achieving core democratic ideals, such as fostering informed and active citizenry engagement, promoting

meaningful public dialogue, justifying governmental decisions transparently, ensuring individual freedoms alongside collective accountability, and advancing social justice and political equality. Put simply, several researchers view deliberative democracy as a remedy for the democratic shortcomings observed in modern societies (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, 1996; Fung & Wright, 2001; Elster, 1998; Dryzek, 1990).

At its core, deliberative democracy does not simply aggregate citizens' desires to reach collective decisions; instead, it emphasizes dialogue, encouraging participants to engage thoughtfully and respectfully with diverse perspectives, even those that challenge widely held beliefs and values. This model of democracy is grounded in the principle that every voice in society should have a chance to be heard and valued (Dryzek, 2009). In essence, this deliberative turn has reoriented democratic practice, moving away from a vote-centric approach to one that prioritizes conversation and dialogue (Chambers, 2003). Over time, the deliberative model of democracy has not only gained traction but also "developed and matured", becoming "more internally differentiated" (Neblo, 2007, p. 530). This progression has led to the emergence of four distinct generations of thought and application within the field (Elstub et al., 2016).

The first generation, rooted in the normative theorizing of Habermas, emphasized rational discourse and public reasoning as essential components of democratic decision-making (Cohen, 2005, 1997; Habermas, 1996; Dryzek, 1990). The second-generation deliberative democrats moved away from a purely theoretical view of deliberation by reconciling the normative assertions with features of social complexity, aiming to create a more practically achievable form of deliberation. This generation offered a powerful criticism of the first generation's focus on rational arguments. It emphasized the importance of inclusive deliberative processes that respect the autonomy and equality of participants while also acknowledging the inevitability of disagreement in democratic discourse (Goodin, 2005; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, 1996; Deveaux, 2003; Dryzek, 2000; Young, 1996). Neblo (2007, p. 537) commends this shift, stating that these scholars "deserve enormous credit for making deliberation a more workable and fully developed ideal."

Thus, the third generation saw a shift toward more practical applications of deliberation in policy-making and governance, moving toward institutionalizing deliberative democracy (Elstub, 2010). The primary focus of the third generation was on the real-world implementation of deliberative institutions, including the empirical evaluation of their design and effectiveness

(Grönlund et al., 2014; Elstub, 2014; Gastil & Levine, 2005; Ackerman & Fishkin, 2003; Fung, 2003; Fung & Wright, 2001; Sulkin & Simon, 2001). The fourth generation emerged in response to the third generation's emphasis on micro-level deliberation, thereby isolating deliberative institutions from the larger context in which they operate (Chambers, 2012; Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012; Dryzek, 2010b; Thompson, 2008). In an influential essay, Mansbridge et al. (2012) argued that individual deliberative forums should not solely bear the responsibility for meeting deliberative standards. Instead, they proposed evaluating them as parts of a broader system. This systemic turn highlights the importance of "the relationship between deliberative and non-deliberative practices in the political system as a whole and over time" (Thompson, 2008, p. 500). In other words, a systemic approach considers the broad context and the larger structures within which these deliberative processes occur, revealing how large-scale issues and systemic inadequacies affect the quality of deliberation (Böker, 2017).

The evolution of deliberative democracy through distinct generations highlights a trajectory from theoretical foundations to practical implementations, as well as notable changes to its normative fundamentals. Agonistic democrats contend that Habermas' emphasis on public reasoning and mutual understanding constrains freedom rather than enhancing it (Mouffe, 2000, 1999; Connolly, 1991). Meanwhile, proponents of difference democracy argue that this approach excludes and disempowers marginalized groups (Williams, 2000; Young, 2000). Consequently, Habermas' original framework has undergone internal modifications as well as more extensive reconfigurations, aiming to portray more realistic and inclusive models of deliberative democracy and thereby moving away from ideal speech situations (see Bächtiger et al., 2010). Hence, there exist diverse iterations of the deliberative ideal. Notwithstanding the variations in how scholars conceptualize deliberative democracy, there is consensus on certain fundamental components, namely inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality (Curato et al., 2019; Dryzek, 2010a, 2002; Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008).

Inclusivity pertains to the principle of the all-affected, ensuring that those impacted by decisions can contribute their perspectives (Curato et al., 2019; Bächtiger et al., 2018; Dryzek, 2009a). Inclusive deliberation necessitates affording individuals touched by public decisions the chance and power to engage in discourse regarding its substance. Authenticity concerns the quality of deliberative interactions (Dryzek, 2009). At a basic level, deliberation involves "mutual communication that involves weighing and reflecting on preferences, values, and

interests regarding matters of common concern” (Bächtiger et al., 2018, p. 2; Mansbridge, 2015). Deliberation can assume various forms depending on objectives and contexts, with different criteria applicable accordingly. To qualify as authentic, however, deliberation must occur under conditions of equality and fairness, rooted in attentive listening, the ability to question each other’s positions, accept or reject opinions, and engage in arguments (Bächtiger & Parkinson, 2019; Owen & Smith, 2015; Goold et al., 2012; Bächtiger et al., 2010; Mansbridge et al., 2010; Dryzek, 2002). The final criterion, consequentiality, refers to the extent to which deliberation influences tangible decisions or outcomes (Bächtiger et al., 2018; Dryzek, 2009). Beyond its impact on policy-making, participation in deliberative processes is believed to lead to preference transformation for participants (Curato et al., 2017). Indeed, “democracy is not so much about the aggregation of preferences as about their formation” (Lindgren & Persson, 2011, p. 11). This transformation includes the reshaping of policy preferences (Niemeyer, 2011), shifts in attitudes (Fishkin, 2018), and the promotion of cognitive integration (Gastil et al., 2008), fostering more informed and engaged citizens (Pincock, 2012). Public support is equally vital to consequentiality, as it legitimizes deliberative processes and enhances the ability to translate dialogue into actionable, widely accepted decisions (Pilet et al., 2023). Without such support, even well-designed initiatives risk being ineffective or disconnected.

Thus, deliberative democracy, broadly construed, involves integrating public discourse and collective, informed opinions into legitimate government decision-making processes (Willis et al., 2022; Bächtiger et al., 2018; Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012; Cohen & Fung, 2004). It envisions a framework where all individuals affected by a decision come together under equitable and just conditions to deliberate on the issues at hand. Through these deliberations, participants not only deepen their knowledge but may also reconsider and transform their preferences, ultimately shaping strategies and policies in a more informed and collaborative manner (Bächtiger & Parkinson, 2019; Bächtiger et al., 2018; Mansbridge et al., 2010; Fishkin, 2009; Cohen, 2005, 1997; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004; Chambers, 2003; Dryzek, 2000; Elster, 1998). These outcomes and the process itself must be endorsed by the maxi-public (Pilet et al., 2023).

Deliberative Democratic Processes: Embracing a new era

“This is not a box ticked, or a full stop, but a beginning, opening up a new chapter in our democracy, with citizens at its heart” (Wimpress, 2022).

Up to this point, the chapter has outlined the deliberative model of democracy in general and theoretical aspects. Nevertheless, in practical contexts, it is not viewed as a specific, unified approach. Instead, it functions as a comprehensive term encompassing a diverse array of practices. As elaborated by Fung (2007a, p. 445), “The menu of institutional alternatives is far richer than the dichotomy between representative and participatory democracy supposes, and most of the items on that menu remain empirically and normatively unexplored.” Processes such as citizens’ assemblies, citizens’ juries, deliberative polls, and participatory budgeting offer a small-scale example of how lay citizens engage in deliberative practices (Dryzek, 2010a; Fung, 2003). A detailed examination of deliberative democratic practices lies beyond the scope of this thesis, with the focus here on DMPs, particularly CAs. Among the various deliberative practices, mini-publics have emerged as one of the most prominent and widely adopted approaches as they embody the principles of deliberative democracy in practice. They operate on the premise that these processes can generate tangible impacts on the broader political system, including their aim to amplify the voices of lay citizens who would otherwise be marginalized by traditional forms of political participation, such as elections (Chwalisz, 2015). Simply put, CAs are widely regarded as one of the most effective and recommended formats for implementing deliberative democracy (Elstub & McLaverty, 2014).

Citizens’ assemblies exhibit considerable diversity in their composition and functions. While many CAs involve only a small number of participants (Grönlund et al., 2014), there are designs capable of accommodating significantly larger samples of citizens (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2015). Moreover, the roles CAs play in the broader policy process vary significantly, ranging from consultative bodies to decision-making entities with substantial authority (Smith, 2009). As a result, the effect of CAs varies greatly. Some have a significant impact on policy decisions, while others have their suggestions ignored by public officials who do not acknowledge their value (Dryzek & Tucker, 2008; Papadopoulos & Warin, 2007). Given these variations, defining CAs has proven challenging. Yet, despite differing in specifics, definitions share the fundamental idea that CAs are inclusive deliberative mechanisms that bring together a randomly selected group of individuals that broadly represent the wider population. In these settings, participants are provided with information, participate in facilitated deliberations, and ultimately formulate shared judgments or recommendations that will, or should, inform decision-making (Curato et al., 2021; Ryan & Smith, 2014; Grönlund et al., 2014; Elstub, 2014; Smith, 2012; Steiner, 2012; Fishkin, 2009; Dryzek, 2009). In this regard, they embody the practical application of deliberative democracy’s core principles.

In recent times, CAs have emerged as pivotal components of governance structures worldwide (Paulis et al., 2021; OECD, 2020). There has been a noticeable surge in the utilization of deliberative consultative processes across Western democratic nations, with governments and parliaments increasingly adopting them (Paulis et al., 2021; Escobar & Elstub, 2019; Courant & Sintomer, 2019). These processes have been initiated at various levels of governance, addressing diverse policy issues, with environmental concerns taking center stage in many instances (Paulis et al., 2021). Research in this area has provided insights into the functioning of deliberative processes, both theoretically and practically, shedding light on their design, participants' selection methods, deliberative procedures, and potential policy impact (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021; Michels & Binnema, 2019; Vrydagh & Caluwaerts, 2023).

More precisely, research on CAs and, more broadly, DMPs has centered around a few key areas. First, studies have compared participants to the wider population, revealing that, despite some biases from non-random self-selection, DMPs are still more effective at gathering a diverse range of perspectives, opinions, and experiences than methods like representative sampling or voluntary participation (Curato et al., 2021; Devillers et al., 2021; Farrell & Stone, 2020; Jacquet, 2017; Karjalainen & Rapeli, 2015; Curato & Niemeyer, 2013). Second, scholars have examined the internal dynamics of DMPs, with a particular focus on the quality of deliberation. Their findings suggest that citizens can engage in thoughtful, informed discussions on complex issues, supporting the view that these processes can nurture high-quality deliberative processes (Niemeyer et al., 2024; Dryzek et al., 2019; Curato et al., 2017; Himmelroos, 2017; Fung, 2015; Font & Blanco, 2007). Third, research has explored the impact of participation on individuals, noting significant increases in political self-confidence, knowledge, and shifts in attitudes and behaviors. These deliberative experiences often lead to greater political trust and overall satisfaction with the democratic process (Muradova, 2021; Fishkin et al., 2021; Boulianne, 2019; Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2014; Luskin et al., 2014; Grönlund et al., 2010; Barabas, 2004). This research, focusing on internal proceedings and participants, paints a largely optimistic picture, showing that, while mini-publics may not fully embody all the ideals of deliberative democracy, they hold considerable promise in enhancing democratic engagement and addressing key democratic challenges (Fishkin et al., 2021; Dryzek et al., 2019; Bächtiger et al., 2018; Smith & Setälä, 2018; Curato et al., 2017).

Another significant focus in deliberative research highlights the importance of exploring how deliberative processes contribute to the broader system. This systemic turn emphasizes that

DMPs should not be viewed in isolation but rather as components of a larger system. In this deliberative system, deliberation takes place at multiple levels and interacts with the existing framework of representative democracy. Research highlights that DMPs, while valuable, are not the entirety of democracy; rather, they complement the existing representative system (Curato et al., 2021; Bächtiger et al., 2018; Chambers, 2009, 2003; Warren, 2008). This idea aligns with the concept of ‘toolkit democracy’, which puts forward that various democratic practices and tools ought to be employed for distinct reasons and at various times (Saward, 2021; Warren, 2017). The key idea is that DMPs represent only one element within the larger democratic system and decision-making framework and should, therefore be analyzed in the context of the larger environment in which they function (Lacelle-Webster & Warren, 2023; Jäske & Setälä, 2020; Beauvais & Warren, 2019; Felicetti et al., 2016). While existing studies have explored how mini-publics impact their wider environment (Jacquet & Van Der Does, 2021), we must also explore how the larger environment affects DMPs and the experiences of their participants. In this context, the issue emerges regarding how DMPs, which engage “only a fraction of the public could and should matter for the functioning of large-scale democracies” (Van Der Does & Jacquet, 2023, p. 220). Put differently, the systemic perspective has led to inquiries into whether the impact of DMPs can extend beyond the participants themselves to influence the wider public (Knobloch et al., 2020; Werner & Marien, 2018). This has spurred a surge in empirical research investigating the connection between DMPs and the maxi-public (Van Der Does & Jacquet, 2023; Jacquet & Van Der Does, 2021).

Multilingualism: Exploring its significance

“Multilingualism is a source of strength and opportunity for humanity. It embodies our cultural diversity and encourages the exchange of views [...]. Genuine dialogue implies respect...for languages [...]. By giving each of us the means to make ourselves heard and be respected, this is also a force for social inclusion” (Bokova, 2013).

In its simplest form, multilingualism refers to “the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives” (European Commission, 2007, p. 6). In the context of this thesis, multilingualism is about the existence and use of multiple languages in society and how societies navigate linguistic diversity. To that end, multilingualism is a complex and varied practice that can occur in official and non-official¹² national multilingual contexts, as well as on the transnational and

¹² ‘Non-official multilingual contexts’ refers to entities that are legally and/or ideologically monolingual yet linguistically heterogeneous.

global levels. The significance of language and linguistic diversity has been recognized throughout history, albeit with varying interpretations. For instance, the Biblical account of the sons of Noah dispersing across the land portrays linguistic diversity as a natural outcome of human migration and development. In contrast, the story of the Tower of Babel presents it as a dramatic consequence of defying divine authority (Eco, 1995).

Historical multilingualism, migration, and globalization have created societies where linguistic pluralism is the norm rather than the exception. This growing diversity has drawn heightened scholarly interest, particularly in exploring how language operates as a central axis for the exercise and manifestation of social power (Mowbray, 2012). Of particular interest to this thesis is the body of research examining the interplay between multilingualism and democracy. Although language rights and linguistic justice are undeniably central to this discussion, an in-depth analysis of these topics lies beyond the scope of this work. Instead, this section takes a broader approach, focusing on the overarching question of how linguistic pluralism intersects with and shapes the principles and functioning of democratic systems. This perspective aims to illuminate how linguistic diversity influences democratic participation and governance more generally.

Notably, linguistic diversity has become more salient than ever, evolving into a central aspect of complex cultural contexts, or ‘super-diversity’ (Vertovec, 2007). Multilingualism now permeates all aspects of human life, both private and public, making the management of linguistic diversity a pressing political and academic concern. Language, as humanity’s primary tool for communication, plays an indispensable role in personal, social, and civic life. In democratic societies, where inclusivity and participation are paramount, the debates and policies surrounding linguistic diversity are not just important; they are crucial. Put differently, democratic entities must confront the challenges posed by linguistic diversity not only because language is a political matter that shapes democratic engagement but also because it reflects a lived reality for many states. Yet, most nation-states persist in adopting unilingual policies. This raises the question, as May (2016, 2014) observes, why nation-states remain concerned with promoting and sustaining monolingualism. Clyne (2008, p. 27) attributes this tendency to what they term a “monolingual mindset”, which “supposes that monolingualism is a normal state of affairs and people try to find something wrong with plurilingualism – whether it is expensive or confusing or impossible.” Similarly, Auer and Wei (2007, p. 12) argue that nation-states frequently rely on monolingual ideologies to manage linguistic diversity, overlooking

multilingualism's "bridge-building potential." Other scholars reinforce this critique, noting that a monolingual ideology of democracy continues to dominate despite the multilingual realities of many societies (Pym, 2013; Doerr, 2012; Trudgill, 2000).

Following Baetens-Beardsmore (2003), 'politico-ideological fears' have historically driven unilingual policies, privileging a single official language as a means to streamline governance and consolidate national identity. Building on this idea, Lobianco (2014) notes that multilingualism was once the norm, with the shift toward monolingualism emerging as a relatively recent phenomenon tied to the rise of modern nation-states. Similarly, Kraus (2008) highlights how the politicization of language became central to nation-building, positioning language as both a marker of national identity and a key factor in shaping political landscapes (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983; Kohn, 1945). Since the emergence of modern nation-states, homogenizing linguistic policies have prevailed, aiming to facilitate communication and unify populations under a shared national identity. Language, in this model, is not only a tool for interaction but also a symbol of collective commitment to the nation's destiny. Scholars like Mill (1992) and Schmitt (1985) reinforced the idea that a linguistically homogeneous public sphere is essential for democracy, with Mill famously asserting that a shared public opinion cannot exist when citizens "read and speak different languages" (Mill, 1992, p. 428). From this perspective, linguistic pluralism is framed as a hindrance to democracy, complicating the creation of a cohesive public sphere necessary for effective governance. In essence, proponents of unilingual policies argue that a common language fosters democratic cohesion, equal opportunity, and integration (Barry, 2000; Tan, 2017).

In recent decades, however, liberal democratic and multicultural ideals have increasingly challenged this monolithic approach. Scholars like Kymlicka (2007) argue that the nation-state model and its unilingual policies are outdated and unrealistic in today's globalized, multicultural world. The linguistic pluralism model, by contrast, advocates for the equal treatment of all language groups, recognizing language's dual role in identity preservation and broader societal engagement (Kymlicka, 1995). Equal recognition of languages is central to this model, but its institutionalization remains fraught with challenges. For example, the linguistic personality principle allows individuals to exercise linguistic rights irrespective of geography, while the territoriality principle ties language rights to specific regions, often privileging linguistic majorities within those areas (Schutter, 2021; Van Parijs, 2011b; De

Schutter, 2008). These contrasting principles highlight the philosophical and practical complexities of addressing linguistic diversity within democratic frameworks.

More broadly, a growing body of literature highlights the significant societal benefits of multilingual policies, particularly in fostering inclusive participation. Eriksen (1992) elaborates that language is not merely a cultural marker but a core component of personal identity. Allowing individuals to express themselves in their native language contributes to their well-being and strengthens their connection to both the state and civil society (Réaume, 2000). Hence, Kymlicka (2001) advocates for bilingualism at the individual level and multilingualism at the societal level, arguing that personalized linguistic expression fosters greater social engagement. Multilingualism extends beyond individual empowerment, delivering profound democratic benefits by addressing systemic inequalities. As May (2008) further argues, language mirrors societal power dynamics, with individuals without proficiency in the official language(s) often facing systemic disadvantages that limit their participation in democratic processes (Phillipson, 2012, 1992, 1988; Tollefson, 1991; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988). Schmidt's (2014) work on ontological multilingualism underscores how multilingual policies mitigate these disparities, enhancing democratic practices by recognizing and accommodating the linguistic realities of diverse societies, and thereby fostering greater equality and inclusivity. Beyond immediate social and political benefits, multilingualism also plays a crucial role in preserving linguistic diversity, safeguarding cultural heritage, and contributing to human diversity. Through these contributions, multilingual policies address pressing societal concerns while also supporting the long-term preservation of cultural richness.

Accordingly, the arguments for acknowledging linguistic diversity in a democracy include instrumental, democratic, and moral considerations. Instrumentally, language serves as a crucial tool for individuals to navigate daily life and access opportunities. Democratically, multilingualism fosters a more participatory political system by ensuring all citizens, regardless of their linguistic background, can engage fully. Additionally, when a large segment of the population cannot effectively express their preferences in the public sphere due to language barriers, the legitimacy of the democratic system is compromised. Morally, it addresses fairness and equality by mitigating the disadvantages faced by those who do not speak the dominant language, ultimately promoting social justice and equitable opportunities. Consequently, the case for supporting linguistic diversity is about strengthening societal well-being and

democratic values. However, as Duchêne (2020, p. 93) cautions, “multilingualism is not neutral, but rather intrinsically embedded in social processes that inform who and what counts as a legitimate speaker, language, and practice.” Not all forms of multilingualism are perceived equally or embraced universally (Blommaert et al., 2012). For instance, some forms are labeled as “elite multilingualism” (Barakos & Selleck, 2019, p. 1), reflecting power imbalances and social hierarchies that persist even within policies aimed at linguistic inclusion. These dynamics highlight the importance of carefully designing multilingual policies that truly promote equality and inclusion rather than inadvertently reinforcing existing inequalities.

In this context, democratic governments face mounting pressure to ensure that all citizens, regardless of their linguistic background, can actively engage in political life while staying true to their national identity. But as the number of spoken languages increases, so does the complexity of creating inclusive and cohesive political frameworks. Accordingly, the intricate interplay between linguistic pluralism and democratic governance continues to raise pressing questions: How can states promote linguistic equity without undermining national unity (Parker, 2003)? Can linguistic boundaries be fixed, or should they remain open to change (Van Parijs, 2011b)? Must nation-states adjust to the linguistic diversity present within their borders to uphold democratic principles that demand the engagement of all citizens (Biseth, 2009)? Should individuals always have the right to speak their preferred language, or should they be required to use the official language(s) of the region in which they reside (Jørgensen, 2016)? If “society needs to view multilingualism as normal and desirable” (Stein-Smith, 2016, p. 2258), which languages should be considered? What are the avenues and possibilities for non-natives to engage in political participation (Bonotti & Willoughby, 2022; Shorten, 2010)?

Much of the literature exploring these questions has focused on managing language conflicts through assimilation or pluralistic approaches (Ager, 1996; Esman, 1992; Pool, 1990), frequently highlighting issues such as citizenship and language requirements. As Stevenson (2006, p. 160) aptly observes, “discourses of language and nation have then not been abandoned but rather recontextualized and reformulated in terms of the relationship between language and citizenship.” Within this field, two dominant perspectives emerge. The first argues that language tests are necessary to protect a country’s identity and to ensure participation in democratic life. The second critiques this view, contending that language competence often becomes a “blanket explanation for exclusion” (Piller, 2016, p. 95) of minorities and migrants (see Bonotti & Willoughby, 2022; Von Busekist & Boudou, 2018;

Goppel, 2019; Shorten, 2010; McNamara & Shohamy, 2008; Kymlicka, 2003; Shohamy, 1997).

In summary, the interplay between democracy and linguistic considerations presents a web of questions that, with each answer, seem to multiply rather than diminish. Ultimately, there may not be a single ‘correct’ solution, not even a few definitive ones, given the diversity of sociopolitical and cultural contexts in which these issues arise. It is also not the aim of this thesis to provide an answer to these questions. What is crucial for this dissertation is that the scholarly discourse emphasizes that democracy and linguistic diversity are deeply interconnected. Whether stemming from official multilingualism or the presence of minority, Indigenous, and/or migrant languages in monolingual and multilingual contexts, these two concepts cannot be treated as separate issues. In essence, democracy and multilingualism are not isolated; they are interrelated and mutually dependent. Hence, the challenge lies in balancing the multifaceted roles of language: as a practical tool for communication, a medium for integration, and a powerful symbol of collective identity. Addressing this challenge requires navigating practical, democratic, and moral considerations in culturally diverse and heterogeneous societies.

Integrating Multilingualism into Deliberative Democracy: Challenges and chances

The preceding sections have underscored how CAs serve as practical embodiments of the core principles of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. They have also illuminated the intricate yet essential relationship between linguistic diversity and democracy, particularly in fostering societal participation. Accordingly, this section turns attention to the relationship between deliberative democracy and multilingualism.

The benefits and drawbacks of deliberative democracy have been extensively studied and discussed in the literature (Curato et al., 2017; Delli Carpini et al., 2004; Elstub & McLaverty, 2014; Grönlund et al., 2014; Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012). Similarly, there has been significant scholarly interest in investigating how deliberative practices can function effectively under diverse conditions and how these conditions may influence the overall quality of the deliberative process (Bächtiger & Parkinson, 2019; Grönlund et al., 2014). However, when it comes to language, particularly multilingualism, the literature lacks a clear answer. Notably, the field of deliberative democracy has yet to fully engage with the complexities and implications of linguistic diversity, leaving a significant and critical gap in the discourse

(notable exceptions include Bonotti & Stojanović, 2022; Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018; Schmidt, 2014; Rubin, 2014; Caluwaerts, 2012). While representative democracy literature has delved into issues of recognizing multilingualism to ensure equitable representation and participation, deliberative democracy has yet to comprehensively engage with how linguistic diversity shapes, including enhancing or complicating, its processes. This raises the question of why this is the case.

The limited attention afforded to language and multilingualism in deliberative democracy can be attributed to several factors. Building on the previous section on multilingualism, deliberative democracy's theoretical blind spot regarding linguistic diversity potentially originates from the emergence of the monolingual ideology in late eighteenth-century Europe. This ideology gave rise to a dominant national monolingual perspective in democratic theory, shaping how language and governance were conceptualized. States, it is argued, cannot or do not maintain neutrality regarding language (Archibugi, 2008; Kymlicka, 2001). Instead, they actively promote specific languages as symbols of national identity and instruments of political integration. Within this framework, linguistic pluralism is often portrayed as a barrier to democracy. The rationale is that multiple languages complicate the establishment of a shared public sphere, a condition widely regarded as essential for democracy. This perspective is further reinforced by Locke's instrumental conception of language, which reduces language to a mere tool for communication, emphasizing the transmission of meaning and information (Ives, 2014, 2004). Viewed through this lens, multilingualism is often cast as a disruptive force, complicating the shared understandings deemed necessary for collective decision-making. The enduring influence of these historical ideologies and narrow conceptions of language's role in democratic processes has likely contributed to the marginalization of linguistic diversity in deliberative democracy given the model's focus on communication.

Furthermore, the neglect of multilingualism in deliberative democracy may stem from a misinterpretation of Habermas' conception of the theory. Habermas' writing acted as a catalyst for the interest in deliberative democracy since the mid-1990s (Rosenberg, 2007; Valadez, 2001). Habermas' work, heavily influenced by the philosophy of language, perceives communication to be indispensable as deliberative practices are built through bargaining processes and argumentation. Habermas places importance on the belief that what brings individuals together is "the linguistic bond that holds together each communication community" (Habermas, 1998, p. 306). Whilst Habermas did not claim that multilingual

political dialogue and democracy are unthinkable (2008, 2006, 2005, 1996, 1996; Kantner, 2004; Nanz, 2006), theorists such as Ipperciel (2007, p. 400) have concluded that “there is no democracy without communication in a public sphere,” and that “there can be actual communication only in a common language.” Those adhering to the need for a common language believe that “linguistic diversity can be a serious barrier to the full flourishing of this informal dimension of democracy” (Patten, 2007, p. 24). Some even go as far as to argue that “one who accepts deliberative democracy must reject multilingualism” (Addis, 2007, p. 129). In such conceptions of deliberative democracy, multilingualism is then viewed as an obstacle, with an implicit assumption of linguistic homogeneity that further marginalizes linguistic diversity. However, proponents of a monolingual perspective often rely on broad generalizations or vague claims regarding the (im)possibility of achieving a functioning deliberative model of democracy in linguistically diverse settings. Similarly, the neglect of multilingualism may also be attributed to the fact that many scholars and researchers initially focused on deliberative democracy from the perspective of officially monolingual settings, which could have led, albeit unconsciously, to a neglect of the crucial role that linguistic diversity plays in shaping these processes.

Bonotti and Willoughby (2022, p. 451) challenge such narrow conceptions, asserting that “once we escape the fallacy of assuming societies and institutions must be monolingual, many viable alternatives become apparent.” This then calls into question the presumed simplicity of communication that the monolingual view celebrates, urging a critical reassessment of its underlying assumptions (Piller, 2016). Put differently, should this situation be remedied? More precisely, should the assumption of a linguistically homogenous narrative be challenged to fully grasp and reap the benefits of deliberative democracy? Building on sociolinguistics studies and insights from research on liberal representative democracy, it becomes evident that it is necessary to dismantle the monolingual assumptions that have long dominated the field, as well as to stop treating language and, by extension, multilingualism as incidental or secondary rather than a foundational issue (De Schutter & Robichaud, 2016; Patten, 2014; Van Parijs, 2011a; Patten, 2009; Kymlicka & Patten, 2003).

In the formulation of communicative democratic theory, a format of democracy argued to be more inclusive and tolerant of differences than the deliberative theory, Young (1996, p. 122) further elaborates that:

The social power that can prevent people from being equal speakers derives [...] also from an internalized sense of the right one has to speak or not to speak, and from the devaluation of some people's style of speech and the elevation of others.

Young's observation concerns intra-linguistic differences but is equally applicable to multilingual societies. According to Peled and Bonotti (2019, p. 411), "one's speech [...] can have a powerful impact on how one is perceived and treated by others [...] and this impact can have significant implications for democratic life." To minimize linguistic biases they suggest a "language-aware democratic theory" (Peled & Bonotti, 2019, p. 414).

Following Phillipson (2012, 1992), language can mark an individual as 'the other' and result in being rendered invisible in the public sphere. Schieffelin and Doucet (1998) argue, in a similar vein, that language ideologies often go hand in hand with images of 'self/other' or 'us/them'. Put differently, language can promote equality and inequality, as it gives or denies access to power (Mamadouh, 1999b). In Young's (1990) work on oppression and exclusion, they criticize a monolingual public sphere in a multilingual society. Although not directly talking about language when claiming that "the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other" (Young, 1990, pp. 58–59), the statement is nevertheless equally significant to language. Kymlicka and Patten (2003, p. 16) likewise claim that instituting a single common language is perceived as "inherently exclusionary and unjust", which can result in conflict and create or increase a divide between the population, endangering future dialogue.

Moreover, research shows that individuals are more likely to participate in democracy and do so effectively if they can use their preferred language. Patten (2001), among others, explicitly claims that communication will benefit from using multiple languages in the public sphere as it increases accessibility. Kymlicka (2001, p. 213) notes that "the average citizen only feels comfortable debating political issues in their own tongue." If we were to turn the sentence around, that would mean that if the average citizen can only debate in their language, they will be excluded from democratic participation and the public sphere if it excludes their language. What this shows is that any theory, or practice, dealing with language must do so carefully and thoughtfully.

This argument is related to the second ideological foundation of language, one that emerges from the German Romantic tradition and is articulated by thinkers such as Herder and von Humboldt. This ideology views language not merely as a communication tool but as a repository of history and culture (Bauman & Briggs, 2000). Language, from this standpoint, is central to shaping perceptions and influencing how individuals and communities understand their surroundings. It is also intrinsic to both individual and collective identity (Anderson et al., 2022; Klemfuss et al., 2012; Adams & Carfagna, 2006; Wurm, 2001). Since language is deeply tied to the soul of a people it is essential for authentic self-expression (Ipperciel, 2007). Moreover, in this reading, linguistic diversity offers tangible benefits beyond identity and cultural preservation. According to Berthoud and Gajo (2020), multilingualism introduces diverse perspectives, improving understanding and the quality of deliberation. Indeed, incorporating multiple languages not only ensures a more inclusive and equitable exchange but also enriches the deliberative process itself. Different languages carry unique vocabularies and nuances (Trudgill, 2000), which can offer new perspectives and help to create more comprehensive and well-rounded outcomes in decision-making. Hence, multilingualism enhances cooperation and fosters innovative solutions to complex problems. Droz et al. (2023) argue that linguistic diversity is indispensable for co-producing knowledge essential to addressing sophisticated governance challenges. Stein-Smith (2021) similarly identifies multilingualism as a catalyst for empowering individuals and organizations to collaborate more effectively and address complex issues. Nawaz (2023) further underscores the need to transcend linguistic barriers to achieve global objectives and tackle international issues.

Moving beyond the instrumental view of language as a mere tool for communication, we can draw on the German Romantic tradition to reposition multilingualism as a bridge to deeper understanding, connection, and collective problem-solving, rather than a barrier to democracy. Linguistic diversity is seen not only as a medium for communication but as a catalyst for engaging with differences, challenging assumptions, facilitating knowledge exchange, enriching discussions, and broadening societal perspectives. At the core of this argument is the recognition of linguistic diversity's role in – theoretically – enhancing inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Accordingly, from the standpoint of deliberative democracy, are there compelling reasons to recognize linguistic diversity? This thesis argues a resounding 'yes'. The concern that linguistic differences might undermine citizens' ability to engage in public debates on matters of collective concern is particularly troubling when we understand democracy as an inherently deliberative process. Linguistic barriers can prevent those with limited proficiency

in the dominant language(s) of political discourse from fully participating. Even if they do participate, these individuals may not feel confident that their perspectives are equally heard or valued compared to those of dominant-language speakers. Consequently, their exclusion can compromise the quality of the debate and overall process, narrowing the range of viewpoints and reducing the representativeness of the discussion, in turn, impacting the – perceived – legitimacy.

Furthermore, “the fundamental reality that virtually all contemporary nation-states have multiple language groups among their citizens” (Schmidt, 2014, p. 396) underscores the importance of acknowledging linguistic diversity. Indeed, Van Els (2005), focusing on the European Union (EU), argues that “all the member states display a plurality of languages” (p. 268). Whereas certain countries in the EU have more than one official language such as Finland, Ireland, Belgium, and Luxembourg, some countries have one or more “additional autochthonous languages” (p. 265), such as Frisian in the Netherlands. Migration is also significantly contributing to – the growth of – multilingualism in the EU. Globally, multilingualism’s vitality has increased due to factors such as globalization, including migration and settlement (Valentine et al., 2008), making it an issue of increasing salience. Hence, this further underscores the necessity to move beyond idealized assumptions of language homogeneity and account for the complexities of real-world multilingual interactions (Peled & Bonotti, 2019).

Nevertheless, deliberative democratic theory has often overlooked multilingualism, even in newer conceptualizations that attempt to move beyond ideal speech situations (see Bächtiger et al., 2010), enlarging the forms of communication in deliberation to encompass, among others, storytelling, reciprocity, respect, and humor (Dahlberg, 2005; Young, 2002; Mansbridge, 1999a; Sanders, 1997). More recently, Mendonça et al. (2022) challenge the traditional understanding of deliberative democracy and its reliance on verbal communication by drawing attention to its visual, sonic, and physical aspects. Such non-verbal dimensions of deliberation “can convey meaning independently of the verbal dimension”, thereby aiming to enhance inclusivity (Mendonça et al., 2022, p. 167). Furthermore, democratic innovations like playgrounds and ateliers (Asenbaum & Hanusch, 2021) are likewise promising avenues for accessible and inclusive participation. Yet, despite the shift away from rational and linguistic communication as the sole means of deliberation, these newer models still largely ignore the linguistic diversity inherent in contemporary societies. Tellingly, there is no reference to

multilingualism, linguistic pluralism, or linguistic diversity in key deliberative democratic literature like ‘A Systemic Approach to Deliberation’ (Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012) or ‘The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy’ (Bächtiger et al., 2018).

This silence should not be misconstrued as evidence of the incompatibility between deliberative democracy and linguistic diversity. On the contrary, multilingual DMPs do occur in practice, demonstrating their feasibility – or at least, their necessity. Correspondingly, research on multilingual deliberation has emerged, with scholars increasingly focusing on the dynamics of these processes. This is particularly evident at the transnational level and within officially multilingual national contexts, where multilingual deliberative practices are most prominently observed and explored. Fishkin’s (2011) analysis of Tomorrow’s Europe, a transnational deliberative process conducted in 23 languages with simultaneous interpretation, demonstrates that multilingualism and deliberation can coexist effectively when translation is provided. Similarly, Fiket et al. (2011) examine Europolis, another transnational deliberative process, where participants were organized into smaller groups using two or three languages with translation assistance. They suggest that “the higher listening requirements of the plurilingual setting might have positively impacted the quality of deliberation” (p. 9). On a national scale, Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2018) analyze the G1000 initiative, which incorporated multiple languages, concluding that “confrontation between members of different linguistic groups can lead to a respectful, inclusive, and rational dialogue” when aided by simultaneous translation. Furthermore, Caluwaerts (2012) notes that deliberation is often of higher quality in linguistically diverse groups compared to those using a single language, with perceptions of deliberation generally being more favorable in multilingual settings when significant differences exist between groups.

Despite these positive outcomes, challenges of multilingualism in deliberative settings persist. Multilingualism is often viewed as a potential obstacle to effective deliberation, as successful communication and mutual understanding are perceived fundamental for deliberative democracy. Fiket et al. (2011) argue that multilingualism raises the bar for deliberation, requiring a higher level of effort and clarity to ensure participants can fully comprehend one another. In the Global Assembly, difficulties related to multilingualism primarily arose from its accommodations. Specifically, using English as the primary language reinforced inequalities, as English speakers had direct access to expert information and facilitator

guidance, while non-English speakers relied on translation. Additionally, issues with inconsistent and subjective translation were noted (Curato et al., 2023).

More broadly, multilingual deliberation is also examined from the perspective of elite deliberation. Doerr (2012, 2009, 2008) compares the deliberative practices of multilingual European Social Forum preparatory meetings, which used translation, with those of monolingual national Social Forum meetings. Their findings suggest that multilingualism does not necessarily diminish the quality of deliberation; the slower pace of multilingual processes allows more time for participants to listen to one another, ultimately enhancing deliberative quality. Nevertheless, Doerr (2012) acknowledges that multilingual settings carry a higher risk of misunderstandings. Pedrini (2015) investigates debates in the Swiss parliament to see if linguistic groups exhibit different deliberative behaviors. While no substantial differences are found, they identify systematic variations in respectfulness, focus on collective interests, and questioning practices, influenced by institutional and group contexts, especially the ratio of minority language speakers.

While this research offers valuable insights into the quality of deliberation, it predominantly focuses on this aspect. In doing so, these scholars tend to underestimate, or simply neglect, the potential impact of multilingualism on the inclusivity and consequentiality of the deliberative process, although remarked on by other fields of research. Broadly speaking, research on deliberative democracy frequently emphasizes abstract ideals such as accessibility, representativity, equality, and legitimacy, yet it often fails to address the practical mechanisms, such as language, that mediate these principles. Hence, making it interesting to ask how language shapes inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality.

The multilingual path forward

Having considered the importance of linguistic considerations for deliberative democracy, as well as having reviewed the existing research on multilingual deliberation, the following question remains: How can linguistic diversity be incorporated into DMPs? Notably, the goal of this thesis is not to prescribe specific methods for particular settings but rather to identify potential approaches that can guide deliberative processes in reflecting societal diversity, integrating linguistic plurality, and fostering inclusive dialogue. By doing so, these processes become more attuned to cultural and linguistic nuances, ultimately contributing to the development of stronger, more legitimate democratic practices and systems.

Crucially, there is no universal solution, or one-size-fits-all approach given the varying contexts in which it can occur. In practice, multilingual deliberative processes can be encountered in – at least – four distinct contexts. First, multilingual deliberations can occur in official multilingual nations like Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, India, and South Africa. In some of these cases, participants may have, at minimum, a passive understanding of the official languages. These multilingual settings can be further linguistically diversified by minority, Indigenous, and/or migrant languages. Second, it can take place on the national, regional, or local level where – multiple – minority, Indigenous, or even migrant languages exist, either alongside a majority language or without a significant majority group. Third, multilingual deliberation can occur in nations, regions, or even cities, that are legally and/or ideologically monolingual yet linguistically heterogeneous, for example, many of today's major cities, the so-called cosmopolis (Sandercock, 1998), such as New York, Berlin, or London. Fourth, in an increasingly interconnected world addressing global common challenges requires cross-national and thereby cross-linguistic collaboration. Multilingual deliberation can then also occur at the transnational, international, or global level between citizens of different states on issues like climate change, migration, and public health. These four contexts are significantly different, with each presenting challenges and opportunities for multilingual deliberation.

Building on existing methods to deal with multilingualism, five mediation strategies, referring to methods to facilitate democratic practices in linguistically heterogeneous settings, emerge to facilitate multilingual DMPs: (i) investing state resources to facilitate and increase individual multilingualism, (ii) using a lingua franca, (iii) implementing multiple public spheres tailored to specific language communities, unified under a broader public sphere, (iv) ensuring translation between the various languages used, and (v) reconsidering the core of deliberative democracy theory to reconceptualize a shared language into a shared understanding. These methods exemplify several possibilities for the reconciliation between multilingualism and deliberative democracy, providing evidence for the claim that “deliberative democracy can be compatible with linguistic pluralism” (Addis, 2007, p. 123) and that “democratic politics depends on a willingness to overcome the barriers to mutual understanding, including the linguistic ones” (Archibugi, 2005, p. 537).

State investment to decrease linguistic diversity

To promote effective communication in multilingual settings, investing in individual multilingualism at a societal level is a useful approach. This involves the creation and offering of educational programs that allow individuals to become fluent in each language used in public discourse. The aim is for all citizens to be multilingual, enabling them to at least understand proposals but preferably also be able to communicate effectively in any language used in public discourse. Addis (2007) perceives state investment as a viable option in countries with limited language diversity. They believe that it would be possible for a state that has only two or three languages “to make all of them national languages and to require that linguistic regions teach them all as a subject in school so that at the national level there could be institutional bilingualism or trilingualism” (Addis, 2007, p. 148).

Many countries worldwide have adopted various approaches to language education programs, including Belgium, Brunei, Canada, Cambodia, Cameroon, Colombia, Hawaii, Indonesia, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Nepal, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Spain (for an overview see Beardsmore, 1995, 1993; Abello-Contesse et al., 2013; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2008; Commins, 2003; Martin, 2003; Lin, 1999, 1996; Canagarajah, 1999; Canagarajah, 1995; Gonzalez, 1998, 1996; Adendorff, 1996; Arthur, 1996). This has led to the widespread incorporation of such programs into language policies at the regional and national levels. Due to the varying contexts in which educational experiments and policies have been launched, there is not one fixed method for language education. The range of language education models comprises teaching official languages, minority languages, or foreign languages. Types of bi- or multilingual education include heritage language education, immersion education, dual language programs, and content and language-integrated learning (Abello-Contesse et al., 2013). Whilst multilingual education policies have been successful in some countries, for other countries it has further complexified the landscape (Kirss et al., 2021; Shohamy, 2012; Lasagabaster, 2011; Horner & Weber, 2008a; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999).

The practice of language education has shown that bi- and/or multilingual educational programs and policies are diverse and dependent on the context. Consequently, for language education to be successful, it is crucial to develop language education programs that are appropriate for the specific context. State investment in multilingualism at the systemic level could have positive outcomes if done correctly. It could then encourage and support multilingual deliberation, albeit in the long run as it is important to note that this type of

investment takes time to see results. However, it is equally important to acknowledge that not all individuals will thrive or achieve success in multilingual education settings. For instance, factors such as linguistic background, access to resources, quality of instruction, and individual learning preferences can significantly influence outcomes.

Lingua franca

A lingua franca is a tool of communication, referring to a common language used for communication between people who do not share a mother tongue (Seidlhofer, 2005, p. 339). The concept is not a new one and has been used in the past, such as Latin in the Roman Empire and by the Roman Catholic Church. Nowadays, English is widely used as a lingua franca (Siemund, 2023; Jenkins, 2015; Phillipson, 2012). Van Parijs (2004) proposes that a lingua franca can promote linguistic justice and democratic stability (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2014). Cosmopolitan deliberative democrats reiterate such an argument, promoting the use of “a lingua franca as a more desirable model than multilingual democracy” (Archibugi, 2005, p. 537). Advocates for a lingua franca believe that it improves democratic deliberation by simplifying communication and decision-making processes, as it saves resources and makes it quicker to reach decisions.

A lingua franca can, however, create or exaggerate linguistic power balances if the lingua franca in question is for some the mother tongue. Giri (2011) takes the example of English as a lingua franca and claims that the predominance of English constitutes a powerful tool for linguistic superiority and may harm linguistic diversity. Moreover, in some cases, the introduction of a lingua franca has led to the suppression of other languages, such as French in Senegal (Weidl, 2022), or even the extinction of languages, such as the demise of Indigenous languages in Uruguay (Bertolotti & Coll, 2013). In other instances, a lingua franca has been introduced without erasing languages. In Dagestan, for example, Russian has been introduced top-down as the lingua franca, without erasing the different Dagestanian languages (Dobrushina & Kultepina, 2021). Some bottom-up efforts have also been made, such as Sango and Lingala in Africa (Samarin, 1987, 1955).

While a lingua franca may offer a solution for dealing with multiple languages, it can also undermine multilingualism by emphasizing the importance of a single language. Indeed, the concept of a lingua franca is often associated with the belief that multilingualism is a threat to – deliberative – democracy. Simply put, the idea behind a lingua franca is that a common

language is necessary for effective communication. As per Hülmbauer et al. (2008, p. 26), a lingua franca rests on the belief that we need to “find a common voice in order to bridge language barriers.”

Multiplication to minimize linguistic diversity

An alternative approach is linguistic federalism. Based on Fraser’s notion of multiple public spheres, Addis (2007) developed the theory of linguistic federalism. The underlying idea is to establish multiple public spheres to accommodate linguistic diversity, where the linguistic communities first deliberate in their respective sphere. Then, a broader public sphere links to different communities, possibly using a lingua franca. This method shares numerous similarities with Patten’s (2003a) territoriality principle of multilingualism, where the state is bi- or multilingual at the federal level and monolingual at the regional level.

However, there are a few issues to consider. Notably, a free flow of information between the different public spheres must be ensured to maintain an effective relationship between the lower and higher levels. Otherwise, it could lead to the isolation of linguistic communities. Second, as put forward by Archibugi (2005, p. 546), “it would certainly infringe all principles of democracy if the various groups were to be defined on the basis of religious, economic, or cultural criteria. So why should we consider the creation of linguistic confines as less atrocious?” An additional observation is that while the method discussed may work in officially multilingual states or multilingual scenarios where languages are territorially divided, it may not be feasible to implement linguistic federalism in other contexts. However, the main issue with Addis’ method is that their theory fails to address a crucial question: “How would a theory of deliberative democracy resolve a contest when that contest is over the very means of deliberation?” (Addis, 2007, p. 119). It is unclear who and how the decision should be made on which common language should be used in the overarching public sphere.

One solution could be to use a lingua franca. The 2009 European Citizens’ Consultations are one example of a DMP based on linguistic federalism incorporating a lingua franca. The then 27 Member States organized national mini-publics where the participants deliberated in the official language of their respective Member States. These national mini-publics were followed by a European summit, bringing together 150 participants from the national consultations. The European summit, characterizing the overarching public sphere, used English as a lingua franca. Accordingly, 150 individuals were selected because of their proficiency in English.

This led to the exclusion of numerous individuals who, although interested, could not participate because of their limited proficiency in English. Additionally, the process suffered significantly from the loss of information between the different levels (Kies et al., 2013).

Rather than introducing a lingua franca, a solution may be to use translators or interpreters to ensure that deliberation can occur between different communities without any linguistic barriers. But the question that arises is, why not use translation right away to bring people together instead of creating separate linguistic entities?

Translating linguistic diversity

One of the most straightforward approaches to addressing multilingualism is by using translation services that help facilitate communication across different languages. Following Patten (2003b, p. 379), as long as “mediators and go-betweens are able, through personal bilingualism, or reliance on translators and interpreters, to bridge any linguistic divide that they encounter, a common public language is not necessary.” This may explain why translation is the most popular method utilized during multilingual DMPs.

Yet, studies have shown that translation can be a valuable tool for promoting multilingualism and deliberative democracy. Doerr (2012, 2009), for example, concludes that translation can help to embrace multilingualism and improve the quality of deliberation, suggesting that “translation could be a way to think about difference not as a hindrance but as a resource for democracy in linguistically heterogeneous societies and public spaces, without presupposing a shared language or lingua franca, nor a national identity” (Doerr, 2012, p. 1). Doerr additionally highlights that translated deliberative processes benefit from procedural slowness; since the process was not as fast-paced, participants had a chance to better listen to each other, thereby increasing the quality of deliberation.

Additionally, examples such as Europolis, Tomorrow’s Europe, and the Conference on the Future of Europe have demonstrated successful interaction and debate across multiple languages, supported by simultaneous translation. These cases showed that multilingualism and DMPs go hand in hand when supported by translation (Fiket et al., 2011, p. 6; Fishkin, 2011). At the national level, Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2018, p. 96), in their analysis of the Belgian G1000 and its multilingual character, conclude that “confrontation between members of different linguistic groups can lead to a respectful, inclusive and rational dialogue” with

simultaneous translation present. At the local level, projects in Texas have shown that providing translation for Spanish-speaking participants can enable multilingual deliberation (Fishkin, 2011).

Nevertheless, translation is not without its critics, with some arguing that it can slow down proceedings and require significant resources, both in terms of capital and personnel (Patten, 2003b). Consequently, one area that deserves attention is the potential of artificial intelligence (hereafter AI). That is, technology could play a paramount role in enabling translation in all situations and contexts. If developed properly, AI has the potential to assist and facilitate multilingual deliberation, such as automatically translating written and spoken language. As AI and automatic translation tools continue to advance, the often-mentioned limitations of translation, namely slowing down and impeding translation as well as being costly, may be significantly reduced. Enhanced translation technologies could bridge linguistic divides more effectively, enabling real-time, accurate communication that maintains the nuances of each language. This progress holds the potential to support truly inclusive multilingual interactions, making it easier for participants to engage fully in their preferred languages without barriers.

According to Cabrera (2022), machine technologies can contribute to a democratic model that emphasizes deliberation. Machine translation could be useful for asynchronous online deliberative forums to ensure that written contributions are translated and ideas can be exchanged more easily. However, current speech-to-speech technologies are not yet able to facilitate “intensive, face-to-face deliberation across language barriers undertaken with human interpretation” (Cabrera, 2022, p. 12; Isernia & Fishkin, 2014). Cabrera (2022, p. 13) also emphasizes that machine translation would “fundamentally be more inclusive than a single lingua franca and/or official monolingualism, given their accessibility and relative ease of use.” Crucially, this argument also applies to translation *per se*.

Reconsidering deliberative democracy

A further approach to reconcile multilingualism and DMPs is to reconceptualize the theory of deliberative democracy. A sizeable share of the literature focuses on a common language to create shared understanding between individuals. But what if we turn this definition on its head and shift our attention toward a shared understanding instead? This can be achieved through means other than a common language, which although the simplest is not the only possible option. This proposition aligns with Archibugi’s (2005, p. 537) claim that “an effort to

understand each other is most important.” Shabani (2004, p. 208) likewise believes that the end goal should not be “to promote linguistic homogeneity but to serve the communicative goal of political deliberation.” Hence, it is important to not overstate how multilingualism “impedes the process of democratic deliberation” (Patten, 2001, p. 703).

Multilingual DMPs based on a shared understanding are likely to be most effective in official multilingual nations where participants have at least a passive understanding of the other language(s). Examples of such nations include Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. However, several factors may impact the effectiveness of multilingual deliberative processes based on shared comprehension. These factors include the number of languages, linguistic proximity, and territoriality. Hence, interpreters/translators can be an added value to facilitate cross-linguistic communication and understanding among participants. The Europolis deliberative polling experiment showed that deliberation based on mutual understanding, coupled with translation, is possible (Fiket et al., 2011). Participants were reminded to speak slowly to ensure comprehension, in addition to facilitating translation. Fiket et al. (2011, p. 9) conclude that “the higher listening requirements of the plurilingual setting might thus have worked positively for the deliberative quality.” This corresponds with the finding that listening is crucial to achieving inclusive deliberation (Doerr, 2009, 2012; Della Porta, 2005; Young, 1996).

Overall, there is a benefit to a version of deliberative democracy centered on a shared understanding rather than a common language. The more recent models of deliberative democracy: (i) those expanding the modes of communication to include storytelling, reciprocity, respect, and humor (Dahlberg, 2005; Young, 2002; Mansbridge, 1999b; Sanders, 1997), (ii) those highlighting the importance of visual, sonic, and physical dimensions of democracy (Mendonça et al., 2022), and (iii) those focusing on unique deliberative forums like playgrounds and ateliers (Asenbaum & Hanusch, 2021) show promise for reconsidering multilingual deliberative democracy based on a shared understanding by moving away from relying solely on rational and linguistic communication for deliberation.

To sum up ...

Each of these approaches offers unique benefits and faces specific limitations, most likely requiring a combination of these methods to address linguistic diversity effectively. For example, investments in multilingual education, linguistic federalism, and fostering a shared

understanding seem particularly well-suited to contexts with multiple official languages but limited minority or Indigenous languages present. Conversely, translation might prove indispensable not only in officially multilingual environments, whether they include minority, Indigenous, and/or migrant languages, but also in officially monolingual contexts where such languages play a significant role. Similarly, incorporating a lingua franca as a complementary tool alongside official languages can be highly effective.

Operationalizing Multilingual Citizens' Assemblies: Conceptual framework

“Democracy has not gone out of fashion, but it must update itself in order to keep improving people’s lives” (Sassoli, quoted by von der Leyen, 2022).

This thesis has thus far explored four key aspects: (i) the apparent neglect of multilingualism within the field of deliberative democracy, (ii) the need to challenge this oversight given the probable critical impact of linguistic considerations on inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, (iii) the relatively narrow focus on the quality of multilingual deliberation, and (iv) strategies for incorporating and addressing linguistic diversity in deliberative practices. This analysis has revealed that multilingualism impacts more than just communication; it fundamentally shapes access to and the perceived legitimacy of processes. The remaining question, then, is how to evaluate deliberative processes that navigate the complexities of linguistically plural democracies. To address this, this thesis establishes an operational matrix regarding multilingual CAs. This operational framework is not only intended to provide a robust foundation for their evaluation, a task which is undertaken in this thesis, but also to inform the practical design of such processes.

This thesis adopts the input, throughput, and output legitimacy framework as a foundation for the matrix, drawing on the works of Courant (2021), as well as Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2018) , and integrating deliberative democracy’s core values of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality – as defined earlier on in this chapter:

- Input legitimacy aligns with inclusivity, grounded in the principle of the all-affected. This principle emphasizes providing individuals impacted by public decisions with the chance to partake in the process. This alignment underscores the critical importance of creating a deliberative body that reflects societal diversity and empowers those impacted by public decisions to participate in shaping them. Hence, input legitimacy

evaluates whether the multilingual deliberative process is inclusive and thereby representative of the broader population.

- Throughput legitimacy maps onto authenticity, focusing on the quality and fairness of multilingual deliberative interactions. Authentic deliberation requires conditions of equality, fairness, and mutual respect, where participants can actively listen, challenge, and engage with one another's arguments. Throughput legitimacy evaluates whether these criteria are met, ensuring multilingual deliberation is meaningful, with participants given equal opportunities to express their views, thereby fostering genuine and high-quality discussions.
- Grounded in a procedural understanding of support, output legitimacy shifts the focus from the specific decisions made and their substantive weight (i.e., what) toward the integrity of decision-making (i.e., how) (Christiano, 2010; Holzhaecker, 2007; Waldron, 1999; Gaus, 1997; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 1995; Tyler, 1990). Differently put, in this thesis, output legitimacy is not concerned with the outcome of multilingual DMPs *per se*. Rather, output legitimacy aligns closely with consequentiality by emphasizing (i) the transformative potential of multilingual processes and (ii) public endorsement of multilingual DMPs. These two elements have been intentionally selected to highlight the profound impact of integrating multilingualism on both the participants and the maxi-public.
 - Deliberative democracy assumes that a key societal outcome of deliberation is the transformation of participants' preferences and the revision of their previously held opinions. Accordingly, this requires an examination of the transformative potential of multilingual DMPs.
 - Additionally, it encompasses the broader public's endorsement of multilingual DMPs. This assessment provides insight into how effectively multilingual processes resonate with the public and reflect their preferences, ultimately determining the perceived legitimacy and sustainability of these processes.

This framework offers a comprehensive and systematic approach to evaluating the role of language in deliberative democracy, serving as a nuanced lens to understand how language mediates core democratic ideals while ensuring both theoretical rigor and empirical applicability. Notably, it requires an operationalization of multilingualism, which refers to

strategies designed to effectively support and utilize multiple languages in a process. In this thesis, the operationalization is based on how multilingualism is incorporated into deliberative processes, both before and during. Accordingly, three key elements are crucial to consider: (i) the incorporation of multilingualism, (ii) language as a criterion for descriptive representation, and (iii) the integration of multilingualism.

The incorporation of multilingualism in DMPs logically begins with the selection of languages. This process involves two main steps: first, identifying the relevant languages to potentially include, and second, ultimately determining which languages will be included. This thesis does not suggest that there is a single method for selecting languages. More precisely, advocacy for or against specific language policy models is often influenced by the unique sociolinguistic conditions of various language communities, which in turn shape the political landscape regarding language rights and usage. In other words, the distinct characteristics of each setting present significant challenges when trying to establish universal linguistic standards. This highlights the need for context-specific approaches that take into account diverse linguistic realities. Nonetheless, certain general implications can be drawn.

Legal and policy frameworks can provide straightforward guidance for selecting languages that must be accommodated. Another important consideration is the historical and cultural significance of languages. Scholars like Patten (2001), Kymlicka (1995), and Young (1990) argue that imposing a single common language may marginalize linguistic minorities and intensify separatist sentiments. Conversely, recognizing and safeguarding minority and Indigenous languages can promote inclusivity, affirm equality, and help reduce national and ethnic tensions. Therefore, in addition to official languages, deliberative processes should aim to integrate minority and Indigenous languages because of their historical, cultural, and symbolic importance.

In other contexts, the incorporation of migrant languages may be considered. However, this raises the important question of whether it is necessary to engage with groups that do not accept or integrate into the dominant culture. Without exploring the complexities of this issue in depth, a partial answer lies in the principle of demographic representation, as emphasized by May's (2014) argument of "when the numbers warrant." When a language group makes up a significant portion of the population – whether through geographic concentration, group size, or proportion – it becomes essential to ensure their inclusion in deliberative processes. The significance of a language or language group is not solely a matter of cultural acceptance; it

also involves demographic weight and political legitimacy. As Réaume (2003) notes, the importance of linguistic inclusion is often determined by the relative size of a group within the larger population, which can be assessed through factors such as population size, geographic clustering, or social and political influence.

Furthermore, while non-nationals, especially those who have lived in the country for an extended period, may have proficiency in the official language(s), this does not necessarily mean they can engage confidently and effectively in discussions on complex matters. Proficiency in this context involves more than basic communication skills; it requires the ability to understand nuanced arguments, articulate ideas clearly, and participate in reasoned debates on intricate topics. Research in sociolinguistics supports the idea that inclusive language policies can enhance social participation and integration (Phillipson, 2012, 1992, 1988; Patten, 2001; Kymlicka, 2001; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988). By providing non-nationals the opportunity to participate in societal processes, such integration could strengthen their sense of belonging, thereby increasing their willingness to engage with and integrate into society. In turn, this enhanced engagement may contribute to the development of their linguistic skills. Incorporating migrant languages could thus be one approach to consider. Another option might be to adopt a lingua franca, particularly if it holds significant relevance or widespread use within the given context.

Essentially, the choice of relevant languages is highly dependent on the context in which the process occurs. Indeed, sociolinguistics emphasizes that successful linguistic consideration relies on understanding the particular language attitudes (Spolsky, 2004; Baker, 1992; Lewis, 1981). Two additional factors to consider when selecting which languages to include are the linguistic proximity between languages and their territorial separation. Linguistic proximity can enhance multilingual discussions, while territorial separation may lead to distinct public spheres. This separation can reduce exposure to other languages and hinder multilingual deliberation (Bonotti & Stojanović, 2022).

When determining which languages to include in a process, it is essential to consider not only the broader societal context but also the specific scope and purpose of the initiative. These factors are crucial in defining the goals of the process, the range of issues to be addressed, and the necessary levels of inclusivity and representation for legitimacy. They act as a guiding framework for making design and organizational decisions regarding language selection. The project's scope encompasses its scale, target audience, and geographical reach, providing

important context for choosing and implementing languages. The project's purpose further narrows these language choices by aligning them with the initiative's objectives. When the scope and purpose are clearly defined, they provide a foundation for balancing inclusivity with practicality. For example, if the process aims to engage a broad cross-section of society in a critical decision, prioritizing linguistic diversity is vital to ensure meaningful participation from all affected groups. Conversely, if the scope is narrower, focusing on a specific policy area or localized issue, it may be more appropriate to limit the selection to fewer specific languages.

Without a clear understanding of the scope and purpose, navigating the tension between the desire for inclusivity and the logistical challenges of implementing multilingual processes can be difficult. Ultimately, the scope and purpose are essential because they anchor the process, shaping its structure, priorities, and strategies for managing the complexities of multilingualism. They ensure that the initial design and organizational decisions are based on a clear understanding of the objectives and the context in which the deliberative process occurs. In summary, incorporating both the scope and purpose into the language selection framework guarantees that the linguistic needs of the population are met while also supporting the overarching goals of the deliberative process.

Additionally, the literature suggests that recognizing every language spoken within a society is impractical due to significant financial and logistical burdens (Patten, 2009). There are indeed practical limitations on how many languages can effectively be managed, as a larger number of languages increases the complexity and cost of processes, while a smaller number makes management easier and less expensive (Bonotti & Stojanović, 2022). However, Abizadeh (2002) argues that the benefits of embracing multilingualism may outweigh these costs. From a utilitarian perspective, allowing more individuals to participate in the democratic process, regardless of their language, strengthens the democratic system. Therefore, while it is essential to recognize that linguistic decisions involve more than just economic considerations, the selection of languages is still influenced by practical factors, particularly the availability of logistical and financial resources. These elements are vital in determining the scope of linguistic accommodations and ultimately shaping the level of multilingualism that can be realistically achieved.

Next, it is crucial to consider how language acts as a criterion for representation. Specifically, how will participants be recruited, and will language play a role in the selection of participants? Most likely, the answer will be yes, which will lead to the establishment of linguistic selection

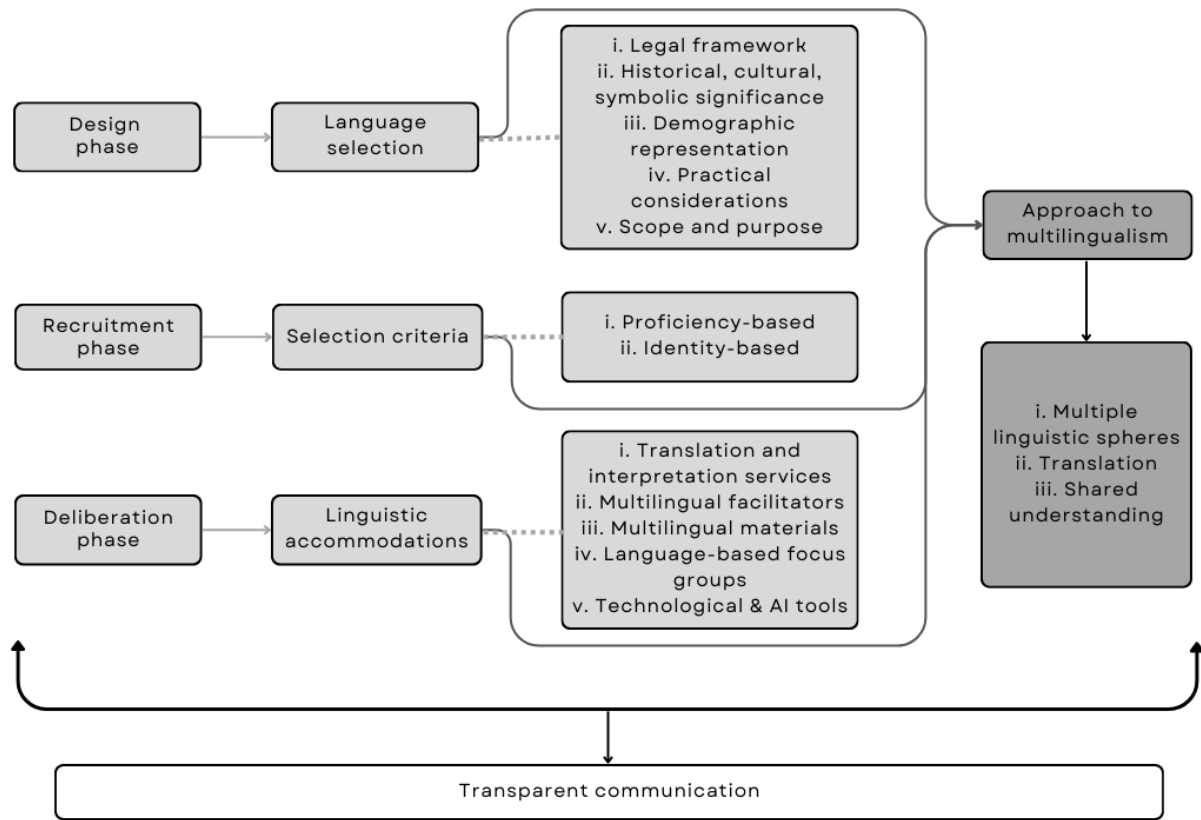
criteria. These criteria can take various forms. For example, proficiency-based criteria focus on selecting participants who have a certain level of fluency in one or more working languages. This approach ensures effective communication but may exclude those who are less proficient. In contrast, identity-based criteria prioritize linguistic representation by selecting participants from different language communities to reflect the diversity of the population. Some processes may combine these approaches to balance effective communication with the need for linguistic inclusivity.

The final step in operationalizing multilingualism in DMPs is the actual integration of multilingualism in the deliberative process. This involves the tools and resources available throughout the process to manage linguistic diversity. Often referred to as linguistic accommodations, these can include translation services, multilingual facilitation, multilingual materials, language-based focus groups, and both technological and AI tools, or any combination of these.

Collectively, decisions regarding the selection of languages, the criteria for participant recruitment, and the format of linguistic accommodations shape the overall approach of the process. Building on the five methods identified in the previous section, three approaches appear particularly valuable: (i) a multilingual process that incorporates various linguistic spheres, (ii) a multilingual process that utilizes translation, and (iii) a multilingual process grounded in a shared understanding.

In summary, the operationalization of multilingualism highlights the necessity of integrating linguistic considerations from the outset, during the design and recruitment phases, and throughout the deliberative process. It emphasizes that these considerations should not be treated as an afterthought; they must be regarded as fundamental components of the deliberative process. Furthermore, the choices and accommodations related to language must be accompanied by transparent communication, meaning that information about the process and its multilingual design should be shared clearly and openly. This includes keeping the broader public informed about the methods and processes for managing linguistic diversity, which is likely to enhance legitimacy and public support. Essentially, addressing linguistic diversity should begin in the planning stages and be woven into every aspect of the process (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Operationalization of multilingualism



The challenge then lies in integrating the framework of input, throughput, and output legitimacy with the operationalization of multilingualism. Drawing on insights from the previous sections in this chapter, the following conclusions can be made. Input legitimacy highlights the importance of inclusivity in multilingual CAs, emphasizing that all affected individuals should have a voice in the discussion. Key factors in this context include language selection, the approach to multilingualism, criteria for selecting languages, and the accommodations made for different linguistic needs. Namely, these elements are essential for ensuring the overall inclusivity and representativity of the deliberative process. Throughput legitimacy, which focuses on the authenticity and quality of discussions, is particularly tied to the accommodations for language diversity. Such linguistic arrangements allow for a broad range of perspectives to be effectively communicated, understood, and incorporated into the deliberations across linguistic barriers. The integration of multilingualism, including strategies and support for linguistic diversity, is crucial for achieving consequentiality in terms of preference transformation, an essential aspect of output legitimacy. This transformation relies on the ability to engage in meaningful communication that transcends language barriers. The

second component of output legitimacy, which relates to consequentiality in terms of the public's support for multilingual DMPs, is closely linked to the selection of languages used throughout the deliberative process. Recognizing the languages spoken by participants is vital for fostering a sense of ownership and endorsement among the broader public. Taking these conclusions together, this thesis presents an operational matrix, which is detailed in Table 3.

The dimensions of this matrix are addressed in the following chapters: Chapter Four focuses on input legitimacy, Chapter Five on throughput legitimacy, Chapter Six examines the transformative potential (part a of output legitimacy), and Chapter Seven discusses public endorsement (part b of output legitimacy). Specifically, this thesis investigates the inclusivity and representativity of multilingual processes, how participants navigate multilingual deliberations, the transformative potential of multilingual DMPs, and the level of public endorsement for multilingual processes. This comprehensive approach highlights the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of multilingual deliberative processes.

Table 3 Matrix

Dimension	Meaning	Multilingual Implication	Relevant Aspect(s) Operationalization multilingualism	Description
Input (Inclusivity)	All those affected must have a chance to take part.	The integration of multilingualism can significantly impact the inclusivity of the process, shaping who can participate.	<u>Incorporation of Languages</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Linguistic landscape <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legal frameworks / Historical, cultural symbolic significance / Demographic representation Scope and purpose of the process Practical considerations 	Identify relevant languages and those ultimately included, and how this selection affects accessibility and inclusivity.
			<u>Language as a Selection Criterion</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Proficiency-based criteria Identity-based criteria 	Reflect on how language diversity is considered in the selection of participants, and how this impacts representativity and inclusivity.
			<u>Practical Integration</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Approach to Multilingualism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple linguistic spheres / Translation / Shared understanding Linguistic accommodations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Translation / Multilingual facilitators / Multilingual materials / Language-based focus groups / Technological & AI tools 	Consider the practical implementation of multilingualism within the process, including the approach to multilingualism and linguistic accommodations, and how this shapes inclusivity.

Dimension	Meaning	Multilingual Implication	Relevant Aspect(s) Operationalization multilingualism	Description
Throughput (Authenticity)	Qualitative deliberation must occur under conditions of respect and equality.	The integration of multilingualism might present a barrier to participation, as individuals do not share a common language.	<u>Linguistic accommodations</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Translation Multilingual facilitators Multilingual materials Language-based focus groups Technological & AI tools 	Determine the authenticity of multilingual interactions, and how these are impacted by linguistic diversity and the integration of linguistic accommodations.
Output (Consequentiality)	Participation must lead to preference transformation.	The integration of multilingualism might pose a hindrance to authenticity, thereby potentially impacting the capacity for preference transformation.	<u>Practical Integration</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Approach to Multilingualism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple linguistic spheres / Translation / Shared understanding Linguistic accommodations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Translation / Multilingual facilitators / Multilingual materials / Language-based focus groups / Technological & AI tools 	Explore whether multilingual deliberation leads to preference transformation
	The maxi-public must endorse the process.	The integration of multilingualism might enhance the perceived legitimacy of DMPs due to its inclusive character.	<u>Linguistic Landscape</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Official languages Minority languages Indigenous languages Migrant languages 	Investigate public support for multilingual DMPs, determining how the integration of multilingualism impacts the perceived legitimacy of DMPs.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Based on the discussed literature, this thesis understands deliberative democracy as a political framework that encourages deliberation on matters of communal significance. Citizens' assemblies are understood as structured gatherings where randomly selected citizens deliberate on important issues facing their community or society. These assemblies provide a platform for affected voices to be heard and for informed decision-making, all per the principles of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. On the other hand, multilingualism is viewed as a flexible concept that can adhere to legal frameworks or expand to meet the communication needs of more diverse communities. At its core, the concept is defined by the ability of – political – institutions to engage with and accommodate more than one language. Notably, while there seems to be consensus on the fact that language and, by extension, multilingualism play a crucial role in democracy, policies tend to remain in favor of monolingualism. Except, of course, in officially multilingual contexts, although Brock-Utne (2000) underscores that even if languages are recognized as official languages, there is no guarantee that they enjoy equal status.

Furthermore, this chapter has shown how the reconciliation of deliberative democracy with multilingualism has received only a fraction of the theorizing it deserves. The widespread belief that monolingualism is the norm and that multilingualism challenges that norm might explain this shortcoming in the literature. Such an assumption is far from new; rather, its roots can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, who regarded non-Greek speakers as 'barbarians', deemed not only incapable of participating in the democratic processes of Athens but explicitly excluded from doing so. Additionally, deliberative theorists know surprisingly little about how multilingualism affects the deliberative process overall, even though language provides the basis for all interaction, collaboration, deliberation, and negotiation. Accordingly, this thesis positions linguistic diversity as a core aspect of deliberative democracy's – research – agenda. It argues that ignoring multilingualism undermines the applicability of deliberative democracy in linguistically heterogeneous societies, thereby limiting its relevance as a global model of governance. In doing so, this thesis defends the enthusiastic multilingual model (Bonotti & Stojanović, 2022, p. 475), which asserts that "multilingual democratic deliberation is considered desirable for its own sake."

In closing, the chapter proposes an operational matrix that offers the structure for this thesis. Aside from providing a framework to guide the evaluation and design of multilingual CAs, this

matrix aims to make clear that not all deliberative processes must be multilingual. Instead, this matrix and, more broadly, this thesis emphasize the need to address linguistic diversity in ways that suit each deliberative context. Put differently, the aim is not to prescribe specific policies but to propose normative principles that should guide context-sensitive approaches to incorporating linguistic diversity. Equally important, the emphasis is not on exploring concepts of linguistic justice, debating the use of language proficiency tests, or addressing the question of granting official status to languages. Instead, the goal of this dissertation, at the hand of the matrix, is to illuminate the necessity of thoughtfully reflecting on linguistic considerations in ways that are suited to the specific context of each deliberative setting. Even more, the primary focus is on underscoring the necessity of broader research on multilingual DMPs, as it remains unknown whether and how language impacts the core principles upon which deliberative processes are built.

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework

Traveling the Methodological Landscape, Luxembourg, the BK, and the KBR

This third chapter outlines the research methods used to analyze the matrix presented in Chapter Two. The first section reviews key trends in empirical research on deliberative democracy, providing the foundational context for this thesis. The second section introduces the overarching methodology: An exploratory case study approach, which guides the structure and scope of the research. It also explains the rationale for selecting these case studies, highlighting how they align with the research objectives and offer valuable insights into multilingual deliberative processes. The third section discusses the mixed-methods methodology employed in this thesis, detailing how both qualitative and quantitative techniques are integrated. The fourth section presents a detailed overview of the empirical data collection process, outlining the analytical methods and techniques used. The fifth section describes the methodological framework of this thesis and its applications. Finally, the sixth section examines the research design, focusing on the broader Luxembourgish context and the Biergerkomitee and Klima Biergerrot.

Empirical Deliberative Democracy Research

Normative political theory topics are rarely investigated through empirical research, with empirical and theoretical studies often progressing independently. However, deliberative democratic theory stands out as a notable exception to this trend. Over the past decade, there has been a marked increase in empirical interest surrounding deliberative democracy, marking what scholars term the ‘empirical turn’ (Dryzek, 2010a). Empirical research on deliberative democracy has grown considerably in recent years, significantly advancing our understanding of how deliberative processes operate in practice and their real-world outcomes. Researchers have investigated a range of topics, including who participates in deliberation, the conditions under which deliberation flourishes, the impact of deliberation on participants, the influence of deliberative processes on policy-making, and the extent to which the broader public and stakeholders support deliberative practices.

Such research reflects a growing recognition among theorists and practitioners that empirical research is crucial for refining the theoretical principles of deliberative democracy and for demonstrating its relevance and applicability in real-world contexts (Mutz, 2008; Thompson,

2008; Bohman, 1998). Accordingly, real-world applications, such as citizens' assemblies, have become a key focus of empirical research, offering valuable insights into the design and implementation of deliberative practices in various settings (see Ercan et al., 2022 for further insights on empirical research and methodologies). Chambers (2003, p. 320) astutely notes that although observational studies "cannot be either the last or the leading word in deliberative democracy", they play an essential role in deepening our understanding of the foundational principles of deliberative theory, optimizing the design of deliberative processes, and illustrating how deliberative concepts manifest in practical scenarios.

Despite the substantial body of empirical research in this field, studies examining the intersection of linguistic diversity and deliberative democracy have largely focused on its impact on the quality of deliberation (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018; Pedrini, 2015; Fiket et al., 2014, 2011; Pedrini et al., 2013; Caluwaerts, 2012; Doerr, 2012, 2009, 2008; Fishkin, 2011). This emphasis is unsurprising given the intense interest in evaluating deliberative quality as a key concern in empirical studies. What constitutes 'good' deliberation and how to develop methods to assess the deliberativeness of democratic processes have been prominent in empirical studies (Steiner, 2012; Bächtiger & Hangartner, 2010; Bächtiger et al., 2008; Conover & Searing, 2005; Holzinger, 2005; Nanz & Steffek, 2005; Steiner et al., 2005). However, while the quality of deliberation remains a critical focus, there is a growing need to broaden the empirical analysis of multilingual deliberative processes, which is essential for developing a more comprehensive understanding of multilingual DMPs.

Consequently, this thesis intentionally moves beyond a narrow focus on measuring deliberation, recognizing that an exclusive emphasis on deliberative quality does not fully encompass the range of what deliberative processes involve. Deliberative processes aim to achieve more than just high-quality argumentation; they are designed to promote broader democratic goals, with legitimacy being a crucial objective. While the quality of deliberation is undeniably significant, the legitimacy of these processes relies on factors that go beyond mere argumentation. In multilingual contexts, this becomes even more important, as the multilingual dimension can greatly influence who can participate (i.e., inclusivity), whose voices are acknowledged (i.e., authenticity), and how the process impacts participants, as well as how it is perceived and supported (i.e., consequentiality). Acknowledging these complexities, this thesis necessitates a methodology that considers not only the internal dynamics of the deliberative process but also its external dimension.

Consequently, this thesis aims to explore how multilingual deliberative processes are experienced in real-life contexts rather than theorizing, measuring, or enacting them. An exploratory approach recognizes that examining deliberative processes “involves different ways of employing deliberative lenses to critically analyze the complexities and nuances of existing phenomena.” This method allows “researchers to stumble upon novelty and uncover the unexpected. [...] they inspire empirical researchers to explore how deliberation works in the real world and how deliberative ideals might be expanded or adjusted” (Ercan et al., 2022, p. 9). To adopt an exploratory approach to multilingual CAs, this thesis employs case study research. Case studies provide an in-depth examination of specific instances of multilingual deliberative processes, enabling a thorough understanding of how these processes unfold in practice. Furthermore, they offer flexibility in investigating the context, conditions, and lived experiences of those involved, along with the chance to examine the perspectives of the maxi-public. Overall, this thesis aims to provide a contextualized perspective on the impact of multilingualism on deliberative democracy through the examination of real-world examples.

Case Study Research

A case study approach is particularly well-suited for this thesis, which aims to answer the question, ‘*How does linguistic diversity impact the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of citizens’ assemblies?*’. As Yin (2014) notes, case study research is ideal for addressing ‘how’ questions, especially when the objective is to obtain a thorough, detailed understanding of a phenomenon in its real-life setting. This aligns with the study’s focus on exploring the nuanced implications of multilingualism in deliberative processes. Additionally, as Elstub and Pomatto (2022, pp. 409–410) emphasize, case studies are highly effective for investigating deliberative democracy because they allow for a critical examination of how and why deliberative processes succeed or fail in practice:

Case studies aim to extend our knowledge of how and why deliberative processes embedded in real-life policy processes work and do not work [...]. To achieve this goal, case study research should critically examine the implementation of deliberative processes in both structured forums and the unstructured public sphere; the dynamics between participants; and the broader social and political context in which the deliberative processes are embedded.

Case study research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. In this context, instead of employing a comparative case study method, this thesis

takes a cumulative approach, combining findings from both the BK and KBR to analyze how multilingualism affects the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of multilingual CAs.¹³ The BK and KBR, which are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, were intentionally selected as ‘best cases’ and ‘special interest cases’ (United States General Accounting Office, 1990). They are regarded as ‘best cases’ due to their proven effectiveness in facilitating successful deliberative processes. Their overall success in achieving deliberative goals then makes them valuable for exploring the impact of multilingualism (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024; Verhasselt et al., 2024). Additionally, their multilingual character classifies them as ‘special interest cases’, chosen specifically for the unique aspect of multilingualism. By selecting these cases, the thesis aims to develop a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities multilingualism presents in deliberative settings operating in linguistically diverse environments. Thus, the purposive selection of these cases contributes to explanation-building, allowing for a focused and in-depth analysis of multilingual deliberative processes. The BK and KBR, with their multilingual composition, provide a rich basis for such insights, enhancing our understanding of the role language plays in shaping deliberative practices.

The selection of the BK and KBR is further justified by their revelatory nature. According to Yin (2018), case studies with revelatory potential enable researchers to explore phenomena that are not extensively explored. While case studies often face criticism for their limited generalizability, revelatory cases address this concern by uncovering new insights into under-researched topics (Yin, 2014). In this context, the BK and KBR, as examples of multilingual CAs, facilitate a thorough investigation into this underexplored phenomenon, bridging a critical gap in the literature about the intersection of multilingualism and deliberative processes. Moreover, Elstubb and Pomatto (2022) argue that generalization should not always be the primary goal in case study research; rather, it is the unique value of the cases that is significant. This perspective aligns seamlessly with the objectives of this thesis: The BK and KBR serve

¹³ The decision to pursue a complementary rather than a comparative case study approach was significantly influenced by the nature and availability of data for the two cases. Since the evaluations of the BK and the KBR were conducted by different research teams, the data for each case were inherently distinct. This discrepancy in data and scope presented considerable challenges to conducting a rigorous, in-depth comparative analysis. A complementary approach was thus adopted to highlight the unique contributions and insights from each case, allowing for a richer understanding of their individual contexts and processes without the constraints imposed by mismatched data sets. This strategy acknowledges the limitations of direct comparability while leveraging the strengths of each case to explore broader themes, such as multilingual deliberative practices.

as foundational cases for generating fresh knowledge and perspectives regarding multilingual deliberative democracy, and its inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality.

To fully realize the potential of case study research and to do justice to the richness of the cases, it must be anchored in a well-defined research paradigm. A paradigm serves as the philosophical framework that shapes the approach to studying the phenomenon and the interpretation of the findings (Yin, 2014). By providing this structured lens, the paradigm ensures that the study remains focused, systematic, and capable of making meaningful contributions to the broader field of inquiry. Two prominent paradigms commonly employed in case study research are the positivist and interpretive approaches. The positivist paradigm emphasizes objectivity, quantification, and hypothesis testing, looking for causal relationships. It seeks to uncover generalizable laws or patterns and often relies on structured methodologies and measurable outcomes (Furlung & Marsh, 2010). When applied to case studies, the positivist approach typically involves defining clear research propositions, collecting standardized data, and testing these propositions against empirical evidence (Elstub & Pomatto, 2022). In contrast, as highlighted by Gastil et al. (2012, p. 222), interpretive research is considered a “pragmatic” approach that focuses on “the centrality of meaning in human life in all its aspects and a reflexivity on scientific practices related to meaning making and knowledge claims” (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2014, p. xiv). An interpretive approach is particularly well-suited for studying deliberative democracy, as noted by Ercan et al. (2017) and Ansari et al. (2024). This lens enables the researcher to understand and interpret phenomena “in terms of actors’ understandings of their contexts” (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012, p. 52), shedding light on subtle yet critical factors (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2014).

While these paradigms are often presented as distinct or even opposing, they are not mutually exclusive. Babones (2015) argues that within a positivist framework, data is often forced into predefined categories, which can oversimplify or misrepresent the complexities of reality. In contrast, an interpretive perspective to positivist research emphasizes allowing the data to reveal its narrative, with statistical models acting as tools to uncover and interpret human events or situations that may initially seem unclear or ambiguous. In other words, an interpretive approach to the positivist paradigm encourages measurement and modeling decisions to arise organically from the data, rather than imposing rigid structures. It also highlights the importance of understanding the broader societal contexts in which data is generated, prompting researchers to focus on the meaning behind the data rather than just the numbers

themselves. In this reading, the positivist and interpretive paradigms are presented as complementary, with the author even advocating for a more interpretive approach within the positivist paradigm.

Similarly, Elstub and Pomatto (2022) note that empirical research on deliberative democracy has the potential to move beyond this traditional dichotomy. Research in deliberative democracy can benefit from integrating both approaches, allowing for a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of deliberative processes. By transcending the binary divide between positivist and interpretive paradigms, researchers can gain a fuller picture that incorporates both objective, quantifiable data, and subjective, context-rich insights. This integrated approach enables a well-rounded understanding of how deliberative practices operate in reality. Through this combination, empirical research can address the multifaceted nature of deliberative democracy, offering deeper insights into both the measurable aspects and the lived experiences of participants.

Guided by these perspectives, this thesis deliberately adopts a mixed-epistemology approach, drawing strategically on both interpretive and positivist traditions. This integration allows the research to address critical questions about how multilingualism influences the principles of deliberative democracy while remaining attuned to real-world deliberative settings. By exploring both measurable impacts and subjective experiences, the study moves beyond surface-level observations to uncover nuanced insights. This approach necessitates a methodology capable of accommodating both paradigms, making mixed-methods research an essential choice. A mixed-methods methodology combines an empirical focus on understanding meanings and perceptions with the examination of frequencies, patterns, and correlations (Hesse-Biber, 2010).

Research Approach

To conduct a complementary case study research of the BK and KBR, grounded in both interpretive and positivist paradigms, this thesis adopts a mixed-methods methodology. This approach, as highlighted by Elstub and Pomatto (2022), is particularly well-suited to be used in conjunction with a case study framework since integrating various data sources has become a hallmark of case study research, as it “relies on multiple sources of evidence” (Yin, 1994, p. 13) to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Yin,

2018; Baxter & Jack, 2008). Furthermore, employing a mixed-methods design is strongly recommended in research on democratic innovations (Elstub & Escobar, 2019).

In exploring perceptions, experiences, and attitudes, one of the most common methods is the ‘direct approach’, which involves asking individuals to share their views on a specific topic. This method typically requires explicit input from participants and allows researchers to gather detailed insights through interviews and/or surveys (see Table 4). Both methods are frequently integrated into case study research, where interviews focus on understanding words and meanings, while surveys emphasize quantitative measurements (Yin, 1994). Interviews offer a chance to gather detailed responses, enabling researchers to gain greater insight into the viewpoints of the interviewees and allowing for the flexibility to address any confusion that may arise. Additionally, interviews enable participants to introduce relevant topics that the researcher may not have initially considered, thereby enriching the data (Garrett et al., 2003).

However, while interviews yield valuable qualitative insights, they also have drawbacks. They can be time-consuming and often involve a limited number of participants, making it challenging to systematically analyze the data in a broad and generalizable manner (Bryman, 2012; Codó, 2008). Alternatively, surveys provide a more efficient means of collecting quantifiable data from a larger pool of respondents. They facilitate the gathering of significant information within a relatively short time frame, which is especially useful for identifying broader trends and patterns (Garrett et al., 2003). Nonetheless, surveys have limitations as well, such as reduced control over how respondents interpret questions and the inability to prompt them for elaboration in real time (Bryman, 2012).

Table 4 Summary methodological approach

Aspect	Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach
Methodology	Qualitative methods: interviews and open-ended survey questions	Quantitative method: closed-ended survey questions
Data	Rich, qualitative data	Numerical, quantifiable data

Focus	Individual perspectives and meanings	Broad trends and patterns
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Given the respective strengths and limitations of qualitative and quantitative methods, this thesis adopts a mixed-methods approach. This approach is particularly well-suited to providing a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of multilingual deliberative processes. Specifically, the research employs a multi-level design, integrating both sequential and embedded designs. A sequential design involves one method informing the next, and in this case, it follows an explanatory sequential approach, namely quantitative findings shape and guide the qualitative exploration. Simultaneously, the research incorporates an embedded design, wherein methods are nested within each other to provide supplementary insights, enriching the overall analysis. Hence, the integration of methods occurs at two critical stages in this thesis, namely data generation, where insights from one method inform the application of the other, and systemic analysis, during which inferences are drawn across both strands of data. This dual integration ensures a dynamic interplay between the methods, resulting in a robust and multifaceted analysis. Indeed, findings from each method are analyzed separately before generating meta-inferences, which represent the synthesis of insights from both strands. These meta-inferences epitomize the added value of mixed-methods research, providing a cohesive and integrated understanding of the research questions (Escobar, 2022; Tashakkori et al., 2021).

Essentially, the methodology's strength lies in its ability to combine and interrogate data from both strands, maximizing the depth and reliability of the findings (Escobar, 2022; Brannen & Moss, 2012; Castro et al., 2010; Creswell et al., 2003). Hence, the rationale for this thesis adopting a mixed-methods methodology is threefold:

- **Development:** Quantitative findings are used to refine and guide the design and implementation of qualitative methods. This ensures that subsequent stages of research are both tailored and effective, addressing specific gaps or questions identified in earlier phases.
- **Complementarity:** Findings from each method enrich one another, providing layers of understanding. For instance, qualitative insights elaborate on the statistical patterns revealed by quantitative data, offering deeper contextualization and meaning.

- **Triangulation:** Multiple methods are employed to cross-check and validate findings. By seeking convergence and corroboration across data sources, this approach enhances the reliability and validity of the results.

Overall, this mixed-methods methodology leverages the depth and nuance of qualitative insights alongside the broader patterns revealed through quantitative analysis. Such an approach offers a holistic exploration of the phenomenon, as findings from each method inform and complement the other, strengthening the overall validity and depth of the study.

Data Collection

In this section, a concise overview of the data collection process is provided.¹⁴ The primary methods involved longitudinal surveys and semi-structured interviews, supplemented by desk research. The desk research entailed analyzing primary and secondary documents, including official records, the final BK and KBR reports, as well as secondary and grey literature, such as materials distributed to members by the organizers.

Longitudinal surveys

Surveys were selected as the primary methodology to investigate the BK and KBR, with a longitudinal design chosen to track changes in knowledge, opinions, attitudes, skills, and experiences over time. This design allowed for a dynamic understanding of opinion evolution throughout the process. Authorization was obtained from the BK and KBR organizers to contact the members, enabling their participation in the surveys. Participation was entirely voluntary. Before participation, members were informed about the research purpose and data storage and usage. The first two BK surveys were available in French, and the third one in French and English. The KBR surveys, both mini- and maxi-public, were carefully translated into Luxembourgish, French, and English. This was done because choosing one language over another for the surveys could potentially bias the results. Codó (2008) emphasizes that an essential aspect of the research design involves adapting surveys to the different languages

¹⁴ The data collection and analysis conducted for this dissertation were closely integrated with the evaluation reports concerning the Biergerkomitee (Verhasselt et al., 2024) and the Klima Biergerrot (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024). Accordingly, the methodologies were designed to align with the objectives of these broader evaluations while simultaneously serving as a foundation for investigating multilingual deliberative processes. However, this dual focus introduced certain challenges for this dissertation, as the data on multilingual dynamics was sometimes limited, particularly within the KBR setting. A detailed discussion of the data collection methods and their analysis is presented in the relevant publications.

spoken within a linguistically diverse context. This translation process can promote increased participation. Furthermore, to reduce any comprehension issues, offering the questionnaire in multiple languages is recommended. To ensure clarity and prevent misunderstandings, the translations were reviewed by proficient or native speakers of Luxembourgish, French, and English before being distributed to the participants.

The BK members were surveyed via Limesurvey on three occasions: initially before the start of the process in January 2021, at the culmination of the BK in January 2022, and finally post-process in September 2022. Notably, 28 members completed the first survey (a response rate of 96,6%), followed by 19 members for the second survey (66,1%), and 15 members for the third survey (51,7%). In the first two surveys, respondents provided information on how they were recruited, their attitudes toward various aspects of deliberative consultative processes, and their opinions on the issue of climate change. The first survey also assessed their baseline attitudes toward politics, including interest, trust, efficacy, and party affiliation. The second survey focused on participants' experiences with the process, their views on the outcomes, the multilingual aspect of the Biergerkommitee, and its online components. The third survey specifically examined the multilingual design of the BK (Verhasselt et al., 2024).

Surveys of KBR members were conducted online using Qualtrics at four key points during the process: at the start in February 2022, after the second working weekend in April 2022, after the fifth working weekend in June 2022, and after the delivery of the final report in October/November 2022. 67 members completed the first survey (a response rate of 67%), followed by 56 members for the second survey (56%) and 54 members for the third and fourth surveys (54%). The surveys covered members' knowledge of and attitudes toward climate change, their experiences during various KBR activities, including in-person weekends, and information sessions, online platforms, their political attitudes and skills, their perceptions of the KBR's multilingual nature, and their overall views on representative and deliberative democracy (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024).

Additionally, to assess broader attitudes toward – multilingual – citizens' assemblies, a panel study of the Luxembourg population was conducted alongside the KBR process. The 'Institut Luxembourgeois de Recherches Sociales et d'Études de Marchés'¹⁵ (hereafter Ilres) was commissioned to conduct the surveys from a representative sample of the Luxembourg public.

¹⁵ The Luxembourg Institute for Social Research and Market Studies.

For nationally representative internet-based surveys, Ilres relied on ‘quota’ sampling to target respondents from their panel of 10,400 registered users, reflecting the right demographics for a sample representative of the overall population, excluding KBR members. Individuals participated in three population surveys at the beginning, middle, and end of the KBR. The sample size resulting from the first fieldwork was 3025 respondents, which decreased to 2250 after the second survey, leaving a retention rate of 75%. The retention rate for the second wave was 79%, retaining 1797 respondents. In each population survey, respondents were given a questionnaire like the one presented to the members, with the section on deliberative quality substituted by questions about their knowledge of the KBR. The surveys provided insights into the maxi-public’s understanding of and attitudes toward climate change, their political attitudes and competencies, as well as their overall attitudes toward representative and – multilingual – deliberative forms of democracy, along with sociodemographic characteristics (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024).

Surveys typically include closed- or open-ended questions or a combination of both. Open-ended questions permit respondents to articulate their thoughts in their own words, enabling discussions of issues that researchers may not have anticipated (Bryman, 2012), whereas closed-ended questions limit respondents’ ability to express themselves freely but are quicker to answer, resulting in a larger quantity of data (Oppenheim, 2005). Consequently, surveys typically feature a limited number of open-ended questions because they require participants to invest more time and effort in providing detailed answers. Closed-ended questions are more efficient for respondents, allowing for quicker answers, which can help maintain engagement and lead to higher response rates. Furthermore, since surveys are primarily designed to collect quantifiable data, researchers tend to favor closed-ended questions to simplify data analysis (Codó, 2008). Open-ended questions necessitate qualitative analysis, which can be complex and resource-intensive. Hence, closed-ended questions are often preferred because they yield quantifiable data that can be easily analyzed, compared, and generalized across a broad population. The BK utilized a mix of open- and closed-ended questions to gather a diverse range of responses, allowing for both quantitative analysis and qualitative insights. In contrast, the KBR included only a limited number of open-ended questions, and notably, none of these

addressed the topic of multilingualism. Meanwhile, the maxi-public surveys were entirely composed of closed-ended questions.¹⁶

For this thesis, the open-ended questions in the BK surveys related to multilingualism were analyzed using a representational perspective to understand the meanings expressed by respondents (Shapiro, 1997). To achieve this, a thematic text analysis was conducted through manual coding to identify recurring themes. More precisely, the following broad themes were uncovered: (i) perceived impacts of multilingualism, (ii) experiences in a multilingual CA, and (iii) linguistic preferences (see Table 5). This approach allowed for an exploration of participants' experiences and viewpoints, aligning with the interpretive paradigm.

Table 5 Coding scheme open-ended survey questions

Perceived impacts of multilingualism	Perceptions of how multilingualism affects the process
Representation	Perceptions regarding the representativity
Inclusivity	Perceptions concerning the inclusivity
Dominance	Perceptions of a dominating language
Experiences in a multilingual CA	General attitudes and beliefs about multilingualism, including its value and challenges
General attitudes	Thoughts and opinions about the role and importance of multilingualism in the process

¹⁶ Since the primary objective of the surveys was to evaluate the processes as a whole, the focus was not exclusively on multilingualism. Consequently, only a small section of the surveys addressed the role of multilingualism and its potential impact. A detailed account of the relevant survey questions and their findings can be found in the empirical chapters.

Symbol of Luxembourg	Views on multilingualism as a national or cultural symbol
Linguistic preferences	Perceptions regarding the absence of linguistic accommodations
Single language	Thoughts and opinions about the potential introduction of a single language instead of multilingualism
Translation	Thoughts and opinions about the potential introduction of simultaneous translation

Like the open-ended questions, the closed-ended survey questions aimed to measure participants' experiences and perceptions. This involved an effort to "place a person's attitude on the straight line or linear continuum in such a way that it can be described as mildly positive, strongly negative and so on" (Oppenheim, 2005, p. 175). According to Fishbein (1967), attitudes are characterized as assessments of phenomena as either favorable (positive) or unfavorable (negative), which results in a dichotomous method of measuring attitudes. However, as noted by Peterson (2000), such a bipolar approach may lead to an overly simplistic view. Enter the Likert scale. Using this scale, participants rate their degree of (dis)agreement on a five-point scale. Typically, a value of 1 is assigned to one end of the scale, while the opposite end is assigned a value of 5 (Likert, 1967), with the scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' (Oppenheim, 2005; Garrett et al., 2003). The popularity of Likert scales is due to their ability to provide two degrees of intensity for (dis)agreement: 'strongly (dis)agree' and '(dis)agree'. Moreover, including a neutral option allows respondents to express their genuine feelings without the pressure to either agree or disagree (Bryman, 2012). Each response option is assigned a numerical value, allowing researchers to calculate overall scores. Consequently, the closed-ended questions in the BK, KBR, and maxi-public surveys were predominantly designed using a 5-point Likert scale.

This method not only provides a structured way to capture respondents' attitudes and perceptions but also facilitates statistical analyses to identify trends, correlations, and variations

within the data. Aligned with the mixed-epistemology approach adopted in this thesis, the measurement and modeling processes were deliberately designed to emerge organically from the data rather than being dictated by rigid pre-existing structures (Babones, 2015). This organic emergence of frameworks helps avoid the pitfalls of forcing data into predefined categories, which can overlook or misrepresent critical insights. Instead, it allows for the discovery of patterns and relationships that might otherwise remain hidden. The adaptive nature of this methodology strengthens the validity of the findings by ensuring that the data, rather than preconceived assumptions, drive the analytical process. In this context, statistical models serve not only as tools for measurement but also as vehicles for interpretation. Ultimately, this approach underscores the fundamental rationale of epistemology research, namely the belief that meaningful insights arise from a dynamic interplay between exploratory flexibility and structured analysis.

Qualitative interviews

The survey data was supplemented by interviews¹⁷ that aimed to gather detailed descriptions of the interviewees' experiences. The goal was to interpret and understand the meaning behind the phenomena they described (Kvale, 1996). Interviews can be considered as either denotational or interactional texts (Briggs, 1986). When viewed as denotational texts, the emphasis is on the content or subject matter being discussed. In contrast, when viewed as interactional texts, attention is placed on the dynamics between participants, including their roles, body language, tone, pauses, and eye contact (Perrino, 2022). Traditionally, the dominant focus in interview methodology has been on the content or the denotational aspect (Kvale, 2007, 1996), which is also the approach adopted in this thesis.

This thesis relies on semi-structured interviews, which provide thematic guidelines to direct the conversation while allowing for some deviations. These interviews consist of key questions related to the research topic, helping to gather relevant responses. This format enables the researcher to engage in a more natural conversation, allowing for flexible interactions with participants. As a result, topics can spontaneously emerge during discussions, leading to a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Important to note is that the evaluations of the BK and KBR were conducted by different research teams, resulting in varying approaches between

¹⁷ It is important to note that the interviews were part of the broader BK and the KBR evaluation, with only a part delving into the multilingual nature of the processes.

the two cases. In the BK, organizers, moderators, and participants were interviewed, whereas in the KBR, organizers and moderators were interviewed. Although the interview guides were not structured in the same manner, they addressed similar topics relevant to this thesis: (i) personal motivation and background, (ii) evaluation of the process and its quality, (iii) perceptions of multilingualism, and (iv) outcomes and improvements. In relation to the multilingual nature of both processes, the following elements were included in the interview guides.

Participants from the BK were asked:

- Did multilingualism affect the Biergerkommittee? And if so, how?

Additionally, the BK and KBR organizers were asked to evaluate the role of multilingualism through the following questions:

- Evaluation of multilingualism: Was it a choice or an obligation?
 - Why the three languages?
 - Why this specific language strategy?
 - Do you think it had an impact on the representativeness of the process?
 - How would you evaluate the use of multiple languages?

Furthermore, the BK and KBR moderators were asked:

- How would you evaluate the use of multiple languages?
- Do you think it had an impact on the representativeness of the process?
- In your opinion, did the multilingual context alter the quality of deliberation?

In the case of the BK, all three individuals from the organizational team were interviewed. Moreover, five participants, who actively and consistently participated in the BK, were interviewed. To ensure a comprehensive range of experiences and perspectives, an individual who left the process due to dissatisfaction was also interviewed. These participants were identified with the help of the organizational team, who provided information about potential interviewees. Additionally, a snowball sampling method was employed, wherein previously interviewed individuals suggested others who could be interviewed. No participants from the KBR were included in the interview phase of the study, as the overall KBR evaluation prioritized quantitative data collection methods. However, to provide some qualitative insights,

interviews were conducted with the two individuals responsible for organizing the KBR and two facilitators involved in its implementation. The facilitators were identified, during non-participant observations, as compelling candidates due to the groups they managed and their overall active role throughout the process. While interviews conducted with KBR participants could have provided valuable insights and added depth to the analysis, this limitation is mitigated by this thesis' complementary case study approach.

The relatively small dataset of interviewees is not uncommon in qualitative research. Qualitative research emphasizes specific details and processes that can connect individual cases to broader generalizations, typically involving small sample sizes. In this vein, Dörnyei (2007, p. 126) notes that,

At least in theory, qualitative inquiry is not concerned with how representative the respondent sample is or how the experience is distributed in the population. Instead, the main goal of sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn. This goal is best achieved by means of some sort of 'purposeful' or 'purposive' sampling.

In the context of the BK and KBR surveys, Dörnyei's (2007) view on qualitative inquiry and purposive sampling applies specifically to the interviews conducted as part of this thesis. The limited number of interviews was designed to capture rich, detailed insights from individuals who could offer valuable perspectives on the phenomenon being investigated. Rather than focusing on the representativeness and size of the sample, the primary aim of the interviews was to identify individuals whose experiences would provide in-depth and diverse insights, contributing to a deeper understanding of the research topic. Furthermore, the mixed-methods approach allows the findings from the interviews to be enriched by broader quantitative and qualitative survey data. Therefore, the interviews not only provide a deeper understanding of the nuances behind the statistical trends observed in the surveys but also offer insights that inform and contextualize the broader data, creating a reciprocal relationship between the two sources of information.

All interviews were conducted online and recorded on video, though only the audio was used for analysis. Interviews were held in English, French, or Luxembourgish, depending on the interviewee's preferences. Each interviewee was contacted separately beforehand to explain the process. For the BK, interviewees provided their verbal informed consent at the beginning

of the interview. In the case of the KBR, all interviewees provided their written informed consent before the interviews took place. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all interviews were pseudo-anonymized using numbers, attributing each interviewee a unique identifier. Consequently, the transcripts were anonymized using these numbers. A Word document was maintained to correlate real names with their corresponding numbers for identification purposes. The automatic transcription tool available through Webex was used to transcribe the interviews. However, the software struggled with accurately transcribing specific Luxembourgish words, such as ‘Biergerkomitee’ and ‘Klima Biergerrot’, which required polishing of the transcripts. Nevertheless, this process of correcting the transcripts aided the analysis, as it led to a review of the data and contributed new insights. Filler words like ‘uhh’ were removed from the in-text citations of interview excerpts to enhance readability. As with the open-ended survey questions, a thematic analysis of the transcripts was conducted to explore how participants constructed their stories and narratives surrounding their personal experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The following themes were uncovered: (i) the (e)quality of the process, (ii) thoughts on multilingualism, (iii) thoughts on the impact of multilingualism, (iv) reasons for the (in)effectiveness of a multilingual CA, and (v) organizational concerns (see Table 6).

Table 6 Coding scheme interviews

(E)Quality of the process	Perceptions of the quality or equality of the BK, including strengths and weaknesses
Inclusivity	Perceptions regarding the inclusivity
Deliberative quality	Insights into the fairness and overall quality of the deliberation process
Challenges	Difficulties encountered in maintaining (e)quality throughout the process

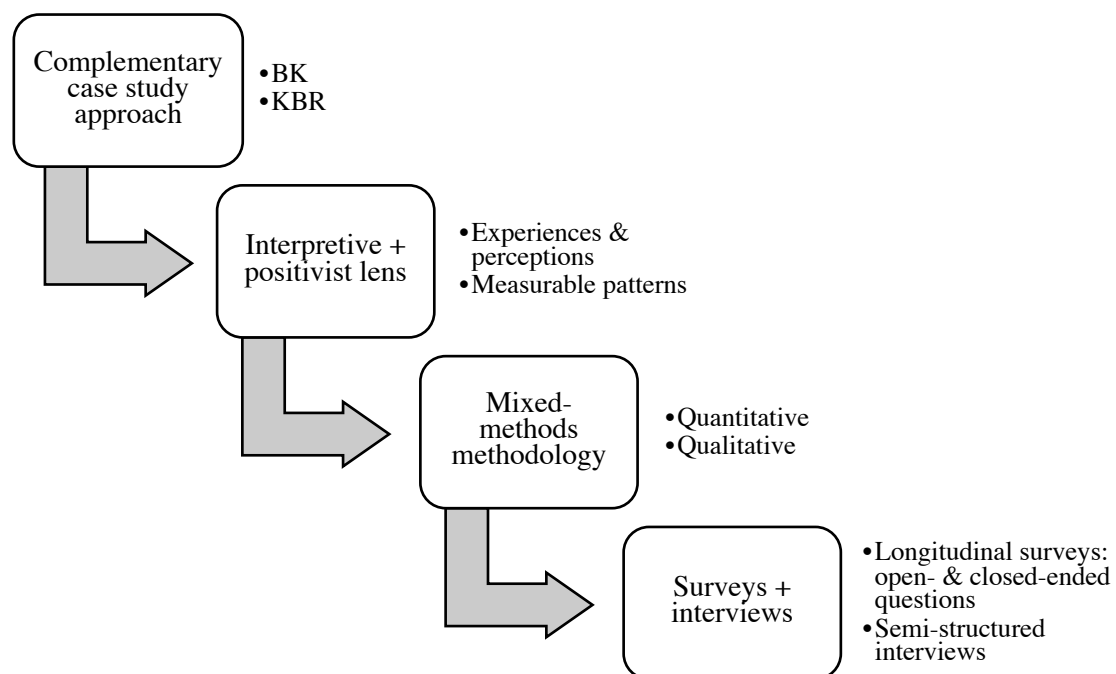
Thoughts on multilingualism	General attitudes and beliefs about multilingualism, including its value and challenges
General attitudes	Thoughts and opinions about the role and importance of multilingualism in the process
Symbol of Luxembourg	Views on multilingualism as a national or cultural symbol
Thoughts on the impact of multilingualism	Perceptions of how multilingualism affects the process
Positive	Benefits of incorporating multiple languages, at both the individual and process levels, including representation, participation, communication, deliberative quality, legitimacy, and broader advantages such as cultural awareness
Negative	Difficulties of incorporating multiple languages, at both the individual and process levels, including logistical difficulties, potential marginalization, risk of exclusion, and interruptions or inefficiencies
Reasons for the (in)effectiveness of a multilingual CA	Factors contributing to the success or failure of a multilingual CA

Language-related	Language related reasons, including linguistic selection criteria, language proficiency, linguistic accommodation, and code-switching habits
Moderator	The role of moderators in managing multilingual dynamics
Group	Reasons related to group dynamic
Cultural resonance	Multilingualism as a symbol and commonality in Luxembourg
Organizational concerns	Remarks made by organizers and moderators on multilingual aspect
Experiences	Experiences and thoughts of the organizers and moderators
Balance	Tensions between maintaining linguistic diversity and operational efficiency
Strategies	Strategies used by the organizers and moderators to manage linguistic diversity
Challenges	Challenges identified or brought to the organization and moderators' attention

Methodology

Figure 3 combines the previous sections and sets out the methodological framework of this thesis. It illustrates the framework for a complementary case study approach of the BK and KBR that integrates positivist and interpretive traditions, operationalized through a mixed-methods methodology that combines quantitative and qualitative methods. At the heart of this approach is a resolute commitment to addressing the overarching research question of this thesis, ‘*How does linguistic diversity impact the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of citizens’ assemblies?*’.

Figure 3 Methodological framework of this dissertation



The methodological approach to this thesis’ operational matrix is as follows. For input legitimacy, this thesis aims to explore how participants perceive the representativeness and inclusivity of the process while also examining these aspects from an objective perspective, adopting parallel interpretive and positivist investigations. This involves analyzing participant demographics to evaluate the extent to which the assembly ensures representativity. By focusing on demographic diversity, we can better, and objectively, understand how effectively the assembly reflects the community it serves. Next, in line with the exploratory aim of this thesis, input legitimacy is also considered from the perspective of those involved, examining their perceptions of the inclusivity and representativity of multilingual CAs. In doing so, their voices are also given importance, potentially underscoring insights that might be missed from

a purely quantitative point of view. Together, these perspectives offer a complementary and comprehensive exploration of the input legitimacy of multilingual CAs, balancing subjective insights with quantifiable analysis for a well-rounded understanding.

Throughput legitimacy includes participants' perceptions of their levels of engagement and the overall (e)quality of dialogue. This assessment is essential for determining whether the multilingual deliberative environment fosters authentic deliberation. The interpretive approach to throughput legitimacy stems from a critical perspective on one of the main empirical tools in this area: the Discourse Quality Index (hereafter DQI) (Steiner, 2012; Bächtiger & Hangartner, 2010; Bächtiger et al., 2008; Steiner et al., 2005). The DQI is a structured text coding system designed to assess how actual discussions correspond to the standards of deliberative democracy. It is a remarkably innovative tool for empirically investigating democratic deliberation because it operationalizes "essentials of the Habermasian logic of communicative action" (Bächtiger et al., 2010, p. 38).

However, studying deliberation through this highly formalized lens raises significant concerns. Respecting participants as unique individuals demands that researchers value and incorporate their perspectives. This is where the DQI faces a notable limitation; it evaluates the quality of deliberation from an external standpoint, often sidelining participants' voices and granting researchers disproportionate authority. In addition to this issue, a broader methodological concern arises. Formal coding, like that used in the DQI, can oversimplify the intricate and multifaceted nature of deliberative phenomena. This limitation is partly due to the DQI's focus on textual elements, which may overlook the contextual factors that shape deliberative interactions. Furthermore, its reliance on a limited set of evaluation criteria can restrict its ability to capture the richness of deliberation. The approach also risks imposing a rigid and potentially exclusionary framework of deliberation, although deliberative communication varies significantly across social and cultural contexts (Sass & Dryzek, 2014, p. 4). A universal, one-size-fits-all approach is, therefore, inherently flawed (Karpowitz & Mendelberg, 2007; Eliasoph & Lichterman, 2003).

These concerns echo the shift in deliberative democracy research toward portraying more realistic models that move beyond ideal speech situations (Bächtiger et al., 2010). Although the DQI has evolved to incorporate storytelling as an indicator, it still tends to prioritize rationalistic criteria. More than two decades ago, Young (2002) emphasized the need to move away from the communication norms traditional deliberative democrats uphold. They argue

that linking “reasonable public debate” to “polite, orderly, dispassionate, gentlemanly argument[s]”, often depicted in classical literature, can have exclusionary consequences (Young, 2002, p. 49). Additionally, Sanders (1997, p. 364) provocatively asserts that this narrow view of deliberation tends to favor the “white male with a college degree.” In essence, just as deliberative theory has evolved beyond rigid discourse principles, assessments of deliberative quality should adopt a more flexible and context-sensitive approach. To align with this evolution, and drawing on the work of Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2014), this thesis employs an interpretive paradigm to assess throughput legitimacy. Specifically, it uses the PDQI, which is designed to capture participants’ subjective experiences and evaluations of deliberative processes at the hand of closed-ended survey questions. This framework is particularly well-suited for examining the unique dynamics of multilingual CAs because it emphasizes participants’ subjective perceptions of deliberative quality.

In multilingual settings, variances in language proficiency, cultural communication styles, and the challenges of translation can significantly influence participants’ experiences. Unlike rigid, text-focused tools, the PDQI captures these contextual and interpersonal nuances by centering on the lived experiences of individuals navigating complex and multilingual interactions. It enables researchers to discern whether participants feel empowered and understood despite potential language barriers or disparities in discourse. Therefore, while deliberative qualitative indicators, such as the DQI, are often considered essential for assessing whether genuine deliberation has taken place, this thesis adopts a different focus. It emphasizes the significance of understanding participants’ lived experiences and interactions within the deliberative process. This approach provides a more nuanced and contextualized analysis of throughput legitimacy, yielding deeper insights into how participants perceive and engage with a multilingual deliberative framework.

The thesis’ exploratory nature necessitates shifting attention away from assessing specific deliberative outcomes. Accordingly, to evaluate output legitimacy, this thesis examines both preference transformation and public endorsement by relying solely on quantitative data. Deliberative research posits that participation in these processes inherently shapes and transforms participants’ opinions. Additionally, understanding whether and how the public endorses multilingual DMPs reveals critical nuances regarding the perceived legitimacy and fairness of these processes among the broader public. This approach to output legitimacy is particularly compelling as it highlights the transformative impact on participants and

underscores the potential for multilingual deliberation to foster greater public acceptance. By exploring these dimensions, this conception of output legitimacy advances a more holistic and evolving perspective on the role of language in deliberative democracy.

The analysis of which format, whether in-person or online, is more conducive to multilingual deliberation, viewed through the lens of preference transformation, draws on a mixed-epistemology approach. The research aims to identify general patterns and measurable outcomes regarding the impact and transformative potential of different deliberative formats, in line with a positivist approach. The measurement and modeling processes were intentionally designed to emerge organically from the data rather than being driven by rigid, pre-existing structures (Babones, 2015). In other words, the research was not focused on hypothesis testing. Instead, drawing from the interpretive tradition, it sought to capture how participants perceived and experienced in-person and online deliberations, examining how these formats influenced their perceptions of the effectiveness of multilingual deliberative processes. This approach sheds light on the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation, as well as offers valuable insights into how the deliberative format shapes perceptions of the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs.

Notably, the second element of output legitimacy, public endorsement, is analyzed solely through a positivist lens. This analysis concentrates on objective data and hypotheses to assess how various demographic groups perceive the effectiveness of multilingual deliberative processes. By explicitly distinguishing between native nationals and non-nationals, the research captures whether different groups view the deliberative process differently, potentially revealing disparities in public support. This nuanced approach highlights how the deliberative process may resonate with varying levels of legitimacy across different segments of the population. The positivist framework offers a standardized, measurable method for assessing public endorsement, providing insights into whether multilingual DMPs can gain broad approval across diverse sections of society. However, it is important to acknowledge that public endorsement, as evaluated through positivist methods, may not fully encompass the complexities of why individuals endorse or reject multilingual DMPs. While an interpretive approach would provide valuable contextual depth and a richer understanding of how perceptions are formed, practical constraints such as time and resource limitations prevented this addition. Nonetheless, the positivist approach effectively supports the research objective of identifying overarching patterns regarding public endorsement of multilingual DMPs.

Ultimately, the research takes a balanced and comprehensive approach to analyzing multilingual deliberative processes, acknowledging that both subjective experiences and broader, quantifiable trends are crucial for understanding their inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Due to inherent differences in the data collection methods between the BK and KBR, these instances are treated as complementary rather than directly comparable. Consequently, not every aspect of legitimacy can be examined in both cases, which necessitates a nuanced understanding of how each case contributes to the overall analysis (see Table 7). For input legitimacy, both cases are considered, with representativeness measured objectively through closed-ended survey data. The second component, perceptions of inclusivity, is assessed based on the views of participants, moderators, and organizers. Throughput legitimacy is explored through the BK case study, as the available data allows for an in-depth examination of the deliberative process and its perceived authenticity. Conversely, output legitimacy is analyzed through the KBR case study, which focuses on quantitative and longitudinal data. The KBR surveys consistently administered blocks of questions over time, providing valuable insights into the process and its transformative potential. Additionally, the maxi-public surveys offer unique perspectives regarding public endorsement. Thus, while the differences in data collection between the two cases prevent a direct comparative analysis of the two Luxembourgish multilingual deliberative processes, they create an interesting complementary framework. Each case provides insights that the other lacks, enhancing the understanding of multilingual CAs and ultimately providing an answer to the central research question of this thesis.

Table 7 Methodological framework of this dissertation

Type of Legitimacy	Dimension	Research Aim	Case	Method
Input	Inclusivity	Examine participants' socio-demographic backgrounds to determine the representativity of the process.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BK ▪ KBR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Closed-ended survey questions
		Understand how participants perceive the inclusivity and representativity of multilingual processes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BK ▪ KBR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Closed-ended survey questions ▪ Open-ended survey questions ▪ Interviews
Throughput	Authenticity	Determine the (e)quality of deliberative interactions and how these are impacted by linguistic diversity by analyzing how participants experience multilingual deliberations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Closed-ended survey questions ▪ Open-ended survey questions ▪ Interviews
Output	Consequentiality: Preference Transformation	Assess the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation, including whether this differs based on the deliberative format by examining how participants attitudes change throughout the process.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ KBR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Closed-ended survey questions
	Consequentiality: Public endorsement	Investigate whether and how the maxi-public supports multilingual DMPs, and how this differs among different demographic groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ KBR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Closed-ended survey questions

Case Selection: Luxembourg, the Biergerkommittee, and the Klima Biergerrot

In this section, the case selection is explored, explaining the broader Luxembourgish landscape, as well as detailing the BK and KBR.

Luxembourg

For this thesis, two aspects of the political landscape in Luxembourg are examined in more detail. First, Luxembourg's multilingual and multicultural environment, and second, the shift towards participatory and deliberative practices.

National, non-territorially divided, and ever-expanding multilingualism

Located in Western Europe, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a tiny country with a rich history of multilingualism deeply rooted in its geopolitical and historical context. Multilingualism has been a characteristic of Luxembourg since before its current borders were established along the Romance-Germanic language border in 1839. Throughout history, various political entities have influenced Luxembourg's linguistic landscapes (Fehlen, 2002).

“A strength of Luxembourg is its multilingualism.”

- BK member

Since its inception in 963 A.D., Luxembourg has been shaped by both Germanic and Romance influences. The independent state of Luxembourg was established by a noble from Upper Lotharingia. Namely, Count Sigfried who obtained the castle of Lucilinburhuc. At that time, Luxembourg was incorporated into the Carolingian Empire, which was divided linguistically into Germania and Romania (Hoffmann, 1980, 1979). Over the next four centuries, Luxembourg's territory was transferred among various rulers. It included what is now the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and the Belgian province of Luxembourg. This region was governed by the Burgundians from 1443 to 1506, followed by the Spanish from 1506 to 1684, the French from 1684 to 1698, a second Spanish rule from 1698 to 1714, then the Austrians from 1714 to 1795, and once again the French from 1795 to 1815. In 1815, Luxembourg entered a union with the Netherlands that lasted until 1830. From 1830-1839, that is the Belgian Revolution, Luxembourg belonged to Belgium, except for the city of Luxembourg (van der Jeught, 2016).

The first Treaty of London, signed on April 19, 1839, resulted in the transfer of half of Luxembourg to Belgium, while the rest of the Grand Duchy achieved independence (Kmec & de Jonge, 2019). On July 9, 1848, the Constitution explicitly recognized freedom of language for both French and German, following the earlier 1841 Luxembourg Constitution, which did not address language issues and instead republished the 1834 Decree from the Dutch King that guaranteed language freedom. The 1848 Constitution affirmed that the use of German and French was optional and could not be restricted. This marked the establishment of comprehensive language freedom for both languages within the constitutional framework (Schmit, 2009). The dissolution of the German Bund in 1866 resulted in Luxembourg attaining full sovereignty, which was officially acknowledged by the second Treaty of London on May 11, 1867. This treaty affirmed Luxembourg as an independent state and defined its territory as we recognize it today. Furthermore, the Constitution adopted on October 17, 1868, emphasized that linguistic freedom was upheld, allowing for the unrestricted use of both French and German (Eyschen, 1910; Schmit, 2009).

On May 6, 1948, a constitutional revision eliminated the previously established freedom of language, stating that the law shall determine the use of languages in administrative affairs and legal proceedings. However, this article did not clarify which languages were concerned (Magère et al., 1998). This was the case until 1984. On February 24, 1984, the law designated Luxembourgish as a national language, making it one of the three official languages alongside French and German. Article 1 of the law confirmed this status, while Article 2 specified French as the language of legislation. Article 3 indicated that Luxembourgish, French, and German would be used for administrative purposes, and Article 4 required administrative bodies to respond in the language chosen by the individual in written communications. Accordingly, Luxembourg's languages are not territorially based (Erhart & Fehlen, 2011; Hoffmann, 1979).

Throughout the years, Luxembourg's society has undergone significant changes, especially due to increasing immigration, which has inevitably influenced language use patterns. In the late 19th century, the country started receiving migrants, initially from Belgium, France, and Germany. This influx later expanded to include workers from Italy, who came to fill jobs in the steel industry, followed by migrants from the former Yugoslavia (Scuto, 2010; Beirão, 1999). The 1970s steel crisis and subsequent rise of the financial sector caused the country to transition toward a white-collar economy, leading to a surge in the recruitment of foreign workers. This resulted in numerous multinational companies and EU institutions establishing

a presence in Luxembourg. As living standards improved, the demand for housing and infrastructure development surged (Davis, 1994). This growth prompted construction companies to employ Portuguese immigrants (Kmec & de Jonge, 2019).

Since the 20th century, migration and globalization have rapidly brought numerous identities and languages to Luxembourg (see Horner & Weber, 2008 for an overview). In 2023, 170 nationalities were recorded in Luxembourg (STATEC, 2023). As a result, Luxembourg's historically rooted trilingualism is becoming more multilingual (Hu & Wagner, 2020). The linguistic regime and nature of Luxembourg's multilingualism are changing, revealing a varied and dynamic societal multilingualism (Pigeron-Piroth & Fehlen, 2015; De Bres & Franziskus, 2014). Besides the official languages, English, Portuguese, and Italian, among many other languages, are commonly spoken in Luxembourg (Fehlen & Heinz, 2016; Sharma, 2018). Notably, Luxembourg's second most spoken language is Portuguese, after Luxembourgish and before French, English, Italian, and German. Based on the same data, 33,3% of the population is 'allophone', meaning that many residents in Luxembourg have a mother tongue or primary language that is not among the country's official languages (Fehlen et al., 2021). Luxembourg, therefore, exhibits a unique complexity and diversity in both its population and linguistic landscape. According to Kalocsányiová (2017), it is believed that no one in Luxembourg is monolingual. Official data seems to support this belief: Three-quarters of the workforce work in a multilingual environment, and 45% are required to use three or more languages daily (STATEC, 2019). All in all, multilingualism is a fundamental part of the country's identity and has defined Luxembourg from its inception (Hu & Wagner, 2020; Knowles, 1980). As Tavares (2020, p. 96) states, "Multilingualism has been a self-celebratory slogan of the country." Similarly, Horner (2011) claims that Luxembourg can be considered the European champion of multilingualism.

However, Luxembourg's evolving linguistic diversity should also be considered from a different perspective, namely nationality. Many residents have migrant backgrounds (Fehlen et al., 2021; Kremer, 2014; Callens et al., 2014; Weber, 2009; Horner & Weber, 2008). To provide context, statistics show that 47.3% of Luxembourgish residents are not nationals of the country. This means that out of 672,050 individuals living in Luxembourg, 354,372 hold Luxembourgish citizenship, while 317,678 are foreigners (STATEC, 2024b). Luxembourg boasts the largest percentage of foreign residents among EU countries, with its non-citizen population almost equal to its citizen population. This demographic reality has political

implications, especially regarding voting rights, given that the entitlement to participate in the national electoral process is closely connected to citizenship. Hence, almost half of the residents cannot partake in the representative democratic process. Differently framed, even though political decisions greatly affect their lives, foreign residents have limited political rights.

This creates a significant political challenge for Luxembourg, which must balance the representation of its diverse population with the democratic principles upon which its governance is based. The disparity between the number of residents with voting rights and those without poses a pressing dilemma, raising questions about the inclusivity and overall legitimacy of the democratic political structure. Many authors have noted that this could lead to a democratic deficit over time (de Jonge & Petry, 2021; de Jonge & Kmec, 2019). Accordingly, this situation raises the need to discuss how to uphold the fundamental right to democratic participation while accommodating a growing population that lacks formal citizenship yet remains deeply affected by political decisions. In other words, measures must be taken to include those affected by, or subject to, political decisions. Democratic innovations, such as DMPs, could serve as a solution, as they should ensure that the voices and interests of all residents, regardless of their citizenship status, are adequately represented in the democratic process.

Therefore, CAs present a compelling democratic innovation to tackle the challenges Luxembourg faces in maintaining democratic participation amid a growing population of non-citizens. By their nature, CAs are inclusive deliberative mechanisms that bring together a diverse group of individuals, often residents rather than only nationals, to discuss and recommend solutions to pressing political issues. Furthermore, their deliberative nature emphasizes thoughtful dialogue, collaboration, and consensus-building, qualities essential for addressing complex, multi-stakeholder challenges in a diverse society like Luxembourg. Put differently, these processes enable the representation of diverse perspectives, fostering a democratic process that extends beyond traditional electoral systems, which restrict participation to citizens. By emphasizing residency rather than nationality, these assemblies could help close the democratic gap, providing a platform for everyone affected by political decisions to voice their concerns and contribute to shaping policies.

However, while research on multilingualism in Luxembourg indicates that multilingualism is prevalent and that attitudes toward it are generally positive (De Bres, 2014; Franziskus &

Gilles, 2012; Purschke, 2020), studies on integration reveal a somewhat different dynamic. Research shows that nationals support multiculturalism but tend to expect immigrants to assimilate into the dominant culture. In other words, although there is broad support for diversity and the preservation of ethnic identities (Murdock, 2016), nationals remain hesitant to fully embrace the integration and participation of non-nationals (Stogianni et al., 2021; Murdock & Ferring, 2016). This aligns with findings from Stogianni et al. (2021), who find that native nationals, defined in their study as Luxembourgish and German speakers, often oppose policies that extend political benefits or rights to non-nationals. The result of Luxembourg's 2015 referendum, in which nationals overwhelmingly rejected granting voting rights in national elections to non-citizens (de Jonge, 2021), reflects this sentiment of resistance.

This situation creates an interesting duality. Luxembourg's commitment to multilingualism reflects its cultural diversity and historical ties to multiple linguistic traditions, receiving broad societal support. However, this commitment also reveals tensions, particularly when multilingualism or, more broadly, multiculturalism intersects with issues of democratic participation. The Luxembourgish context then presents a unique context to consider multilingual DMPs in a linguistically heterogeneous society, including official and non-official multilingualism. This raises critical questions about language as a tool of inclusion and its impact on consequentiality. Whereas multilingualism has the potential to foster inclusivity by acknowledging and respecting the diverse linguistic backgrounds of residents, it also presents challenges. One significant tension arises in deciding which languages should be prioritized in political and social discourse to ensure participation while respecting Luxembourg's official languages. Furthermore, nationals often express reluctance toward multiculturalism, including multilingualism, especially in relation to integration and sharing political power with non-citizens. This resistance prompts questions about how multilingual deliberative processes are perceived by the broader society, including both nationals and non-nationals, particularly when such processes aim to give a voice to non-national residents.

Essentially, Luxembourg's landscape serves as a unique but intriguing setting for examining the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of multilingual processes. This context raises the following crucial questions: Does the inclusion of multilingualism facilitate or hinder participation for all stakeholders? What about the authenticity of multilingual deliberative processes? And how are these processes perceived by the wider public? Simply put,

Luxembourg offers a valuable lens through which to explore the broader implications of multilingualism in deliberative democracy.

Democratic modernization: participatory and deliberative forms of citizen participation

Luxembourg functions as a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary, representative democratic system. It incorporates elements of both indirect (representative) and direct (participatory) democracy, using elections as a key mechanism for representative governance. However, as acknowledged in the previous section, nearly half of the resident population is excluded from participating in national elections. Consequently, back in 2014, the government highlighted its commitment to improving participatory democracy to strengthen the political rights of non-Luxembourgish residents, stating:

We want more participation, which means actively involving people in political decision-making processes [...]. We are looking to establish a constructive dialogue with them and are therefore willing to strengthen their rights (de Jonge & Petry, 2021, p. 390).

In Luxembourg, citizens' participation encompasses various initiatives that can be categorized into six broad groups, as outlined in Table 8. Three of these categories are visible at the national level, while the other three function at the local level (Kies et al., 2024).

Table 8 Legal framework citizen participation in Luxembourg

National Level	Local Level
Constitutional participative processes	Participative processes based on communal law
Ministerial consultations	Participative processes based on ministerial action plans
National citizens' assemblies	Participative processes initiated by municipalities

The category ‘national citizens’ assemblies’ is particularly interesting for this thesis. The emergence of these national processes can be traced back to the 2015 Constitutional Referendum in Luxembourg. On June 7, 2015, the government organized a consultative constitutional referendum, inviting voters (i.e., nationals) to express their opinions on three proposals: “(1) lowering the legal voting age from eighteen to sixteen; (2) extending voting rights to non-citizen residents; and (3) imposing ten-year term limits on government mandates” (de Jonge & Petry, 2021, p. 385). The then Prime Minister, Xavier Bettel, presented the referendum as a chance to enhance Luxembourg’s democratic principles, emphasizing that the reforms proposed in the referendum could enhance citizen participation and foster a more inclusive political environment (Kmec & de Jonge, 2019). However, despite this optimistic vision, the voters rejected all three proposals by a significant majority (Dumont & Kies, 2016). This outcome resonates with the deep-rooted sentiment embodied in Luxembourg’s national motto, ‘Mir wëlle bleiwe wat mir sinn’, which translates to ‘We want to remain what we are’.

Despite the rejection of all three questions, the referendum was significant as it marked the first instance of deliberative democracy at the national level in Luxembourg. The reform process involved three participatory and deliberative experiments: a citizens’ forum (CIVILEX), a web portal (www.aervirschlei.lu) for citizens to provide recommendations, and a second citizens’ forum (CONSTITULUX) (Burks & Kies, 2021). CIVILEX brought together a representative panel of 35 Luxembourgish residents for a day, though only 27 participants were present. The process was modeled on a 21st-century town meeting format, including pre- and post-surveys akin to deliberative polling. CONSTITULUX differed from CIVILEX in two ways: It involved 60 Luxembourgish nationals, and the discussions were spread over two days. This process used focus groups and, like CIVILEX, included pre- and post-surveys. While there were similarities with deliberative CAs, such as having a moderator in the focus groups and experts providing a brief introduction at the start of each session, neither CIVILEX nor CONSTITULUX produced final reports or recommendations, nor did they lead to public engagement or concrete political action from the government (Burks & Kies, 2021).

Nonetheless, these deliberative instruments set the stage for future deliberative projects in Luxembourg. They demonstrated the benefits of citizens’ participation, including the participation of non-national residents, as Prime Minister Bettel explicitly referred to in his 2015 State of the Nation:

There is hardly any country in the world that welcomes such a proportion of residents with another nationality – this is a unique situation that cannot be compared to that of other countries. It is an opportunity for Luxembourg to stand out as the country that is distinguished not only by diversity and multilingualism, but where people with another nationality are welcome and invited to participate. [...] [W]e believe that this participation should not only target holders of a Luxembourg passport, but also people who live, work and reside in Luxembourg. The right to vote for residents will not take anything away from Luxembourgers, it will not deprive them of any rights, their voice will not be weakened by the involvement of a greater number of people (Bettel, 2015).

Half a decade later, the referendum ultimately led to the establishment of national citizens' assemblies in Luxembourg, marking a shift towards embracing deliberative processes similar to those in neighboring countries like Belgium, France, and Germany. While there have been some local-level initiatives in Luxembourg, there are very few at the national level. Notably, Luxembourg witnessed, in a short timeframe, the emergence of two national citizens' assemblies: the Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050 and the Klima Biergerrot. So far, these assemblies are the only citizens' assemblies at the national level, notable for their multilingual nature and the fact that citizenship was not a requirement for participation. Reflecting on Bettel's 2015 speech, in which he emphasized that diversity and multilingualism are unique characteristics of Luxembourg, it is not surprising that the country adopted an inclusive model of participation and deliberation:

Luxembourg can establish itself as a reference in Europe in terms of the integration of people who come to us to work here and pay their taxes, who educate their children here and participate in cultural life. [...] They will be able to commit themselves not only to the country where they live, but where they will also be able to participate in decision-making (Bettel, 2015).

In the following sections, the Biergerkomitee and the Klima Biergerrot are discussed in detail. The information presented is based on the evaluation reports from BK (Verhasselt et al., 2024) and KBR (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024).

The Biergerkommittee

Background

The Biergerkommittee was part of a larger initiative called ‘Luxembourg in Transition - Spatial visions for the zero-carbon and resilient future of the Luxembourg Functional Region’ (LIT). This initiative aimed to develop scenarios for land use planning, urban planning, architecture, economy, and ecology. Launched in June 2020 by the Department of Land-use Planning of the Ministry of Energy and Land-use Planning, led by Minister Claude Turmes, LIT sought to gather strategic spatial planning proposals to help the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and neighboring border territories achieve climate neutrality by 2050. The process was open to professionals, universities, technical institutions, and research organizations, encouraging the submission of bold ideas that would support decision-makers and gain citizen backing for the necessary transition to a zero-carbon society. The primary goal of this consultation was to gather proposals for ecological transition scenarios in urban, architectural, and landscape planning.

In response to the global environmental crisis, Luxembourg committed to developing a new territorial strategy that incorporates input from its citizens. Hence, the creation of Biergerkommittee Lëtzebuerg 2050. As part of the broader LIT program, the BK ensured the inclusion of citizens and was designed to allow participants to express their perspectives and collaborate on solutions to the challenges posed by climate change and its effects on land and natural resources. This approach aimed to ensure broad citizen consensus alongside input from experts. The establishment of the Biergerkommittee Lëtzebuerg 2050 reflected Luxembourg’s dedication to inclusive and active citizen participation in shaping the country’s future. It recognized the importance of listening to diverse voices, including men and women of all ages and backgrounds, whether they are national or foreign residents or cross-border workers (also referred to as ‘frontaliers’). Claude Turmes, who initiated the Biergerkommittee, viewed it as an experiment in participatory democracy:

[T]he BK 2050 has been a pioneering initiative in Luxembourg, a new milestone in the process of citizen participation and I wanted the committee to become, throughout the process, a veritable laboratory of participatory democracy and co-creation (Claude Turmes, foreword in final report Biergerkommittee Lëtzebuerg 2050, 2022).

The Biergerkommittee 2050

From early February to December 2021, the Biergerkommittee convened a group of 30 individuals living or working in Luxembourg.¹⁸ Their primary task was to discuss the current climate strategy of Luxembourg and to propose measures for the country to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050. The Biergerkommittee aimed to revitalize Luxembourg's climate policy by drawing directly from the insights of the Luxembourgish society. As part of the expert consultation LIT, the BK had three main missions:

1. The BK must make themselves available to the various teams of experts of Luxembourg in Transition for exchanges during their scenario development phase.
2. The BK must develop an understanding of how Luxembourg should position itself by 2050 to achieve climate neutrality.
3. The BK must make recommendations to politicians on how the territory should be organized so that Luxembourg becomes climate-neutral.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Biergerkommittee had to partially move online. From February 4th to June 17th, 2021, the committee met on a bi-monthly basis. A total of 12 digital conferences were held via Zoom. The Biergerkommittee members learned about the challenges facing Luxembourg and its border regions in the wake of climate change and possible transition scenarios from over 25 national and international experts. The experts discussed a wide range of themes and issues with the committee members, such as mobility, housing, water management, and climate change. Participants could ask questions to the speakers using the chat function in Zoom. These online meetings aimed to improve the participants' understanding of the challenges facing Luxembourg and its border regions in the context of climate neutrality.

From July 2021 onwards, the deliberation phase began. Over seven meetings, the Biergerkommittee discussed their positions and ideas for the territory of Luxembourg and its neighbors concerning climate neutrality based on the information received from experts in the online events. The goal of these meetings was to draw conclusions and come up with recommendations. Although it was an open process with no explicit goal of achieving

¹⁸ Initially, 30 participants were selected and confirmed to join the process. However, one participant withdrew shortly before the first meeting. As a result, the BK proceeded with 29 members.

consensus, the committee succeeded in finding common positions and compromises on all points.

The Klima Biergerrot

Background

In October 2021, then Prime Minister Xavier Bettel announced a citizens' consultation project on climate during his State of the Nation address. He referred to what he calls the "Luxembourg model", which is built on dialogue:

The 'Luxembourg model' is a success story. It is the story of a country that has managed to achieve outstanding economic, political and social stability. It is a story of a country where the citizens benefit from prosperity and quality of life. But it is also the story of a country where we rely on dialogue rather than working against each other. Effective social dialogue is the guarantee of social peace. When necessary, we stand together. Henceforth, we want to place even more emphasis on citizen participation. We want to do politics with the people. Because at the end of the day, it is always about the people. It is about our common future (Bettel, 2021).

Bettel highlighted that climate policy impacts everyone and shapes the future for generations to come. He stressed that climate change is both an environmental and a social issue, which is why society must be involved in discussions regarding future climate measures. In response to the urgent need for action, Bettel called for an innovative approach to democracy in Luxembourg, one that includes the public in the decision-making process without undermining social cohesion. To achieve this, he proposed the creation of a Citizens' Council on Climate, ensuring that society has a direct voice in shaping climate policy. The primary goal of the Citizens' Council on Climate was to prioritize unity while addressing the climate challenge. Bettel concluded his speech by reaffirming the importance of citizen participation, echoing Turmes' emphasis on the inclusive nature of the BK. He stated:

We want to shape Luxembourg in a way that allows everyone to make a good living. It doesn't matter if you are young or old. No matter how or where you were born. We want a Luxembourg that allows everyone to enjoy a high quality of life. We want to tackle this together. We want to give citizens a voice and listen to them. There are many challenges. We have a long way to go. The target is set. Let us now tackle these challenges together. This is our common path. This is our common goal (Bettel, 2021).

On January 5, 2022, Bettel introduced the Klima Biergerrot. In his speech, he emphasized that the Citizens' Climate Council is based on two key principles. First, following the release of the World Climate Council's report in August 2021, urgent and significant actions are needed to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement. Second, to succeed in these efforts, we must progress collectively as a society.

The Klima Biergerrot

The KBR was a citizens' assembly commissioned by the Luxembourg Government through three ministries: the Ministry of State (Prime Minister Xavier Bettel), the Ministry of Environment, Climate, and Sustainable Development (Minister Joëlle Welfring), and the Ministry of Energy and Urban Planning (Minister Claude Turmes). It consisted of 100 citizens who were given the task of discussing Luxembourg's current commitments to combating climate change and providing recommendations for potential additional measures or proposals for climate policy. In essence, the KBR was established to answer whether Luxembourg has the desire and ability to further combat climate change and, if so, what measures should be applied to achieve that goal.

Phase 1 of the KBR took place from February to June 2022 and was initially meant to be the only phase. It included optional online debates, optional in-person study visits, and five compulsory in-person working weekends. Before each working weekend, an optional online debate provided all members with an expert-led introduction to the upcoming discussion. These presentations were followed by a Q&A, which allowed members to ask the experts for further explanation and additional information or discuss among themselves. Additionally, optional study or field visits were arranged before each weekend, offering hands-on learning by engaging with local actors in Luxembourg to understand their projects, challenges, and goals. The sessions during the working weekends constituted the core deliberative periods, concluding each thematic cycle. The 60 primary members, or their stand-ins, convened on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning to explore a specific theme. Saturdays were allocated to identifying the challenges facing Luxembourg on the topic at hand, while Sundays were set aside for brainstorming potential solutions. The members' work oscillated between plenary sessions and smaller working groups of 12 to 15 members.

In phase 2, spanning July to August 2022, the members were divided into six groups, with each group concentrating on a topic from one of the five previous working weekends. A sixth group

addressed overarching issues. The six groups' proposals were examined, refined, and vetted by experts before being disseminated to all KBR members on the Basecamp platform. Following this, the organizers consolidated the recommendations, and in the first week of September 2022, members voted online to adopt the recommendations by a simple majority.

Methodological Underpinnings

This section has outlined this thesis' methodological framework, including a complementary case study approach, grounded in both the interpretive and positive traditions, and utilizing a mixed-method methodology to explore multilingual DMPs. The methodological approach employed in this thesis provides a rich, multidimensional analysis of multilingual DMPs, ensuring that the research is theoretically informed and practically relevant. By incorporating both the objective measurement of key variables and the subjective understanding of participants' experiences, this thesis allows for a balanced analysis of both measurable outcomes and the nuanced, contextual subtleties that characterize complex phenomena, such as multilingual CAs. By doing so, it offers valuable insights into how linguistic diversity shapes deliberative processes, ultimately enhancing theoretical fields of deliberative democracy and the practical applicability of this research, including its potential to inform future deliberative practices.

The study of DMPs in Luxembourg presents an intriguing area of research due to the novelty of national, multilingual CAs in the country, as well as the unique blend of factors that constitute its society. Luxembourg serves as a microcosm for examining how multilingual processes function in diverse societies, offering valuable insights into the opportunities and challenges of implementing such processes while upholding deliberative ideals. Additionally, the Luxembourgish context provides a significant lens through which to consider how societies can ensure political participation amid changing demographics. Essentially, its relevance stems not only from the country's official and societal multilingualism but also from its rich demographic diversity, with a significant share of the resident population excluded from representative decision-making. In this context, it becomes essential to expand access to democracy and strengthen participation to fortify democratic institutions and fulfill public expectations.

The revelatory nature of the BK and KBR cases offers a unique opportunity to investigate the largely unexamined phenomenon of multilingual CAs. These cases present real-world

processes promising to provide valuable insights into (i) how language influences access, thereby highlighting the broader issue of inclusivity (i.e., input legitimacy), (ii) how the use of multiple languages affects participants' perceptions of authentic deliberation (i.e., throughput legitimacy), and (iii) the transformative potential of multilingual deliberative processes and public endorsement concerning such processes (i.e., output legitimacy). Essentially, the methodological approach ensures a comprehensive analysis of multilingual DMPs, capturing both personal and collective dimensions of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, insights that may not be readily visible through other methodological approaches.

Chapter 4: Input Legitimacy

The BK and KBR's Multilingual Setting and - Perceived - Inclusivity

This chapter examines the multilingual nature of the BK and KBR through the lens of input legitimacy, as set out in the operational matrix in Chapter Two. First, it analyzes the linguistic settings of these assemblies, including language selection, criteria, and accommodation. Second, the chapter considers participant recruitment and representation in the BK and KBR. This section draws on surveys to examine the socio-demographic backgrounds of participants and thus the processes' representativity. Last, drawing on surveys and interviews, it examines the perceived inclusivity and representativity by focusing on the perceptions of members, facilitators, and organizers. Ultimately, the chapter highlights the pivotal role of language in shaping input legitimacy, offering insights regarding inclusivity in multilingual deliberative processes.

Operationalization of Multilingualism in the BK and KBR

Incorporation of multilingualism

The first step, as set out in the matrix, is to consider language selection, building on the linguistic landscape in which the process unfolds. The BK opted for Luxembourgish, French, and German, while the KBR chose Luxembourgish, French, and English. This section analyzes the rationale behind and effectiveness of these choices.

When analyzing the linguistic landscape of Luxembourg, it is important to consider its official multilingualism and the broader societal multilingualism present in the country (see Table 9). Luxembourg recognizes three official languages: Luxembourgish, French, and German. However, the country's linguistic diversity extends well beyond these official languages, with many other languages spoken by its residents. According to data on the resident population by primary language, Luxembourgish is the most widely spoken language, comprising 48.9% of the population. It is followed by Portuguese (15.4%), French (14.9%), and English (3.6%). Italian (3.6%) and German (2.9%) are also spoken, though to a lesser extent. Among foreign residents, Portuguese holds the majority with 31.5% of speakers, followed by French (25.6%), Italian (7.2%), English (6.3%), Luxembourgish (5.3%), and German (4.8%). For cross-border workers commuting to Luxembourg from neighboring countries, the linguistic dynamics shift

significantly: French becomes the most frequently used language, followed by Luxembourgish, German, English, and Portuguese.

Language use in daily life, across contexts such as home, school, and work, reveals notable distinctions. Luxembourgish is the most widely spoken language in these areas, used by 61.2% of individuals, followed by French at 50.8% and English at 25.7%. German is spoken by 22.5%, while Portuguese, although less commonly used overall, is spoken by 19.8% of the population in these contexts. Notably, Portuguese is primarily used at home, with minimal usage in professional or academic environments (1.7%) (Fehlen et al., 2021).

Table 9 Languages in Luxembourg

	Population	Foreign residents	Cross-border workers	Home, school & work
1	Luxembourgish (48.9%)	Portuguese (31.5%)	French	Luxembourgish (61.2%)
2	Portuguese (15.4%)	French (25.6%)	Luxembourgish	French (50.8%)
3	French (14.9%)	Italian (7.2%)	German	English (25.7%)
4	English (3.6%)	English (6.3%)	English	German (22.5%)
5	Italian (3.6%)	Luxembourgish (5.3%)	Portuguese	Portuguese (19.8%)
6	German (2.9%)	German (4.8%)		

According to Statec, these numbers underscore “the importance of considering the intrinsically multilingual nature of Luxembourg, where no single language can assume a linguistic monopoly” (Fehlen et al., 2021). Nevertheless, several conclusions can be drawn:

- Luxembourgish is not only an official language but also the most widely spoken one, also ranking second among cross-border workers. For foreign residents, Luxembourgish seems less dominant, coming in fifth place. Nevertheless, it is the most used language in formal settings.
- French, another official language, ranks third in overall population usage. It also appears to be an important language for foreign residents and cross-border workers, ranking second and first, respectively. In formal settings, it holds the second place. It is often also regarded as the language of integration.
- German, while also an official language, appears less prominent, taking last place among the overall population and foreign residents. For cross-border workers, it ranks third, after the other two official languages. In formal settings, it is relatively low, placing fourth.
- English occupies the fourth position overall among the population, foreign residents, and cross-border workers, but ranks third in formal settings, coming right after Luxembourgish and French. Crucially, English is considered the *lingua franca* of Luxembourg’s large international community.
- Portuguese ranks second among the general population and is the most spoken language among foreign residents. However, it is last among cross-border workers. Moreover, its use in formal settings is very limited, also ranking last.
- Italian stands third among foreign residents but sixth among the general population. Furthermore, it holds little significance among cross-border workers or in formal settings.

This in-depth analysis of Luxembourg’s linguistic landscape highlights the country’s vibrant multilingualism and uncovers distinct patterns of language use among national residents, foreign residents, and *frontaliers*. These variations are further shaped by the specific contexts in which languages are employed, revealing notable differences between languages prioritized

in formal settings and those used informally. Notably, Luxembourgish and French emerge as particularly crucial languages within the country's multilingual context due to their widespread use across diverse segments of the population and their prominent role in formal settings. English and German also occupy prominent positions. Moreover, French and English are an increasingly important tool for non-nationals seeking to integrate. Specifically, to gain citizenship, non-nationals are required to pass a language exam and complete an integration course. Between 2021 and 2024, a total of 11,846 individuals participated in this course, with 944 opting for Luxembourgish/German, 4,944 choosing French, and 5,958 selecting English. The 2017 citizenship law acknowledges English as a viable option for fulfilling these requirements, recognizing its status as a global language that facilitates integration into the community (Stevensson, 2025).

While Portuguese, and to a lesser extent Italian, may be considered for inclusion to better represent foreign residents and acknowledge their identity, their limited application in formal settings suggests that these languages are less critical for ensuring the integration of non-national residents into Luxembourg's institutional and public spheres. Portuguese, for instance, is widely spoken within certain communities and informal networks but does not hold the same institutional presence as French, Luxembourgish, or English. Similarly, Italian, while part of the linguistic mosaic, lacks the same level of influence in formal or administrative domains. This nuanced understanding highlights the complexity of language inclusion in multilingual contexts. It underscores the need for strategic prioritization of languages that not only reflect the population's linguistic diversity but also facilitate meaningful integration, effective communication, and equitable participation in formal settings.

As outlined in the matrix, linguistic proximity and territorial distribution significantly influence language selection in multilingual contexts. Luxembourgish occupies a distinctive position in this regard. Although French and German are not traditionally classified as closely related languages, Luxembourgish, rooted in a Moselle-Franconian dialect, serves as a linguistic bridge between the two. Its structure and vocabulary draw heavily from both French and German, enabling a certain degree of mutual intelligibility, especially for speakers familiar with German. This unique intermediary role positions Luxembourgish as a key connector among the country's official languages. Furthermore, unlike many multilingual regions characterized by clear territorial divisions where specific languages dominate distinct geographic areas, Luxembourg presents a markedly different scenario. The absence of

territorial language boundaries means that residents across the entire country are regularly exposed to Luxembourgish, French, and German through daily interactions, media consumption, and public services. This omnipresence of linguistic exposure fosters a more integrated multilingual environment where linguistic inclusion does not necessarily hinge on geographic considerations. Interestingly, this dynamic may suggest that the inclusion of all three official languages in every deliberative or formal context is not strictly required. Instead, strategic language selection could focus on ensuring accessibility and functionality based on practical considerations.

However, language selection is also significantly influenced by practical considerations. Balancing linguistic inclusivity with practical constraints poses a considerable challenge that currently remains largely impractical, if not impossible, within existing frameworks. While advancements in technology, such as AI-driven translation tools, have the potential to enhance multilingual inclusion, neither the BK nor the KBR utilized such tools in their processes. This situation underscores the need to consider financial, logistical, and technological factors. The BK, being relatively small and limited in financial capacity, was unable to provide translation services. Consequently, it seems reasonable that the BK focuses on the key languages spoken by the majority. In contrast, the larger KBR benefited from more substantial financial resources, allowing it to incorporate simultaneous translation services and organize language-based working groups. As a more resource-rich(er) initiative, the KBR could strive for broader inclusivity, incorporating additional languages to represent diverse groups more comprehensively.

In summary, the language choices made by the BK and KBR are well thought out and align with the linguistic realities of Luxembourg's diverse population. Although the BK decided to use only the official languages, this was a deliberate choice given its limited resources. The lack of territorial separation means that most of the population is likely to be familiar with these languages to varying degrees. Data presented in Table 9 confirms that these three languages alone are sufficient to engage national residents, foreign residents, and cross-border workers. The KBR's decision to include English instead of German is justified by the linguistic proximity between German and Luxembourgish. Since Luxembourgish is closely related to German, the necessity for German in discussions is reduced; many participants are likely to have a high level of mutual intelligibility between the two languages. Additionally, the KBR's inclusion of English improves accessibility, particularly given its relatively prominent position

as a lingua franca and a tool for integration. Combined with Luxembourgish and French, this selection ensures the KBR can effectively reach a wide demographic, including national residents, foreign residents, and frontaliers. Overall, the language choices made in both cases demonstrate a strong commitment to promoting linguistic diversity and inclusivity within Luxembourg. The next step is then to consider whether the selection of languages also aligns with the scope and purpose of the processes.

The scope and purpose of both processes are best considered at the hands of speeches given by their initiators. Initiator of the BK, Claude Turmes, former Ministry of Energy and Land-use Planning, provided the following explanation regarding the scope and purpose of the process:

When we talk about the future of our territory, we must certainly give the possibility to women and men of all ages and backgrounds, who live in our country or who work there, to give an opinion on these topics and express their opinions (Claude Turmes, foreword in final report Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050, 2022).

Turmes' description of the BK emphasizes the importance of including all individuals living or working in Luxembourg, regardless of their background or age. The BK focuses on discussions about the future of the country's territory, reflecting a commitment to inclusivity. It ensures that a diverse range of residents can share their views on issues affecting the nation. Consequently, the purpose of the BK is to provide a platform for citizens from all walks of life to voice their concerns and participate in deliberations about Luxembourg's future. To achieve this inclusive approach, a language strategy is required that maximizes accessibility for a wide variety of participants, including national, non-national residents, and cross-border workers. These insights further support the selection of Luxembourgish, French, and German, particularly given the limited resources for linguistic accommodations and the willingness to engage frontaliers. Put differently, the use of these three languages ensures that as many people as possible can engage in the deliberative process while keeping it streamlined and efficient.

Former Prime Minister Xavier Bettel, the initiator of the KBR, explained its scope and purpose of the process as follows:

It is time to bring society to the table in climate policy negotiations. I therefore wish to convene a Citizens' Council on Climate. This Citizens' Council will be composed of a hundred members who represent the demographic reality of Luxembourg and thus the population (Bettel, 2021).

Bettel's description of the KBR highlights the importance of selecting individuals who reflect the demographic composition of Luxembourg, ensuring that the deliberative process mirrors the diversity of the population. The scope of the KBR focuses on addressing climate-related issues through discussions among a group that accurately represents the demographic makeup of the country. Its purpose is to create a space where residents from various backgrounds can contribute to decisions on climate policies that affect the nation. Given this aim of representation, the language selection must align with the linguistic diversity of Luxembourg's population. The mixture of Luxembourgish, French, and English should achieve this aim, as explained by the KBR organizers:

[I]t just makes sense. I think Luxembourgish is clear, because [the] majority were going to be [from] Luxembourg to be representative. But then of all, if you look at the groups around us, there are French, Belgian, Italians, Spanish and Portuguese [residents]. Most of these groups have a little bit of French. Or that would be their second language. And for the other groups, say Germans, Austrians, Swiss people, Nordic countries, et cetera or even, you know, people beyond Europe. They will probably know English to some extent. And so, the result is an obvious choice, it makes total sense, the reasoning behind. You would cover almost everyone.

Language as a criterion of descriptive representation

After reviewing the languages selected for each process, the next step is to examine the criteria used for participation in both cases. Specifically, it is crucial to determine whether any criteria were established and, if so, which ones were applied during the participant recruitment process.

Regarding the BK recruitment, participants were required to have a passive understanding of all three languages used in the process. The recruitment survey asked individuals to assess their proficiency in Luxembourgish, French, and German. Those who did not meet the language requirement were excluded from participation. Relying solely on passive knowledge of languages for selecting members of a multilingual citizens' assembly can lead to several implications and challenges. This selection criterion may have favored individuals with certain language skills while overlooking those who may not meet the set standards or who feel inadequate in their abilities, discouraging individuals from joining. Ultimately, having proficiency in a language is one thing, but feeling confident and capable of using it to discuss complex issues is another matter.

Moreover, focusing on passive knowledge of all three official languages may have inadvertently reinforced power dynamics, giving native speakers, or nationals, an inherent advantage, despite the intent to represent the broader population. By establishing such a criterion, the process may have missed out on the active contributions and perspectives of participants who have limited or no passive knowledge of Luxembourg's three official languages, thereby reducing the assembly's overall diversity and inclusivity. In essence, a strict criterion can (re-)introduce barriers to participation. Therefore, the decision to select members based on their passive language skills should be made with careful consideration of society's linguistic landscape, the assembly's purpose and scope, and the available resources – as done in the case of the BK.

In contrast, the KBR recruitment survey focused on whether individuals could express themselves in Luxembourgish, French, or English, allowing anyone proficient in at least one of these languages to join. Thus, the KBR employed a more flexible linguistic selection criterion, requiring proficiency in only one of the three languages, which it could do given its resources. This approach is less likely to create barriers to participation.

Notably, both approaches prioritize practical language skills, emphasizing measurable proficiency over other aspects of linguistic identity. By focusing on measurable language skills, both processes aimed to ensure that participants can engage in the deliberative process at a functional level. In other words, the language selection criteria in both cases concentrated on the functional abilities necessary for participation rather than considering language as a broader tool for representation. Neither process included additional language-related criteria, such as linguistic background or heritage. This narrow focus on proficiency-based rather than identity-based linguistic selection criteria risks overlooking the broader potential of language to ensure that diverse voices are heard throughout the deliberative process.

Integration of multilingualism

The final consideration focuses on the practical implementation of multilingualism within the deliberative process and the resources allocated to facilitate effective multilingual participation. The BK and KBR adopted different methods to integrate and manage multilingualism. The BK falls under the 'shared understanding' method, while the KBR utilized the 'translation' method.

For the BK, the ‘shared understanding’ method aligns with the limited resources available for supporting linguistic diversity. The BK employed multilingual moderators who played a crucial role in facilitating communication by encouraging participants to use their preferred language, though they refrained from intervening directly in language use. While the intention was for expert presentations to alternate between Luxembourgish/German and French at each meeting, this ideal was not always achievable due to individual experts’ preferences. Nonetheless, to the extent possible, relevant materials were made available in multiple languages. Despite these limited multilingual resources, the BK’s reliance on participants’ passive understanding aimed to ensure a functional multilingual process. Put differently, given its limitations, the BK did everything in its power to ensure an effective multilingual CA. In this context, the organization opted not to establish smaller working groups, as the BK was already designed as a relatively small-scale process from the outset.

Contrarily, the KBR incorporated simultaneous translation, allowing members to have proficiency in only one of the three languages. While Luxembourgish was primarily used in plenary sessions, translation ensured that participants could contribute in the language they were most comfortable with. Expert presentations were provided in either of the languages, mainly Luxembourgish and French, with simultaneous translation available for those who needed it. However, organizers were concerned that translation might affect the quality of deliberations, so they attempted to mitigate this by assigning participants to working groups based on their language skills. To address language diversity during deliberations, the KBR organization formed four language-specific working groups, French, English, and two Luxembourgish groups, using participants’ self-identified language preferences. This strategy allowed for deeper, more focused discussions in smaller groups while minimizing language barriers. However, the organizers also noted that these working groups were created not only for organizational reasons but also for budget constraints, emphasizing that “there was not a budget to translate everything.” Accordingly, multilingual materials were provided as much as possible, though this was not always feasible.

Notably, both the BK and KBR processes faced challenges in ensuring that all materials were accessible in all languages used within their respective frameworks. This difficulty, as noted by KBR organizers, partially arises because not all information is uniformly available across different languages. Furthermore, the content and framing of information can vary significantly depending on the language used. For example, German media and materials may approach a

topic differently than French, Luxembourgish, or English sources. These discrepancies influence participants' knowledge and understanding of the subject matter, potentially creating disparities in their ability to engage effectively in discussions. However, these variations can also enrich the deliberative process by ensuring that diverse perspectives are included and shaped by the unique framing and emphasis of each language. By bringing together insights from multiple linguistic and cultural contexts, the process can foster a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the issues at hand. This insight aligns with broader literature, as seen in Chapter Two, suggesting that languages are deeply intertwined with how individuals perceive the world and construct knowledge. It highlights that the influence of language extends beyond mere communication; it also encompasses how language and information sources shape participants' understanding, perspectives, and worldviews. Consequently, these dynamics play a pivotal role in shaping the deliberative processes, underscoring the importance of considering linguistic and informational frameworks.

To address these challenges, KBR organizers put forward that future multilingual processes should consider providing participants with access to advanced translation tools, such as a “DeepL license [...] so that the participant has access if they want to read a document [...] and not being excluded from the discussions about this specific article or report.” Such a solution would enable participants to translate and understand documents written in languages they are less familiar with, thereby reducing the risk of exclusion from discussions centered on specific articles and reports. The organizers acknowledge that although these translation tools are not perfect, they could still help bridge linguistic gaps, empowering participants to engage more fully with different information sources and ultimately enhance their participation in the deliberative process.

To sum up ...

This section examined the essential elements necessary for operationalizing input legitimacy in multilingual CAs, as outlined in Table 10. The analysis emphasizes the interconnectedness of these elements in addressing linguistic diversity within CAs. Decisions regarding which languages to include and how many to incorporate rely not only on the linguistic landscape but also on practical considerations such as available resources, and the scope and purpose of the process. These practical factors influence the rigor of the linguistic selection criteria, which in turn shape the overall functionality of the multilingual process. Additionally, the linguistic selection criteria directly affect participation, playing a crucial role in determining the

inclusivity of the process. Therefore, the following section considers the socio-demographic representativity of the process and sheds light on perceived representativity and inclusivity.

Table 10 Input Legitimacy of the BK and KBR

Type of Legitimacy	Dimension	Operationalization	BK	KBR
Input	Inclusivity	Incorporation of Languages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Luxembourgish ▪ French ▪ German 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Luxembourgish ▪ French ▪ English
		Language as a Selection Criterion	Strict selection criterion: passive knowledge of three languages	Relaxed selection criterion: knowledge of one language
		Linguistic Accommodation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shared Understanding ▪ Multilingual facilitation ▪ Multilingual materials, including multilingual expert presentations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shared understanding ▪ Simultaneous translation ▪ Multilingual facilitation ▪ Language-based working groups ▪ Multilingual materials, including multilingual expert presentations

Input Legitimacy

As previously discussed, input legitimacy in this thesis refers to the inclusivity and quality of representation within the multilingual deliberative process, focusing on who participates, guided by the all-affected principle, and the extent to which the deliberative body represents the broader society. Consequently, this section considers representativity and inclusivity by (i) examining the BK and KBR participants' socio-demographic backgrounds, and (ii) delving into how the involved individuals perceived the input legitimacy of their process.

Socio-demographic representativity

This section is based on the information presented in the evaluation reports concerning the Biergerkomitee (Verhasselt et al., 2024) and the Klima Biergerrot (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024). It is important to note that the percentages for the population in the tables differ between the BK and KBR, as they are based on data from the year in which the recruitment occurred: 2020 for the BK and 2022 for the KBR.

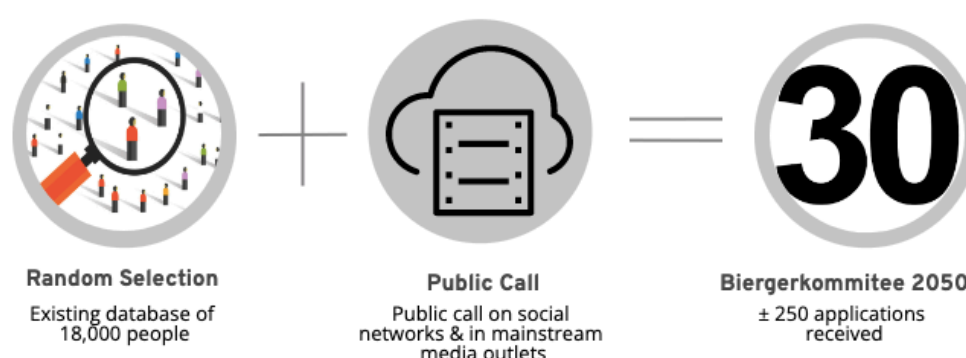
The Biergerkomitee

The participant recruitment procedure for the BK aimed to maximize diversity, ensuring that the opinions of the assembly members would reflect the social, linguistic, and professional diversity of Luxembourg as much as possible. The selection process was conducted by Ilres. The participant selection followed a two-step approach (see Figure 4), combining random selection with a public call. First, approximately 1,000 individuals were randomly drawn from the Ilres database and invited by email to apply. Second, a public call for participants was launched on 4 December 2020 through social media and mainstream media outlets. To encourage participation, remuneration was foreseen, in line with international standards, to remove financial barriers. However, no additional accommodations, such as childcare, transportation, or the provision of headphones for individuals with hearing or visual impairments, were offered to ensure greater inclusion. Two further limitations to inclusiveness were the requirement for participants to have a passive understanding of Luxembourg's three official languages, and the fact that information regarding the BK process was not provided in other widely spoken languages in Luxembourg, such as Portuguese and Italian.

The recruitment strategy for the BK led to approximately 250 individuals expressing interest in participating. From these 250 applications, the polling institute conducted an independent

selection process based on a variety of criteria, including gender, age, origin, occupation, etc. Ilres was tasked with selecting 30 participants who would reflect the social, linguistic, and professional diversity of Luxembourg. Two additional requirements were set: (i) none of the participants should have any affiliation with a political party, and (ii) five participants had to be cross-border workers (i.e., living in Belgium, France, or Germany but working in Luxembourg). Including cross-border workers in a Luxembourgish citizens' assembly is essential for several reasons. Cross-border workers represent a significant portion of Luxembourg's population, contributing greatly to the country's economy and society. Their inclusion ensured that their perspectives and needs were adequately represented in the deliberations, particularly as the decisions made by the BK are likely to directly impact this group.

Figure 4 Participant recruitment strategy



The BK initially consisted of 30 members, with 14 men (47.7%) and 16 women (53.3%), a gender distribution that closely mirrors the demographic makeup of Luxembourg's population (see Table 11).

Table 11 Gender - BK

Criteria: Gender	% BK members	% Luxembourg population¹⁹	% Difference (= BK – Lux pop.)
Male	47.7	50.3	-2.6

¹⁹ (STATEC, 2020b)

Female	53.3	49.7	+3.6
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Table 12 reveals a notable underrepresentation of youth (16-24 years) and the elderly (65+), along with an overrepresentation of individuals in the 25-34 age group. One possible explanation is that younger participants may feel unprepared or unsure about their ability to contribute to such processes, as expressed by the BK's youngest member: "I wondered whether I was mature enough."

Table 12 Age - BK

Criteria: Age	% BK members	% Luxembourg population²⁰	% Difference (= BK – Lux pop.)
16-24	3.5	10.5	-7
25-34	42.9	15.5	+27.4
35-44	17.9	15.4	+2.5
45-54	14.3	14.9	-0.6
55-64	14.3	12.3	+2
65+	7.1	14.5	-7.4

From a nationality perspective, the BK showcased a diverse range of participants, reflecting Luxembourg's multinational population. 78.6% of the participants were Luxembourgish nationals, while 21.4% were non-Luxembourgish, originating from France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Congo. However, as illustrated in Table 13, there is a significant disparity

²⁰ (STATEC, 2020b)

between the proportion of nationals participating in the BK and their overall share within the country's population. This discrepancy, while noteworthy, is not entirely unexpected given the small-scale nature of the process.

Table 13 Nationality – BK

Criteria: Nationality	% BK members	% Luxembourg population²¹	% Difference (= BK – Lux pop.)
Luxembourgish	78.6	52.6	+26
Non- Luxembourgish	21.4	47.4	-26

A closer look at the nationalities of participants in the BK shows that 42.8% held only Luxembourgish nationality, while 28.8% possessed Luxembourgish nationality alongside one other nationality. Moreover, 7% had Luxembourgish nationality combined with two additional nationalities. In terms of non-Luxembourgish nationals, 17.9% of participants held only one non-Luxembourgish nationality, and 3.5% held dual nationalities, neither of which was Luxembourgish. The nationalities represented in the BK group, besides Luxembourgish, included Belgian, British, Congolese, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish. In the general population, 52.6% of people hold Luxembourgish citizenship. Beyond Luxembourg nationals, the country is home to significant communities from other countries, including Belgium (18,889 individuals), France (49,234), Germany (12,480), Italy (25,116), and Portugal (90,915). The BK also included participants from smaller communities, such as Congo (34), Romania (6,828), Spain (9,540), and the United Kingdom (3,739).

The demographic breakdown of BK participants suggests that the process succeeded in engaging a diverse and representative group, encompassing both national and foreign residents, as well as cross-border workers. The presence of multilingualism likely fostered an accessible and inclusive atmosphere for participants from different cultural backgrounds, as evidenced by the participation of individuals from smaller communities. However, the relatively large

²¹ (STATEC, 2020a)

disparity (26%) between the proportion of Luxembourgish nationals in the BK and the broader society suggests that the strict linguistic selection criterion, which required passive knowledge of Luxembourg's three official languages, likely played a significant role in shaping participation from nationals.²²

The educational background of BK members was notably high, with 57.1% holding a university degree of four years or more, and 17.9% holding a university degree of one to three years. As shown in Table 14, individuals with university degrees (75%) were overrepresented in the BK compared to the Luxembourg population (45.7%).

Table 14 Educational level – BK

Criteria: Education level	% BK members	% Luxembourg population²³	% Difference (= BK – Lux pop.)
No university degree	25	54.3	-29.3
University degree	75	45.7	+29.3

The notably high level of educational attainment among BK members suggests a potential bias or limitation in inclusiveness. This bias is likely influenced by the linguistic selection criterion, as the languages used and the required proficiency levels may have disproportionately favored highly educated individuals, who are more likely to possess advanced language skills. However, it is also plausible that this bias arises from the higher propensity of individuals with greater educational attainment, who are typically more engaged in political activities and thus more inclined to participate in mini-publics (Jacquet, 2017; Elstub & McIlaverty, 2014). Alternatively, this pattern may result from a combination of these factors.

²² It would have been valuable to have data on the duration of residence in Luxembourg. Assuming that BK members, especially non-nationals, likely share the characteristic of having lived in Luxembourg for a significant period, which would have contributed to their linguistic proficiency.

²³ (Statista, 2024)

This overrepresentation of highly educated individuals is also reflected in the professions of BK members, with 32.1% working in the private sector and 35.7% in the public sector. Notably, there were no participants employed in the agricultural or industrial sectors. As a result, the participants' income levels were relatively high, with 14.3% reporting it is very easy to live on their income, 53.6% finding it rather easy, and 17.9% considering their household income insufficient. In comparison, 22.4% of the general population reportedly struggle to make ends meet, with the remaining 77.6% managing on their income (STATEC, 2024a). These findings suggest a relatively representative economic distribution among the BK participants.

Importantly, the underrepresentation of less-educated and working-class individuals in a CA can have significant consequences. These processes are most effective when they reflect the diversity of society. When certain socio-economic and educational groups are underrepresented, the range of perspectives and experiences is limited, potentially leading to a narrow understanding of the issues under discussion. Similarly, the legitimacy of the process depends on its representativity. When key segments of the population are excluded, the recommendations may be perceived as less legitimate, reducing their impact and acceptance. Working-class and less-educated individuals often face specific challenges that require attention. If they are not adequately represented, the process may fail to address these issues effectively, potentially perpetuating inequalities. Underrepresentation can lead to an unequal distribution of influence, where the concerns of less-educated and working-class individuals are marginalized, potentially resulting in policies that favor more privileged groups.

Overall, given the challenges of ensuring full representativeness with only 30 participants, the BK's representativity – or diversity, as emphasized by the initiator – can be considered satisfactory. Essentially, the smaller the targeted number of participants, in the BK's case, only 30, and the more characteristics must be considered (i.e., gender, age, formal education, region, income class, migration background, linguistic proficiency, etc.), the more difficult it is to achieve actual representativeness. Ideally, the BK participants should have constituted a mini-public as a proxy for the population. However, it is impossible to achieve exact representativeness in a country of over 660,000 inhabitants and more than 200,000 cross-border workers with only 30 assembly members. Accordingly, in such a small sample, certain imbalances, such as those related to age and nationality, are more likely to become pronounced.

At the same time, it is plausible that the BK's strict linguistic selection criterion contributed to an overrepresentation of Luxembourgish nationals and highly educated individuals.

The Klima Biergerrot

The KBR participant recruitment procedure was designed to ensure a representative reflection of Luxembourgish society, aiming to capture the social, linguistic, and professional diversity of the country as accurately as possible. Like the BK, the recruitment was outsourced to Ilres, which was tasked by the Luxembourgish Government to randomly select 100 individuals from the general public for the KBR process. The recruitment process employed multiple methods. Initially, a sample of 1,500 landline and mobile phone numbers was randomly selected and contacted through random digit dialing. In addition, a public call for volunteers was launched, promoted by the Government, and distributed through traditional media outlets. This same call was also shared with individuals already registered in Ilres' existing database. Citizens could express their interest by completing a brief survey on Ilres' online portal, with the option to contact Ilres directly and complete the survey over the phone, offering an important alternative for those less comfortable with online technology. As with the BK, participants in the KBR were remunerated for their participation, though no additional efforts were made to accommodate specific needs, such as providing childcare, transportation, or issuing headphones for individuals with hearing or visual impairments. Moreover, while information about the KBR was communicated in English, it was not available in other widely spoken languages in Luxembourg, such as Portuguese and Italian.

This multifaceted approach resulted in a pool of 1,100 volunteers. From this pool, Ilres selected approximately 100 participants, keeping in mind that some individuals might no longer be interested or able to participate when re-contacted for confirmation. The final selection of KBR members was based on criteria intended to ensure maximum representativeness of Luxembourg's demographic reality. The goal was to achieve a gender-balanced citizens' consultation, with participants required to be at least 16 years old. Participants could hold any nationality, if they spoke at least one of the following languages: Luxembourgish, French, or English. Additionally, participants were required to work in Luxembourg, though they could reside in Luxembourg, Germany, France, or Belgium. The selection process also considered factors such as job type, sector, and education level to ensure the sample was reflective of the broader population. Furthermore, the initial survey included questions on participants' satisfaction with life and the importance they placed on climate protection. These responses

were used to ensure the selected members represented a broad range of attitudes. This was especially crucial because individuals who are less satisfied with life or who are climate skeptics may be less inclined to participate in such processes, although their inclusion is vital for the legitimacy of the process.

The Klima Biergerrot was initially composed of 100 participants, including 60 effective members and 40 substitute members. The process achieved a near-perfect gender balance, with 51 men (51%) and 49 women (49%). Table 15 illustrates that the gender distribution of the KBR closely aligns with that of the Luxembourg population.

Table 15 Gender - KBR

Criteria: Gender	% KBR members	% Luxembourg population²⁴	% Difference (= KBR – Lux pop.)
Male	51	50.4	+0.6
Female	49	49.6	-0.6

Table 16 reveals that the age distribution of KBR members is generally well-aligned with the broader Luxembourg population. There was a slight overrepresentation of participants between 25 and 54 years old, while the 65+ age group was marginally underrepresented. Although the differences in percentages are noticeable, they remain relatively small, indicating that the KBR sample is broadly reflective of Luxembourg's age demographic.

Table 16 Age - KBR

Criteria: Age	% KBR members	% Luxembourg population²⁵	% Difference (= KBR – Lux pop.)
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²⁴ (STATEC, 2022b)

²⁵ (STATEC, 2022b)

16-24	14	11.19	+2.81
25-34	20	15.60	+4.4
35-44	19	15.2	+3.8
45-54	18	14.0	+3.5
55-64	15	12.63	+2.37
65+	14	14.74	-0.74

Although KBR did not implement a specific recruitment strategy for cross-border workers, 10.55% of its members identified as such. The residency duration of KBR members, as shown in Table 17, suggests that long-term residents are more likely to participate in deliberative processes. Specifically, 48.24% of members have always been residents of Luxembourg, while 26.63% have lived in the country for over a decade. In contrast, 3.02% of members had resided in Luxembourg for less than a year, 6.03% for one to four years, and 5.53% for five to ten years. These percentages, while showing an imbalance, are not surprising. Long-term residents, having lived in Luxembourg for an extended period, are typically more familiar with the country's political landscape, social dynamics, and institutional frameworks. With a higher level of integration and a stronger sense of civic responsibility, they are often more confident in navigating these processes and feel a greater sense of belonging. In contrast, recent arrivals may face challenges in participating, such as limited awareness of the process, a lack of connection to the political agenda, or practical barriers related to their lower level of integration. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the KBR succeeded in engaging even the newest residents.

Table 17 Residency duration - KBR

Residency duration	% KBR members
Less than 1 year	3.02
Between 1 and 4 years	6.03
Between 5 and 10 years	5.53
More than 10 years	26.63
Always been a resident	48.24
No resident	10.55

In terms of nationality (see Table 18), 59.7% of KBR members held Luxembourgish nationality. Among them, 11.9% had only Luxembourgish nationality, while 47.8% held dual nationality. The remaining 40.3% of participants were non-Luxembourgish, with 38.8% possessing a single non-Luxembourgish nationality and 1.5% having three nationalities, none of which were Luxembourgish. The KBR comprised participants from various countries, including Albania, Australia, Belgium, Colombia, France, Germany, Greece, Nigeria, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Like the BK, the KBR displays an overrepresentation of Luxembourgish nationals compared to the general population. However, it also succeeded in engaging participants from several smaller communities within Luxembourg, such as Albania (1,106 individuals), Australia (204), Colombia (460), Greece (4,472), Nigeria (468), the United Kingdom (3,739), and the United States (2,159).

Table 18 Nationality - KBR

Criteria: Nationality	% KBR members	% Luxembourg population ²⁶	% Difference (= KBR – Lux pop.)
Luxembourgish	59.7	52.87	+6.83
Non- Luxembourgish	40.3	47.13	-6.83

Compared to the general population, the educational level of KBR members was notably higher, as seen in Table 19, with 65% holding a university degree, compared to just 45.5% of the overall population. Since the KBR's linguistic selection criterion was more relaxed, it seems that the observed bias is more likely due to the higher propensity of individuals with greater educational attainment to participate in mini-publics (Jacquet, 2017; Elstub & McIlaverty, 2014), rather than being primarily driven by language proficiency.

Table 19 Educational level - KBR

Criteria: Education level	% KBR members	% Luxembourg population ²⁷	% Difference (= KBR – Lux pop.)
No university degree	35	54.3	-19.3
University degree	65	45.7	+19.3

²⁶ (STATEC, 2022a)

²⁷ (Statista, 2024)

KBR participants were also asked about their perceptions of their household's economic situation: 17.9% felt they lived very comfortably, 38.8% comfortably, and 25.4% reported managing. Additionally, 1.5% found it difficult, and 4.5% faced very difficult economic circumstances. In comparison to the general population, where 22.4% report difficulty making ends meet and 77.6% manage on their income (STATEC, 2024a), these findings indicate a relatively representative economic distribution among participants.

Overall, while the KBR demonstrates commendable performance in terms of gender representation and shows a relatively good balance across different age groups, it falls short in its representation of nationality and educational background. Specifically, there is a notable underrepresentation of non-nationals, as well as individuals with lower levels of education. This issue is similar to the one observed in the BK, suggesting that both initiatives faced challenges in reaching a truly representative group. As previously noted, the overrepresentation of highly educated individuals is a common trend not only in Luxembourg's deliberative processes but also in many deliberative democratic settings. Similarly, the overrepresentation of nationals is not entirely unexpected. While groups typically underrepresented in conventional political arenas, such as non-nationals, tend to be more supportive of democratic innovations that challenge the status quo (Bedock & Pilet, 2020), these same groups are often less likely to participate in deliberative processes themselves (Gherghina et al., 2021). Chapter Seven delves deeper into whether these patterns also apply to Luxembourg, offering further insights into the findings discussed above.

Perceived representativity

After evaluating the representativity of the BK and KBR from an objective, positivist viewpoint, the next element to consider is how their input legitimacy was perceived. This inquiry is essential, particularly given the exploratory nature of this thesis and the importance of ensuring that all participants have a meaningful voice in the evaluation process. It also recognizes that achieving perfect numerical representation is not the sole objective of inclusivity.

From a socio-demographic perspective, both the BK and KBR participants shared similar observations, particularly concerning the members' educational background and social position. In the KBR, participants noted that the group appeared to be predominantly from the "middle/upper strata of Luxembourg's population, with a high level of education." They

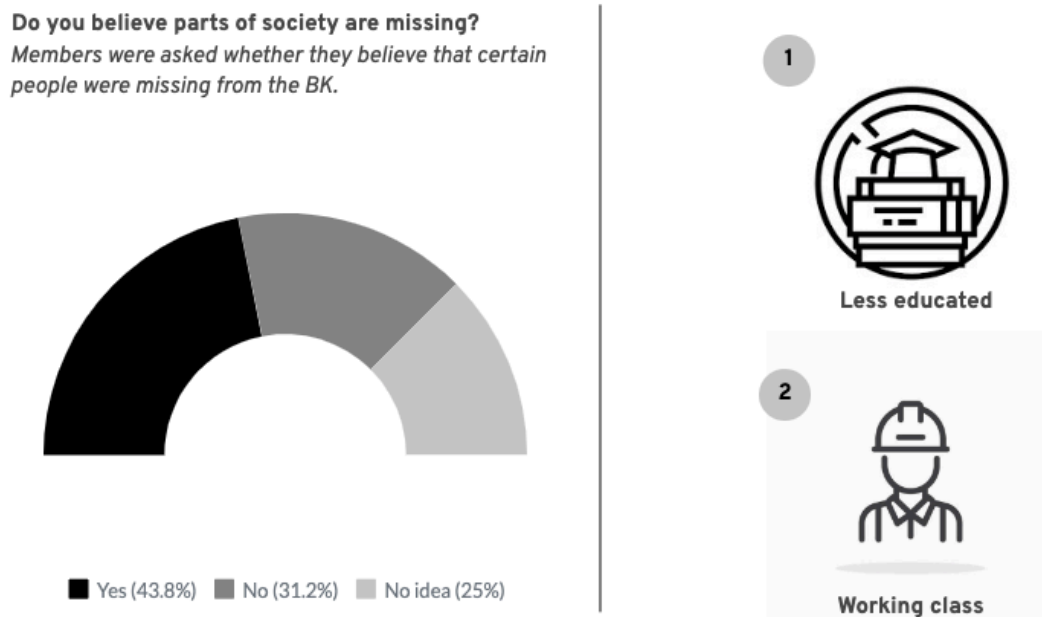
observed that “mostly low-income classes [...] were almost not present”, with one member specifically remarking that “the poor and marginalized were not visible.” This suggests a noticeable absence of representation from lower socio-economic groups. When asked whether certain parts of society were missing from the KBR, it is then unsurprising that 43.61% of KBR members strongly agreed with the statement that there were unrepresented groups (see Table 20).

Table 20 Perceptions regarding KBR’s representation

“Parts of society are missing”	% KBR members
Strongly disagree	9.77
Disagree	23.31
Neutral	23.31
Agree	27.07
Strongly agree	16.54

BK members expressed comparable concerns about the socio-economic composition of the process, claiming that “there were not (enough) representatives from the working class. Overall, the level of education and socio-economic background, in my opinion, only represented a part of Luxembourgish society.” Another member noted that the BK was “a very well-educated group,” with “no representation of the working class.” Reflecting these concerns, 43.8% of BK members – interestingly, a number almost equal to the KBR – agreed that certain people were missing from the Biergerkomitee, identifying the less educated and working-class individuals as the primary absent groups (see Figure 5).

Figure 5 Perceptions regarding BK's representation



A BK member echoed concerns about representation, stating, “I would have tried to have greater diversity on the different social breaks in order to diversify the points of view and the problems that we can meet on a daily basis.” Another BK member reinforced this notion while adding a rational perspective on the representation in these processes: “There is always room for something like this to be more representative.” Yet another BK member downplayed the focus on the over-representation of highly educated individuals, arguing that “the topic is more relevant than educational background because one’s educational background does not determine one’s knowledge on the topic.” Indeed, some participants justified the high level of education in the group, with one KBR member suggesting,

“It simply felt as though the level of education of the people in the KBR was significantly above the national average. On the other hand, it may have been precisely for this reason that it was possible to make such an effort with 60 people who didn’t know each other at all.”

A BK member downplayed the focus on the over-representation of highly educated individuals, arguing that “the topic is more relevant than educational background because one’s educational background does not determine one’s knowledge on the topic.” None of the members, however, commented on the over-representation of highly educated and high-class individuals in relation to the multilingual nature of the BK and KBR.

A unique demographic in Luxembourg is the large community of cross-border workers. These workers, who commute to Luxembourg from neighboring countries, form a crucial part of the country’s workforce, as acknowledged by a BK member: “Cross-border workers are a part of Luxembourg.” The inclusion of frontaliers was especially appreciated by these individuals themselves, as one BK member stated, “As a cross-border worker, it also has an impact on our personal life, maybe even more than the decisions taken in the country we live.” This sentiment reflects the unique situation of cross-border workers and their heightened stake in decisions made in Luxembourg. Another participant echoed the positive sentiment, saying, “It was nice to be included and heard.”

Another major theme remarked upon by participants was the involvement of non-nationals, especially immigrants. Certain BK members had initially been drawn to the process by its promise to include foreign residents, noting the following:

“[The Biergerkomitee] caught my eye, I had not seen it in Luxembourg before. It is good that Luxembourg is taking such a step as there is a high number of foreigners who are not allowed to vote.”

“It gave a broader spectrum of people a say, gather opinions from a broad spectrum of the society and I thought that was a very interesting process to be part of.”

However, despite this intention, members of both processes remarked on the underrepresentation of non-nationals. One KBR member observed, “nor was [there] a significant portion of the immigrant population, which nevertheless represents almost half of the country’s population.” Another KBR member pointed out that “There were almost no Afro-descendant individuals, and the Lusophone population also appeared to be extremely underrepresented.”²⁸ This highlights that, despite efforts such as multilingualism to engage a broader segment of society, non-nationals were still underrepresented. However, it also

²⁸ With ‘Lusophone’, the member refers to the Portuguese community in Luxembourg.

underscores an acceptance of the participation of non-nationals in democratic governance through DMPs, an assumption that is further explored in Chapter Seven.

Quotations directly related to the BK and KBR's multilingual setting highlight the importance and added value of linguistic diversity in ensuring a "diverse group" of participants. One participant further elaborated on this idea, defining the BK as a "panel of people who can come from different origins (country, nationality, etc.) who can exchange ideas and without having to worry about finding the right words in another language where they would not be as comfortable with the jargon." This highlights the practical value of multilingualism in breaking down significant barriers to participation. Following participants, the inclusion of multiple languages went beyond simply enabling communication; it provided a space where participants could engage in deeper and more meaningful exchanges without the anxiety of language proficiency hindering their ability to contribute. The quotation further indicates how multilingualism not only allowed for broader participation but also created an environment where the quality of discussions was richer and more authentic, as people could express themselves fully without worrying about language limitations – a notion further examined in Chapter Five.

Another BK participant noted, "I like it as it's representative of Luxembourgish society and different cultural backgrounds could participate in the exchanges and deliberations." This statement underscores the view that multilingualism did not just accommodate practical communication but also aligned with the inclusive spirit of the process, reflecting the multicultural nature of Luxembourg. The inclusion of multilingualism was seen as a reflection of the country's diverse demographic. Indeed, for many BK participants, the inclusion of multilingualism was essential given that it reflects Luxembourg's own multilingual identity:

“It is a particularity of the Grand Duchy and it is good that it is represented in this type of debate.”

“The use of multilingualism represents our country.”

“A strength of Luxembourg is its multilingualism.”

“Luxembourg is multilingual.”

“Multilingualism is fundamental to Luxembourgish society.”

“Most people living or working in Luxembourg are used to it.”

These quotations underscore the deep connection between multilingualism and Luxembourg, highlighting how participants appreciated the integration of multilingualism in the deliberative process since it reflected the country’s diversity and identity. They frame multilingualism as a defining characteristic of Luxembourg, underlining that the multilingual nature of the process is not just a practical consideration, but an essential part of what makes the deliberative process meaningful and authentic to the local context. Following participants, the inclusion of multiple languages in the deliberations is a recognition and validation of Luxembourg’s rich linguistic landscape. Put differently, they seemingly suggest that integrating linguistic diversity is not just an operational choice but a reflection of the nation, thereby supporting inclusivity.

The theme of multilingualism as an authentic reflection of everyday life in Luxembourg is clearly captured in the statement, “I think it felt right because of the variety of languages, as one is used to in Luxembourg. It was authentic and no one had to pretend. The language switch is part of most of our daily lives.” This highlights how multilingualism in the deliberative process aligns with participants’ daily experiences, making the process feel natural and relatable. In essence, these statements suggest that multilingualism is not just an element of practical communication but is tied to the country’s social fabric and values. In this light, the inclusion of multiple language enhanced perceived representativity.

The KBR facilitators and organizers echoed the sentiments expressed by BK members, emphasizing that multilingualism is an essential and natural part of Luxembourg's cultural and social landscape. They, too, recognized the importance of multilingualism not just as a practical tool for communication but as a fundamental feature of the nation's identity. By incorporating multiple languages into the KBR deliberative process, the facilitators aimed to ensure that the discussions were accessible to a wide range of participants, thus promoting inclusivity:

“I was really happy about it because it just makes so much more sense in Luxembourg to have that kind of process in more than one language. As soon as you go into one language, you directly kind of do not discriminate, but kind of exclude in some way, the opinions of some people.”

“[I]t just makes sense. I think Luxembourgish is clear, because [the] majority were going to be [from] Luxembourg to be representative. But then of all, if you look at the groups around us, there are French, Belgian, Italians, Spanish and Portuguese [residents]. Most of these groups have a little bit of French. Or that would be their second language. And for the other groups, say Germans, Austrians, Swiss people, Nordic countries, et cetera or even, you know, people beyond Europe. They will probably know English to some extent. And so, the result is an obvious choice, it makes total sense, the reasoning behind. You would cover almost everyone, even though there were few exceptions of people that have only had some knowledge of French or English and hardly enough to, to take part.

But it worked.”

However, the KBR organizers noted that from an organizational perspective, the integration of linguistic pluralism necessitated additional attention:

“You always have to keep in mind that it is important that everybody understands and feels included. That is why we had the French group, English group, and Luxembourgish groups, but I know that there were also some French-speaking people in the English and Luxembourgish groups. I would not say that in the whole process, language was a real barrier because it was what actually helped us to include people and encourage them to participate. As I said before, it was more of an organizational barrier.”

While the overall sentiment of this statement is positive, it highlights an important organizational challenge. The organizers acknowledged that multilingualism is a powerful tool for inclusivity, enabling diverse groups to participate in the discussions. However, they also recognized that ensuring inclusivity, before and during the process, requires careful organizational efforts. Nevertheless, it also reveals that the primary hurdle was not necessarily the linguistic diversity itself but rather the organizational complexity of managing it. This insight calls attention to the fact that inclusivity in deliberative processes goes beyond language *per se*, it also depends on the behind-the-scenes work of the organization in dealing with linguistic diversity.

The BK members further provided crucial insights into the organization of linguistic diversity, specifically emphasizing that while multilingualism was a key aspect of the process and its representativity and inclusivity, the linguistic selection criterion and the lack of linguistic accommodations played a significant role in shaping the inclusivity of the process. More than just the inclusion of multiple languages, the strict selection criterion for participation, requiring participants to meet specific linguistic proficiency standards, was a point of concern. Members noted that this approach, while aiming for functionality given the lack of linguistic accommodations, inadvertently excluded certain groups who may have struggled with meeting this exacting criterion. The emphasis on language proficiency as a selection criterion, without accommodations for varying levels of language skills or additional support, raised concerns about the overall inclusivity of the process. More precisely, the participants underlined that this likely created barriers to participation for some potential participants, especially non-nationals, thereby negatively impacting inclusivity and representation:

“A multilingual setting is inevitable for a country like Luxembourg, where multiple languages are spoken day by day and where there are cross-border workers that present a big part of Luxembourg’s economic situation. But to be representative and inclusive during citizen participation process’ this situation for sure presents a barrier in comparison to other countries. In the BK process every participant had to at least understand the Luxembourgish language, which facilitated the exchange. But if you really want to represent the country’s socio-demographic situation, you also have to include people who live and/or work here and don’t speak and/or understand Luxembourgish. And this for sure will be a challenge concerning the exchange in a diverse group where everyone should have the same chance to express its opinion.”

“For the BK I liked the multilingual setting; however, I think that the multilingual setting is not representative for the Luxemburgish population.”

Conclusion

The initial part of this chapter, hinted at the potential to leverage technology and AI to achieve greater linguistic inclusivity. This could enhance participants’ access to and engagement with materials, while potentially reducing resource requirements, leading to a need for less strict language selection criteria. This remark also underscored the broader need for careful consideration of how language differences can shape participants’ access to, and engagement with, key materials.

The second and third sections of this chapter examined the input legitimacy of the BK and KBR processes from a positivist perspective, focusing on participants’ measurable socio-demographic identities, as well as from an interpretive perspective, acknowledging the perspectives of those involved. Both processes successfully engaged participants from various sectors of Luxembourg society, with participants viewing the integration of linguistic diversity positively, seeing it as a symbol of Luxembourg that reflects its diversity and ensures the presence of varied voices. Yet, notable gaps in representation, particularly among less-educated and immigrant communities, were identified. Both the BK and KBR processes exhibited lower representation concerning nationality and educational attainment. However, is multilingualism the primary factor behind these discrepancies? The similarities observed across the processes, despite differing language requirements and linguistic selection criteria, suggest that the

discrepancy in educational representation may be more significantly influenced by the higher likelihood of individuals with advanced educational attainment to participate, rather than linguistic diversity itself. BK participants pointed out that the strict linguistic selection criteria may have unintentionally excluded certain individuals, particularly those with limited proficiency in Luxembourgish – thus most likely non-national residents. Yet, given the absence of linguistic accommodations, these criteria aim to facilitate or even ensure effective multilingual deliberation. This topic is further explored in the following chapter. However, the KBR faced a similar challenge with an over-representation of nationals, despite its flexible linguistic requirements. This suggests that nationals may generally be more inclined to engage in participatory processes, a notion that is further explored in Chapter Seven.

These insights emphasize that while multilingualism is an important tool for promoting diversity and inclusion, as also recognized by those involved, it alone cannot ensure equitable representation in deliberative processes. It highlights the tension between the aspiration for linguistic diversity and the practical challenges of enabling meaningful participation from all societal members, regardless of their language background or proficiency. This was remarked upon by the KBR organization, who argued that additional efforts were necessary to ensure an inclusive environment. They underline that while multilingualism is a crucial instrument for promoting inclusivity, it also requires significant organizational resources for effective implementation.

Similarly, the findings underscore the complexities of ensuring truly inclusive participation and the need for ongoing efforts to engage these underrepresented groups. Merely integrating linguistic diversity is not sufficient to ensure full inclusion; while multilingualism can enhance inclusivity, it does not address deeper, structural barriers that might prevent certain groups from engaging in these processes. Thus, it is essential to consider a broader range of inclusion strategies. These strategies may include targeted outreach to marginalized groups, provided in multiple languages, and fostering partnerships with community organizations along with support measures such as childcare or transportation. Addressing these underlying factors could lead to a more genuinely representative and inclusive participatory process. Therefore, while multilingualism aids in fostering inclusivity, it should be viewed as part of a broader strategy to ensure that all voices, particularly those from underrepresented groups, can participate meaningfully in democratic decision-making.

Chapter 5: Throughput Legitimacy

Publication 1 - Exploring the (E)Quality of a Multilingual Citizens' Assembly: Insights from Participants in the Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050

In this chapter, the practicality of deliberation in multilingual environments is explored, a critical consideration of deliberative democracy since this model of democracy hinges on language. The participants' experiences in the Biergerkomitee, a multilingual national citizens' assembly in Luxembourg, are examined. The BK presents a unique opportunity to uncover assumptions about equal and qualitative deliberation in diverse linguistic settings. The input-throughput-output model²⁹ is employed to understand the participants' experiences, their perceptions concerning the impact of multilingualism, and the factors considered crucial for its effectiveness. The findings, based on survey and interview data, reveal that participants (i) perceive the (e)quality of deliberation to be high, (ii) believe that multilingualism profoundly impacts crucial dimensions of deliberative democracy, and (iii) credit the effectiveness of the BK's multilingual design to a combination of organizational strategies, adept moderation, language skills, and a helpful group dynamic, alongside a cultural embrace of multilingualism in Luxembourg.

Introduction

Citizens assemblies have emerged as pivotal components of governance structures worldwide. They are designed to promote deliberative democracy and encourage active citizen involvement in decision-making processes. CAs are typically composed of a randomly selected representative group of individuals who engage in deliberations based on information provided by experts. The group then generates a set of recommendations that will – or should – inform decision-making (Curato et al., 2021; Elstub, 2014; Smith, 2012). CAs provide a platform for amplifying diverse voices by ensuring that various perspectives and experiences are included in the democratic process. The emphasis on participant representativity and diversity underscores the value placed on inclusive and equal deliberations within CAs (Steel et al., 2020; O'Doherty & Burgess, 2013; Caluwaerts & Ugarriza, 2012; Brown, 2006; Rowe & Frewer,

²⁹ In this chapter, the input-throughput-output model is used in a slightly different manner than in the overall thesis. Instead of using the legitimacy framework to examine inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, here it is used to delve deeper into authenticity. Accordingly, the input-throughput-output analytical model is applied to understand the conditions, standards, and benefits of multilingual deliberation.

2000). Namely, the legitimacy of deliberative democracy primarily rests on the capacity for all speakers to engage on an equal footing (Gardner, 2013).

Accordingly, during the last two decades, a renewed focus on the theory and implementation of deliberation has been motivated, at least in part, by the aim of “achieving discursive equality in diverse and stratified societies” (Karpowitz et al., 2009, p. 577). However, there are numerous challenges in establishing this equality, with language being perhaps the most straightforward. If deliberative democracy primarily rests on the capacity for all speakers to engage on an equal footing, language emerges as a significant element to consider. Furthermore, the increasing importance of multilingualism in political communities raises questions about the languages used in everyday proceedings, including deliberative processes. The state’s efforts to engage all linguistic groups in the democratic process (Biseth, 2009) also highlight the crucial need to pay attention to linguistic inclusivity (Archibugi, 2005). But despite significant theoretical discourse on inclusivity and equality within deliberative democracy and deliberative processes (Karpowitz et al., 2009; Levine & Nierras, 2007; Chambers, 2003; Dutwin, 2003; Young, 2002; Dryzek, 2002; Sanders, 1997), there has been limited focus on language. This gap is striking because “deliberative democratic theory is inseparable from language” as “deliberation [...] is primarily linguistic because only in and through language can reasoning take place” (Casullo, 2020, pp. 27–28). Lupia and Norton (2017) further emphasize that deliberation unfolds within a communicative forum, where language acts as a powerful ‘weapon’, capable of significantly shaping discourse and outcomes. This underscores the imperative of delving into the intricacies of language within deliberative decision-making processes. Yet, the question of how deliberative processes function in linguistically diverse societies often remains unexplored.

Importantly, this silence should not be taken as an intrinsic tension between democratic deliberation and multilingualism but simply as an oversight. Therefore, this chapter seeks to fill the knowledge gap by examining the dynamic relationship between multilingualism and CAs. Specifically, the perceived (e)quality of multilingual deliberation is considered within the context of Luxembourg. Nestled in the heart of Europe, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a small yet culturally diverse country with three official languages: Luxembourgish, French, and German. This study centers on the Biergerkomitee, a multilingual CA held at the national level in Luxembourg in 2021. The proceedings were conducted in Luxembourgish, French, and German without translation, reflecting Luxembourg’s unique multilingual nature. As such, the

BK, generating a unique dataset (N = 29), offers a compelling setting to explore the dynamics and (e)quality of multilingual deliberation.

Through this small-scale study, this chapter aims to understand the nuances of multilingual interactions within a CA, shining light on the perceived (e)quality of a multilingual CA. Employing the input-throughput-output analytical model, the participants' experiences, their perceptions concerning the impact of multilingualism on the deliberative process, and the factors considered crucial for its (in)effectiveness are examined. The dataset includes surveys and semi-structured interviews of BK members, providing quantitative and qualitative data. Thematic coding and the Perceived Discourse Quality Index (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2014) are used to ground the research in the participants' lived experiences, resulting in an authentic and accurate representation of their perspectives. This research sheds light on the intersection between language dynamics and deliberative practices, underscoring whether and how language affects democratic deliberation across linguistic barriers.

This chapter is structured into six sections. In the first section, the existing literature on multilingualism, deliberative democracy, and CAs is explored. The second section introduces the case study and outlines the methodology employed in the study. It draws from deliberative democratic theory and multilingual communication principles to provide the framework for this chapter. The input-throughput-output analytical model is applied to understand the conditions, standards, and benefits of multilingual deliberation. The third section provides an overview of the members' language profiles, setting the stage for the subsequent sections. The fourth and fifth sections analyze the data collected from the participants to determine their experiences with and perceptions toward multilingualism within the BK. The former presents quantitative and qualitative findings on participants' perceptions regarding multilingual deliberation and its (e)quality. The latter delves into participants' experiences and provides insights into the observed effectiveness of multilingualism within the BK. Finally, the sixth section synthesizes the key findings and comprehensively discusses the input, throughput, and output dimensions of a multilingual citizens' assembly, as perceived by participants.

Deliberation and Multilingualism: Where do we stand?

Globally, CAs are viewed as potential solutions to overcome political impasses by fostering representative, inclusive, and informed discussions. According to Scudder (2020), the idea of 'uptake' - which involves the fair consideration of different perspectives - is crucial for

meaningful democratic deliberation. This concept emphasizes the significance of not only including all voices, but also ensuring that they are actively heard and understood throughout the deliberative process. Nevertheless, while everyone has an equal opportunity to receive an invitation, not everyone will have an equal opportunity to participate (Steel et al., 2020; Wojciechowska, 2019; Smith, 2009); “Although Habermas asserts that everyone is free to enter into the discourse of the public sphere and to be heard, there are voices that are mute in this discussion. There are, for example, those who do not or cannot speak in public, who from inarticulateness, fear, habit, or oppression are removed from participation in public life” (Gould, 1996, p. 176). Put differently, the degree to which individuals can actively participate and contribute to deliberative processes is influenced by various social, economic, cultural, and linguistic factors, mirroring dynamics observed in everyday life. However, despite substantial advancements in deliberative democracy research, the linguistic aspect remains relatively understudied (except for Verhasselt, 2024; Bonotti & Stojanović, 2022; Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018; Schmidt, 2014). Yet, neither societies nor deliberative processes can exist without language. Furthermore, Schmidt’s (2014, p. 396) “ontological multilingualism” concept underscores “the fundamental reality that virtually all contemporary nation-states have multiple language groups among their citizens.” Deliberative procedures must thus recognize the intricacies of societies by acknowledging the importance of linguistic diversity (Verhasselt, 2024).

Nonetheless, there is a disconnection between the fields of multilingualism and deliberation. Deliberative theorists have often taken a shared language as their starting point and envision the diversity of CAs to lie only in contested beliefs, values, or interests. In that regard, multilingualism is often overlooked or perceived as an obstacle in deliberative democracy frameworks. A common thread in the literature revolves around the communication challenges inherent in multilingual deliberation (Archibugi, 2005), which can lead to power imbalances in deliberative processes. Per Lupia and Norton (2017, p. 66), “When communication and language are in the room, so are inequality and coercion.” Similarly, Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (2023, p. 246) claim that certain characteristics of CAs, such as multilingualism, “can also increase inequalities.” Moreover, while misunderstandings and communication difficulties can hinder deliberation and consensus building, translation and interpretation services can be costly and time-consuming (Peled & Bonotti, 2019; Doerr, 2012; Fiket et al., 2011; Patten, 2003b; Kymlicka, 2001). However, recent research highlights the significance of acknowledging linguistic diversity in deliberative processes (Verhasselt, 2024). More precisely,

multilingual deliberative methods promise an effective means for countries “to involve all the linguistic groups within its borders in the democratic process” (Biseth, 2009, p. 6).

Much of the empirical research regarding multilingual deliberation predominantly focuses on contexts that often ultimately rely on accommodations such as translation and a lingua franca (Fiket et al., 2014; Isernia & Fishkin, 2014; Doerr, 2012, 2009; Fiket et al., 2011), or ‘elite’ instances of deliberation (Pedrini, 2015; Bächtiger & Pedrini, 2010). On the national level, the research conducted by Caluwaerts and Reuchamps (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018) provides valuable insights. They used the G1000 as a case study to conclude that simultaneous translation can create a “respectful, inclusive, and rational dialogue” among members of different linguistic groups (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018, p. 96). However, their research predominantly views multilingualism as an indicator of divided societies and high-conflict settings, focusing on discerning differences between monolingual and multilingual deliberation. All in all, there is a significant research gap in understanding multilingual CAs *per se*. Indeed, organizers of deliberative processes report difficulties in finding evidence of – past – multilingual CAs, resulting in limited information for the planning and execution of such processes (Roberts et al., 2023).

Paradoxically, despite the importance of effective communication in deliberative processes, there is limited understanding of how language affects democratic deliberation across linguistic barriers. Here, the literature on multilingual communication provides valuable insights and understanding into this matter. In particular, the concepts of translanguaging, inclusive multilingualism, and lingua receptiva are enlightening.

Translanguaging, which refers to processes that involve multiple discursive practices (García, 2009), encourages using the language of greatest fluency to the participants with others striving to understand (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; W. Li, 2010; Williams, 2002). In such efforts, inclusive multilingualism, introduced by Backus et al. (2013) and linked to Berthoud et al.’s (2011) functional conception of multilingualism, is prefigured: Everyone must engage relationally in myriad ways to gain a common understanding. Lingua receptiva (Rehbein et al., 2012), also known as inter-comprehension (Conti & Grin, 2008) and closely related to receptive multilingualism (Braunmüller, 2007), is achieved when mutual understanding develops amid those with diverse multilingual skills (Bahtina-Jantsikene, 2013; Beerkens, 2010; ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007).

These concepts then offer valuable insights into the potential of effective multilingual communication, emphasizing the adaptable and flexible application of various languages in communicative contexts, and creating an environment where participants can use their linguistic skills to engage in meaningful, equal, and qualitative communication. However, the use of these concepts in formal deliberative settings remains unexplored. To address this gap, this study focuses on the BK, a deliberative translanguaging process that integrates the principles of inclusive multilingualism and *lingua receptiva*. By examining the perceived dynamics of multilingual deliberation within the BK, this research not only contributes to understanding multilingual deliberative democratic processes but also provides insights into the efficacy of these concepts in formal settings such as CAs.

Methodology: Constructing the framework

This examination relies on a single case study research design to provide an intensive, in-depth investigation of participants' perceptions of the multilingual Biergerkomitee Lëtzebuerg 2050. The BK's underlying idea was to ensure that a broad spectrum of voices and perspectives is considered in the climate change decision-making process, promoting a democratic and transparent approach to policy development. Accordingly, from early February to December 2021, the Biergerkomitee brought together 29 individuals who live or work in Luxembourg, including five cross-border workers, to discuss Luxembourg's current climate strategy and develop measures or proposals for Luxembourg to be carbon neutral by 2050. Members were expected to listen to experts, analyze information, deliberate on various policy options, reach a shared understanding of the issue(s) under discussion, and ultimately propose recommendations to shape the future of Luxembourg. Embracing Luxembourg's linguistic diversity, the BK is an exceptional setting for citizens' consultations, with proceedings in Luxembourgish, French, and German without translation (Verhasselt et al., 2024). This underscores that members had to communicate effectively across languages to bring the process to a good end. All in all, the BK offers a unique opportunity to consider the alternative of multilingual discourse, namely without any form of linguistic accommodation, as a basis for deliberative decision-making.

Notwithstanding the small size of the BK ($N = 29$), it provides an interesting case to explore the members' perceptions and experiences with multilingual DMPs, providing valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of multilingualism within a CA and how multilingualism influences the deliberative process. To begin this investigation, the following question is explored:

- Q1: How did members perceive the overall (e)quality of deliberation within the BK?

By addressing this question, the study establishes a foundational understanding of participants' views on the deliberative process and its intersection with multilingualism. Subsequently, two further questions are considered:

- Q2: What positive and negative impacts does multilingualism have on the dimensions of deliberative democracy, according to the BK members?
- Q3: In terms of a multilingual CA, what aspects are considered crucial to its effectiveness?

Based on Wessler (2008) and Bächtiger and Wyss (2013), the input-throughput-output analytical model is applied to the multilingual BK to comprehend (i) the conditions necessary for communication, (ii) the specific nature of that communication, and (iii) the results that emerge from a multilingual format. More precisely, the input dimension, focusing on the conditions for effective multilingual deliberation, provides insights into Q3. The throughput dimension outlines the standards of the multilingual communicative process, addressing Q1. Lastly, the output dimension considers the expected benefits of multilingual deliberation, thus answering Q2.

To comprehensively capture the research questions, the chapter employs a mixed-methods dataset that combines members' surveys and semi-structured interviews. By doing so, the study relies on both quantitative and qualitative data. This methodological approach ensures a comprehensive dataset that offers a nuanced understanding grounded in participants' lived experiences. The BK members were surveyed on three occasions: initially before the start in January 2021, at the culmination of the BK in January 2022, and finally post-process in September 2022. It is important to note that survey participation was entirely voluntary. Notably, 28 members completed the first survey (a response rate of 96,6%), followed by 19 members for the second survey (66,1%), and 15 members for the third survey (51,7%). The findings should hence be interpreted as indicative of members' experiences, not a complete reflection of all views.

The survey included open-ended questions to obtain better insights on how members perceived the overall (e)quality, the impact of multilingualism, and its (in)effectiveness. The open-ended questions allowed survey respondents the freedom to provide detailed comments without any

word limit. To analyze this data, thematic text analysis is used to identify recurring themes, applying the representational perspective, which seeks to understand the respondents' meanings (Shapiro, 1997). To that end, manual thematic coding was conducted to ensure accuracy and comprehensiveness in the analysis. This allowed an exploration of the participants' experiences and perceptions. The coding particularly focused on the 'what' (i.e., (e)quality of the process as well as the impact of multilingualism) and the 'how' (i.e., reasons for (in)effectiveness) (Holsti, 1969). The codes were data-driven and thus constructed *a posteriori*.

The closed-ended survey questions were designed in such a manner to gain insights into the perceived impact of multilingualism on the (e)quality of deliberations and to assess the perceived impact of multilingualism on the deliberative process overall. Per the principle of authenticity (Dryzek, 2009), the surveys were designed to assess individuals' opinions on the freedom of exchanging ideas among participants in an equal and respectful manner. This includes aspects such as mutual reason-given, attentive listening, the ability to question each other's positions, accepting or rejecting opinions, and engaging in high-quality arguments (Bächtiger & Parkinson, 2019; Owen & Smith, 2015; Goold et al., 2012; Bächtiger et al., 2010; Mansbridge et al., 2010; Dryzek, 2002). Based on the literature on group satisfaction, the surveys also encompassed elements indicative of positive group dynamics, including perceptions of open communication, respect, active listening, and adequate opportunities for individual expression (Kamer et al., 2007; Oetzel, 2001; Hagen & Burch, 1985). Additionally, the questions drew on the above-identified principles of multilingual communication: translanguaging, inclusive multilingualism, and lingua receptiva. Based on these principles, participants were asked about their ease with multiple languages, preference for the BK's multilingual composition, cooperative behavior, and fairness.

Participants' perceptions in the closed-ended questions were mainly measured using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree. All scales were coded such that higher scores represent higher levels of agreement or satisfaction. To ensure that participants' experiences are adequately captured, deliberative (e)quality is measured subjectively by relying on participants' perceptions. More precisely, to enable a mixed-epistemology approach, the Perceived Discourse Quality Index (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2014) is employed, which is a crucial instrument for understanding participants' experiences and the deliberative process. The PDQI was chosen over the Discourse Quality Index for several reasons. Crucially, the DQI ignores the experiences and views of those involved. Furthermore,

the DQI has a narrow focus on the formal elements of deliberation, which may overlook the pragmatic adjustments participants make to achieve mutual understanding. For instance, the DQI fails to consider linguistic adaptations such as translation and code-switching, which can affect the measurement of deliberation. Nuances and rhetorical strategies may be lost or altered during translation, making it challenging to accurately assess original contributions. Additionally, participants with weaker skills in the dominant language might be regarded as expressing themselves less effectively, leading to a lower quality of deliberation despite perceived meaningful input. In other words, the DQI does not consider how multilingualism or, more broadly, language impacts interaction dynamics. Furthermore, multilingual settings often reflect diverse cultural norms related to argumentation and communication. The criteria established by the DQI tend to favor certain deliberative norms, such as linear reasoning or explicit justification, potentially undervaluing culturally specific communication styles (Young, 2002; Sanders, 1997). Overall, the DQI tends to reduce deliberative processes to mere deliberation and quantifiable metrics, which can oversimplify the complex and nuanced dynamics of multilingual interactions.

Notably, while there may be a difference between perceived and actual deliberation, scholars such as Steiner (2012) and Black et al. (2010) argue that perceived deliberation holds significant importance, if not more, than actual deliberation. According to Knobloch & Gastil (2022), participants' experiences and perceptions may be a more useful measure, particularly for democratic (e)quality, because they are the ones who engage in and experience the deliberation (Black, 2012; Gastil et al., 2012).

In addition to the surveys, five online qualitative interviews were conducted with individuals who participated in the BK. A purposive sampling method was used, approaching individuals who actively and consistently participated in the BK for interviews. A snowballing approach was also adopted, asking interviewees for recommendations on who to interview next. To ensure a comprehensive range of experiences and perspectives, an individual who had left the process was also interviewed. To maintain anonymity and confidentiality, all participant names were assigned codes. A semi-structured interview approach was employed, allowing for the exploration of the study's objectives by identifying recurring patterns and themes within the interviews. An interview guide was used to ensure all relevant topics were covered, with flexibility for unplanned questions to explore additional themes. This approach enabled a thorough analysis of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2018). Through these interviews,

participants were given a platform to share their narratives. Interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the individuals and subsequently transcribed. Following this, a thematic analysis of the transcripts was conducted to uncover the intricate ways in which participants constructed their stories and narratives surrounding their personal experiences. The following themes were identified: (i) the (e)quality of the BK, (ii) thoughts on multilingualism, (iii) thoughts on the impact of multilingualism, and (iv) reasons for the (in)effectiveness of a multilingual CA.

By triangulating the various analyses, all key insights were synthesized. However, when examining multilingual deliberation within the BK, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of a small sample size. The findings may not be generalizable due to a relatively small number of participants, and the statistical power to detect subtle effects or relationships may be reduced. To that end, this chapter aims to capture the nuanced experiences and perspectives of participants engaging in multilingual CAs. Hence, despite the challenges posed by this small sample size, this study holds significant value, particularly in exploring multilingual deliberation from the perspective of those involved, an area that has been understudied thus far.

The Biergerkomitee's (E)quality: Participants' language skills

As emphasized by House and Rehbein (2004), participants' language proficiency is crucial for facilitating effective multilingual communication. Accordingly, all participants were required to have passive knowledge of the country's three official languages: Luxembourgish, French, and German. Although this requirement may have created an entry barrier to participation, ensuring robust linguistic skills among members was perceived as paramount for the effectiveness and fairness of the process, particularly a multilingual process without translation. The strict linguistic selection criterion was thus the direct result of the limited resources. More precisely, as the (e)quality of deliberation, likely, heavily relies on participants' ability to comprehend, engage, and express their ideas effectively, the strict linguistic selection criterion makes sense.

However, it is important to consider a few factors while analyzing the members' language skills. First, the members assessed their language skills without any formal test, which means they may have overestimated – or underestimated – their proficiency. Second, it is important to understand that – passive – multilingualism in daily life may not always translate to its

application in complex processes such as a CA. The complexity of a topic, such as climate neutrality in the BK's case, is likely to influence an individual's language and communication skills. When engaging with intricate subjects, participants may need to navigate specialized terminology, formulate more nuanced arguments, or adapt their communication strategies to ensure clarity and understanding. This could place additional cognitive demands on individuals. Consequently, the level of complexity inherent in the topic can shape not only the participants' language use but also the dynamics of communication within the deliberative process. Hence, members' self-reported language proficiency does not guarantee the absence of issues with multilingualism.

Table 21 presents an aggregate overview of the participants' language proficiencies, revealing strong comprehension across the three languages, with French being the most universally comprehended language among the BK. Speaking proficiency varies, with French ranking highest, followed by Luxembourgish and German, but a notable minority struggles with speaking proficiency in Luxembourgish and German. While strong comprehension bodes well for reaching a shared understanding, varying speaking proficiencies may impact the richness of contributions and even hinder some participants from contributing, potentially compromising (e)quality in deliberation.

Nevertheless, the BK multilingual discourse strategy, grounded in the principles of translanguaging, inclusive multilingualism, and *lingua receptiva*, aimed at fostering a sense of equality, inclusiveness, efficacy, and, most importantly, shared understanding – even across languages and varying linguistic skills. Put differently, the BK's multilingual design should ensure that participants with 'weaker' language skills are supported by using mixed-language discussions that prioritize the use of the language in which participants are most fluent while actively facilitating comprehension and fostering mutual understanding through receptive skills. Overall, drawing conclusions about the multilingual (e)quality of the BK solely based on participants' language skills is challenging.

Table 21 Members' self-reported language skills

Proficiency in <u>Luxembourgish</u>		%
Understand		
Good (very – pretty good proficiency)		86,67
Average proficiency		0
Weak (no – rather weak proficiency)		13,33
Speak		
Good (very – pretty good proficiency)		73,33
Average proficiency		6,67
Weak (no – rather weak proficiency)		20,00
Proficiency in <u>French</u>		%
Understand		
Good (very – pretty good proficiency)		100
Average proficiency		0
Weak (no – rather weak proficiency)		0
Speak		
Good (very – pretty good proficiency)		93,33
Average proficiency		0

Weak (no – rather weak proficiency)	6,67
Proficiency in <u>German</u>	%
Understand	
Good (very – pretty good proficiency)	86,67
Average proficiency	0
Weak (no – rather weak proficiency)	13,33
Speak	
Good (very – pretty good proficiency)	61,54
Average proficiency	23,08
Weak (no – rather weak proficiency)	15,38

Results

Participants' insights: perceptions of deliberation

The data presented in Table 22 provides a detailed and generally positive picture of the perceived (e)quality of deliberation (Q1). Participants generally felt that they could freely express different opinions and that all participants had equal opportunities to express themselves. However, the results also indicate that some individuals believed that certain participants dominated the debates, which is, nevertheless, a common issue in such situations (Escobar, 2011). Notably, participants expressed that they listened to one another with respect and formulated arguments during the discussions, indicating active engagement in the deliberative process. Participants recognized a diversity of opinions within the group whilst also perceiving instances where a significant portion of participants aligned on certain viewpoints. This suggests that while there might have been some convergence of viewpoints, the deliberative process was characterized by a healthy amount of diversity and disagreement. Additionally, participants made an effort to defend their positions and did not feel obliged to

follow the ideas or arguments of others. BK members perceived that the recommendations were the outcome of deliberation and reflected the participants' different opinions, suggesting a sense of inclusive and collaborative decision-making within the deliberative process. The perceptions reflected in the data suggest that the perceived quality of deliberation was good, aligning with deliberative democratic standards of equal, inclusive, and respectful discourse (Steiner et al., 2005). Overall, while there are areas for improvement, such as mitigating dominance, the data implies a relatively equitable deliberative process with opportunities for diverse voices to contribute.

Table 22 Perceptions of deliberation

Questions asked	Mean	Standard Deviation
I could freely express a different opinion	4,71	0,77
All participants had equal opportunities to express their opinion	4,29	0,85
Most participants shared the same opinion	3,06	0,85
Certain participants dominated the debates	3,24	1,09
The participants listened respectfully to each other	4,5	0,52
The participants formulated arguments during the discussions	4	1,25

The participants put efforts into defending their positions	3,9	0,57
I felt obliged to follow the ideas/argumentation of others	2,6	1,35
The recommendations were the outcome of deliberation and reflect the participants' different opinions	4,36	0,63

Note: The cells represent average scores on a 0-5 scale, where 5 means ‘completely agree’.

The evaluation of the perceived (e)quality of deliberation has established a baseline, which can be used to understand members’ perceptions of multilingualism and its impact during deliberations. The average scores reflecting the perception of multilingual deliberation are broken down in Table 23. The data illustrates generally positive perceptions of multilingual deliberation among participants. Most respondents reported feeling at ease with the use of multiple languages during the debates, suggesting that the multilingual environment facilitated inclusive participation and communication. Low perceptions of exclusion and hesitation to participate due to language barriers further indicate that multilingualism did not significantly hinder individuals’ ability to engage in the deliberative process. Additionally, participants reported minimal difficulties understanding and reading information due to language, underscoring that all participants could comprehend and engage with the topics and contents under discussion. This implies that multilingualism was not perceived as an obstacle to productive dialogue and opinion formation. These findings indicate that participants generally felt comfortable and included in the multilingual deliberative process, suggesting that multilingualism promoted an inclusive and equal deliberative environment, which allowed participants with various linguistic backgrounds to actively contribute to discussions and the decision-making process.

Table 23 Perceptions of multilingual deliberation

Questions asked	Mean	Standard Deviation
I felt at ease with the use of multiple languages during the debates	4,77	0,44
I felt excluded during the debates because of language	1,46	0,97
I hesitated to participate in the debates because of language	1,23	0,44
I had difficulties understanding the information because of language	1,46	0,66
I had difficulties reading the information because of language	1,15	0,38

Note: The cells represent average scores on a 0-5 scale, where 5 means ‘completely agree’.

The data from Table 24 provides insights into participants’ perceptions regarding the integration of multilingualism within the deliberative process. Many respondents felt that there was a dominant language during the process, indicating that certain languages may have held more prominence than others. Intriguingly, a closer look at the data reveals that some participants recognized the prominence of a language in which they were less proficient. This observation adds a nuanced dimension to our understanding of multilingual deliberations, suggesting that individual proficiency may influence perceived language dominance rather than sheer prevalence. Notwithstanding this observation, the data reveals strong preferences among participants regarding multilingualism in the deliberative process. A significant majority expressed a clear preference against simultaneous translation, indicating a preference for engaging directly with multiple languages rather than relying on translation services. Additionally, the vast majority indicated a preference against holding debates in a single

language, suggesting a preference for the multilingual nature of the discussions. The small percentage of members believing that a single language would have been preferable did so because it would have facilitated the deliberation whilst saving time. However, for most, the BK's multilingual setting was “such a blissful situation”, as described by one BK member. These findings indicate a recognition of the benefits of multilingualism while also highlighting potential areas for improvement in ensuring linguistic equality.

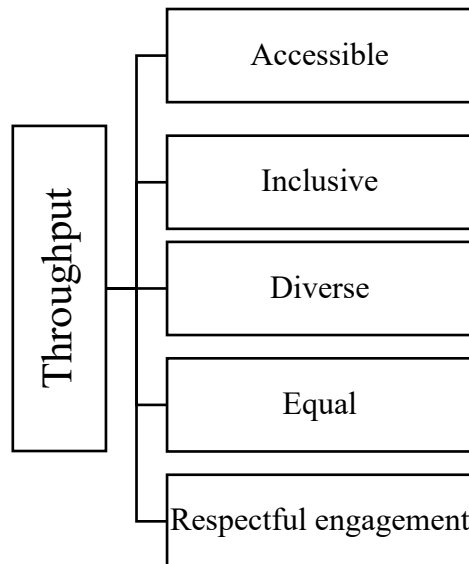
Table 24 Perceptions of multilingualism

Did you feel that there was a dominant language during the process?	%
Yes	69,23
No	30,77
Do not know	0
I would have preferred simultaneous translation	%
Yes	0
No	84,62
Do not know	15,38
I would have preferred the debates to be held in a single language	%
Yes	16,67
No	83,33
Do not know	0

The quantitative findings presented above provide crucial insights into the ‘throughput’ dimension of deliberative processes (see Figure 6), demonstrating that multilingual

communication is accessible, inclusive, and diverse. It also upholds equality and enables respectful engagement.

Figure 6 Throughput dimension



Participants Experiences: Perceptions of multilingualism

To verify the strengths and weaknesses of a multilingual CA, the BK members were asked to express their views (i.e., yes, no, don't know) on five statements about multilingualism:

- Multilingualism makes the BK more representative of Luxembourgish society;
- Multilingualism increases the BK's inclusivity;
- Multilingualism slows down or hinders deliberation;
- Multilingualism makes it difficult to communicate with other participants; and
- Multilingualism increases the legitimacy of the BK process.

These questions reflect common theoretical dimensions of deliberative democracy (representation, inclusivity, quality of communication, and legitimacy). In addition to the yes-no responses in the closed-ended survey questions, members provided more detailed insights into these topics in the open-ended survey questions and interviews. The next paragraphs delve into the participants' experiences with the multilingual BK, broken down into four crucial aspects of a deliberative process.

Demographic representation

The first statement evaluates participants' beliefs regarding whether multilingualism contributes to representing the – linguistic – diversity present in Luxembourgish society. Overall, most participants agreed that multilingualism rendered the BK more representative of Luxembourgish society. One member explicitly remarked that they liked the multilingual setting as it is “representative of the Luxembourgish society and different cultural backgrounds could participate to the exchanges and deliberations.”

Notably, BK participants emphasized the cultural significance and authenticity of multilingualism in Luxembourg, expressing the belief that “[multilingualism] is a particularity of the Grand Duchy, and it is thus good that it is represented in this kind of process.” Similarly, participants claim that “it [the BK] felt right because of the variety of languages, as one is used to in Luxembourg. It was authentic and no one had to pretend. The language switch is part of most of our daily lives.” Another BK member cited that “it is important that all participants can speak and understand all languages as Luxembourg is multilingual.” Put differently, a multilingual CA was considered crucial by many because it reflects a distinctive feature of the country, thereby increasing representativeness. This highlights the inherent connection between deliberative processes and the wider socio-political setting in which they occur (Böker, 2017). Following Wheatley (2002), states need to accommodate the differences among their populations, acknowledging the heterogeneity inherent within democratic societies. Moreover, democracy demands that a state's government represent the entirety of its populace (Wheatley, 2003). As shown by the BK members' perceptions and experiences, these perspectives resonate strongly in – officially – multilingual societies, where linguistic diversity is regarded as an integral aspect.

Participatory inclusion

The second statement directly addresses the deliberative democratic standard of inclusivity. It evaluates whether using multiple languages ensures the participation of individuals from diverse – language – backgrounds. At the same time, the statement also addresses concerns about unintentional exclusion due to language proficiency as deliberative democracy emphasizes the equal participation of citizens.

A vast majority of respondents agreed that multilingualism enhanced the BK's inclusivity. One individual acknowledged that “the multilingualism criteria excluded some people from being

part of the BK as it was a selection criterion; for the people who were selected, it allowed for the members to be included in the discussion.” This individual believed that the BK’s multilingual setting without translation did not represent individuals living/working in Luxembourg who are not proficient in the three official languages, underscoring the necessity of addressing language-related barriers in multilingual CAs to ensure equitable access for non-nationals. This quotation highlights the dual aspect of multilingualism, particularly language-related selection criteria, in citizens’ assemblies. On the one hand, the use of a strict linguistic selection criterion possibly led to the exclusion of certain individuals, excluding individuals who do not possess the requisite language skills. On the other hand, for those selected, the language-related selection criterion facilitated their inclusion in discussions. This suggests that once part of the assembly, the ability to communicate in multiple languages enabled members to actively participate and engage in dialogue. Thus, employing multilingual selection criteria requires a delicate balance between fostering inclusivity within the assembly and avoiding exclusion of those outside it.

More broadly, participants’ quotations acknowledge the positive impact of linguistic diversity on the deliberative process and its inclusivity, as highlighted by the following statement, “[multilingualism ensured] input from different people with different sources of information and different origins.” Another participant remarked “I think that when we share the same mother tongue and [hence] the same culture we more easily share the vision of things and a way of reasoning. Including people from other [linguistic] backgrounds with a different culture broadens, in my eyes, the range of points of view and enriches the debate.” This underscores the notion that a shared mother tongue and culture might foster a sense of unity and understanding among members, facilitating a smoother deliberative process. But the quotation also acknowledges the positive impact of including individuals from different linguistic backgrounds and cultures. By doing so, the deliberative process is not only more inclusive but also becomes enriched with diverse points of view. This diversity introduces a broad range of perspectives, allowing for a more comprehensive examination of issues, fostering a more robust debate, and contributing to a more informed decision-making process.

Effective communication

As deliberative democracy places a premium on effective communication, the third and fourth statements consider challenges associated with multilingualism, such as potential delays and difficulties in communication. For both statements, the overwhelming majority disagreed that

multilingualism slowed down or impeded deliberation, or that it posed communication challenges, indicating that most participants did not perceive multilingualism as a hindrance to effective deliberation. That is not to say that there were no problems with language, although these were mainly caused using technical terms: “The problems I rarely had with the language used were caused by specialized terms with which I was initially unfamiliar.” Another member agreed that “jargon was more difficult than multilingualism.”

Members’ quotations provide further insights into the positive impact of multilingualism on effective communication. They believed that multilingualism stimulated cognitive activity, leading to enhanced critical thinking and problem-solving skills, as expressed by the statement, “It makes the gray cells work.” One participant emphasized that “everyone could express themselves in the language with which they could best express themselves to present their ideas most clearly”, underscoring the belief that allowing individuals to express themselves in their preferred language enhances clarity and precision in presenting ideas. Adhering to the principles of inclusive multilingualism and *lingua receptiva*, this flexibility accommodated diverse linguistic abilities, ensuring that each member could contribute meaningfully to the deliberative process: “[the BK was a] panel of people who come from different origins and who can exchange without having to worry about finding the right words in another language where they would not be as comfortable with jargon.”

This finding is particularly interesting as it contradicts most of the existing literature. Namely, that “there can be actual communication only in a common language” (Ipperciel, 2007, p. 400) and that “linguistic diversity can be a serious barrier to the full flourishing of this informal dimension of democracy” (Patten, 2007, p. 24). The experiences of participants in the BK show that the inclusion of multiple languages did not make communication strenuous and unlikely. Following the BK members, multilingualism did not raise the bar for deliberation (Fiket et al., 2011). In fact, it facilitated it: “The openness to multilingualism has been an asset and has made work easier.” As such, the BK underscores that multilingualism is not a barrier to deliberative democracy and that those who support deliberative democracy should not “reject multilingualism” (Addis, 2007, p. 129).

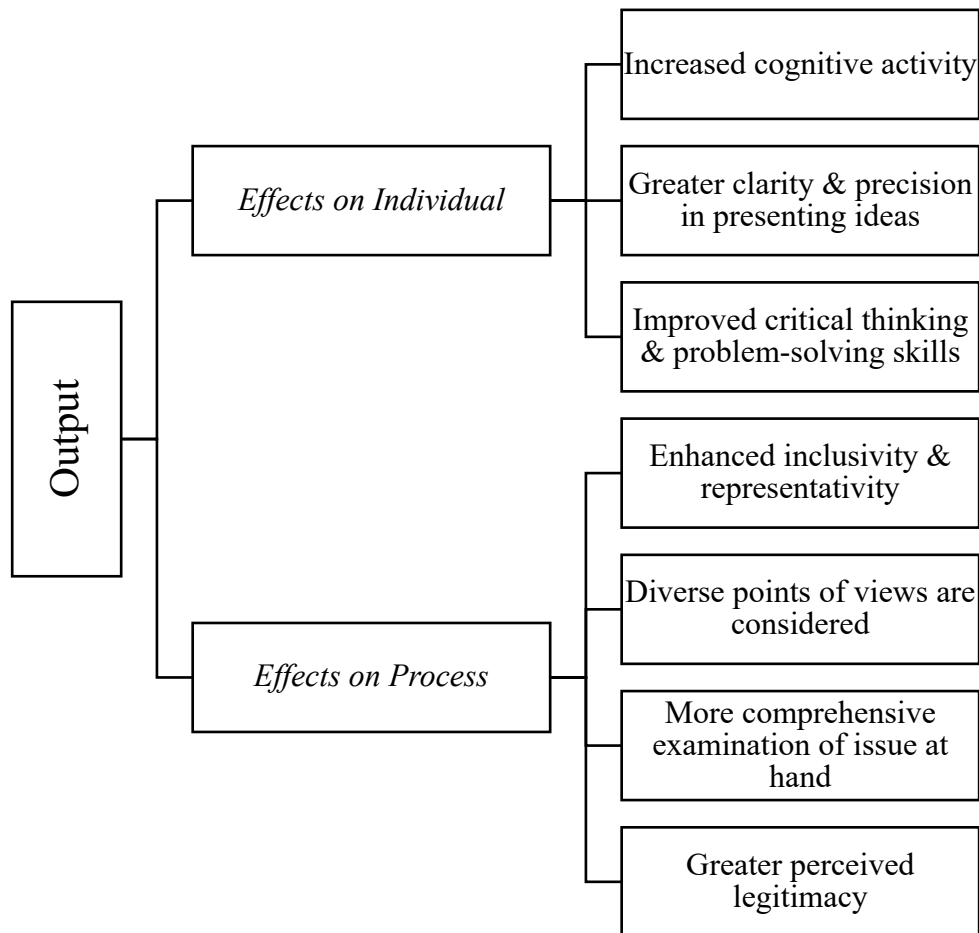
Legitimacy of the process

The fifth statement delves into the BK’s legitimacy as decisions should be perceived as fair and credible. Whilst it stands to reason that integrating multilingualism into a CA in officially

multilingual societies enhances its perceived legitimacy – a notion further explored in Chapter Seven –, participants were divided on this statement, with half of the respondents agreeing and the other half disagreeing that the integration of multilingualism enhanced the BK's legitimacy.

The data from the open-ended survey questions and interviews shine a more positive light on the BK's multilingual character and its impact on the process' legitimacy. By incorporating multiple languages, the BK ensured that the voices and preferences of all linguistic groups were adequately heard and considered. One participant claimed that the BK's multilingual setting was important because "Luxembourg is multilingual." Moreover, as stated above, exposure to diverse perspectives during the deliberative process led participants to appreciate the richness that linguistic diversity brings to discussions, further enhancing the BK's perceived legitimacy. In other words, by embracing linguistic diversity, CAs can better reflect the pluralistic nature of society, thus likely increasing their legitimacy. All in all, the BK participants viewed multilingualism as a valuable resource that impacted the deliberative process in a multitude of ways, both positively and with some diverging opinions (Q2). These findings highlight the benefits of multilingual deliberation or the 'output' dimension. Figure 7 illuminates how the integration of linguistic diversity is believed to have impacts both on individual- and process-level.

Figure 7 Output dimension



Discussion: In pursuit of effectiveness

In the previous sections, participants' experiences stress that integrating multiple languages should not be viewed as a hindrance to deliberative processes. They emphasize that deliberative democracy must not overlook multilingualism, as it is crucial for ensuring equal and high-quality deliberation, at least in officially multilingual societies. However, the question remains: How do members explain the effectiveness of multilingualism within the BK? Put differently, which conditions and factors are significant to fostering effective multilingual deliberation?

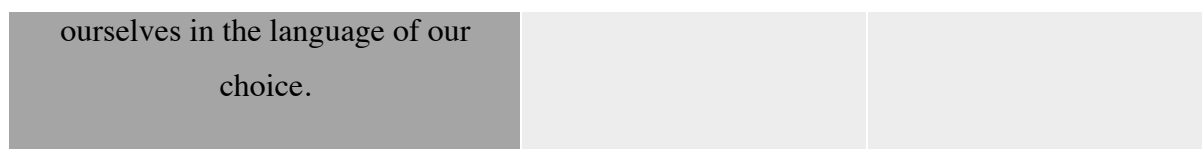
One participant emphasized that the effectiveness of multilingualism within the BK was rooted in the explicit understanding, established from the outset, that proficiency in the three languages was a prerequisite for participation. Another member underscored the importance of the selection criterion, stating that "from the start, participants were expected to express themselves in their mother tongue, provided of course that it was one of the three national languages. For this, a good knowledge (at least passive) of the two other languages was absolutely necessary

so as not to miss out on the debates.” Another participant likewise cited that “although everyone was free to express themselves in the language of their choice, it was still necessary to have a very good command of the other languages used to be able to follow the debates at any time.” Based on these quotations, it is evident that the effectiveness of multilingual deliberation is contingent upon organizational factors. Participants emphasize the critical role of language proficiency as a prerequisite for participation. The organization’s transparent language proficiency standards and selection criteria were crucial for effective multilingual deliberation, ensuring participants were well-prepared for meaningful engagement. Furthermore, the organization’s provision of freedom of expression and choice of language, per the principles of inclusive multilingualism and lingua receptiva, enhanced the effectiveness of multilingual deliberation, allowing participants to communicate comfortably and effectively in their preferred language.

Additionally, as shown in Table 25, the BK members acknowledged the pivotal role played by the moderators in ensuring the seamless operation of the three-language system (Verhasselt et al., 2024), with one member claiming that the “moderators played an important role.” The moderators demonstrated adeptness in managing the multilingual setting: “[The main moderator] constantly ensured a balance between the different languages.” By the intentional blending of different languages to encourage the dynamic and fluid use of multiple languages during deliberations, the moderators succeeded in promoting the principles of multilingual communication, facilitating overall engagement, and improving communication dynamics.

Table 25 Moderators’ role in facilitating multilingualism

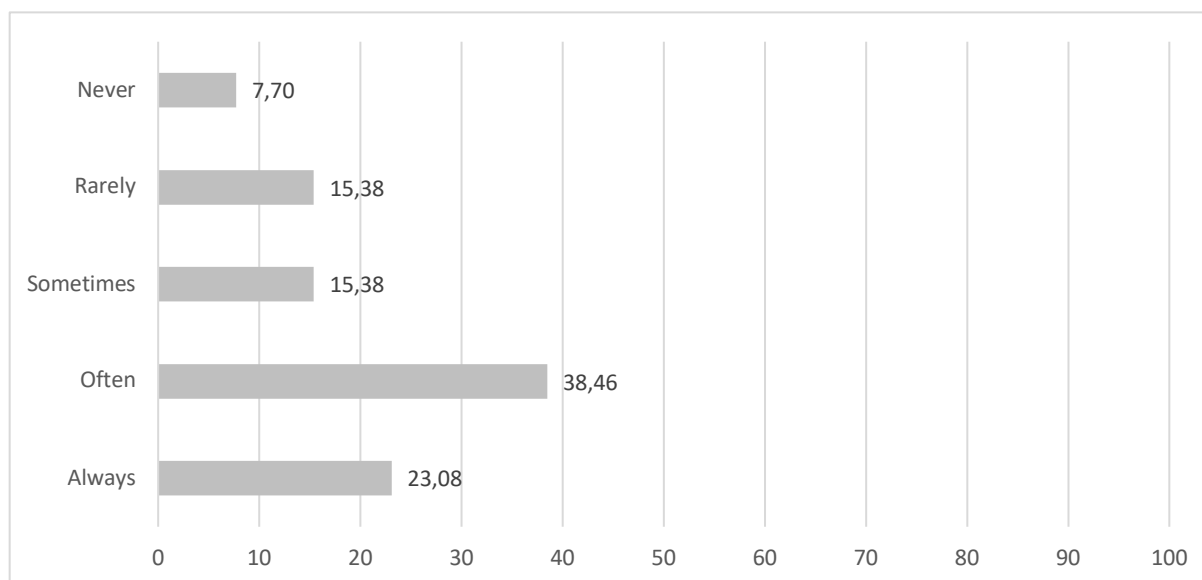
Questions asked	Mean	Standard Deviation
How satisfied are you with how the moderators handled the multilingual aspect during the BK process?	4,62	0,51
The moderators made sufficient effort so that we could express	4,80	0,42



Note: The cells represent average scores on a 0-5 scale, where 5 means ‘completely agree’.

Aligning with insights from research on multilingual communication, code-switching (i.e., the switching between two or more languages) emerged as a key factor contributing to the effectiveness of multilingualism within the BK. Research has shown that code-switching can produce communicative outcomes that are difficult to achieve through monolingual approaches (Bhatt & Bolonyai, 2011). In the second survey, members were inquired about their code-switching habits. Figure 8 reveals a notable prevalence of code-switching among respondents, with 92.31% indicating engagement in this practice, and 61.54% expressing a high level of familiarity and comfort with it. Code-switching habits facilitated seamless transitions between languages, allowing participants to express themselves fluently and effectively across linguistic boundaries. Participants highlighted that “languages were constantly switched”, emphasizing that the effectiveness of multilingualism was a “benefit of code-switching.”

Figure 8 Participants’ self-reported code-switching habits



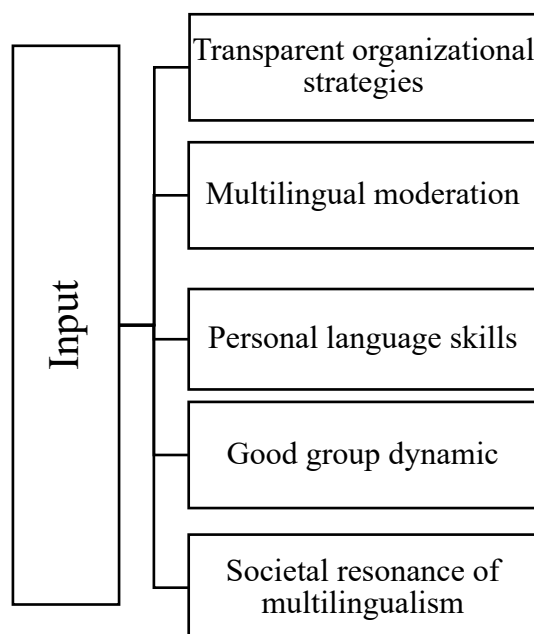
Several respondents also emphasized the willingness of members to support each other: “We were respectful of language problems in case there were some and everybody made an effort to adapt as much as was possible.” One respondent noted that “the group respected and helped each other” by offering explanations and sometimes even providing translations; “if there was a communication problem someone would translate.” Another participant remarked, “We tried

to find a balance in terms of language so everybody could contribute in their own [preferred] language.” Similarly, one member highlighted that “everyone could express themselves in the language with which they could express themselves best to present their ideas most clearly, which is why Luxembourgish, French, and German were actively used during each session, to the benefit of everyone.” These statements illustrate the importance of group dynamics in navigating multilingual CAs, thereby confirming the importance of fair and cooperative behavior as set out in the concept of *lingua receptiva*.

Lastly, participants emphasized the authenticity of the diversity of languages, stating that “the diversity of languages felt right, as one is accustomed to it in Luxembourg”, underscoring the cultural resonance of multilingualism. That is, many perceive multilingualism not only as “a strength of Luxembourg” but also as a core element of Luxembourgish society, arguing that “the use of multilingualism represents our country.” In essence, BK members consider multilingualism as a meaningful and authentic reflection of their societal context, making it a necessity to integrate into a Luxembourgish citizens’ assembly. This again highlights the inherent connection between deliberative processes and their socio-political setting (Böker, 2017).

The findings thus fit the principle of inclusive multilingualism, which suggests that multilingual communication involves more than just language skills. Namely, the effectiveness of the BK’s multilingualism can be credited to a combination of organizational strategies – including an effective and transparently communicated multilingual design –, adept moderation, language skills – including code-switching habits –, and a helpful group dynamic, alongside a cultural embrace of multilingualism in Luxembourg (Q3). Of course, the notable level of deliberative (e)quality observed for the Luxembourgish BK likely reflects the nation’s unique and highly conducive environment for multilingual deliberative engagement. In this regard, one participant remarked that “a multilingual setting is inevitable for a country like Luxembourg, where multiple languages are spoken day by day and where there are cross-border workers that present a big part of Luxembourg’s economic situation.” The above-identified factors constitute conditions for effective multilingual deliberation, fitting the ‘input’ dimension (see Figure 9).

Figure 9 Input dimension



Conclusion: Multilingual deliberation and (e)quality

Until now, there has been limited systematic and empirical investigation into deliberative processes within contexts characterized by linguistic diversity. Consequently, this chapter explored the multilingual BK, providing valuable insights into the functioning of a multilingual CA. Given the scarcity of research on multilingual CAs and multilingual deliberative democracy, this chapter embarked on its inquiry with minimal assumptions regarding the impact of multilingualism on deliberative (e)quality and participants' experiences within a multilingual CA. To counter the minimal insights available from the deliberative field, this chapter drew on research regarding multilingual communication, and employed the input-throughput-output analytical framework, adhering to broad standards of deliberative democracy.

The findings unveil a positive perception of deliberative (e)quality within the BK's multilingual setting, underscoring that the process fostered an effective multilingual deliberative environment. Moreover, in contrast to the assumption that we must have a shared language, or sufficient linguistic accommodations, to participate in deliberations and deliberative processes, the findings show that individuals can gain a common understanding despite the lack of a common language (Verhasselt, 2024). Participants expressed satisfaction with the representative, equal, and qualitative deliberative atmosphere fostered by the BK, dismissing notions of hindered communication or exclusion. However, as noted by some BK members, the

strict linguistic selection criterion likely prevented certain individuals from participating. At the same time, this criterion ensured that selected participants could actively and equally engage in deliberations. This underscores the delicate balance between fostering inclusive and equitable dialogue and the risk of excluding individuals. Linguistic accommodation, such as translation, could reduce the need for language-related selection criteria, thereby further increasing the inclusivity and (e)quality of multilingual deliberative processes. However, participants were not necessarily in favor of such an accommodation.

Echoing the sentiments of the BK members, the effectiveness of multilingualism within the BK can be attributed to a blend of effective organizational tactics, skillful moderation, linguistic abilities, code-switching habits, and a supportive group atmosphere, complemented by a cultural appreciation of multilingualism in Luxembourg. These factors fostered a multilingual environment where individuals could gather and deliberate under conditions of respect and equal opportunities, which led to positive perceptions and experiences from the BK members. This finding holds significance not only due to language's vital role in both the theory and practice of deliberative democracy but also because multilingualism is often viewed as an obstacle to this format of democracy. The BK underscored the alternative of multilingual discourse as a basis for deliberative decision-making.

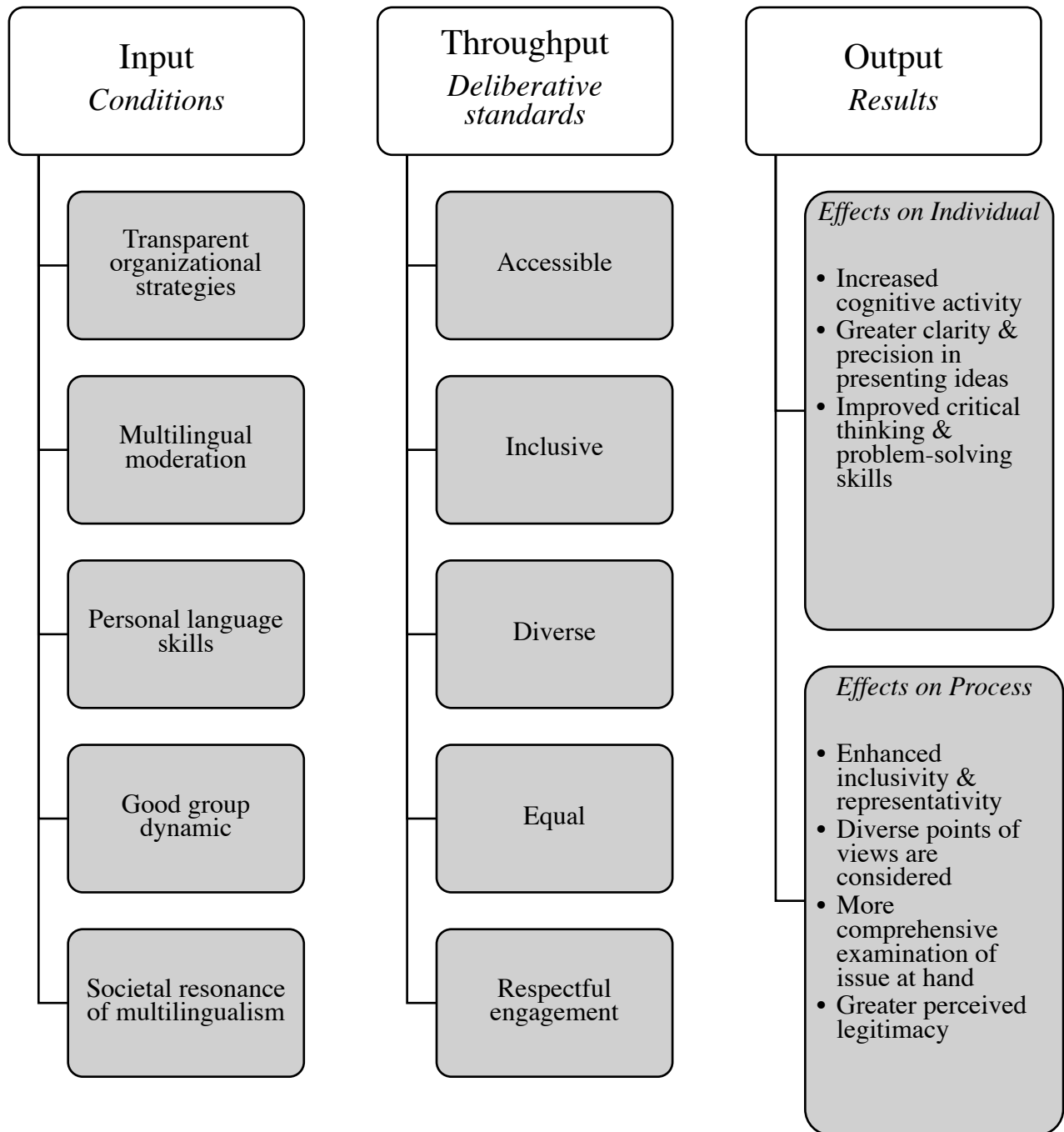
Notably, the findings highlight that deliberative processes are inherently intertwined with the wider socio-political setting in which they unfold. These processes are not isolated. Rather, they are significantly shaped by their socio-political environment. Indeed, the participants' preference for the BK's multilingual approach underscores its integral role in the deliberative process, reflecting its success in valuing linguistic diversity as a vital aspect of deliberative democracy in multilingual societies. Recognizing this connection is crucial for understanding the complexities and challenges involved in implementing effective deliberative democracy, especially in diverse and multilingual societies. Consequently, multilingual CAs are essential in today's interconnected global landscape, where interactions between diverse language groups are increasingly common (Schmidt, 2014; Pristed, 2005; Benhabib, 2002).

Accordingly, this chapter contributes to the ongoing discourse on achieving discursive (e)quality in societies. It showcases how multilingual deliberative processes can effectively promote equal participation and uphold the principles of deliberative democracy, thereby paving the way for broader recognition of linguistic diversity in deliberative democracy. Adhering to the principles of multilingual communication, the BK emphasizes that effective

communication is not just about linguistic abilities but also about the ability to interact in multiple languages, even imperfectly. Hence, we should not dismiss multilingual CAs and deliberation as impractical, infeasible, or inferior to monolingual deliberation. Instead, we should recognize that multilingual deliberations and processes are valuable and even necessary in certain settings. To that end, this chapter has mapped relevant factors for multilingual deliberation and multilingual CAs (see Figure 10), based on the input, throughput, and output dimensions of deliberative democracy.

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the study's limitations. Notably, these conclusions are based on a small-scale study ($N = 29$) and Luxembourg's unique multilingual landscape. The high degree of deliberative (e)quality observed in Luxembourg's multilingual deliberations reflects the country's favorable conditions for multilingual CAs. Therefore, this study on multilingualism within the BK should be considered experimental, setting a precedent for future research in this area. Subsequent studies could replicate this research to determine the generalizability of the findings presented in this chapter.

Figure 10 Input, throughput, and output dimensions of the multilingual BK



Chapter 6 Output Legitimacy – Preference Transformation

Publication 2 – At the crossroads of multilingual and digital deliberative democracy: perceived effectiveness of multilingual DMPs across in-person and online settings

As societies increasingly embrace multilingualism and digital tools, these trends are becoming critical aspects of contemporary deliberative practices and are inevitably intersecting. This chapter aims to understand how the deliberative format affects participants' perceptions of the effectiveness of multilingual deliberative processes. More precisely, it examines how participants' attitudes change across three stages: before participation, after the in-person phase, and after the online phase, illuminating the transformative potential of multilingual CAs. Using survey data from the Luxembourgish KBR, as a real-world case of a multilingual hybrid assembly, the chapter identifies significant differences. First, in-person deliberation significantly improved positive perceptions of multilingual CAs, even particularly among skeptics. However, these benefits were not sustained during the online phase. Second, this chapter highlights that the in-person format resulted in more substantial changes in attitudes compared to online deliberations, underscoring its transformative potential. The chapter further delves into the potential reasons behind these shifts in participants' attitudes, finding that perceptions of language dominance – partially – account for the observed variations. By providing empirical insights into participants' attitudes regarding multilingual CAs in both in-person and online settings, this study underscores implications for designing effective deliberative practices in an increasingly interconnected, linguistically diverse, and digitalized democratic landscape.

Introduction

Citizens' assemblies represent a practical application of deliberative democracy, designed to ensure that individuals from all backgrounds can access and participate in the deliberative process. These assemblies typically consist of randomly selected individuals representing a cross-section of society. Participants gather to receive expert information, discuss complex societal issues, and formulate informed recommendations to influence, or even shape, policy decisions (Curato et al., 2021; Grönlund et al., 2014; Elstub & McLaverty, 2014; Smith, 2012; Dryzek, 2009; Fishkin, 2009). Scholars emphasize that these processes offer a wide array of benefits, including the reshaping of policy preferences (Niemeyer, 2011), shifts in attitudes (Fishkin, 2018), and the promotion of cognitive integration (Gastil et al., 2008), ultimately

fostering more informed and engaged citizens (Pincock, 2012). CAs, in particular, are recognized for their lasting educational impacts, such as building political trust (Dryzek et al., 2019; Newton & Geissel, 2012) and mitigating polarization (Fishkin et al., 2021). More specifically, preference transformation occurs as a direct outcome of participation in deliberative processes. For these transformations to take place, participants must approach deliberation with openness, a willingness to engage with diverse perspectives, and the ability to critically assess evidence while refining their views. Central to this process is the cultivation of mutual understanding, which enables participants to navigate differing opinions constructively and fosters an environment conducive to meaningful, transformative dialogue.

In this context, language takes on a pivotal role. As Stein-Smith (2021) emphasizes, language is not merely a tool of communication but an essential bridge that connects individuals and communities, enabling them to effectively collaborate in addressing societal challenges. Indeed, the deliberative model of democracy places languages at the heart of the democratic process. In line with this, the practical integration of multilingualism into CAs becomes a crucial area of focus (Verhasselt, 2024). Notably, multilingualism brings practical challenges to deliberative assemblies, with much of the existing research assuming that linguistic diversity may hinder mutual understanding (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2023; Lupia & Norton, 2017; Fiket et al., 2011), thereby potentially endangering preference transformation. However, to date, research has overlooked the transformative potential of multilingual DMPs despite their presence in real-world contexts.

At the same time, a significant development is the shift to online public engagement and the digitalization of democratic processes. This evolution marks a profound transformation in how deliberative processes occur. In recent years, particularly following the COVID-19 pandemic, online citizens' assemblies – either fully or in a hybrid format – have gained traction, aiming to overcome geographical barriers and enhance political participation. However, they also raise questions about the effectiveness of deliberation in online environments, with research yielding contrasting findings regarding their transformative potential (Knobloch & Gastil, 2015; Baek et al., 2012; Grönlund et al., 2009; Min, 2007).

As linguistic considerations and digitalization become increasingly central to deliberative design, their convergence appears inevitable. CAs, which can evolve participants' preferences on democratic practices, are at the forefront of this shift. Given that deliberative designs play a critical role in shaping these preferences, the intersection of linguistic diversity and online

formats raises key questions about the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and how this might be influenced by the deliberative format, whether in-person or online. Despite the significance of this intersection, it remains underexplored, underscoring the need for empirical research that can inform the design of democratic practices in an increasingly globalized and digital world. Building on Wessler's (2008) throughput and output dimensions of the normative model of deliberation, this study seeks to fill this gap by examining participants' perceptions of the effectiveness of multilingual CAs in both in-person and online settings. Specifically, it investigates whether these perceptions shift based on the deliberative format, offering insight into the dynamic relationship between format and participants' views on the efficacy of multilingual processes, and ultimately shedding light on the transformative potential of multilingual DMPs.

To this end, the chapter analyzes survey data collected from the members of the Luxembourgish Klima Biergerrot, a national-level, multilingual assembly that combined an in-person and online phase. The KBR serves as a relevant and most likely case for examining participants' perceptions of multilingual CAs across different formats. The research design provides a unique opportunity to explore the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation and how this is shaped by the format of deliberation. Accordingly, participants' perceptions regarding the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs are examined, and how these changed because of deliberation and the deliberative format. In particular, its longitudinal surveys allow for a nuanced comparison of participants' attitudes before participation, after the in-person phase, and following the online phase.

The chapter first explores existing research on multilingual and online deliberative processes, highlighting the long-standing separation between these two fields and arguing for the need to bridge this gap. Next, it presents the methodological framework, detailing case selection and outlining the process of data collection, operationalization, and analysis. The results section is structured into two subsections. The first examines participants' attitudinal shifts across three phases, revealing a significant increase in positive attitudes toward multilingual assemblies after the in-person phase, followed by a return of more prominent negative attitudes after the online phase. The second subsection delves into potential explanations for these shifts, focusing on factors associated with the online setting and the linguistic dimension of the process. Interestingly, only the perception of a dominant language is significantly related to changes in attitudes. The chapter concludes by pinpointing the implications for designing effective

deliberative processes in an increasingly interconnected and digitalized but also multilingual democratic landscape.

Theoretical Framework

Given the prevalence of multiple language groups in nearly all societies (Schmidt, 2014), it is unsurprising that multilingual processes require significant research attention. At the same time, the growing globalization and digital interconnectedness of the world have spurred a surge in studies examining online CAs, reflecting the need to understand deliberative processes in increasingly diverse and virtual settings.

Multilingual deliberation

Research on multilingual deliberative processes remains relatively limited, with much of the existing work focusing on deliberative quality yet offering no conclusive evidence. On the positive side, linguistic diversity can enhance deliberation by encouraging active listening and fostering more thoughtful communication. Doerr (2009, 2008) argues that while linguistic challenges exist, they do not significantly hinder participation in deliberation. Similarly, Fiket et al. (2011) demonstrate that participants can engage meaningfully across linguistic divides, while Caluwaerts (2012) notes that deliberation in multilingual contexts is sometimes perceived as higher in quality than in monolingual settings.

Conversely, research highlights significant challenges inherent in multilingual deliberation. Doerr (2012) observes that multilingual settings are particularly susceptible to misunderstandings and enclave deliberation, whereas Fiket et al. (2011) emphasize the increased difficulty of achieving mutual understanding. Additionally, linguistic pluralism can create communication barriers and exacerbate disparities, potentially undermining the deliberative process (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2023; Lupia & Norton, 2017). These findings underline the complex interplay between opportunities and obstacles in multilingual deliberative settings.

Online deliberation

Research on online processes is more extensive, exploring both the advantages and challenges of digital engagement while also considering its effect on participants. Online assemblies are lauded for their potential to increase accessibility, flexibility, and inclusivity (Janssen & Kies,

2005). They enable “many-to-many communication” (Albrecht, 2006, p. 64), facilitating broader participation across geographical boundaries (Strandberg & Grönlund, 2018; Manosevitch, 2010; Grönlund et al., 2009; Price, 2009). Additionally, online assemblies can overcome time-related barriers (Strandberg, 2015; Manosevitch, 2014; Smith et al., 2013), which further helps broaden access to democratic deliberation (Stromer-Galley, 2017). In addition to logistical benefits, online assemblies are cost-effective, eliminating expenses related to travel and venues³⁰ (Smith et al., 2013; Towne & Herbsleb, 2012; Min, 2007). Online deliberation has also been linked to increased political engagement, social trust, community involvement, and voter turnout (Price & Capella, 2002). Moreover, studies show that online deliberation can enhance participants’ knowledge, broaden their argumentative repertoires, and introduce them to diverse viewpoints, potentially leading to changes in their preferences (Stromer-Galley, 2017; Stromer-Galley et al., 2015; Coleman & Moss, 2012; Baek et al., 2012; Grönlund et al., 2009).

Despite its benefits, online deliberation faces several challenges. For instance, opinion shifts in asynchronous online discussions may be weaker, particularly among less engaged participants (Smith et al., 2013). Moreover, Grönlund et al. (2009), among others, stress the importance of addressing inequalities in access to digital technologies to ensure equitable participation in online assemblies. Last, although online CAs are said to be cost-effective, digitalization raises environmental concerns, including high energy consumption, greenhouse gas emissions, and the toxic disposal of electronic waste (Murugesan, 2008).

Multilingual and online: bridging the gap

In essence, the fields of research on multilingual and online deliberative processes share notable commonalities, as both address the complexities of inclusive and effective democratic engagement in diverse and modern contexts. While multilingual deliberation focuses on overcoming language barriers, online deliberation addresses geographical barriers. Multilingual deliberation investigates how linguistic diversity affects the quality of deliberation, whereas online deliberation considers the dynamics and implications of digital interactions. Despite their

³⁰ Following the Blaenau Gwent Climate Assembly, it was found that conducting the assembly online was approximately 27 times less carbon intensive than holding it in person: (<https://cynnalcyrmru.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Blaenau-Gwent-Climate-Assembly-Carbon-Footprint-2021.pdf>).

shared goal of enhancing the deliberative process in ways that align with the realities of contemporary, pluralistic societies, these fields have largely developed independently.

Yet, the convergence of linguistic diversity and digitalization in deliberative practices is not only inevitable but already unfolding in real-world settings, as demonstrated by recent developments in Luxembourg (Paulis et al., 2024; Verhasselt et al., 2024). In light of this, this chapter explores the intersection of these two dimensions through the lens of participants' preference transformations. The literature on multilingual deliberation has largely neglected the dual impact of preference transformation and deliberative format, which is crucial for understanding the broader dynamics of deliberation. Existing research often assumes that linguistic diversity may hinder mutual understanding (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2023; Lupia & Norton, 2017; Doerr, 2012; Fiket et al., 2011), potentially limiting the transformative potential of these processes.

Conversely, studies on online assemblies reveal significant variations in how the deliberative format influences participants' attitudes and evolving perspectives. More precisely, Grönlund et al. (2009) and Min (2007) both find that in-person and online deliberations can lead to comparable opinion shifts, increased knowledge, and greater political engagement and efficacy among participants. However, Baek et al. (2012) reveal that an online setting, compared to a face-to-face environment, generates more negative emotions. Similarly, Knobloch and Gastil (2015) highlight that face-to-face deliberations lead to significant positive outcomes and increased trust in the process, with over two-thirds reporting greater faith in deliberation. In contrast, online participants exhibited minimal changes in attitudes or outcomes. Building on this research, it can be assumed that the in-person phase should drive higher perceived effectiveness than the online one.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to bridge this gap by exploring how different deliberative formats, whether in-person or online, interact with linguistic diversity to shape preference transformation, shedding light on the broader implications of this interplay for democratic practice in multilingual contexts.

Methodological Framework

The Klima Biergerrot

In his State of the Nation address in October 2021, former Luxembourg Prime Minister Xavier Bettel proposed a national citizens' consultation project focused on climate, to be known as the Klima Biergerrot. Launched by the Luxembourg government, the KBR officially began in January 2022 and brought together 100 individuals, consisting of 60 full members and 40 substitutes, who either lived or worked in Luxembourg, with Luxembourgish citizenship not required. To reflect Luxembourg's official and societal multilingual landscape, the KBR was conducted in French, Luxembourgish, and English.

Phase 1 of the KBR took place from February to June 2022, featuring five mandatory working weekends. During these weekends, deliberations were held. Working groups consisting of 12 to 15 members were organized based on their language skills, resulting in four language-specific groups, one in French, one in English, and two in Luxembourgish, that were supported by a professional moderator to facilitate constructive discussions. The plenary sessions included simultaneous translation. In Phase 2, from July to August 2022, the format shifted to an online setting, creating six thematic groups, each focusing on topics from the previous phase, to formulate recommendations. Members selected their groups, which convened entirely online and were self-managed by a volunteer spokesperson. Language proficiency was less emphasized, as groups were organized based on thematic interests instead. Unlike Phase 1, there was no professional moderation (Paulis et al., 2024).

In summary, the KBR was a multilingual CA consisting of two distinct phases. This duality provides a unique opportunity to compare the transformative effects of in-person and online formats on the perceived effectiveness of multilingual CAs.

Data operationalization and analysis

This study analyzes data from member surveys conducted with KBR participants using Qualtrics. Participation was voluntary, and all respondents signed a consent form detailing research objectives and privacy protections. Participants were surveyed at four points:

- Wave 1 (W1): Before the first working weekend (February 2022)
- Wave 2 (W2): Following the first two in-person deliberation weekends (April 2022)

- Wave 3 (W3): Following the five in-person deliberation weekends (June 2022)
- Wave 4 (W4): After the online deliberation sessions, online voting, and delivery of the final report (October/November 2022)

This study investigates changes in participants' attitudes over three waves of data collection: W1 captures participants' opinions before their involvement in the CA, W3 reflects their views after in-person deliberation sessions, and W4 represents their perspectives following online deliberations. The surveys administered during these waves followed a similar structure, including questions about participants' socio-demographic profiles, perceptions of the process, and experiences during the deliberations. Additionally, participants were asked to rate their agreement with statements related to the multilingual and hybrid nature of the assembly. W1 had a response rate of 75%, while W3 and W4 had response rates of 54%.

The primary objective of this chapter is to explore whether and how participants' attitudes evolve, specifically between the in-person and online phases. This gains insights into the transformative potential of these settings. It is generally believed that participants' recruitment in a deliberative process impacts their attitudes toward such democratic practices (Curato et al., 2017). To this end, this chapter analyzes participants' attitudes toward the effectiveness of multilingual CAs, at the hand of the following survey question: 'Citizens' Assemblies like the KBR cannot function effectively in a multilingual setting like Luxembourg'. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale, where '1' indicated strong disagreement and '5' indicated strong agreement, with an option for 'don't know'. To facilitate analysis, the scale was recoded so that higher scores consistently reflect more positive attitudes toward multilingual CAs, where a score of '1' now corresponds to strong agreement (initially strongly negative) and a score of '5' corresponds to strong disagreement (initially strongly positive).

The analysis follows a two-step approach. It first examines general trends across the full sample and then focusing on a subset of respondents. This allows for a broad examination of overall trends and a more detailed investigation of individual-level changes. In the first stage, the distribution of attitudes across the three waves is explored for the full sample to identify trends over time. Paired t-tests compare responses between W1 and W3, W3 and W4, and W1 and W4 to assess whether shifts in attitudes are statistically significant. In the second stage, the analysis

continues with a smaller sample of 36 respondents³¹ to confirm attitude changes, and a second paired t-test is conducted for this group. An alluvial diagram visually represents the evolution between the three waves.

Knobloch and Gastil (2015) suggest that differing impacts of the in-person and online formats may stem from the structure and facilitation inherent in face-to-face discussions, which are either lacking or altered in online formats. Notably, during the in-person phase, several accommodations were made to support the multilingual nature of the KBR. Specifically, simultaneous translation was provided during plenary sessions and members were organized into language-specific working groups, each facilitated to enhance effective discussions. In contrast, the online phase lacked these supportive measures. Accordingly, this chapter also examines factors³² related to the online and linguistic settings that could explain observed attitude changes.

For the online setting, the study investigates participants' opposition to the move online and their views on the organization of the second phase, expecting that those who opposed the move online may exhibit different attitude patterns compared to those who were more supportive. Regarding the linguistic setting, the study explores participants' perceptions of a dominant language and their preferences for linguistic accommodation. These perceptions may shape attitudes toward the effectiveness of multilingual CAs, assuming that individuals turning negative are more likely to perceive a dominant language or agree with the need for linguistic accommodation. By considering these factors, the study aims to identify potential explanations for attitude changes observed across the waves.

Given the relatively small sample size, the analysis relies on descriptive statistics to summarize the data. These statistics help provide a clear overview of participants' responses and track the distribution of attitudes across the waves. Frequency distributions of attitudes are generated for each wave to assess whether notable shifts occur across the 5-point Likert scale, indicating changes in participants' views over time. Additionally, basic frequency distributions, cross-tabulations, and t-tests are employed to explore the key variables that may influence attitude change. To facilitate these analyses, participants were categorized based on their attitude shifts

³¹ These 36 respondents completed W1, W3, and W4, enabling a comparison of their attitudes across these waves.

³² A comprehensive statistical distribution of the responses, along with the full wording of each item, is provided in the results section below.

between two phases, W3 and W4, using a predefined classification system. Individuals whose attitudes shifted from – strongly – negative or neutral to – strongly – positive were categorized as ‘positive.’ Conversely, those whose attitudes shifted from – strongly – positive or neutral to – strongly – negative were classified as ‘negative.’ Participants whose attitudes remained consistently positive (including shifts between positive and strongly positive) or consistently negative (including shifts between negative and strongly negative), or remained unchanged across both phases, were grouped as ‘consistent’. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of how these factors relate to attitude shifts, providing valuable insights into trends in individual-level changes within small datasets.

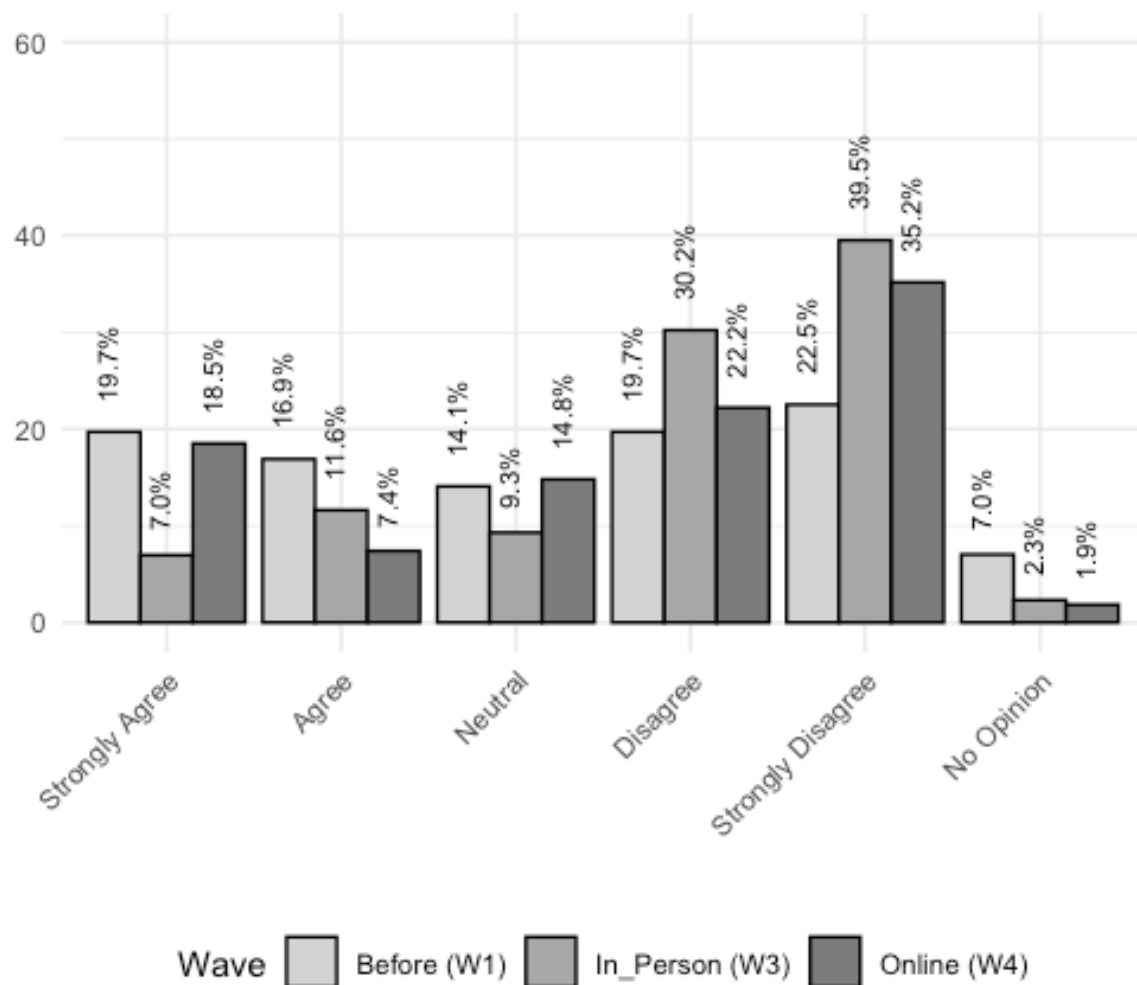
Results

Differences in perceptions: in-person vs. online

Figure 11³³ illustrates the distribution of the perceived effectiveness of multilingual CAs across three waves, using all survey respondents: W1 (before participation), W3 (after the in-person phase), and W4 (after the online phase). The graph highlights notable shifts in perceptions, demonstrating how attitudes toward the feasibility of multilingual CAs evolved throughout the KBR. Both agreement and disagreement displayed significant changes in the different phases, underscoring the dynamic nature of participants’ views and the transformative potential of deliberation.

³³ Since the question is framed negatively, the levels of (dis)agreement have been reversed, so that the left side of the graph represents greater negativity toward multilingual assemblies, while the right side indicates more positive views.

Figure 11 Distribution perceived effectiveness multilingual DMPs



At first glance, Figure 11 reveals that the distribution before participation (W1) was relatively balanced, with participants spread across various levels of agreement. However, after the in-person phase (W3), the distribution shifted noticeably, with most responses leaning toward the right side of the graph, reflecting more positive perceptions. After the online phase (W4), opinions became more evenly spread again, featuring a wider range of views. A closer analysis uncovers the following key trends.

Following the in-person phase, there was a significant reduction in negativity regarding the effectiveness of multilingual processes, with negative responses decreasing by 5.3%. Notably, strong negativity decreased significantly, reflecting a 12.7% reduction. In contrast, positive and strongly positive perceptions both experienced sharp increases of 10.5% and 17%, respectively. These changes reveal a clear trend: In-person deliberations reduced skepticism, resulting in an

18% decrease in negativity, and fostered a more optimistic outlook on the effectiveness of multilingual assemblies, evidenced by a 27.5% increase in positivity.

However, after the online phase, the trend shifted. Although negativity further fell by 4.2%, strong negativity re-increased by 11.5%. Meanwhile, positivity and strong positivity declined by 8% and 4.3%, respectively. In total, positivity toward the effectiveness of multilingual assemblies dropped by 12.3%, while negativity rose by 7.3%. Overall, the results indicate a slightly more positive outlook following participation, with both negative attitudes and the proportion of respondents expressing ‘no opinion’ steadily declining. This suggests that (i) multilingual deliberations have an impact on shaping participants’ preferences, (ii) some of the optimism generated during the in-person phase seems to have diminished during the online phase, and (iii) the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation may be influenced by the format in which it occurs.

To further test these assumptions, paired t-tests³⁴ (see Table 26) are conducted to provide a comprehensive statistical examination of how the means of the perceived effectiveness of multilingual CAs evolved across the three waves and their sample of respondents. The results indicate robust evidence ($p = 0.01$) that the in-person deliberations led to a significant shift in participants’ views, with a notable and significant increase in the mean value (0.64), indicating a move towards more positive perceptions from W1 to W3. This suggests that face-to-face discussions had a meaningful impact on attitudes. In contrast, following the online deliberations, there was a trend toward more negative perceptions, as the decrease in the mean value indicates. However, this shift is not statistically significant ($p = 0.13$), suggesting that the effect of online engagement on participants’ attitudes was relatively weak. Finally, the comparison from W1 to W4 reveals no significant change in means over the entire period ($p = 0.66$), suggesting that the combined effects of both deliberation types did not lead to a lasting shift in attitudes by the end of the study. These results align with Knobloch and Gastil (2015), who suggest that in-person formats are more effective in fostering meaningful cognitive shifts, while online formats appear to have a diminished impact on transforming participants’ attitudes.

³⁴ Individuals who selected ‘6’, indicating ‘no opinion’, were excluded, as their responses were deemed irrelevant for the t-test analysis.

Table 26 Paired t-tests: variations across the waves (full sample)

Comparison	T-value	Df	P-value	95% Confidence interval	Mean Difference
W1 – W3	2.5059	38	0.01661	0.1231811 1.1588702	0.6410256
W3 – W4	-1.5535	38	0.1286	-1.1220216 0.1476626	-0.4871795
W1 – W4	0.43535	38	0.6658	-0.5615508 0.8692431	0.1538462

To further explore changes in participants' attitudes, a detailed analysis is conducted on 36 respondents who participated in all three survey waves ($n = 36$). This analysis is done in two stages. First, by reapplying the paired t-tests using the smaller dataset³⁵ (see Table 27), and second, by utilizing an alluvial diagram (see Figure 12).

Table 27 Paired t-tests: variation across the waves (small sample)

Comparison	T-value	Df	P-value	95% Confidence interval	Mean Difference
W1 – W3	3.6609	26	0.001125	0.4872393 1.7349830	1.111
W3 – W4	-2.8571	26	0.008303	-1.7194562 -0.2805438	-1
W1 – W4	0.40566	26	0.6883	-0.4519079 0.6741301	0.111

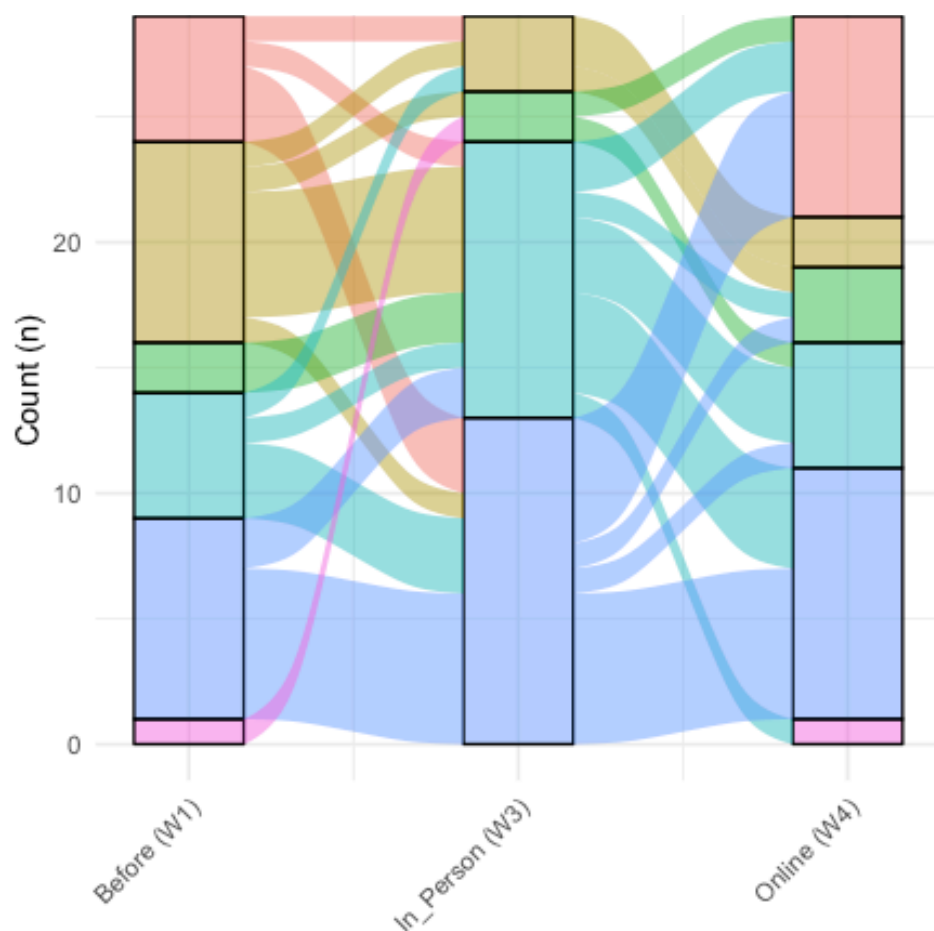
Table 27 confirms the findings from the larger dataset, validating the methodological approach of this chapter and justifying the use of the smaller dataset for subsequent analyses. The results provide robust evidence ($p = 0.001$) that the in-person deliberations significantly affected

³⁵ Also here were individuals who selected '6' excluded.

participants' views, with a notable increase in the mean value (1.11), indicating a substantial shift toward more positive perceptions from W1 to W3. As observed in the larger dataset, Table 27 shows a shift toward more negativity after the online phase. However, in this smaller dataset, the shift is statistically significant ($p = 0.008$) with a significant mean change of -1. This highlights the impact of the online phase, where participants became more negative. The comparison between W1 and W4 reveals no statistically significant change across the process ($p = 0.69$), suggesting that while the in-person phase led to a marked increase in positivity from W1 to W3, this effect did not persist throughout the entire process.

The alluvial diagram, shown in Figure 12, provides a more comprehensive view of how participants' attitudes evolved throughout the process, particularly focusing on the shift from W1 to W3, and from W3 to W4. The analysis categorizes responses on a scale from strong negativity (1) to strong positivity (5), with '6' referring to participants who expressed 'no opinion'.

Figure 12 Alluvial diagram individual changes across the waves



The transition from W1 to W3 reveals a clear shift toward more positive attitudes (i.e., categories ‘4’ and ‘5’). The diagram illustrates that participants who were initially (very) positive largely maintained their positivity after the in-person phase, suggesting that the in-person deliberations effectively reinforced and solidified positive attitudes. Notably, participants who started with negative views (categories ‘1’ and ‘2’) showed a significant movement toward more positive categories; by W3, no participants remained in the most negative category (‘1’). Interestingly, participants who held neutral views before the deliberations generally moved toward more positive categories, while those with no opinion shifted toward the neutral category. Overall, the transition from W1 to W3 highlights the transformative potential of in-person deliberations in encouraging positive shifts in attitudes, particularly among those who were initially skeptical or neutral.

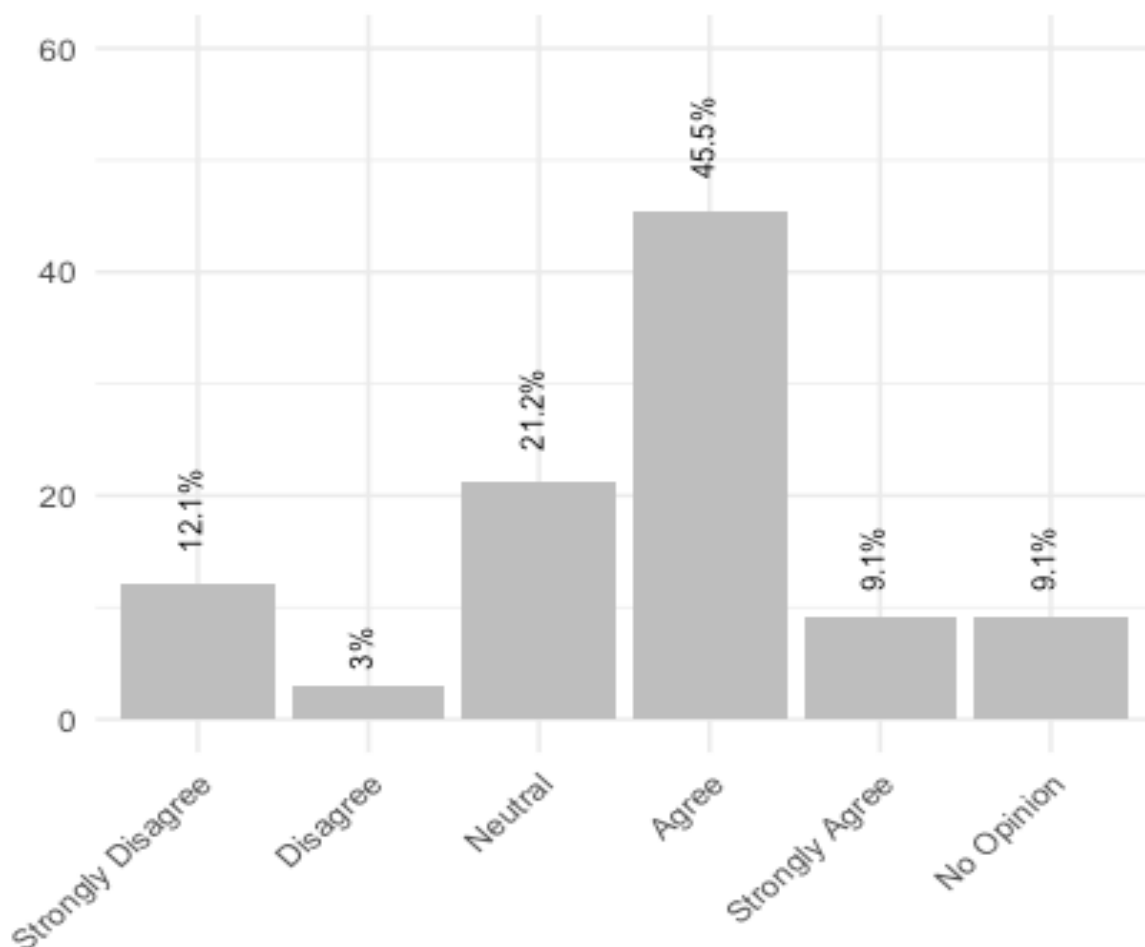
In contrast, the transition from W3 to W4 presents a more complex pattern, particularly among participants who were initially very positive. While many of these participants remained positive, there was also a noticeable shift toward neutrality, and in some cases, a significant movement toward stronger negativity. As visually depicted in Figure 11, the shift from very positive to very negative (W3 to W4) appears to be more pronounced than the reverse movement from very negative to very positive (W1 to W3). The neutral category appeared to be almost evenly divided, with individuals either moving toward positive or very negative positions. Notably, participants who were initially negative largely remained in the negative categories, with only a few shifting toward neutrality. The ‘no opinion’ category re-emerged in W4, primarily filled by individuals who had moved away from positive categories. This suggests that many participants reassessed their positions following the online phase as well as the reintroduction of more negative attitudes.

In summary, the alluvial diagram illustrates two distinct patterns of attitudinal change. From W1 to W3, the in-person phase proved highly effective in maintaining or shifting participants toward more positive views, particularly among those with initially negative or neutral attitudes. However, the shift from W3 to W4 indicates that the online phase led to a stronger redistribution of participants’ attitudes, with a notable re-emergence of the ‘very negative’ category. These patterns are consistent with the aggregate findings presented in Figure 11, reinforcing the idea that in-person deliberations are more effective in sustaining and reinforcing positive perceptions of multilingual CAs.

Inherent differences, inherent variations?

Having observed the differences between in-person and online deliberations, it is crucial to explore underlying factors that may explain the above findings. One relatively straightforward explanation might be the participants' dissatisfaction with the KBR's transition to an online format. Figure 13 displays respondents' reactions to the statement, 'The focus groups meeting online over the summer'. The results show a mixed response to this transition. Specifically, 45.5% of respondents agreed with the shift to online deliberations, while 9.1% strongly agreed, resulting in a total of 54.6% in favor of the transition. Conversely, 15.1% of participants opposed the move, with 12.1% strongly disagreeing and 3% disagreeing. Additionally, a significant share of respondents remained neutral (21.2%) or had no opinion on the matter (9.1%).

Figure 13 Distribution perceptions online phase



A closer examination of the distribution of participants, grouped by the direction of their attitude change, and their agreement with the transition to an online phase, reveals notable patterns (see Table 28). Participants who became more positive overwhelmingly supported the transition, with 50% agreeing and 50% strongly agreeing. In contrast, those who became more negative after the online phase displayed more mixed views; while the majority (87.50%) (strongly) agreed, 12.50% strongly disagreed with the transition online. This suggests that particularly individuals who turned negative between W3 and W4 opposed the online phase. The t-test suggests that while the positive group has a higher mean score (4.5) than the negative group (3.75) in terms of agreement with the transition to the online phase, the difference is not statistically significant ($p = 0.34$). All in all, while there is a notable difference between the means, the data does not provide robust evidence that those who became more negative in their views regarding the effectiveness of multilingual CAs are less supportive of moving online.

Table 28 Cross-tabulation: direction of change – move online

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Positive	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%
Negative	12.50%	0%	0%	75%	12.50%

Accordingly, as there seems to be no – statistically significant – relationship between the respondents' change in attitudes and their (dis)agreement with the process transitioning online, explanations related to the linguistic aspect of the process must be considered. In W3 and W4, participants were asked about their perceptions of the emergence of a dominant language during the deliberations, at the hand of the following statement, 'there was a dominant language'. When analyzing overall (dis)agreement, combining those who strongly disagreed and disagreed, as well as those who strongly agreed and agreed, Figure 14 shows that in-person deliberations were more closely associated with a perception of a dominant language. Specifically, 65.5% of participants agreed with the presence of a dominant language during the in-person deliberations, compared to 58.1% during the online phase. Conversely, the proportion of participants who disagreed with the presence of a dominant language was 20.7% during the

in-person phase, compared to 25.8% during the online phase. This suggests that while both phases elicited agreement on the dominance of a language, the in-person phase resulted in a stronger perception of linguistic dominance.

Figure 14 Distribution perceptions dominant language

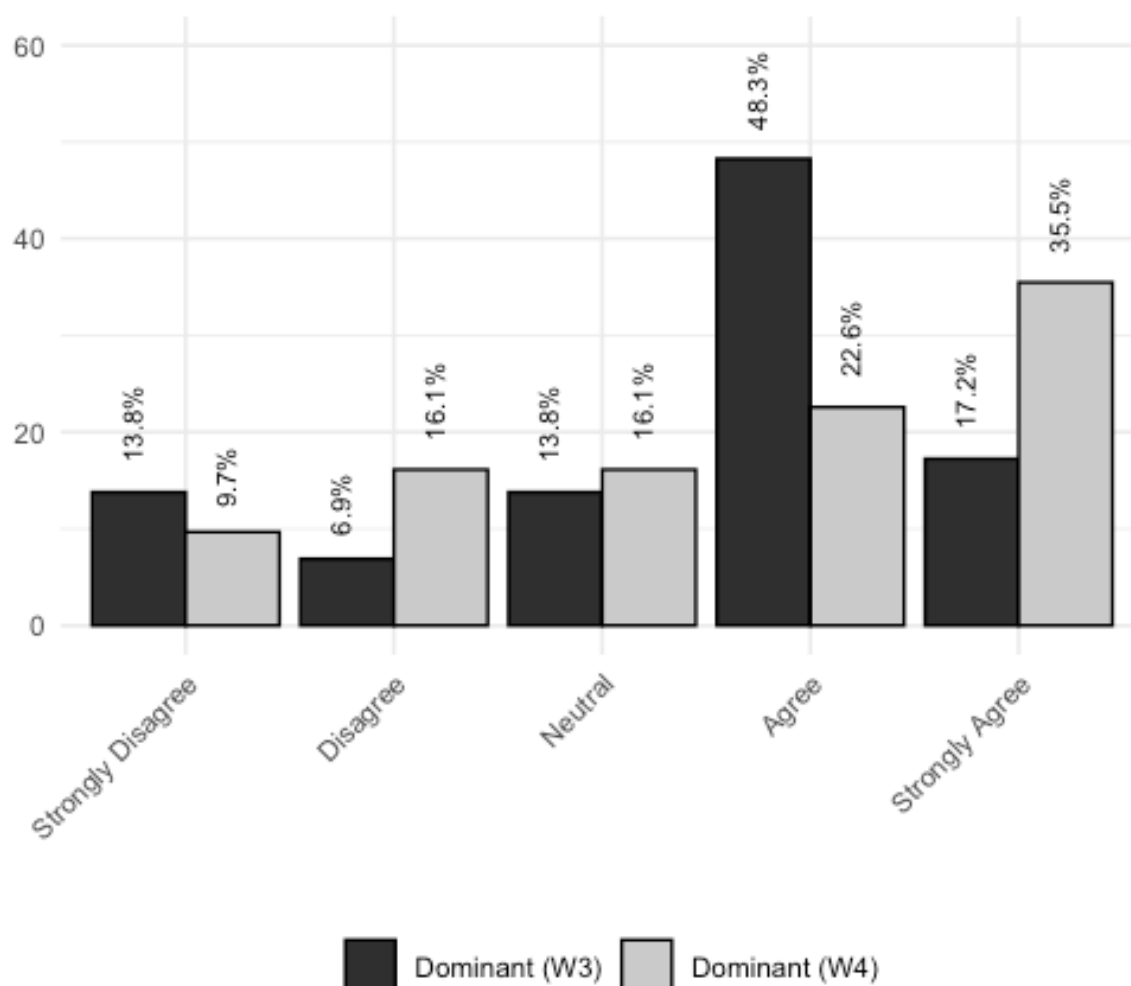


Table 29, illustrating the distribution of participants' perceptions regarding the presence of a dominant language during the online phase, reveals distinct patterns based on their attitude changes. Participants who became more positive, all (100%) agreed with the presence of a dominant language. In contrast, those who became more negative exhibited a wider range of views: 40% strongly agreed, 40% (strongly) disagreed, and 20% remained neutral. This indicates that participants who became more positive had a strong consensus regarding the presence of a dominant language, while those who became more negative had more diverse opinions. The results of the t-test indicate a statistically significant difference in the perceptions

of the presence of a dominant language between those who turned negative and those who turned positive between W3 and W4 ($p = 0.007501$). Specifically, participants in the positive group reported a significantly higher mean score (5.0) regarding the presence of a dominant language compared to the negative group (3.3).

Table 29 Cross-tabulation: direction of change – dominant language (W4)

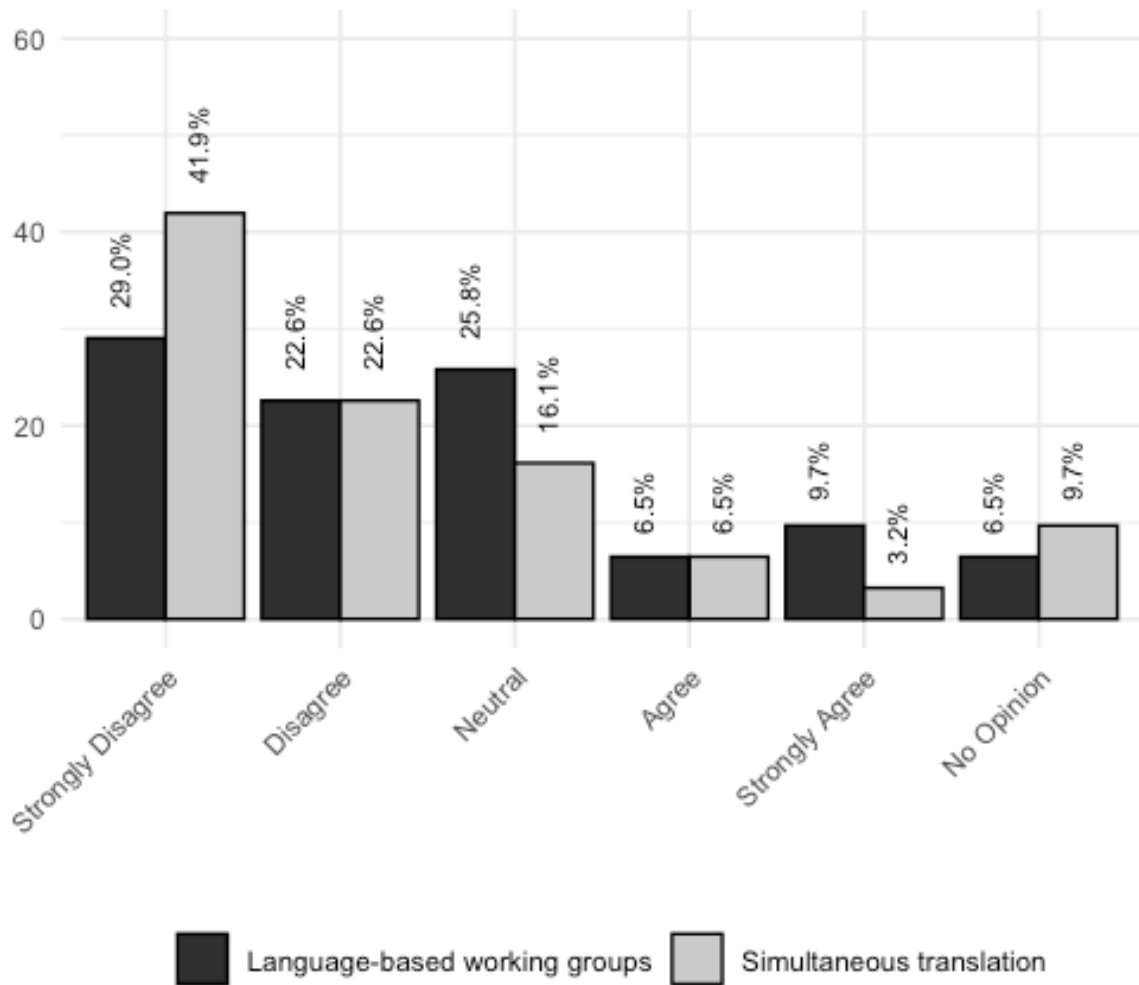
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Positive	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Negative	10%	30%	20%	0%	40%

This finding highlights the complex dynamics of language use in multilingual deliberative processes. Participants who became more positive after the online phase may have viewed the existence of a dominant language as less problematic, especially if the online format allowed for more inclusive participation. Unlike the in-person phase, where language-based working groups limited cross-group interaction, the online setting may have facilitated a more fluid exchange of ideas, leading participants to see a dominant language as a tool for clearer communication and mutual understanding. Moreover, it may have offered opportunities for broader, cross-linguistic discussions. Additionally, the online format may have helped participants recognize the necessity of a dominant and thus common language for effective deliberation, particularly in multilingual settings. This could explain why participants felt more optimistic about the process. Hence, in the absence of linguistic accommodations, the necessity of clear communication and efficiency can make the prevalence of a dominant language seem more acceptable. In essence, participants may have reconciled with the presence of a dominant language as a trade-off to ensure clarity and participation in an effective deliberative process, thus shifting their perspectives in a more positive direction. From this perspective, perceptions of a dominant language should maybe not necessarily be viewed as a negative factor.

Participants were also asked to rate their agreement with two statements: ‘I would have preferred language-based focus groups over the summer period (as the focus groups during the working weekends)’, and ‘I would have preferred simultaneous translation during the summer

meetings of my focus group' (see Figure 15). With regard to language-based focus groups, the responses indicated considerable opposition. A majority of participants disagreed with the idea, with 29% strongly disagreeing and 22.6% disagreeing, totaling 51.6%. Additionally, 25.8% were neutral, suggesting some ambivalence or uncertainty about the necessity for such groups. Only a small proportion supported the idea, with 6.5% agreeing and 9.7% strongly agreeing, which amounts to just 16.2%. Support for simultaneous translation during the online phase was even weaker. A significant majority opposed the idea, with 41.9% strongly disagreeing and 22.6% disagreeing, accounting for 64.5% of the responses. Another 16.1% were neutral. Only 6.5% agreed and 3.2% strongly agreed, bringing the total support for simultaneous translation to just 9.7%. Overall, these findings suggest that most participants did not perceive a strong need for linguistic accommodations during the online phase. The opposition to both proposals indicates that participants either found the existing arrangements, including the presence of a dominant language, adequate or considered additional measures unnecessary – perhaps even ineffective – in the online context.

Figure 15 Distribution perceptions preferences linguistic accommodation



The distribution of participants' perceptions regarding the use of translation and language-based working groups during the online phase reveals distinct patterns based on their attitude changes (see Table 30). Regarding translation, participants who became more positive were divided in their opinions: 33.33% strongly disagreed, 33.33% disagreed, and 33.33% were neutral, indicating that they did not view translation as a crucial element of their online experience. In contrast, the negative group exhibited a wider range of views: 60% strongly disagreed, 10% disagreed, 10% were neutral, 10% agreed, and 10% strongly agreed, reflecting divergent opinions on the necessity of simultaneous translation. The t-test reveals that there is no statistically significant relationship ($p = 0.618$) between the positive (2.11) and negative (2.5) categories and their preferences regarding simultaneous translation.

When it comes to language-based working groups, positive changes again displayed unanimous disagreement: 33.33% strongly disagreed, 33.33% disagreed, and 33.33% were neutral,

indicating no strong preference for such arrangements. In contrast, the negative group expressed more mixed views: 40% strongly disagreed, 30% disagreed, 20% were neutral, and 10% strongly agreed, also reflecting no strong preference for such arrangements. T-tests, however, find no significant differences ($p = 0.7042$) between the means: 2.22 for the negative group and 2.5 for the positive group.

Table 30 Cross-tabulation: direction of change – linguistic accommodations

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Translation					
Positive	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%
Negative	55.56%	11.11%	11.11%	11.11%	11.11%
Language-based working groups					
Positive	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%
Negative	33.33%	33.33%	22.22%	0%	11.12%

Conclusion

This chapter began with the foundational understanding that examining the interplay between online and multilingual deliberation is critical for advancing the field of deliberative democracy, both theoretically and empirically. By investigating participants' attitudes toward the effectiveness of multilingual CAs and comparing these attitudes across different deliberative formats, this chapter highlights the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation. However, it also reveals a significant divergence between in-person and online deliberations, underscoring that the deliberative design plays a crucial role in shaping preferences.

The findings offer valuable insights into participants' attitudes. More precisely, the analysis of participants' perceptions toward the effectiveness of multilingual CAs across the three waves confirms that while participation plays a role in shaping attitudes, the in-person phase was particularly transformative in maintaining and fostering positive opinions. This suggests that face-to-face interactions can effectively foster attitudinal transformation, especially for those with more skeptical perspectives. However, instead of maintaining or further amplifying the positive momentum created during in-person discussions, the online format led to a partial reversal of these gains. This indicates limitations in the ability of the online format to maintain or deepen such changes over time. The non-significant change observed between W1 and W4 further suggests that the online phase struggled to sustain the positive shifts generated during in-person deliberations and could not produce lasting attitude change. Therefore, in line with the work of Knobloch and Gastil (2015), the results reinforce the idea that in-person deliberations tend to produce more substantial and positive attitudinal transformations compared to online deliberations. This is a crucial insight for designing and facilitating CAs in a world that is increasingly linguistically diverse and digitally connected, reinforcing the value of face-to-face engagement in fostering genuine and lasting shifts in perspectives.

In addition to examining the effects of the deliberative formats, this research aimed to explore the underlying factors that might explain the observed variations in participants' attitudes. Exploring variables related to the online setting and linguistic considerations, this chapter surprisingly found that perceptions of a dominant language are significantly related to attitude changes. Those who became more positive were more likely to agree with the idea of a dominant language being present. This suggests that, despite the common view of a dominant language as a potential limitation, its perceived utility in promoting clarity and effective communication may outweigh its drawbacks for certain participants. The other examined factors do not seem to play a role in shaping attitudes. However, this lack of observed influence could be attributed to the limited sample size, which may reduce the statistical power to detect smaller effects. Accordingly, replicating this research in different settings and with larger samples could provide more robust insights and strengthen the generalizability of the observed trends. Employing qualitative methods like interviews or focus groups could further enrich the understanding of participants' lived experiences and help explain the nuanced dynamics of these deliberative processes. Additionally, future research could explore more context-dependent factors, such as emotions, group dynamics, or individual attitudes toward

technology, investigating how these contextual elements influence attitudes in in-person and online settings.

In conclusion, this chapter contributes valuable insights to the literature by addressing critical gaps, specifically around the transformative potential of multilingual CAs and the intersection of multilingualism with online settings. The findings suggest that while digital technologies and multilingual engagement hold great promise for expanding democratic participation, they also present unique challenges that require careful consideration. As global interconnectedness, linguistic diversity, and digital technologies continue to shape civic engagement, understanding how online and multilingual deliberations intersect is vital for both theoretical exploration and practical innovation in democratic processes.

Chapter 7: Output Legitimacy - Public Endorsement

Publication 3 – Exploring public attitudes toward deliberative democracy in a multilingual democratic context: the case of Luxembourg

Abstract

Deliberative mini-publics are increasingly being used to improve democratic decision-making by facilitating structured discussions with a representative sample of the population. However, their small size limits participation, raising questions about their legitimacy in the eyes of the broader public. While research on public opinion regarding DMPs is growing, the impact of linguistic diversity on these public perceptions remains underexplored, which is especially crucial in contexts where language may create division. Focusing on the specific case of Luxembourg, a multilingual and diverse democracy where half of the population is not entitled to vote in national elections and where large-scale DMPs have been recently implemented, a significant societal cleavage is identified. Non-national residents, who typically speak non-native languages, express more positive attitudes toward multilingual DMPs compared to native nationals. Moreover, respondents' reactions to various forms of linguistic accommodation vary depending on their initial attitudes, which are influenced by their national and linguistic identities. More broadly, the research highlights how varying expectations regarding integration impact public attitudes toward democratic innovations like DMPs. It reveals a complex relationship between broader societal debates and the perceived legitimacy of deliberative mechanisms, highlighting the critical need to account for the contextual setting in which DMPs are implemented.

Introduction

Amid growing dissatisfaction with political systems, deliberative democratic theories have increasingly supported deliberative mini-publics as innovative solutions to enhance inclusivity and legitimacy. These institutions convene a small, randomly selected, representative group of individuals to discuss pressing socio-political issues and generate policy recommendations (Curato et al., 2021; Smith, 2012; Fishkin, 2009; Dryzek, 2009). However, the promise of DMPs is tempered by a key limitation: These processes involve only a limited number of participants, leaving the broader public largely uninvolved (Ryan & Smith, 2014; Goodin & Dryzek, 2006). This disconnect highlights the importance of understanding public evaluations of DMPs to assess their acceptance, legitimacy, and potential for wider societal impact (Jacobs & Kaufmann, 2021; Knobloch et al., 2020). Recent research indicates that public opinion on

DMPs is shaped by various factors, including their outcomes, design, procedures, and individuals' social and political predispositions (Pilet et al., 2023; Már & Gastil, 2023; Werner & Marien, 2022; Pow, 2021; Goldberg, 2021; Talukder & Pilet, 2021; Rojon & Pilet, 2021; Bedock & Pilet, 2021, 2020; Rojon et al., 2019; Boulianne, 2018). The complex nature of public opinions highlights the necessity for a deeper comprehension of the various factors that shape views on DMPs.

Accordingly, although significant focus has been placed on the internal workings of DMPs, it is also essential to consider the larger societal environment in which they function, as this context likely affects their successful implementation and sustainability. DMPs do not function in isolation; they are influenced by the political, societal, and cultural landscapes in which they exist, an aspect often overlooked in the literature (Germann et al., 2024; Böker, 2017). One crucial contextual dynamic is linguistic diversity, which significantly influences social structures and impacts the functioning of DMPs. Notably, language is not merely a means of communication; it serves as a powerful influence on social relationships, power dynamics, and democratic participation (Blommaert, 2006; Mamadouh, 1999a). Language dictates who can engage in society, acting as a mechanism for inclusion or exclusion. Therefore, in an era of increasing social diversity, globalization, and migration, the link between language and political participation has never been more critical (Rubin, 2017, 2014; May, 2014).

Given the practical and symbolic dimensions of language, multilingualism is particularly significant to consider in the context of DMPs. Practically, implementing multilingual DMPs presents unique challenges, such as addressing language power imbalances, ensuring effective understanding and communication across linguistic boundaries, and managing the logistical and financial complexities of linguistic diversity, including translation (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2023; Doerr, 2012; Fiket et al., 2011; Longman, 2007; O'Leary, 2005). Beyond these practical considerations, multilingual DMPs also hold profound symbolic importance. They signal a commitment to inclusivity and equity, values that are increasingly critical in societies shaped by globalization, migration, and growing linguistic diversity (Verhasselt, 2024). Essentially, in linguistically heterogeneous settings, language operates on two levels. Namely practically, to facilitate effective communication, and symbolically, to promote inclusivity.

Since multilingual DMPs are already occurring in practice, and not just at the transnational level (Verhasselt et al., 2024; Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024; Roberts et al., 2023), understanding

public attitudes toward them is essential. This is especially crucial given that even the most basic design features of DMPs, such as the size of the group or who initiated the event, can affect their wider societal and political impact. Accordingly, this chapter examines public perceptions of multilingual DMPs by exploring both the practical and symbolic dimensions of language. The research is built on original hypotheses, whose design are informed by research on public support, sociolinguistics, and acculturation studies, focusing specifically on attitudes toward the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs.

The analysis centers on the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which, with its unique linguistic and demographic landscape, presents a specific but compelling case. The country officially recognizes three languages: Luxembourgish, French, and German, and is home to a large non-national population that represents a rich diversity of languages. Despite its celebrated multilingualism, debates persist around inclusion and integration given the large share of foreign residents who cannot participate in national electoral politics. This makes Luxembourg a convincing case for studying how the public reacts to multilingual DMPs, building on the two dimensions of language: practical and symbolic. By utilizing panel survey data collected from a representative sample of the Luxembourg population and conducted alongside the 2022 Luxembourg Climate Citizens' Assembly, the *Klima Biergerrot*, the chapter shows (i) how perceptions of multilingual DMPs vary by (a) linguistic skills and (b) nationality, including linguistic identity; and (ii) how information about linguistic accommodations in DMPs, tested via a vignette experiment, influences these perceptions. Ultimately, the findings add valuable insights into the wider normative debate on integration and the role of multilingual DMPs.

Theoretical framework

Empirical research on DMPs has greatly advanced our understanding of their legitimacy and societal acceptance (Germann et al., 2024; Kuntze & Fesenfeld, 2021; Pow, 2021), suggesting that public support for DMPs is widespread and growing. This is especially true when these processes are perceived as consultative rather than binding. Scholars have identified three main factors that influence this support: (i) design features (Goldberg et al., 2024; Goldberg & Bächtiger, 2023; Jacobs & Kaufmann, 2021; Bedock & Pilet, 2020; Christensen, 2020) and the inclusion of specific social or political groups (Paulis, Pilet, et al., 2024; Pow et al., 2020); (ii) outcomes that align with individual opinions and preferences (Werner & Marien, 2022; Brummel, 2020; Arnesen, 2017); and (iii) individual pre-dispositions, such as political interest,

social status, and political dissatisfaction (Pilet et al., 2024; Goldberg & Bächtiger, 2023; Rojon & Pilet, 2021; Gherghina & Geissel, 2020; Webb, 2013; Bowler et al., 2007).

This chapter seeks to deepen the understanding of the factors that shape public perceptions of DMPs by introducing a contextual lens that broadens existing debates on public support and perceived legitimacy. By choosing multilingualism as a focal point, it aims to examine how linguistic diversity, as an element of the broader political, societal, and cultural context, shapes public perceptions. This approach highlights the symbolic and practical importance of language in fostering or undermining public acceptance, offering new insights into the design and evaluation of DMPs in increasingly diverse and multilingual societies.

Hypotheses

Language is fundamental to political life as it facilitates expression, negotiation, deliberation, and influence (Longman, 2007). It is then no surprise that linguistic skills are vital for meaningful participation in DMPs (Casullo, 2020; Lupia & Norton, 2017). Indeed, studies on multilingual deliberation suggest that multilingual individuals engage more effectively in discussions that span different languages (Longman, 2007). Similarly, Caluwaerts and Deschouwer (2014) emphasize that language proficiency is more crucial than merely having the willingness to participate; it is essential for effective intergroup deliberation. This positions individual multilingualism as an asset in multilingual deliberation. Drawing on social psychology, particularly the concept of social projection (Van Boven & Loewenstein, 2003), it is anticipated that citizens surveyed about multilingual DMPs will visualize themselves as participants, shaping their responses based on their perceived ability to express themselves in such environments. Therefore, it is hypothesized that respondents' linguistic skills will influence their perceptions of multilingual DMPs.

Hypothesis 1: The more languages citizens report speaking, the more positively they will view multilingual DMPs.

However, language, according to sociolinguistics, is not merely a means of communication; it is essential in shaping identity, social connections, and power dynamics (Blommaert, 2006; Mamadouh, 1999a). Piller (2016) emphasizes the intersection of language, citizenship, and political power, noting that individuals who lack language proficiency and/or citizenship often face significant barriers that lead to exclusion and alienation (Peled & Bonotti, 2019; Phillipson, 2012, 1992, 1988; Young, 2002, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Mamadouh, 1999a; Schieffelin

& Doucet, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988). Acculturation research deepens this discussion by showing that different population segments perceive societal participation based on their linguistic, cultural, and social-political experiences (Berry, 2006; Rohmann et al., 2006). This ties into broader discussions about political engagement, especially among marginalized groups. Karpowitz et al. (2009) argue that exclusion from political processes diminishes power. This point is further emphasized by Ceka and Magalhães (2020), who highlight the challenges faced by less privileged groups striving to reshape political structures.

Similarly, research on public support for DMPs reveals significant variation across social and political groups. Studies by Bellamy (2000) and Taludker and Pilet (2021) emphasize that underrepresented socio-economic and political groups are particularly attracted to processes like DMPs. These individuals value DMPs as platforms for inclusiveness and fairness, offering chances for them to express their opinions in the policy-making processes. A related finding is that political dissatisfaction serves as a major driver of support for DMPs. Individuals disillusioned with traditional political systems are more likely to endorse these mechanisms (Pilet et al., 2024; Goldberg & Bächtiger, 2023; Rojon & Pilet, 2021; Gherghina & Geissel, 2020; Webb, 2013; Bowler et al., 2007). By providing an alternative avenue for meaningful participation, DMPs offer a distinct and appealing pathway outside the traditional political framework (Schuck & De Vreese, 2015; Bowler et al., 2007).

Therefore, it is crucial to consider the impact of social and political inequalities, influenced by language, on support for democratic innovations. For non-nationals and non-native speakers, who may lack access to traditional political participation, multilingual DMPs may provide an alternative platform for engagement where citizenship nor proficiency in one particular (dominant) language is a prerequisite (Verhasselt, 2024). Put differently, multilingual DMPs present a rare opportunity for non-nationals to engage meaningfully. Given these considerations, it is hypothesized that individuals' (a) nationality and (b) linguistic identity, whether native or non-native speakers, significantly influence perceptions of multilingual DMPs.

Hypothesis 2: Citizens who are (a) non-nationals or (b) non-natives will have a more positive attitude toward multilingual DMPs.

However, public opinion research underscores that public unfamiliarity with deliberative instruments like DMPs poses a significant barrier to engagement and support (Rountree &

Curato, 2023). Differently framed, understanding how DMPs function is crucial for shaping public perceptions. Research shows that emphasizing key features of DMPs, such as sortition, deliberation, or the inclusion of lay citizens, can significantly enhance their perceived legitimacy (Már & Gastil, 2023; Jacobs & Kaufmann, 2021; Pow, 2021; Christensen, 2020; Christensen et al., 2020). Building on these findings, a vignette experiment was integrated into the population surveys, where survey respondents were provided with information regarding different formats of linguistic accommodations within a DMP, anticipating that addressing practical concerns about multilingual DMPs would positively influence public perceptions.

Hypothesis 3: Citizens informed about linguistic accommodations in the deliberation process will have a more positive view of multilingual DMPs.

Furthermore, although attitudes generally remain consistent over time, they can shift when people are introduced to new information (Albarracin & Shavitt, 2018). Studies in social psychology emphasize cognitive dissonance as a significant factor in changing attitudes (Festinger, 1957). Cognitive dissonance occurs when individuals come across information that conflicts with their existing beliefs, leading them to modify their attitudes (Cooper, 2019). Conversely, when new information aligns with existing beliefs, it reinforces those beliefs without prompting any change in attitude. Hence, it is expected that the impact of linguistic accommodation varies depending on respondents' pre-existing attitudes toward multilingual DMPs. Therefore, linguistic accommodations may be particularly reassuring for people who were initially neutral or skeptical about multilingual DMPs – whether due to lower linguistic skills (H1) or their nationality and linguistic identity (H2).

Hypothesis 4: Citizens informed about linguistic accommodations in the deliberation process will have a more positive view of multilingual DMPs, especially if they were initially neutral or skeptical.

Research design

Case selection

The hypotheses are tested within the context of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, a country that, unlike its neighboring countries of Belgium, France, and Germany, has only recently adopted a deliberative approach to policy-making. In 2021 and 2022, the government organized the first-ever national deliberative processes known as the Biergerkommittee and the Klima

Biergerrot. Both initiatives were conducted in multiple languages: the BK in Luxembourgish, French, and German, and the KBR in Luxembourgish, French, and English, and included participation from national and foreign residents, as well as cross-border workers. These processes garnered significant media attention, which increased public awareness and sparked debate about DMPs (Paulis, Kies, et al., 2024; Paulis, Verhasselt, et al., 2024; Verhasselt et al., 2024). Notably, public knowledge of DMPs in Luxembourg is uninfluenced by previous experiences. As such, Luxembourg provides a natural setting to examine public attitudes toward multilingual DMPs.

Luxembourg's linguistic and demographic landscape enhances its relevance. It offers a natural environment for multilingual DMPs, as Luxembourg is officially trilingual, recognizing Luxembourgish, French, and German as official languages. A substantial proportion of the population also speaks other languages, reflecting the country's multicultural and international character (Purschke & Gilles, 2023; Tavares, 2020; Pigeron-Piroth & Fehlen, 2015; De Bres & Franziskus, 2014). More precisely, 33,3% of the population is 'allophone', meaning that many residents in Luxembourg have a mother tongue or primary language that is not among the country's official languages (Fehlen et al., 2021). This linguistic diversity is unsurprising, considering that foreign residents make up 47% of the population, with more than 200,000 cross-border commuters traveling to work in Luxembourg daily (STATEC, 2024b). Despite this significant number of non-national residents, this group lacks voting rights, potentially leading to a democratic deficit over time (de Jonge & Petry, 2021; de Jonge & Kmec, 2019).

Although Luxembourg, as a small nation with a population of 672,050, benefits from relatively efficient and stable political institutions that the citizens trust, the substantial share of non-national residents presents democratic challenges. The debate surrounding this matter intensified in 2015 during the Constitutional Referendum when the majority of the national population rejected the enfranchisement of non-national residents in national elections (Dumont & Kies, 2016). This unique demographic context creates a structural incentive for alternative policy-making instruments like DMPs, which can enable non-nationals to participate and voice their opinions. However, this can also polarize views, as nationals remain reluctant to embrace the integration and participation of non-nationals (Stogianni et al., 2021; Murdock & Ferring, 2016). Essentially, Luxembourg presents a specific but compelling case for studying public attitudes toward multilingual DMPs.

Data

Following the announcement of the KBR, the evaluation team conducted a panel study of the Luxembourg population through the Luxembourg Institute of Social Research. Ilres was tasked with performing nationally representative internet-based surveys using quota-stratified sampling to ensure demographic representation, which included both national and foreign residents while excluding KBR members. Three surveys³⁶ were administered, each with a similar structure and blocks of questions, to the same individuals at different stages of the KBR process: Wave 1 (W1) was conducted at the outset (February-March 2022), Wave 2 (W2) at the midpoint (June-July 2022), and Wave 3 (W3) at the conclusion (October-November 2022).

The hypotheses are tested using data from W1 (H1 and H2) and W2 (H3 and H4). The initial survey yielded 3,025 respondents, which decreased to 2,250 after the second survey, resulting in a retention rate of 75%. Despite this attrition, the sample remained representative based on the stratification criteria (see Appendix 1). Since perfect alignment with the general population was not achieved for every criterion, weights were applied to adjust for underrepresented groups.

Variables' operationalization

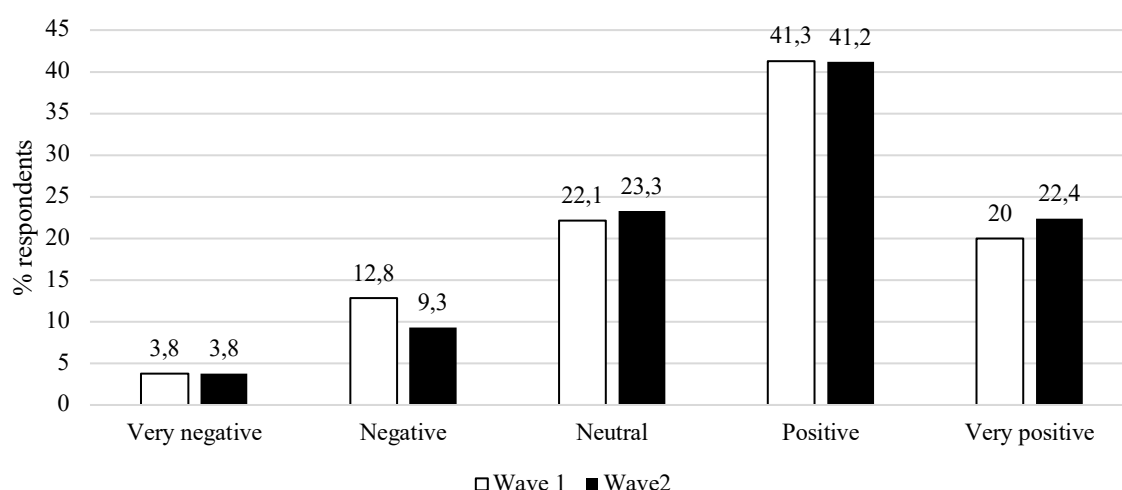
Recognizing that DMPs are relatively new policy-making tools, particularly in Luxembourg, the survey aimed to ensure all respondents had a clear and equal understanding of these processes. To achieve this, the survey began with a brief explanation of the KBR. The provided statement highlights the key features of a DMP (Curato et al., 2021): (i) a random selection of citizens, (ii) their deliberation on a policy issue, and (iii) the formulation of a series of recommendations:

The government of Luxembourg decided to organize a citizen assembly on climate called the Klima-Biergerrot (KBR hereafter in the rest of the survey). It brought together a group of 60 citizens living or working in Luxembourg. Meeting around 15 times, they were tasked with discussing Luxembourg's current commitments as regards combating climate change, and with developing possible additional measures or proposals. At the end of this process, the Klima-Biergerrot's recommendations were presented to the Luxembourg Parliament.

³⁶ Respondents had the option to complete the survey in any of Luxembourg's three official languages – French, German, or Luxembourgish – as well as in English.

To examine public perceptions of multilingual DMPs, the following survey item was utilized: ‘Citizens’ Assemblies like the KBR cannot work properly in a multilingual setting like Luxembourg’. This phrasing questions whether such assemblies can operate effectively in a linguistically diverse context, implicitly suggesting that deliberation would occur in multiple languages, although the specific languages were not identified.³⁷ Respondents indicated their level of agreement on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree), with an option for ‘don’t know’ available. As shown in Figure 16, data from W1 reveals that a majority (61%) held (very) positive views, 22.1% were neutral, and 16.4% expressed (very) negative views. By W2, negative views slightly decreased and positive views increased, resulting in a mean value shift from 3.6 (W1) to 3.7 (W2). This trend may reflect the impact of the vignette experiment on respondents’ perceptions, which is discussed further.³⁸

Figure 16 Distribution of the dependent variable: perceptions regarding multilingual DMPs



Turning to predictors, to operationalize linguistic skills (H1) and identity (H2b), W1 data was used. A perspective of multilingualism centered on language use was adopted (Grosjean, 2010;

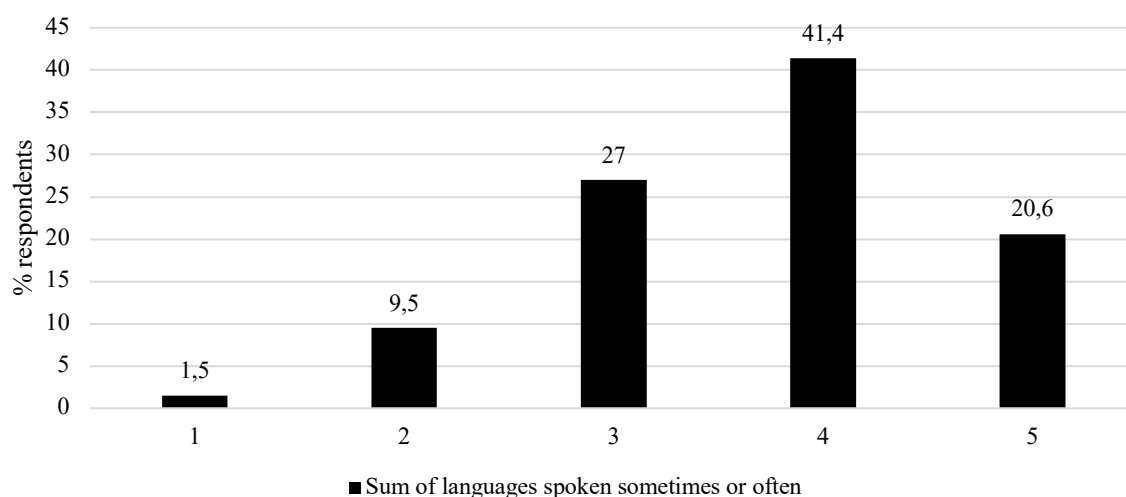
³⁷ Not specifying which languages constitute ‘multilingualism’ when measuring public attitudes allows researchers to focus on broader perceptions of multilingualism as a concept, rather than reactions tied to specific languages. By not naming specific languages, participants are encouraged to reflect on the principle of inclusion, practically and symbolically, in multilingual deliberation, rather than being influenced by personal preferences or biases.

³⁸ Consistent with W1, the follow-up question to the vignette experiment asked respondents to rate their agreement on the statement, ‘To what extent do you think that Citizens’ Assemblies like the KBR can properly function in a multilingual setting such as Luxembourg?’ on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = ‘strongly agree’, and 5 = ‘strongly disagree’).

European Commission, 2007), operationalizing multilingual abilities based on the frequency of language use. This provided a concrete and quantifiable measure of multilingualism (Woll, 2017; P. Li et al., 2014; Gertken et al., 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dunn & Fox Tree, 2009; Marian et al., 2007). The data was self-reported in W1 and focused on four languages commonly used in Luxembourg: Luxembourgish, French, English, and German, with an option for ‘other languages’. Respondents indicated the frequency with which they used each language on a 4-point scale (1 = never, 4 = often), allowing to distinguish between those who speak multiple languages but use them infrequently and those who frequently switch between them (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014).

From this data, two measures were derived. First, to capture the practical dimension of language, a purely quantitative variable, which measured multilingual skills (H1) based on the number of languages spoken regularly, was created. Responses were dichotomized for each language (1 = sometimes/often, 0 = never/hardly ever) and aggregated into a composite scale ranging from 1 to 5. Higher scores indicate greater multilingual proficiency. As shown in Figure 17, 62% of respondents reported speaking 4 to 5 languages often (mean = 3.7), reflecting Luxembourg’s multilingual character.

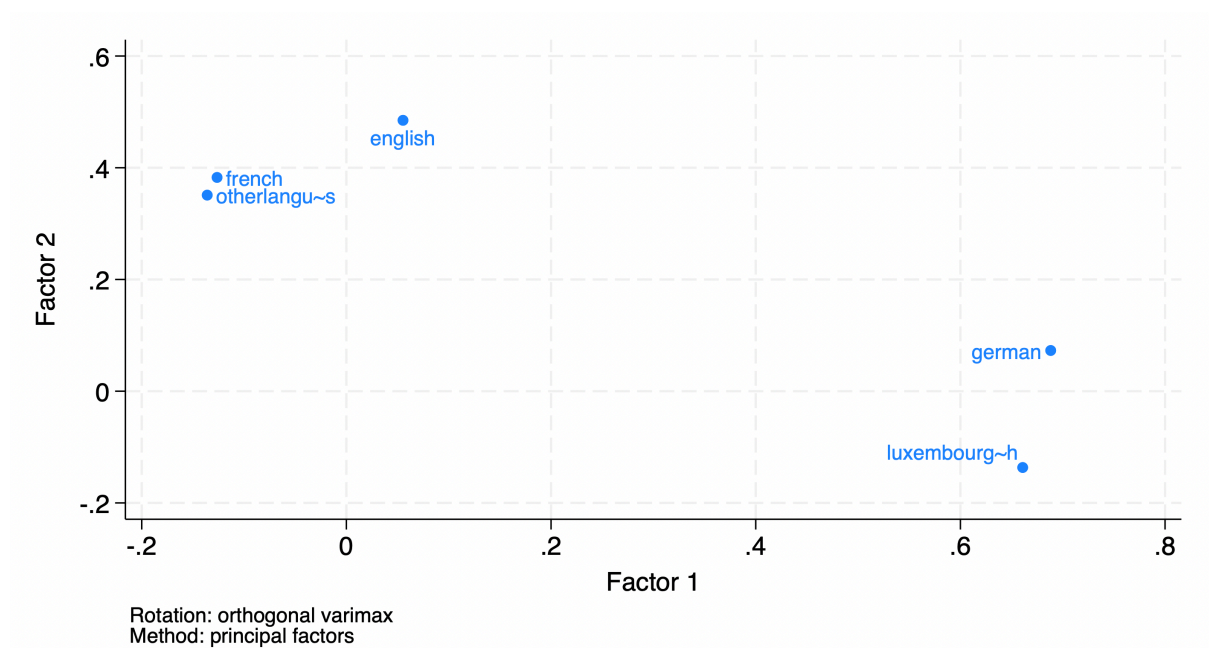
Figure 17 Distribution of linguistic skills



The second independent variable, linguistic identity (H2b), captures the symbolic dimension of language use and focuses on respondents’ preferred languages. To operationalize this, a factor analysis was conducted (see Appendix 2). The loading plot in Figure 18 reveals two distinct patterns of multilingualism. Factor 1 corresponds to ‘native languages’, with Luxembourgish

and German both strongly associated with the national community (loadings > .6). French, while an official language, has a lower loading (approximately .4) and aligns more closely with Factor 2, which represents ‘foreign languages’ commonly used by the non-national community. English exhibits a strong loading on Factor 2 but also shows a modest positive loading on Factor 1. Consequently, French and English were categorized as ‘foreign languages’, whereas Luxembourgish and German were classified as ‘native languages’. This classification aligns with existing research on multilingualism and integration in Luxembourg (Stogianni et al., 2021).

Figure 18 Loading plot for linguistic identity



To further test H2, respondents’ nationality (H2a) was incorporated into the analysis. Participants indicated whether they hold Luxembourgish citizenship, another citizenship, or both, resulting in a categorical variable with three groups: Luxembourgish nationals (65.9%), dual nationals (Luxembourgish and another citizenship, 18.3%), and non-national residents (15.8%). As shown in Table 31, which highlights the symbolic aspects of national identity and language, there is some correlation; nationality is positively associated with linguistic skills and, more notably, with the native language factor. Conversely, nationality exhibits a negative correlation with the foreign language factor.

Table 31 Correlation between nationality and multilingual skills and identity

	Nationality	Multilingual skills	Multilingual identity: native speakers
Multilingual skills	.20 (p=.000)		
Multilingual identity: native speakers	.63 (p=.000)	.54 (p=.000)	
Multilingual identity: foreign speakers	-.28 (p=.000)	.60 (p=.000)	-.07 (p=.001)

To test H3 and H4, which examine the impact of linguistic accommodations in DMPs, data from W2 was utilized, which included a vignette experiment. Respondents were presented with scenarios describing various linguistic accommodations that had been implemented in multilingual DMPs in Luxembourg. A categorical independent variable was created based on the experimental group to which each respondent was assigned. As indicated in Table 32, the control group (25% of the sample) received only the introductory message about the KBR, without additional details. The remaining respondents were assigned to different treatment groups: translation, language-based working groups, and language-related selection criteria (see Table 32). Appendix 4 confirms that the randomization process was successful, with social and political profiles distributed evenly across all groups. Additionally, all groups exhibited similar average scores regarding attitudes toward multilingual DMPs (from W1) and multilingual abilities, ensuring there were no pre-existing differences that could bias our analysis of treatment effects.

Table 32 Presentation of the vignette question

		N	%
Group 1 – translation	In the KBR, the moderators were able to translate small group discussions or to be assisted by professional translators, which were also present in plenary sessions.	566	25.2
Group 2 – language-based working groups	In the KBR, the participants were assigned to their working groups based on the language they preferred to speak (Luxembourgish, French or English).	589	26.2
Group 3 – language-related selection criteria	In the KBR, the participants could freely express themselves in the language of their choice because they were supposed to be able to communicate in the three main languages (Luxembourgish, French, or English).	541	24.0
Group 4 – control group	No information.	554	24.6
Total		2250	100

Modeling strategy

To test H1 and H2 (a and b), which investigate the relationship between multilingual skills, nationality, linguistic identity, and perceptions of multilingual DMPs using W1 data, a linear regression model (M1) was employed. Given the correlation among nationality, linguistic skills, and identity, a stepwise approach was adopted, adding each of the three variables

incrementally. Variation inflation factors indicated no significant multicollinearity issues within this model.

To enhance the reliability of the findings, several control variables that might influence the results were included. First, cultural factors, such as respondents' attitudes toward immigration and their position on the left-right political spectrum were controlled for as left-leaning individuals are generally more likely to support inclusive participatory processes (Paulis & Rangoni, 2023; Christensen & Von Schoultz, 2019). Second, political factors, including satisfaction with democracy, trust in institutions, political interest, internal efficacy, and education were considered since research connects political disaffection and engagement to support for DMPs (Walsh & Elkind, 2021; Rojon & Pilet, 2021; Bedock & Pilet, 2020). Third, demographic factors, such as age and gender, were taken into account because underrepresented groups like women and youth tend to be more supportive of deliberative processes (Pilet et al., 2023; Talukder & Pilet, 2021). Lastly, respondents' views on organizing DMPs more frequently were included to capture broader attitudes. The operationalizations and descriptive statistics for these control variables are provided in Appendix 3, while the full model specification is detailed in Appendix 5, Table A. Additionally, robustness checks, incorporating weighted and ordinal regression models, were conducted with outcomes available in Appendix 6, Table A.

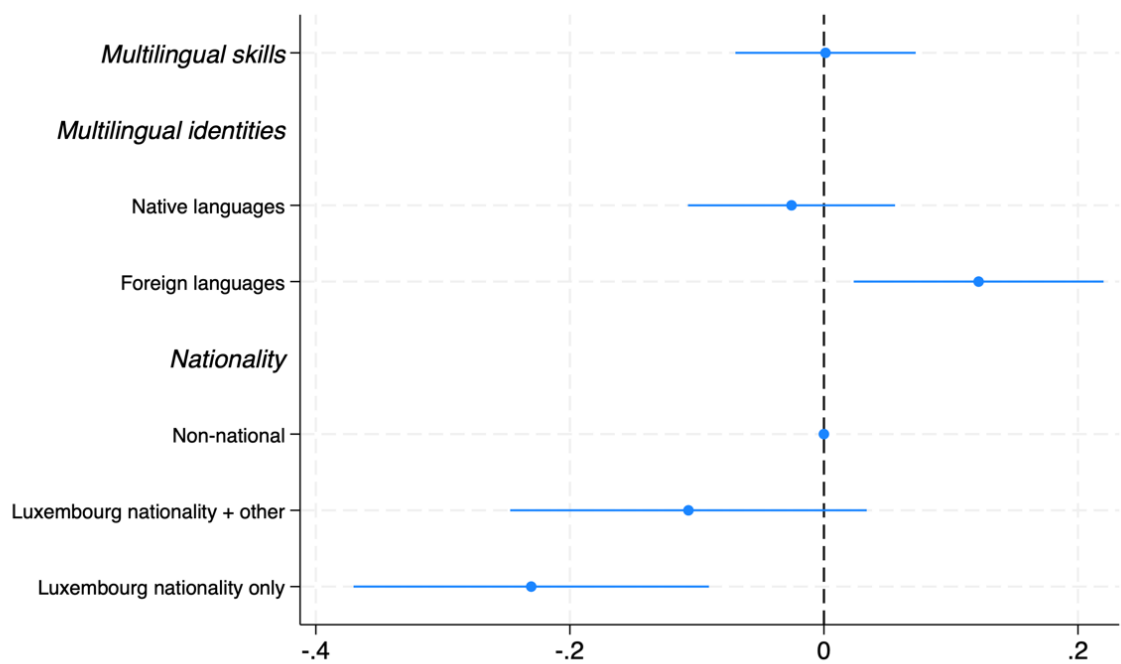
To test the universal learning impact of the vignette (H3) using data from W2, a second linear model (M2) was conducted with the treatment variable as the main predictor (see Appendix 5, Table B). To explore H4 and subgroup effects, the sample was stratified based on pre-treatment attitudes toward multilingual DMPs (measured in W1), categorizing respondents as initially positive, neutral, or negative. For robustness checks, M2 was re-estimated using weighted data, integrating control variables, and applying ordinal regression models (see Appendix 6, Table B).

Results

Perceptions of multilingual DMPs: more symbolism than practicalities?

Figure 19 presents the results of M1 (see Appendix 5 Table A for full specifications). Notably, they do not support the initial expectations: There is no significant relationship between individuals' multilingual skills (i.e., the number of languages they regularly speak) and their perceptions of multilingual DMPs, leading to the rejection of H1.

Figure 19 Results of the first model (M1)



Note: All control variables are included.

The analysis yields more significant results regarding the symbolic dimension of language. Consistent with H2, Figure 19 shows that individuals who hold only Luxembourgish nationality regard multilingual DMPs less favorably compared to non-nationals. This suggests that nationals are significantly more critical of these multilingual processes. Respondents who primarily speak foreign languages, such as French, English, or other non-native languages, show a positive and statistically significant association with perceptions of multilingual DMPs. Thus, non-natives tend to have more favorable views of these processes. Interestingly, speaking native languages, namely Luxembourgish or German, is negatively correlated with support for multilingual DMPs. However, this relationship loses statistical significance when nationality is considered, indicating that nationality has a more significant influence on shaping attitudes than the use of a native language alone. These findings remain robust across weighted data and ordinal regression models (see Appendix 6, Table A).

In essence, the findings indicate that nationality and linguistic identity significantly influence how individuals perceive the legitimacy of multilingual deliberative processes. Non-nationals and foreign language speakers are generally more supportive, while Luxembourgish nationals

and native speakers tend to be more critical of multilingual DMPs. When considering the findings from H1 and H2 together, it appears that public perceptions are less impacted by the practical dimension of multilingualism. This may suggest that multilingualism is not viewed as a practical barrier to deliberation, which explains why respondents' language skills do not significantly impact their perceptions of multilingual DMPs.

To further corroborate this interpretation, additional analyses (see Appendix 7 Interpretation Tests) are conducted using survey items that assessed respondents' attitudes toward the inclusion of non-nationals in DMPs³⁹ and their willingness to participate in such processes.⁴⁰ The results strongly confirm the divide highlighted above. Nationals and native speakers usually hold more exclusive views toward DMPs, showing reluctance to include non-nationals in such deliberative processes and demonstrating less willingness to participate. In contrast, non-nationals and foreign language speakers tend to exhibit more inclusive perspectives on DMPs and are more likely to accept participation.

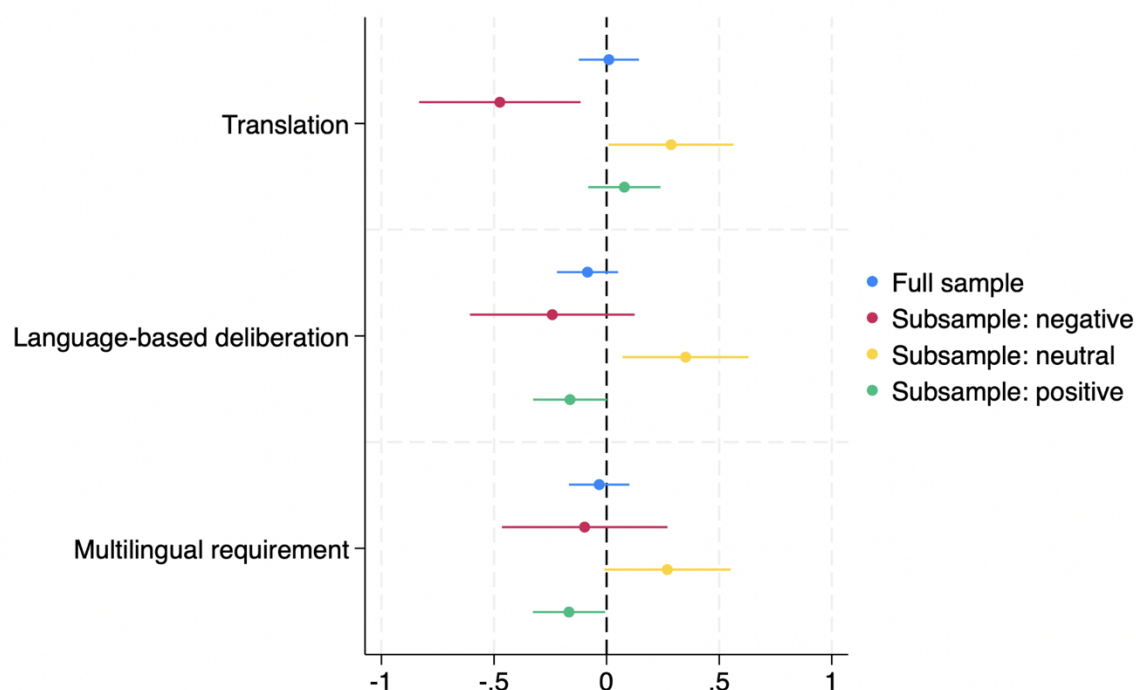
Does linguistic accommodation change public perceptions?

The analysis also aims to explore whether learning about the linguistic accommodations adopted by a DMP can influence public perceptions. Based on the vignette question, the results for M2 are summarized in Figure 20 (for the full model specification, see Appendix 5, Table B). The data shows no evidence that public perceptions become more positive after respondents learn about linguistic accommodations. There is no significant effect of the treatment variable (blue lines in Figure 20), leading to the rejection of H3. This might be explained by the above finding that practical aspects seem not central to understanding opinions on multilingual DMPs. Additionally, a relatively high proportion of respondents did not view multilingualism as a threat to deliberation in W1, which may indicate a ceiling effect. Consequently, there was limited capacity in the sample to observe a positive change in aggregate perceptions.

³⁹ The exact wording of the statement was 'Citizens' Assemblies like the KBR should involve only Luxembourg Nationals, and not residents who are not Luxembourg Nationals', with a 5-point answer scale of agreement.

⁴⁰ The exact wording of the question was 'If retained to be member of a Citizens' Assembly or public consultation on climate change or any other important issue in the future, how likely is it that you would participate?', with a 10-point answer scale.

Figure 20 Results of the second model (M2)



Sub-sample analyses of opinions before the treatment reveal varied responses to the information presented. While a positive impact was expected, particularly among skeptics (red lines in Figure 20), individuals with initially negative views did not alter their opinions after learning about linguistic selection criteria or language-based group assignments. Instead, their skepticism was reinforced upon encountering translation as a linguistic accommodation. As for neutral respondents, Figure 20 confirms the expectation that their support for multilingual DMPs grows after learning about linguistic accommodation, regardless of the specific accommodation. Additionally, the results of M2 offer unexpected insights. Figure 20 indicates that individuals who initially expressed positive attitudes toward multilingual DMPs reacted negatively when exposed to certain linguistic accommodations. More precisely, learning about language-based working groups and language-related selection criteria prompted a shift from positive to negative attitudes.

In summary, the findings, which hold across all robustness checks (see Appendix 5, Table C) provide partial support for H4. While skeptics remain unconvinced or become even more doubtful, neutral individuals are positively influenced by the information. Interestingly, those initially positive become more skeptical after learning about specific linguistic

accommodations. These results emphasize that pre-existing attitudes, rooted in national and linguistic identities, play a vital role in how linguistic accommodations are perceived and, ultimately, in shaping public perceptions regarding multilingual DMPs.

Discussion

The findings suggest that the maxi-public places greater emphasis on the symbolic aspect of language rather than its practical utility. This helps explain why respondents' language skills do not seem to influence their perceptions of multilingual DMPs. Additionally, while this chapter underscores that providing information about the design of these processes can enhance public perceptions (Már & Gastil, 2023), this effect is only significant for individuals without pre-formed opinions. In other words, the maxi-public appears to evaluate multilingual DMPs with a strong focus on the symbolic message it conveys regarding inclusivity.

Research on acculturation shows that societal views on democratic participation vary across different population segments, with nationals and non-nationals interpreting the concept of inclusion differently (Berry, 2006; Rohmann et al., 2006).⁴¹ For nationals, these perceptions often align with an assimilationist integration model. This model prioritizes the adoption of the dominant language(s) and cultural norms as essential for successful integration. Nationals expect immigrants to engage in all aspects of the dominant society's life while downplaying diversity (Rodríguez-García, 2010). They believe that non-nationals should learn the host society's language and norms before they can participate more fully in the political sphere (Callens et al., 2019; Murdock, 2016; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Breugelmans & Van De Vijver, 2004). Contrarily, non-nationals are more likely to support a multicultural approach that values diversity and promotes equal participation without requiring individuals to abandon their cultural identities (Berry & Ward, 2016; Verkuyten, 2011; Rodríguez-García, 2010). These insights help clarify why individuals facing social and political marginalization are often more inclined to support democratic innovations that challenge the status quo (Bedock & Pilet, 2020).

Also in Luxembourg, where there is widespread support for diversity and the preservation of ethnic identity (Murdock, 2016), nationals often hesitate to fully embrace the integration and participation of non-nationals (Stogianni et al., 2021; Murdock & Ferring, 2016). A notable example is the 2015 referendum in Luxembourg, during which the national community

⁴¹ In the discussion section, we consider nationality and linguistic identity collectively, categorizing individuals into two groups: 'nationals' (encompassing both nationals and native speakers) and 'non-nationals' (including non-nationals and foreign language speakers).

decisively rejected efforts to make politics more inclusive toward non-nationals (de Jonge, 2021). In summary, nationals tend to be more reluctant to extend political rights or influence to foreign residents. In this reading, the differing perspectives between nationals and non-nationals regarding multilingual DMPs are not surprising and can be understood through the lens of acculturation research.

The skepticism of nationals regarding the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs may arise from their strong attachment to traditional forms of political engagement. This attachment is often due to their access to established political channels and their deeper integration into their country's dominant cultural and linguistic context. To them, democratic innovations like multilingual deliberative processes may seem to undermine the sense of integration. They appear to see these initiatives as creating an opportunity for foreigners and non-native individuals, enabling them to engage socially and politically without the necessity of fully conforming to the cultural and linguistic standards of the host society. As a result, their reluctance toward multilingual DMPs can be associated with what Baetens-Beardsmore (2003) refers to as 'politico-ideological fears'; nationals might view multilingual DMPs as a danger to cultural uniformity, national identity, and the legitimacy of traditional political processes. They might also be concerned that these initiatives could diminish the prominence of their native language(s) in political discourse and decision-making (Velasco González et al., 2008).

This reluctance explains the negative shift in perceptions among those initially skeptical (i.e., nationals and natives) when informed about translation as a practical accommodation. They may view translation as a barrier to direct communication, undermining the immediacy and authenticity essential for effective deliberation (Peled & Bonotti, 2019; Doerr, 2012; Fiket et al., 2011; Longman, 2007). Furthermore, nationals likely assume that the deliberative process occurs in at least one of the country's official languages, thereby assuming that they are less likely to encounter communication barriers. In this context, they may fear that multilingual DMPs accommodated by translation grant special privileges to non-nationals, doubting the ability of non-nationals to master their native languages. Simply put, nationals may see the emphasis on linguistic accommodations as a threat to the prominence of their language(s) or as an unnecessary concession to non-national groups. Concerns about the practicality and costs of implementing translation may further exacerbate this skepticism. They may view the costs of accommodating non-nationals as an additional burden, particularly if they view the accommodations as inefficient or unnecessary (Velasco González et al., 2008). Furthermore,

they may believe that participation in the political system should be conducted exclusively in the official languages, with proficiency in those languages seen as a requirement for engaging in democratic life (see Bonotti & Willoughby, 2022). Ultimately, nationals may fear that multilingual DMPs and translations as linguistic accommodation alter the fundamental character of their state (Rubin, 2017) and reduce the incentive for non-nationals to pursue what they see as genuine integration, which they believe should be rooted in assimilation into the dominant culture and language(s).

Non-national residents, in contrast, often face challenges in having their voices heard and influencing policy-making since they cannot participate in national elections. These experiences likely heighten their awareness of the importance of inclusivity, which multilingualism and DMPs can facilitate. As a result, their support for multilingual DMPs reflects a broader desire for representation and meaningful participation in political decision-making, as well as a wish for greater societal integration. In this context, their positive views on multilingual DMPs endorse democratic structures that respect and embrace multiculturalism. Essentially, multilingual DMPs embody an integration framework that respects diversity, challenging traditional models that require cultural homogenization for political inclusion, and aligning with the aspirations of marginalized groups seeking to reshape political systems to reflect their diverse experiences and identities (Karpowitz et al., 2009; Bellamy, 2000). Accordingly, this research challenges existing evidence suggesting that individuals typically underrepresented in everyday politics are less inclined to engage in deliberative processes (Gherghina et al., 2021). In this case, the large group of residents that does not belong to the national community, and is thus not represented through elected institutions, is not only more supportive of alternative participatory instruments like DMPs but also more likely to actively engage with them.

However, it is not surprising that those who initially positively regard the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs (i.e., non-nationals and non-natives) may exhibit a negative shift in their perceptions when faced with language-based working groups and language-related selection criteria. This reaction likely stems from a belief that such measures unintentionally create barriers to inclusion. They may worry that language-based groups could fragment discussions, limiting the exchange of perspectives across linguistic divides, viewing such an accommodation as divisive and obstructive to collaborative decision-making. This perspective aligns with intergroup theory, which suggests that increased interaction between in-groups and out-groups

fosters positive relationships and influences perceptions of the out-group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, 1998).

Furthermore, there may be concerns about the perceived unfairness or exclusionary nature of language-related selection criteria. Non-nationals might fear being excluded from the political process if they do not meet language proficiency requirements. Additionally, these accommodations may be perceived as signaling exclusion, effectively reintroducing or amplifying obstacles to participation. For non-nationals, such accommodations may seem to ‘re-marginalize’ them, undermining the ideals of multiculturalism and diversity that multilingual DMPs promote in their opinion. Consequently, their support for these mechanisms may diminish when they perceive linguistic accommodations as conflicting with the principles of inclusivity and integration. This shift indicates concerns that extend beyond practical language skills; it reflects a broader frustration with institutional structures that, whether intentionally or unintentionally, appear to limit their integration and participation.

Essentially, the tensions surrounding multilingual DMPs in Luxembourg reflect deeper, ongoing debates about integration, societal change, and the limits of political inclusion. Notably, public attitudes toward multilingual DMPs reveal the challenges of integration in diverse societies, underscoring the complexity of finding effective ways for diverse communities to coexist harmoniously and ensure that all affected are included in social and political life (Berry & Ward, 2016). While the findings support existing scholarship that recognizes the appeal of inclusive democratic innovations like DMPs for politically marginalized or excluded groups, they also reveal a new insight: Non-native, non-national residents are eager to engage in political life, but their willingness often meets skepticism from native nationals. This disparity indicates that it is essential to consider social and political inequalities when evaluating support for democratic innovations (Ceka & Magalhães, 2020). Policymakers must navigate these conflicting priorities to ensure that democratic innovations such as DMPs are inclusive and widely accepted. Success depends on thoughtful design and transparent communication, emphasizing the complementary role of DMPs to traditional political structures rather than positioning them as disruptive alternatives. When presented as enhancements to established political frameworks, these innovations can create unique opportunities to involve marginalized groups in policy-making without fundamentally altering established political norms for the national population.

The findings on linguistic accommodation carry important implications for designing and implementing DMPs in multilingual contexts. They reveal that attitudes toward linguistic accommodations are influenced by nationality and linguistic identity, which, in turn, are shaped by societal dynamics. As a result, a one-size-fits-all approach to DMPs is inadequate, emphasizing the need for thoughtful, inclusive design and transparent communication both within and about DMPs. To navigate the complexities of multilingual processes and gain broad public support, DMPs must address a range of concerns and expectations. This includes careful use of translation, although often praised and promoted in the literature, minimizing language-based segmentation, and developing inclusive selection criteria that avoid unintentionally marginalizing linguistic groups.

Conclusion

This chapter examined public attitudes toward multilingual DMPs in Luxembourg, focusing on how these perceptions vary across population groups and evolve when respondents learn about practical accommodations. The findings indicate that multilingualism is generally not viewed as a barrier to the effectiveness of DMPs. Hence, learning about practical accommodations did not significantly alter perceptions. However, the research also demonstrated that the reception of various linguistic accommodations differs based on pre-existing beliefs about multilingual DMPs, which are shaped by national and linguistic identity. The key finding of this research is that non-national residents and non-natives view multilingual DMPs more positively than native nationals. Non-native, non-nationals tend to possess a more favorable outlook and a greater willingness to engage in deliberative processes overall.

These findings were contextualized within broader debates on integration, underscoring language's dual role as a practical communication tool and a symbolic marker of identity and belonging. In doing so, the chapter illuminates the complexities of multilingual DMPs and their potential to promote inclusion and integration in diverse societies, carrying broader implications for societies experiencing demographic and cultural shifts due to factors such as globalization and migration. These demographic realities often amplify protectionist sentiments among national populations, who may view growing multiculturalism and demands for accommodations as potential threats to national cohesion and cultural identity. Simultaneously, the non-national population advocates for greater inclusion and participation in societal and political affairs. Although this research focuses on Luxembourg, where non-national residents nearly outnumber native residents, the findings raise critical, universal questions about

inclusion in – deliberative – decision-making: Who should participate? When and under what conditions should political rights be granted to non-national residents? How can democratic innovations balance inclusivity with social cohesion? As globalization and migration continue to transform societies, answering these questions will be a key challenge for policymakers striving to foster inclusivity without undermining social unity.

In conclusion, this study highlights the importance of examining language and culture in the context of deliberative democratic practices and the evolving nature of public engagement in diverse societies, more broadly. Future research should further explore the observed dynamics through cross-national comparative studies and qualitative approaches, such as interviews and focus groups, to capture the nuanced motivations behind public attitudes toward multilingual DMPs. Ultimately, adopting a contextual lens to understand public attitudes toward DMPs is crucial for ensuring that democratic innovations fulfill their normative promise of making policy-making more effective and legitimate. As societies become increasingly diverse, addressing these challenges becomes ever more urgent to foster meaningful participation and strengthen social cohesion.

Chapter 8: Conclusion – Input, Throughput, and Output Legitimacy

From Tower of Babel to Multilingual Deliberative Democracy: Lessons Learned

This chapter synthesizes the key empirical findings of the dissertation, exploring their implications for the relationship between deliberative democracy and multilingualism, particularly within the framework of deliberative mini-publics such as citizens' assemblies. The conclusion is organized into six sections for clarity and depth. The first section provides a concise summary of the central argument of the thesis. The second section examines the findings of the analytical chapters, focusing on how linguistic diversity shaped inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, thereby addressing the core research question. The third section delves into the broader implications of multilingual citizens' assemblies, highlighting their potential trade-offs. The fourth section critically reflects on the study's limitations and blind spots, offering a balanced appraisal of its scope, whereas the fifth section outlines promising directions for future research, paving the way for further exploration in this dynamic field. Finally, the sixth section concludes with some final reflections.

Summary of the Argument

“The limits of my language mean the limits of my world.”

- Ludwig Wittgenstein⁴²

This thesis began with an assessment: Language, and by extension, multilingualism is underappreciated in the theoretical and empirical research on deliberative democracy. One could argue that a vicious cycle exists. The limited attention given to language and linguistic diversity within the theoretical field of deliberative democracy has led to a scarcity of empirical insights, which in turn perpetuates the lack of theoretical development on this crucial aspect. This gap in both theory and practice creates significant challenges. As Roberts et al. (2023) note, the lack of comprehensive research on the practicalities of multilingual DMPs means that there is little information available to guide the design and implementation of such processes. In other words, the limited understanding of multilingual DMPs not only hampers our ability to engage with these processes but also prompts a deeper, paradoxical question: If research on

⁴² Original quotation: “*Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt*” (Martland, 1975, p. 19)

linguistic diversity is so scarce, can we truly claim that linguistic considerations are crucial to the study and practice of deliberative democracy?

This dissertation extends beyond the confines of deliberative democracy to assert that linguistic considerations are important. More precisely, drawing on interdisciplinary research and insights, this thesis placed linguistic considerations at the center of deliberative democracy and its processes. First, language is a crucial aspect of representation, impacting both accessibility and public perceptions. Second, deliberative democracy is inherently linguistic as deliberation occurs in and through language. A third and related virtue of multilingualism is the enhanced contribution it makes to collaborative knowledge and complex policy endeavors, as Droz et al. (2023, p. 874) observe, “We argue that plural perspectives cannot be achieved without multilingualism in the sources and processes, especially for organizing knowledge coproduction that underpins high-level governance of science/policy initiatives.” Different languages can enrich the deliberative process by providing diverse perspectives, leading to more comprehensive and well-rounded outcomes. A multilingual deliberative process, therefore, has the potential to generate better-informed decisions and legitimacy in the democratic system. Last, linguistic considerations are vital due to the critical need for designing and implementing deliberative processes tailored to the specific contexts in which they will function.

This research then advocates for a fundamental shift in how we approach the relationship between language and deliberative democracy. Deliberative democratic theory often operates under the assumption of a common language, overlooking the reality that many societies are linguistically diverse and reinforcing the ‘monolingual mindset’. We must challenge these traditional notions and move away from the assumption that a common language is essential for the deliberative model of democracy. Therefore, this thesis began by emphasizing the need for deliberative democratic processes, such as CAs, to embrace linguistic plurality instead of adhering to a dominant monolingual framework, especially in contexts where linguistic diversity is prevalent. A multilingual perspective on deliberative democracy addresses the bias present in the status quo by considering linguistic diversity as an asset that can enhance deliberative democracy and its processes. Essentially, rather than descending into the chaos symbolized by the Tower of Babel, addressing linguistic considerations in deliberative democracy serves to enhance the real-world applicability of these processes, ensuring that they

are equipped to navigate the complexities of diverse societies while upholding democratic ideals.

To support and guide this adaptive approach, the thesis developed an operational matrix. This matrix facilitates the systematic evaluation of multilingual DMPs and offers a practical framework for designing these processes in a way that is both responsive and contextually appropriate. Through the complementary case study approach of the BK and KBR, this dissertation has demonstrated the practical value of the matrix. This thesis concludes that the – possible – integration of linguistic considerations within DMPs must be situated within two interconnected layers, namely the broader societal context and the particular context of the process itself – reflecting the unique scope and purpose of the DMP. These layers serve as foundational anchors, guiding the structure, priorities, and strategies for integrating linguistic diversity in a way that aligns with both the wider social dynamics and the process’ distinct objectives. Ultimately, while this dissertation does not claim that there are no issues or challenges with a multilingual understanding of deliberative democracy, it, nevertheless, emphasizes the need to consider linguistic factors in both the study and practice of deliberative democracy. However, it also recognizes that there is no universal framework for integrating linguistic diversity into deliberative settings. Additionally, rather than advocating for the blanket implementation of multilingualism in all processes, or a one-size-fits-all solution for reconciling multilingualism with deliberative democracy, the thesis highlights the importance of thoughtfully and contextually addressing linguistic diversity. This perspective challenges existing theories that promote uniform frameworks or standardized methods in deliberative practices. By acknowledging that the practice of deliberative democracy differs based on the socio-political composition of each context, including linguistic factors, this thesis emphasizes the need for a flexible, context-sensitive model. Simply put, an effective deliberative model must be carefully tailored to the unique needs of each setting.

Moving beyond theoretical considerations that provided a clearer sense of the place of language and multilingualism in deliberative democratic theory and practice, the thesis turned to the existing empirical research on multilingual DMPs. It found that, although research exists, it has primarily focused on the impact of multilingualism on the quality of deliberation, demonstrating that citizens can engage in deliberation within linguistically diverse environments (see Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018; Caluwaerts, 2012; Fiket et al., 2011; Fishkin, 2009). Building on research beyond the realm of deliberative democracy, it is well-established that language

and, by extension, multilingualism affects not only the format of communication (i.e., authenticity) but also who can participate (i.e., inclusivity), as well as the outcomes of the process and public perceptions (i.e., consequentiality). Hence, existing studies address only a fraction of the broader picture. This leaves us uncertain about the extent to which linguistic diversity – is perceived to – impact deliberative democratic processes *per se*. Accordingly, this dissertation ventured into uncharted territory in deliberative democracy research, guided by the following central research question:

How does linguistic diversity impact the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of citizens' assemblies?

Drawing on data collected from two Luxembourgish CAs, namely the BK and the KBR, and guided by the operational matrix, this dissertation sought to remedy the significant gap in the literature. The overall picture emerging from this thesis is a largely positive one, which is explored in greater detail in the following section. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the evidence gathered in this thesis is preliminary and suggests caution in making sweeping generalizations.

Summary of the Results

This thesis created a flow from identifying the problem of neglecting multilingualism and linguistic considerations to proposing a flexible, context-based matrix. Building on this framework, the thesis established a comprehensive understanding of how multilingualism interacts with deliberative practices and principles, providing an answer to this thesis overarching research question. Consequently, the following section is divided into four parts. The first section examines the input legitimacy of multilingual DMPs, with a particular focus on their inclusivity. The second section addresses throughput legitimacy, emphasizing the role of authenticity in the deliberative process. The third section explores output legitimacy, concentrating on consequentiality as reflected in preference transformations and public endorsement. Finally, a conclusion brings together the findings, providing a comprehensive overview.

Input legitimacy

This thesis conceptualized input legitimacy as the representativity and inclusivity of multilingual deliberative processes, focusing on who participates and whether the deliberative body – is perceived to – adequately reflects the broader society’s diversity. In this framework, it goes beyond mere numerical representation.

Chapter Four revealed that the BK and KBR undertook deliberate – linguistic – efforts to promote representativity and inclusivity. A significant aspect of these efforts was the thoughtful integration of specific languages, which played a pivotal role in shaping the composition of the assemblies. By choosing languages that reflect Luxembourg’s societal diversity, these processes effectively engaged national residents, foreign residents, and cross-border workers. Despite this achievement, neither the BK nor the KBR attained perfect representativity, a challenging, if not impossible, standard for any deliberative process. The assemblies performed well in terms of representativity across key socio-demographic categories such as gender, age, and income. However, notable gaps emerged concerning educational attainment and nationality. Both processes demonstrated an over-representation of highly educated individuals and Luxembourgish nationals. This raises important questions: To what extent do the observed shortcomings in representativity relate to the integration of multilingualism? Put differently, did the linguistic dimension of the processes inadvertently contribute to the over-representation of highly educated participants and non-nationals? Without wanting to underestimate the importance of language, it is unlikely to be the sole factor driving these patterns.

The over-representation of highly educated individuals in DMPs is a well-documented trend, often linked to self-selection biases, as lower-educated individuals may lack the confidence or resources to participate. However, this phenomenon becomes more complex when considering the relationship between lower educational attainment and limited language skills (Pereira & Ortiz, 2022). In multilingual contexts, this connection can exacerbate the underrepresentation of lower-educated individuals. The integration of multilingualism, while aiming for inclusivity, may intensify feelings of inadequacy or exclusion. As a result, multilingual processes can inadvertently reinforce disparities in engagement. Considering the linguistic selection criteria and accommodations in both the BK and KBR processes, this may help explain why the over-representation of highly educated individuals was more pronounced in the BK process compared to the KBR process.

In terms of nationality, both processes experienced an over-representation of nationals. While this could be attributed to the notion that nationals are more inclined to participate in such processes, Chapter Seven revealed the opposite to be true: Non-nationals are more willing to engage in these processes than nationals. The under-representation of non-nationals is mainly related to selection criteria, rather than the integration of multilingualism *per se*. In the case of the BK, which had a more significant over-representation of nationals than the KBR, the strict linguistic requirement favored individuals with greater proficiency in the country's official languages, who are more likely to be nationals. Chapter Seven indeed demonstrated that non-nationals perceive such criteria as exclusionary, minimizing their endorsement of multilingual DMPs. The rigid focus on language skills thus unintentionally created a barrier for those who may have been willing and able to contribute but lacked proficiency in the official languages, something also remarked upon by those involved. Collectively, the observations regarding representation underscore the importance of accounting account for the intersectionality of language with other forms of marginalization, such as socio-economic status, education, and nationality.

However, the observed shortcomings in representation, as well as the difference in participant demographics between the BK and KBR could also be influenced by factors beyond linguistic criteria, such as the size of the process. Smaller CAs, like the BK, are more likely to exhibit distorted participant profiles simply due to their limited size. Larger processes like the KBR tend to have a broader and more diverse pool of participants, allowing for a more representative sample. This is then also linked to another critical consideration: The more criteria required for participant selection, especially in smaller DMPs, the more difficult it becomes to achieve representativity across all criteria. Smaller CAs have a limited pool of potential participants, meaning that the application of multiple selection criteria can narrow the pool even further, leading to a participant group that is skewed toward those who are better equipped to meet these requirements. In contrast, larger processes can afford to cast a wider net, increasing the likelihood of achieving representativity across different demographic and socio-economic groups. Ultimately, the more stringent and numerous the criteria, the more difficult it is to ensure that the process reflects the full spectrum of society, especially when the scale of the process is limited.

Moving beyond a purely numerical assessment, both BK and KBR made significant strides in assembling a diverse group of participants, encompassing not only Luxembourgish nationals

but also non-nationals and cross-border workers. This is a critical attainment, especially in a context like Luxembourg, where nearly half of the population comprises non-national residents. The inclusion of this demographic is particularly noteworthy, given their exclusion from national electoral processes.⁴³ Additionally, the participant composition in the KBR demonstrated a meaningful diversity in terms of residency duration, including both long-term residents and more recent arrivals. This diversity further reflects the broad range of experiences and perspectives that were represented in the deliberative process, which is a positive achievement.

Overall, the perceptions of participants, facilitators, and organizers underlined the importance of integrating linguistic diversity in Luxembourgish processes, emphasizing that embracing multilingualism is crucial for creating a truly inclusive Luxembourgish process. They argued that the multilingual nature of the processes recognized the linguistic diversity inherent in Luxembourg's society, thereby positioning its integration into DMPs as both necessary and valuable, even if it demands additional organizational efforts. These findings were re-iterated in Chapter Five, where participants perceived the integration of linguistic diversity as boosting the inclusivity of the process, remarking that it not only enhanced the accessibility of the assemblies but also allowed for a more authentic representation of the varied experiences and perspectives within the community. Ultimately, the findings reinforce a central tenet of sociolinguistics: Language is not merely a tool for communication but a crucial determinant of inclusion and exclusion (Phillipson, 2012, 1992, 1988; Patten, 2001; Kymlicka, 2001; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988). Put differently, the thesis highlights the profound impact language has on the inclusivity of deliberative processes, showing how it shapes who can participate.

Throughput legitimacy

In this thesis, throughput legitimacy was examined through the lens of the perceived (e)quality of multilingual deliberation, with a specific focus on the nature of participants' interactions. Rather than measuring actual deliberation using tools like the DQI, the emphasis was placed on

⁴³ While this thesis did not have the opportunity to directly compare monolingual and multilingual processes in Luxembourg to determine whether multilingual formats provide more opportunities for non-nationals to participate, the inclusion of non-nationals in both the BK and KBR remains a significant finding in itself. However, further research could provide a comparative analysis of monolingual and multilingual DMPs, exploring how each format impacts the inclusivity and participation of diverse groups.

exploring participants' experiences with multilingual deliberation and assessing whether they felt the discussions adhered to the principle of authenticity.

Chapter Five illuminated generally positive perceptions regarding the multilingual BK and its communication. Empirical data revealed that the perceived quality of deliberation was high, meeting the standard of authenticity. Participants felt they were able to express differing opinions freely and had equal opportunities to speak, while also recognizing that they listened to one another and engaged respectfully. Members further reported low levels of exclusion and hesitation due to language barriers, indicating that the multilingual environment was not considered a barrier to effective, qualitative, and equal deliberation. Although some members noted the presence of a dominant language, their perceptions of this linguistic dominance seemed closely linked to their language proficiency. Specifically, participants were more likely to identify the language they were least proficient in as the dominant one. Interestingly, this suggests that perceptions of language dominance may not solely stem from an objective imbalance, but rather are shaped by individual experiences of language use.

In relation to Chapter Four, the BK members remarked on the potential exclusionary nature of the strict linguistic selection criterion. However, at the same time, they underscored that this criterion facilitated multilingual deliberation, particularly in the absence of linguistic accommodations. Notably, contrary to expectations from existing literature, which often portrays language diversity as a – potential – barrier to effective communication, BK members argued that multilingualism stimulated cognitive engagement. The freedom to express themselves in their preferred language allowed for clearer communication and the presentation of more nuanced ideas. In this sense, they appreciated the fact that linguistic diversity brought a wider range of perspectives, thereby enriching debates and leading to more comprehensive discussions. Consequently, members felt that multilingualism contributed to a more robust and credible deliberative outcome. These findings resonate with research on representation, underlining that language as an element of descriptive representation plays a crucial role in facilitating intersubjective knowledge construction. Additionally, it aligns with research on multilingualism, which emphasizes that multilingualism is beneficial as it ensures the inclusion of diverse perspectives, ultimately enhancing both knowledge and outcomes (Droz et al., 2023; Nawaz, 2023; Stein-Smith, 2021; Berthoud & Gajo, 2020; Trudgill, 2000).

In the absence of formal linguistic accommodations, the BK members highlighted several key factors they believed were essential for the effectiveness of the multilingual process. Beyond

straightforward elements such as participants' language skills, including their code-switching habits, they emphasized the importance of a good group dynamic and effective multilingual facilitation. Participants also pointed out the significance of linguistic selection criteria. They noted that the BK's strict recruitment criterion facilitated communication despite the lack of formal linguistic support, and they particularly valued the transparent application of this criterion. The clarity of the requirement, combined with transparent communication during recruitment, was viewed as crucial for fostering a sense of fairness. It ensured that individuals understood the reasoning and necessity behind such a criterion, as well as reassured them that the language policies of the process aimed at promoting equal participation. Lastly, the members stressed that the authentic representation of Luxembourg's multilingual reality within the BK was a critical factor in its effectiveness. For the participants, the multilingual nature of the process mirrored the everyday linguistic diversity of Luxembourg, making it feel genuine and directly relevant to their lived experiences. Drawing on the 'systemic turn' which emphasizes the importance between deliberative processes and their socio-political context (Böker, 2017) participants highlighted the importance of designing processes that are contextually grounded, ensuring they reflect the unique – linguistic – dynamics of the setting – as also visible in Chapter Four.

Collectively, the findings summarize the practical experiences and responses to engaging in a multilingual deliberative environment, offering a nuanced perspective of what it is like to participate in such processes. The BK members' perceptions align with findings from research on the quality of multilingual deliberation, further validating that multilingual deliberative processes are indeed feasible and can effectively uphold the principle of authenticity (see Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018; Caluwaerts, 2012; Fiket et al., 2011; Fishkin, 2009). Notably, contrarily to the existing research, which tends to fixate on multilingualism as a potential barrier, possibly hindering or slowing down the deliberations, the BK members celebrated its richness, highlighting the value it brought to the process. This underscores the importance of participants' subjective experiences in assessing the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs. Rather than viewing multilingualism solely through a utilitarian lens, participants' perceptions uncover findings and notions that might otherwise be overlooked. Their perspectives shift the emphasis from efficiency or ease of communication to the broader democratic principles that multilingualism can help realize.

Output legitimacy

The output legitimacy of multilingual CAs was considered from two perspectives in this thesis: (i) participants' preference transformation, and (ii) public endorsement. This dual focus highlights that output legitimacy concerns both the experiences of participants and the perceptions of the maxi-public, underscoring the importance of designing processes that are not only internally robust but also externally credible, reflecting the values and diversity of the society they aim to serve.

Chapter Six, building on the KBR, revealed that multilingual deliberation fosters preference transformations. Notably, the study highlighted the profound and positive impact of the in-person deliberative phase, which significantly reduced participants' negativity toward the feasibility of multilingual DMPs. While some of these positive effects persisted during the subsequent online phase, the data indicated a noticeable erosion of positive sentiment and a corresponding increase in negative perceptions. Whereas strong negative views about multilingual processes diminished dramatically during the in-person phase, these returned after the online phase. These shifts suggest that face-to-face interaction plays a crucial role in reducing skepticism and fostering a more optimistic view of the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs. In contrast, the online phase appears to have limited capacity to sustain the positive outlook cultivated during in-person deliberations, leading to the re-emergence of doubts about the efficacy of multilingual DMPs. This finding underscores the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation while drawing attention to the pivotal role of the deliberative format in unlocking this potential.

The conclusion that face-to-face engagement is particularly effective in driving positive opinion changes in multilingual processes is especially striking, particularly in a world increasingly shaped by both linguistic diversity and digital connectivity. While digital platforms are often favored for their convenience and accessibility, this analysis reveals that they may inadvertently limit the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation. However, these findings are not entirely surprising, as research on online deliberation similarly suggests that while online deliberation leads to changes in participants' preferences, face-to-face interactions are generally more effective in positively transforming participants' opinions. This underscores the continued relevance of in-person deliberations, even as digital tools offer more accessible alternatives. For stakeholders, these findings serve as a cautionary note: The deliberative format is not merely a

logistical decision but a strategic one that can shape the overall – perceived – success of multilingual DMPs, including its impact on participants.

More broadly, the finding that multilingual DMPs facilitate preference transformation is a significant and positive development, particularly when juxtaposed against the common perception that linguistic diversity hinders, or even endangers, mutual understanding. Linguistic diversity is frequently framed as a barrier in deliberative settings, with concerns that differences in language could create communication gaps, exacerbate misunderstandings, or deepen divisions among participants. These challenges, in turn, are often presumed to undermine the deliberative process, thereby impeding the possibility of genuine preference transformation. However, the evidence from the KBR challenges this pessimistic narrative. Preference transformation, an essential indicator of deliberative success, signifies that participants are not only listening to one another – as also confirmed in Chapter Five – but are also engaging deeply enough to reconsider or evolve their viewpoints. Achieving such transformation in a multilingual setting underscores the potential of these processes to bridge linguistic divides and foster mutual understanding.

Chapter Seven offered valuable insights into the broader societal reception of multilingual DMPs, finding that individual multilingualism, or respondents' linguistic skills, does not significantly influence public perceptions of the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs. This indicates that the maxi-public's evaluation is largely influenced by the symbolic dimension of multilingual DMPs rather than by practical concerns – a similar finding was observed for participants in Chapter Five. Additionally, although the maxi-public generally viewed multilingual DMPs positively, the analysis revealed notable differences between nationals and non-nationals. Interestingly, nationals were less inclined to participate in DMPs and more cautious about including non-national residents, while non-nationals were more open to both participating and supporting the inclusion of other non-nationals. Such a finding challenges existing evidence that suggests individuals typically underrepresented in mainstream politics are less inclined to engage in deliberative processes (Gherghina et al., 2021). In the context of Luxembourg, this finding is particularly significant, given the substantial proportion of non-national residents within the population. The finding that nationals are more critical of multilingual DMPs than non-nationals is, therefore, not entirely unexpected.

Drawing on acculturation studies, the symbolic value of multilingual DMPs, serving as symbols of integration, appears to hold great weight for nationals and non-nationals. Nationals'

skepticism likely stems from a perceived challenge to traditional notions of representation and integration coupled to discomfort with expanding inclusivity to encompass non-nationals. In contrast, for non-nationals, the inclusive dimension may be particularly meaningful, as multilingual DMPs provide a rare avenue for participation in decision-making processes from which they are often excluded. The examination further shed light on the maxi-public's perceptions of linguistic accommodations, further revealing notable differences between nationals and non-nationals. Nationals, who were initially more skeptical, became even more negative when informed about translation as an accommodation. Conversely, non-nationals, who tended to view multilingual DMPs more favorably, showed increased negativity when exposed to information about linguistic selection criteria and language-based working groups. For nationals, who tend to prefer an assimilationist integration perspective, translation is not only costly but also minimizes the need for non-nationals to acquire proficiency in the official language(s). For non-nationals, who tend to prefer a multicultural integration perspective, linguistic selection criteria and language-based working groups seem to re-introduce exclusionary measures to participation. Interestingly, respondents who were initially neutral exhibited a more positive outlook upon learning about all forms of linguistic accommodations. This emphasizes the importance and added-value of transparent communication.

These conclusions underscore the significant interplay between public perceptions of democratic innovations, like DMPs, and the perspectives of the maxi-public on key societal issues, particularly integration. This is especially relevant given that DMPs typically prioritize residency over nationality in participant recruitment, shaping how these processes are viewed and engaged with by different groups. More broadly, these findings suggest that the effectiveness and acceptance of DMPs cannot be viewed in isolation but must account for the diverse socio-political contexts of different demographic groups.

To sum up ...

Taking the above findings together, the following can be said about how linguistic diversity impacts the inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of multilingual CAs (see Table 33). First, the multilingual nature of both processes, including the selection of languages that resonate with Luxembourg's diverse makeup, contributed to representative CAs and promoted inclusivity, as defined by the all-affected principle (Curato et al., 2019; Bächtiger et al., 2018; Dryzek, 2009). Second, the experiences of the BK participants highlighted that the multilingual deliberation involved “mutual communication that involves weighing and reflecting on

preferences, values, and interests regarding matters of common concern” (Bächtiger et al., 2018, p. 2; Mansbridge, 2015) and occurred under conditions of equality and fairness, rooted in attentive listening (Bächtiger & Parkinson, 2019; Owen & Smith, 2015; Goold et al., 2012; Bächtiger et al., 2010; Mansbridge et al., 2010; Dryzek, 2002). Simply put, the multilingual deliberation aligned with the principle of authenticity. Third, multilingual CAs achieve consequentiality. More precisely, multilingual deliberation significantly reshaped participants’ preferences and attitudes toward the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs. Although the deliberative format seemed to amplify the transformative potential of multilingual deliberation, the preference transformation experienced by KBR participants remains a crucial outcome (Fishkin et al., 2021; Curato et al., 2017; Niemeyer, 2011; Gastil et al., 2008). Additionally, while differences were observed between nationals and non-nationals, the findings indicate that the general public broadly supports multilingual DMPs (Pilet et al., 2023).

In essence, the BK and KBR emphasize that recognizing linguistic diversity can foster more inclusive processes, ensure the involvement of those typically excluded, enhance the perceived quality of deliberation, and ultimately advance the broader goals of deliberative democracy in diverse societies. Consequently, the findings reveal that the BK and KBR generally align with the principles of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Moreover, the conclusions shed light on how the integration of multilingualism and its impact confirms insights into multilingualism from research beyond deliberative democracy, further reinforcing the significance of considering multilingualism in the study and practice of deliberative democracy.

However, the findings also reveal that linguistic diversity shapes these core principles in complex ways. Crucially, language remained a potential source of exclusion. This was especially evident in the case of the BK, where participants noted that the real challenge lay not in the multilingual nature of the process but in how linguistic diversity was integrated. This suggests that inclusivity cannot be achieved solely by offering multiple languages; it is how linguistic diversity is incorporated and managed that ultimately determines the inclusivity of the process. For instance, relaxed proficiency-based linguistic criteria can foster inclusivity by enabling broader participation, but they depend on adequate resources. Without these, stricter proficiency-based criteria may be necessary. While such criteria can address practical constraints, they risk undermining inclusivity – excluding individuals with lower proficiency in the selected languages, typically those who speak non-dominant or non-official languages. The importance of – financial – resources is underscored here; linguistic accommodations, such as

translation and multilingual facilitation, are essential for ensuring accessibility in multilingual discussions but are heavily dependent on resource availability. Limited resources may make linguistic accommodations unfeasible, forcing the adoption of stricter linguistic selection criteria – or even influence the decision to organize the process monolingually. Essentially, without adequate resources, even well-intentioned efforts can fall short, leading to unintentional exclusions or inequalities in the deliberative process. At the same time, the inclusive nature of multilingual DMPs may raise skepticism among the maxi-public, particularly nationals. This results in a dichotomy: Whereas the national maxi-public may question whether the benefits of inclusivity justify the financial and logistical complexities, particularly when non-nationals are involved, non-nationals may feel that the process falls short of representing society as a whole.

Importantly, although these findings stem from a specific context that is both officially multilingual and shaped by the presence of migrant languages and particularly a significant share of non-national residents – meaning the nuances of this discussion may vary in other multilingual settings – this thesis' conclusions can be interpreted more broadly. They underscore a complex interplay between inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality, highlighting the interdependence of the various elements in the operational matrix. The linguistic landscape, including factors such as territorial separation and linguistic proximity, in combination with the scope and objectives of the process, plays a pivotal role in shaping the selection of languages, including which languages are prioritized. The practicality of implementing this selection is shaped by resource availability, which significantly influences the feasibility and effectiveness of linguistic accommodations. This directly impacts the consequentiality of the deliberative process since the maxi-public's perceptions are closely tied to the multilingual design, including how they perceive the fairness and adequacy of the linguistic accommodations provided. Moreover, resource considerations play a pivotal role in shaping the scope and nature of linguistic accommodations and impact the stringency of linguistic selection criteria. This, in turn, has a direct impact on the inclusivity and authenticity of the process, as it dictates the extent to which diverse linguistic groups are represented and impacts their engagement in the deliberative discourse. This interplay generates a dynamic feedback loop wherein decisions made regarding language inclusion, the practical constraints faced, the linguistic accommodations selected, and the selection criteria employed continuously influence one another. Notably, the decisions made at the outset influence the criteria for participation, the quality of interaction among participants, the possibility for preference transformation, and the endorsement of the maxi-public. Each decision has a cascading effect

on the overall inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality of the multilingual deliberative process, resulting in a highly interdependent system where contextual realities and initial design choices shape not only the linguistic accessibility of the process but also its capacity to foster equitable and impactful democratic engagement. Put differently, while multilingual CAs may aim for broad inclusivity, this pursuit can affect authenticity and consequentiality. Conversely, striving for meaningful authenticity might impact inclusivity and consequentiality, whereas focusing on consequentiality could influence inclusivity and authenticity. These tensions suggest a delicate balance between aspiration and reality.

Furthermore, this thesis suggests that effective deliberative democracy in multilingual contexts requires flexibility, adaptability, and ongoing reflection, as these processes are inherently dynamic and must evolve with the needs and circumstances of the participants and the broader public. Essentially, this emphasizes that the dynamics of CAs cannot be understood or managed through a one-size-fits-all model; instead, deliberative processes must be custom-tailored to the specific contexts in which they take place. What works in one context might not be feasible in another, and what is achievable in one set of circumstances might not be effective in another. This underlines the importance of making strategic, context-aware decisions about the design and implementation of CAs, including linguistic considerations, as these choices shape the process' inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Ultimately, to be truly effective, the study and practice of deliberative democracy must adapt to its environment.

Table 33 Input, throughput, and output legitimacy multilingual DMPs

Dimension	Conclusions
Inclusivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To ensure accessibility and representativity, DMPs must mirror the society in which they operate. ▪ A delicate balance must be achieved between practicality and inclusivity. ▪ The type of selection criterion (relaxed vs. strict) is dependent upon practical considerations. ▪ Linguistic selection criteria are crucial for the authenticity of the deliberation, but also have an impact on inclusivity. ▪ The choice for linguistic accommodation(s) depends on practical considerations and impacts the rigidity of linguistic selection criteria, thereby indirectly influencing inclusivity and authenticity.
Authenticity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ With the right accommodations, or linguistic selection criteria, in place, the (e)quality of multilingual deliberation does not suffer. ▪ Multilingual deliberations are perceived as inclusive, representative, and authentic in an officially multilingual context. ▪ The inclusion of linguistic diversity during discussions enriches the discourse.
Consequentiality: Preference Transformation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Multilingual deliberation does lead to preference transformations. ▪ The deliberative format. Whether in-person or online, impacts participants' perceptions concerning the effectiveness of multilingual DMPs.

**Consequentiality:
Public
Endorsement**

- The public endorses multilingual DMPs, although perceptions on democratic innovations are closely related with broader societal debates.
- Nationals and natives seem more resistant, which might have to do with fears about national identity.
- Foreigners and non-natives appreciate multilingual DMPs for their inclusionary promise.
- The type of linguistic accommodation has an impact on maxi-public perceptions and their endorsement of multilingual DMPs.

Additionally, beyond the findings to the central research question, any extensive study should hopefully uncover new phenomena that make a meaningful contribution to the field, often challenging and expanding existing theory. With this in mind, it was anticipated that the findings of this study would present some unexpected insights that might challenge prevailing assumptions. Indeed, one of the most surprising outcomes of this research was the emphasis placed on the symbolic dimension of multilingual DMPs rather than the practical considerations that dominate much of the existing literature. While previous studies have largely focused on the logistical aspects of multilingual deliberation – such as ensuring mutual understanding and the quality of deliberation – this study found that the participants and the maxi-public – and even the facilitators and organizers – highlighted the symbolic significance of multilingualism in these processes.

Seemingly, participants did not prioritize the practical implications of multilingualism, such as logistical challenges or communication barriers, which are often the central focus in deliberative democracy research. Instead, they placed greater importance on the symbolic dimension of multilingualism, particularly regarding its role in fostering knowledge and inclusivity. More precisely, participants' overall experience of multilingual DMPs was shaped by a sense of cultural resonance. In this context, the multilingual environment was not seen as a logistical or communicative barrier, but rather as a reflection of Luxembourg's rich linguistic diversity. Multilingualism, when embedded within the social fabric of a community and connected to participants' lived experiences, has the potential to enhance democratic processes

more accurately representing the diverse voices within the community. This symbolic appreciation of multilingualism in DMPs challenges the dominant, practical focus of much existing literature. This shift in perception, from multilingualism as a challenge to multilingualism as an asset, holds profound implications for the study and practice of deliberative democracy. It calls for a rethinking of traditional assumptions that mainly regard linguistic diversity as an obstacle to effective participation and communication. It encourages scholars and practitioners to explore how multilingualism can strengthen the practice of deliberative democracy by making the process more inclusive and reflective of societal diversity. The maxi-public's perceptions of multilingual DMPs are similarly shaped by their symbolic value rather than by pragmatic concerns. The symbolic dimension, encompassing the representation of diverse communities and the inclusivity of the process, becomes a critical factor in evaluating the legitimacy and effectiveness of these processes. However, this promise of inclusivity can generate skepticism, particularly among nationals. To address this, transparent communication is essential. It is crucial to articulate how multilingual DMPs seek to give a voice to all residents, nationals and non-nationals alike, while emphasizing that these processes do not diminish the significance for integration or of representative democracy.

Essentially, while this does not mean that there are no issues with multilingual DMPs, the findings highlight the need to reconsider how multilingualism is understood within the context of deliberative democracy, suggesting that stakeholders must not merely perceive multilingualism as a logistical hurdle to overcome nor must they shy away from linguistic plurality simply due to fears of inefficiency and impracticality. In contrast, the symbolic significance of multilingualism, its ability to reflect cultural diversity and foster inclusivity, must emerge as a central concern. For both scholars and practitioners, this insight urges a more nuanced approach to evaluating designing multilingual DMPs, one that acknowledges the symbolic power of language while addressing practical concerns. In this reading, the BK and KBR exemplify the potential of deliberative processes to complement and enhance representative democracy, providing a platform for a wider range of voices to be heard.

Another crucial yet unexpected discovery of this research is that integrating linguistic diversity into deliberative processes inherently enriches the deliberation. This aligns with existing literature that links language to individuals' worldviews and knowledge (Droz et al., 2023; Nawaz, 2023; Stein-Smith, 2021; Berthoud & Gajo, 2020; Trudgill, 2000), underscoring how language shapes access to and engagement with information. The organizers emphasized how

language influences participants' sources of information, which in turn shapes their knowledge, opinions, and contributions to the deliberations. Individuals with different linguistic backgrounds tend to seek out information in their preferred languages, meaning that their knowledge and perspectives are informed by distinct sources. This can lead to a diversity of viewpoints, enriching the deliberative process. However, this finding also highlights a critical challenge, namely ensuring equitable access to information in multilingual deliberative processes. If not carefully managed, language can become a barrier that limits some participants' ability to engage fully with the information presented, potentially skewing the process. Therefore, deliberative processes must be designed to ensure all participants have access to relevant information in languages they can understand, fostering a level playing field. This also opens opportunities to leverage technology, such as translation – and AI – tools to bridge language gaps, enabling participants to access information and engage with the deliberations in their preferred languages.

Implications

Notwithstanding this thesis' emphasis on the importance of acknowledging linguistic considerations in the study and practice of deliberative democracy, particularly when the context, scope, and purpose of the process call for it, it also recognizes that a multilingual approach to DMPs brings with it several important implications – this section focuses on the implications revealed by the findings of this dissertation, while acknowledging that other potential implications most likely exist.

First, the inclusion of multilingualism can complicate the recruitment and selection process, as organizers must balance linguistic diversity with representation across other dimensions, such as nationality, socio-economic status, age, ethnicity, and education. For instance, if specific quotas are set for linguistic groups, it might be difficult to ensure proportional representation across other criteria. Moreover, prioritizing language inclusivity might unintentionally lead to over-representation of those with higher language proficiency or higher educational backgrounds, as individuals may perceive language proficiency as a key factor for participation, even if it is not formally required. More generally, while offering multiple languages reduces language barriers, other factors such as socio-economic status, educational background, and access to resources continue to influence who feels comfortable and capable of engaging in these processes. The consequence of this could be a deliberative body that is demographically skewed and does not reflect the full spectrum of society. Therefore, the critical – though not

insurmountable, as research on representation emphasizes – challenge lies in striking a balance between inclusivity across various criteria without inadvertently privileging certain groups at the expense of others.

Second, the integration of linguistic diversity requires a thoughtful organizational approach but predominantly substantial resources to address communication barriers. High-quality multilingual facilitation and translation services are costly and logistically demanding. Prioritizing linguistic diversity may place significant strain on the logistical and financial resources of the deliberative process, requiring considerable investments that could divert attention from other crucial aspects. These costs might include providing assistive technologies for individuals with hearing or visual impairments, ensuring accessible venues for those with disabilities, offering childcare, providing – eldercare – support for participants with caregiving responsibilities, covering transportation and accommodation costs to ensure broad regional participation, as well as the logistical costs associated with organizing the process itself, such as venue rentals, technology infrastructure, and post-deliberation evaluation. This raises normative questions about how resources should be allocated to ensure the most comprehensive form of inclusivity, the successful inclusion of multilingualism, and the broader objective of inclusive and effective deliberation.

Third, despite efforts to accommodate linguistic diversity, full inclusion remains challenging. Building on the second implication, organizers might have to prioritize certain languages over others or rely on less comprehensive accommodations. Hence, smaller linguistic communities may still be underrepresented, and minority, Indigenous, or migrant language speakers risk being tokenized for diversity's sake without meaningful participation in decision-making. This can lead to disillusionment if their voices are not equally valued. Even with linguistic accommodations, participants may struggle with the cognitive load of processing multiple languages or face communication barriers, leading to unequal contributions. Dominant languages may prevail, marginalizing non-speakers and undermining the principle of equal participation. Moreover, multilingual processes may result in fragmented discussions between language groups, with cultural nuances often going unaddressed, leading to misunderstandings that hinder genuine deliberation. The question thus remains how to ensure that language does not act as a tool of exclusion, especially since multilingualism is not a neutral force (Duchêne, 2020).

Finally, in societies where linguistic diversity or integration is politically sensitive, there is a risk that the broader public may perceive multilingual DMPs as catering disproportionately to minority groups or non-nationals. Especially in settings with migrant languages, the question might arise whether it is necessary to reach out to groups that do not accept the dominant culture. Such perceptions could undermine the legitimacy and thereby sustainability of these process in the eyes of the majority. Conversely, if the process appears to favor dominant – linguistic – groups, it risks alienating minority communities and failing to achieve the inclusive legitimacy it seeks. In a similar vein, the broader public may question whether multilingual accommodations diluted the quality or practicality of the outcomes, potentially impacting their support for the outcomes. This tension between underscores the importance of ensuring that multilingualism, and its accommodations, do not diminish the perceived value of the recommendations or the effectiveness of the process.

These implications have two things in common. Firstly, they raise the difficult question of whether it is acceptable to sacrifice the inclusivity of certain groups for the sake of practicality. Secondly, they seem to underline that the integration of linguistic diversity complexifies DMPs. Notably, this thesis does not claim to offer a definitive solution to these implications. Rather, it asserts, consistent with the central argument of this dissertation, that there is no one-size-fits-all approach. As emphasized throughout, the design and implementation of DMPs, including decisions regarding linguistic diversity and how to address its related implications, must be shaped by the broader societal context as well as the specific scope and objectives of the process. Decisions such as whether to include multilingualism, which languages to prioritize, whether language should be considered a key aspect of descriptive representation, and how much resource allocation is appropriate for linguistic integration all require careful consideration of the unique circumstances at hand. At the same time, transparent communication regarding the choices and the – design of the – process is also crucial and may boost public endorsement, or at least minimize skepticism.

When considering the perception that multilingualism may complicate the design and implementation of DMPs, the crucial question to ask is: Is reflecting the diversity of society and its citizens an unreasonable expectation? This rather bold question invites us to rethink what we prioritize in democratic processes. While it is true that linguistic diversity might introduce complexity, this must not be inherently negative. In line with the broader literature on representation and sociolinguistic and this thesis' conclusions, especially regarding the

importance placed on its symbolic dimension, it might be necessary to push for a view of deliberative democracy that prioritizes accessibility, inclusion, and equity over efficiency or convenience. By emphasizing the importance of mirroring society's diversity, it suggests that true inclusivity and legitimacy in deliberative processes require a commitment to acknowledging and accommodating that diversity, also if this includes linguistic diversity. This fits with Parry et al. (2024) who argue that true integrity in DMPs can only be maintained if the underlying power dynamics and structural inequalities that influence these processes are directly addressed. In essence, instead of considering linguistic diversity, a hallmark of numerous societies, as a complexity, it might be time to challenge the limits of what is considered 'practical' in DMPs. Indeed, the actual existence of multilingual CAs illuminates their feasibility. Furthermore, these real-life examples underscore that there is a need for these processes. This refutes the notion of purely considering multilingual processes as complicated and burdensome. Therefore, despite the important implications and the challenges that linguistic diversity presents, we must not allow these obstacles to withhold us when the societal context, along with the scope and purpose of the process, necessitate the integration – or at least, consideration – of multilingualism.

More broadly, however, this thesis recognizes that multilingualism must not be viewed as a standalone solution but as part of a broader strategy to address the multifaceted barriers to participation. The integration of multilingualism alone cannot overcome the deeper structural challenges that may limit participation in deliberative processes.

A Notion for Luxembourg Only?

This thesis has advanced our understanding of the importance of recognizing linguistic considerations in the study and practice of deliberative democracy, empirically illustrating how the integration of multilingualism shapes inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. However, to establish the relevance and validity of any research, its limitations must be acknowledged to provide a context. This study is no exception, and four of these limitations are now presented.

First, one of the most obvious limitations of this research is its geographical location. This thesis adopted a revelatory case study approach, considering the manifestation of two deliberative democratic processes in Luxembourg. This brings into question the broader applicability of the findings. Although the BK and the KBR tick most boxes of 'ideal' DMPs,

they occurred in a rather unique multilingual setting. Luxembourg's official multilingualism has long been institutionalized and is not territorially separated; hence the population has adapted to using multiple languages in different spheres of life. At the same time, Luxembourg is also open to other, non-official languages when it is a necessity that the entire population is informed. For instance, during the Covid-19 pandemic, all relevant information was available not only in the three official languages but also in Albanian, Arabic, English, Farsi, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Tigrinya, Turkish, Ukrainian. This level of linguistic integration and openness is rare and may not translate to other linguistically diverse settings. Indeed, when we think of multilingualism, we think of Luxembourg. Furthermore, while Luxembourg is linguistically diverse, it is also a small country with a high gross domestic product and a relatively homogeneous power structure. Its economic affluence provides a level of stability that allows it to invest in multilingual policies and infrastructure. Hence, Luxembourg's relative lack of linguistic polarization may mean that it does not adequately reflect the tensions that multilingualism introduces into deliberative democratic processes in other contexts.

This suggests a second limitation. Namely, this thesis focused on exemplary cases of multilingual DMPs. The BK and KBR were relatively successful, both in terms of their multilingual setting and their overall legitimacy. The research could have gained valuable insights from examining the experiences of less effective multilingual deliberative processes. Yet, research into multilingual DMPs, successful or unsuccessful, encounters one particular challenge: It is difficult to find information about multilingual CAs, as also remarked by Roberts et al. (2023).

A third limitation relates to the constraints in the data collected, especially about the BK's small sample size of 29 participants. This may undermine the strength and reliability of any conclusions drawn from this subset. Smaller samples may not adequately represent broader patterns, thus limiting the generalizability of the findings. To minimize this limitation, this thesis adopted an exploratory research design, namely a revelatory, complementary case study approach. This method permitted "to explore how deliberation works in the real world and how deliberative ideals might be expanded or adjusted" (Ercan et al., 2022, p. 9). As there is limited theoretical and empirical insight into multilingual deliberative processes, the BK and KBR possessed intrinsic significance, offering complementary and unique insights into multilingual CAs. Accordingly, the aim of this thesis is not to generalize but to illuminate largely unexamined phenomena. A related issue, and thereby the fourth limitation, is the inconsistency

in the data collection methods across the two processes; different surveys were administered, leading to variations in the type and depth of information gathered. As a result, this inconsistency limits the ability to validate the findings from one case by comparing them directly with the other case, potentially impacting the validity and depth of the analysis.

Notwithstanding these limitations, we should not underestimate the importance of studying Luxembourg and its deliberative processes – even if relatively small-scale. Given its official multilingualism, diverse societal multilingualism, and the high proportion of non-national residents who are excluded from national electoral politics, the country provides a natural setting to explore how linguistic diversity shapes inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. The examination of two real-world multilingual CAs allowed for crucial insights into the ways multilingualism is managed, navigated, and perceived in real-world settings, capturing the diverse experiences and attitudes of those involved as well as the maxi-public. In essence, this thesis serves as an important first step toward understanding why and how multilingualism can be effectively incorporated into deliberative democratic processes, including its implications. This foundational knowledge is crucial for developing a more comprehensive framework not only to evaluate but also to design multilingual CAs.

It is in this context that the generalizability and contribution of this thesis must be seen. The goal of this thesis was not to draw broad conclusions. Given the specific case of Luxembourg, the focus was on understanding the nuances of this context, rather than extrapolating the specific findings to other settings. More broadly, revisiting the questions posed in the introduction, this thesis provides empirical evidence that deliberative processes can succeed not only in monolingual settings but also in multilingual contexts. Moreover, it underscores the importance of integrating linguistic considerations to ensure that deliberative practices are adequately equipped to navigate and embrace the complexities of linguistic diversity in today's pluralistic societies. In other words, the added value of this thesis lies not *per se* in the findings drawn from the Luxembourgish Biergerkomitee and Klima Biergerrot, but rather in its insistence on the importance of linguistic considerations and contextually-fitting approaches. Put simply, if the context requires it, linguistic considerations must be thoughtfully addressed.

In this light, the generalizability of this thesis is also rooted in the operational matrix, which guides the evaluating and design of multilingual CAs. Given its universal character and focus on broader values of inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality that are important to all deliberative processes, this matrix is valuable for any setting that encounters linguistic diversity,

be it related to official languages, minority languages, Indigenous languages, migrant languages, etc. The linguistic setting and practical considerations will inevitably vary across different settings. Therefore, the operational matrix is established in such a manner that it allows for contextual adaption, it promotes careful consideration of local factors, including society's unique language policies, cultural norms, and socio-political landscapes.

Ultimately, this dissertation invites scholars to build upon its findings, thereby encouraging a continued conversation on the intersection of multilingualism and, by extension, linguistic considerations, and deliberative democracy.

Avenues for Future Research

The limitations of this study, alongside several topics that have been briefly touched upon throughout this thesis but not fully explored, point to important and promising avenues for future research. While these topics were peripheral to the central direction of the thesis' argument, they nonetheless present significant opportunities for further investigation. This section aims to highlight three such areas, namely those arising from (i) distinct contexts, (ii) unresolved theoretical considerations, and (iii) changes within the deliberative environment. Each of these areas presents opportunities for deeper exploration and further contribution to the field. They are discussed briefly below.

First, research can expand upon the findings from Luxembourg by broadening the scope of research to include multilingual DMPs in other settings. This could include comparative or case study research. Researching countries with more pronounced linguistic polarization could offer valuable insights, whereas, examining emerging multilingualism in countries experiencing demographic shifts due to immigration would help assess how multilingualism in deliberation interacts with newly developing linguistic accommodations and rising cultural tensions. Investigating multilingual deliberation in resource-constrained contexts, where the financial and institutional capacities for accommodations are limited, could highlight the practical challenges and trade-offs in lower-income or developing countries. All in all, further research on the topic of multilingual DMPs could develop a more comprehensive understanding of how linguistic diversity interacts with deliberative democracy and its processes. Such an approach would allow researchers to test whether the findings from Luxembourg hold in other environments, and whether integrating linguistic considerations into deliberative processes truly yield the benefits we anticipate or help us avoid the costs we fear. This contributes to a

broader understanding of multilingual DMPs, helping to determine whether the potential benefits outweigh the challenges that come with implementing multilingual practices. Furthermore, such replications would also help refine tailored approaches and offer practical recommendations for adapting deliberative processes to suit the unique linguistic and political landscapes of other countries, enhancing the overall applicability of the conclusions drawn in this thesis.

Second, this thesis would like to borrow from Roberts et al. (2023) to recommend that future research should consider content-oriented questions that explore the relationship between linguistic identity, place attachment, and their impact on community engagement. For instance, examining how individuals' connections to their language influence their sense of belonging or attachment to a particular place could provide insights into the dynamics of participation in multilingual settings. Understanding these connections may reveal whether linguistic identity strengthens or hinders engagement in deliberative processes, particularly when individuals feel their language is either represented or marginalized. Moreover, investigating the specific roles that certain languages play within these processes is essential; for example, does the use of a dominant or minority language shape the inclusivity, power dynamics, or the outcomes of deliberation? Such research can offer a deeper understanding of how to design and facilitate multilingual deliberative environments that recognize and balance these complexities, ultimately promoting greater inclusivity and effectiveness in democratic participation. More broadly, research should also consider how participants' linguistic skills impact their perceptions and experiences.

Third, in terms of the swift advancement of AI, a promising avenue for future research could explore the potential of AI to overcome the dual challenges of external and internal exclusion in deliberative processes, particularly within the context of multilingual deliberation. Specifically, drawing on Kalampokis et al. (2024), research could investigate how AI-driven tools, such as natural language processing, machine learning algorithms, and real-time translation technologies, can be designed to foster, and facilitate, multilingual deliberative processes. This research should focus on how these technologies can enable equitable participation from all language groups, ensuring their voices are not only heard but also influence the outcomes of political discussions. Future studies could then explore the feasibility of incorporating AI while also examining the role of AI in achieving not just accurate but context-sensitive translations, ensuring that nuances and idioms are preserved in deliberative

discussions. However, this research would also need to examine the ethical implications of AI, especially concerning privacy, power imbalances, and the potential for AI to misrepresent or marginalize voices from underrepresented groups.

More generally, subsequent studies could benefit from a systemic perspective, examining multilingual deliberative democracy from a macro perspective. Such research could explore how multilingualism shapes deliberative practices within institutions, communities, and transnational organizations, as well as how systemic factors such as legal frameworks, technological infrastructure, and educational policies influence the accessibility and inclusivity of these deliberations. By considering multilingual DMPs as an interconnected system, researchers could identify points where language disparities exacerbate inequalities or limit participation, as well as where systemic changes, such as investments in multilingual – AI – tools, might facilitate more inclusive and qualitative deliberative processes.

Some Final Reflections

It has been almost three decades since James Bohman observed that the theory of deliberative democracy had ‘come of age’ to address more practical concerns of feasibility (Bohman, 1998). Since then, deliberative democracy has evolved in various directions, with inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality remaining at its center. However, it continues to sideline certain everyday realities of democracies, such as the linguistic complexities that shape democratic politics.

A commitment to more deliberation in politics must acknowledge the messy, complex, and challenging real-world contexts in which DMPs occur, including the aspect of linguistic diversity. Therefore, this thesis aimed to reposition deliberative democracy by emphasizing the significance of linguistic factors in these processes, sparking some reflection on the interplay between multilingualism and the study and practice of deliberative democracy. The dissertation illustrated how deliberative processes operate in multilingual societies, where the practical realities of multilingualism influence not only the feasibility of democratic practices but more importantly, their inclusivity, authenticity, and consequentiality. Furthermore, in line with the ‘toolbox’ approach, this thesis proposes that by taking linguistic considerations seriously, DMPs can bridge the gaps left by standard representative structures, facilitating broader participation from groups often marginalized in conventional democratic processes. In this framework, both models work in tandem to strengthen democratic governance, with DMPs

serving as an additional tool in the democratic toolbox, supplementing traditional mechanisms of representative governance.

This dissertation argues that overlooking the linguistic aspects of democratic deliberation is a significant error. If deliberative democracy is about collectively shaping societal fate, it cannot ignore the fact that people bring diverse linguistic and cultural perspectives to the table. A democratic process that is blind to these realities risks becoming exclusionary and ineffective. While this thesis does not provide a full-fledged evaluation of multilingual deliberative democracy or an unequivocal endorsement of multilingualism in all deliberative contexts, it illustrates the necessity of adopting a more linguistically aware approach in both study and practice. The central argument is that the prospects for deliberative democracy, particularly in multilingual environments, should resist simplification efforts that promote the use of a single language for convenience. Similarly, empirical research must more broadly consider multilingual DMPs. In essence, the field of deliberative democracy should not view the Tower of Babel as a symbol of division. Instead, it and thus multilingualism should be seen as a testament to humanity's resourcefulness. Babel's true legacy is not confusion but the richness and potential of a multilingual world.

Beyond linguistic considerations, ensuring that deliberative processes are inclusive, authentic, and consequential in our contemporary world requires not only innovative procedures but also a deep understanding of the social and political dynamics at play. This entails adopting flexible, tailored solutions and a strategic approach to deliberative formats, ensuring that the processes resonate with those affected and the wider public. As the systemic turn in deliberative democracy suggests, these processes must respond to the specific conditions of each deliberative space; only then can they become accessible, inclusive, equitable, and resilient in an increasingly diverse and interconnected world. Ultimately, this thesis underscores the need for deliberative democracy to evolve to reflect societal diversity, challenging the idea that its processes should conform to a single model. Therefore, the focus should be on how deliberative processes ought to function in practice, rather than imposing a one-size-fits-all model.

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Appendices

Appendix to Chapter Seven

Appendix 1 Representativeness of the samples

	Population	Sample				
	(%)	W1 (%)	Δ (pop.)	W2 (%)	Δ (pop.)	Δ (W1)
Gender						
Female	50.0	49.0	-0.1	48.0	+2.0	-1.0
Male	50.0	51.0	+0.1	52.0	-2.0	+1.0
Age						
16–24 years old	12.0	10.0	-2.0	10.0	-2.0	=
25–34 years old	19.0	17.0	-2.0	16.0	-3.0	-1.0
35–44 years old	18.0	18.0	=	19.0	+1.0	+1.0
45–54 years old	18.0	17.0	-1.0	17.0	-1.0	=
55–64 years old	15.0	18.0	+3.0	18.0	+3.0	=
65 years old +	18.0	20.0	+2.0	20.0	+2.0	
Nationality						
National (only Luxembourg citizenship)	53.0	66.0	-13.0	67.0	+14.0	+1.0
Non-national (Luxembourg and/or other citizenship(s))	47.0	34.0	+13.0	33.0	-14.0	-1.0
Region						
Luxembourg-City	20.0	17.0	-3.0	18.0	-2.0	+1.0
Center	16.0	16.0	=	16.0	=	=
South	37.0	37.0	=	36.0	-1.0	-1.0
North	15.0	16.0	+1.0	15.0	=	-1.0
East	12.0	14.0	+2.0	15.0	+3.0	+1.0
Occupation						
In paid work (active)	57.0	53.0	-4.0	52.0	+5.0	-1.0
Not in paid work (inactive)	43.0	47.0	+4.0	48.0	+5.0	+1.0

Note: The figures are rounded numbers based on population statistics (Statec) and the raw samples provided by survey company (ILRES) in the report of their fieldwork.

Appendix 2 Results of the factor analysis: multilingual abilities

Variable	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
<i>Luxembourgish</i>	0.6744	0.0248	0.5446	0.6609		0.5446
<i>French</i>	-0.2139	0.3415	0.8376		0.3826	0.8376
<i>German</i>	0.6511	0.2347	0.5210	0.6882		0.5210
<i>English</i>	-0.0618	0.4841	0.7618		0.4849	0.7618
<i>Other languages</i>	-0.2157	0.3085	0.8583		0.3510	0.8583
Rotation	Unrotated			Rotated - orthogonal varimax		
N	3025			3025		
Retained factors	2			2		
	chi2(10) = 1772.51			chi2(10) = 1772.51		
	Prob>chi2 = 0.0000			Prob>chi2 = 0.0000		

Appendix 3 Operationalization of control variables and descriptive statistics

Variables	Question and answers (don't know option not displayed)	N	%	Mean	S.D.	Min	Mdn	Max
Age	What is your age?	3025	100	3.81	1.72	1.00	4.00	7.00
	16-24 years old	307	10.2					
	25-34 years old	508	16.8					
	35-44 years old	543	17.9					
	45-54 years old	523	17.3					
	55-64 years old	555	18.3					
	65-74 years old	420	13.9					
	75 years old or more	169	5.6					
Gender	Are you male or female?	3025	100	1.49	0.50	1.00	1.00	2.00
	Male	1529	50.6					
	Female	1496	49.4					
Education	What is the highest level of education you have obtained until now?	2979	100	2.28	0.63	1.00	2.00	3.00
	Early childhood education / no education	2	0.1					
	Primary education	50	1.7					
	Lower secondary education	233	7.8					
	Upper secondary education	951	31.9					
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education	307	15.3					
	Short-cycle tertiary education	307	15.3					
	Bachelor or equivalent	456	15.3					
	Master or equivalent	584	19.6					
	Doctoral or equivalent	89	3.0					
Political interest	How interested would you say you personally are in politics?	2965	100	2.91	0.83	1.00	3.00	4.00
	Not at all interested	188	6.4					
	Not very interested	618	20.8					
	Somewhat interested	1440	48.6					
	Very interested	719	24.2					
Political efficacy	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	2972	100	3.64	0.99	1.00	4.00	5.00
	<i>Politics is too complicated for people like me</i>							

	Fully agree	65	2.2						
	Agree	359	12.1						
	Neutral	730	24.5						
	Disagree	1256	42.3						
	Fully disagree	562	18.9						
Satisfaction with democracy	On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Luxembourg?	2986	6.13	2.36	0.00	7.00	10.00		
	Extremely dissatisfied (0)								
	Extremely satisfied (10)								
Trust in representative institutions	Please tell me on a score of 1 to 5 how much you personally trust each of the following institutions? 1 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 5 means you have complete trust.	2991	2.83	0.86	1.00	3.00	5.00		
	The Parliament	2955	3.12	0.98	1.00	3.00	5.00		
	The politicians	2979	2.72	0.96	1.00	3.00	5.00		
	Political parties	2973	2.65	0.93	1.00	3.00	5.00		
	No trust at all (1)								
	High trust (5)								
Cultural views	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	2949	100	2.37	1.24	1.00	2.00	5.00	
	<i>Luxembourg is made a worse place to live by people coming to live here from other countries</i>								
	Fully disagree	877	29.7						
	Disagree	920	31.2						
	Neutral	562	19.1						
	Agree	359	12.2						
	Fully agree	231	7.8						
Left-Right Self-Placement	In politics people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. How would you place your views on the scale below?	2832	4.37	2.22	0.00	5.00	10.00		
	Left (0)								
	Right (10)								

Appendix 4 Distribution of individual-level traits across treatment groups

Appendix 4 - Table A Mean across treatment groups

Treatment	Multilingual deliberation (W1)	Multilingual skills	Nationality	Gender	Age	Education	Satisfaction	Trust	Efficacy	Interest	Cultural views	Left- Right Placement
Control	3.6	3.7	1.5	1.5	4.0	2.3	6.0	2.8	3.8	3.0	2.4	4.5
Group1	3.6	3.7	1.6	1.5	3.9	2.3	6.1	2.8	3.7	3.0	2.4	4.3
Group2	3.6	3.7	1.5	1.4	3.8	2.3	6.3	2.9	3.7	3.0	2.3	4.3
Group3	3.6	3.8	1.5	1.4	3.9	2.3	6.3	2.8	3.7	3.0	2.4	4.6

Appendix 4 - Table B Number of observations for sub-group analysis based on pre-treatment opinion toward multilingual DMPs

Initial opinion on multilingual DMPs (N)				
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Control	76	135	326	549
Group1	99	134	344	577
Group2	85	122	418	525
Group3	87	117	342	546
Total	331	432	1218	2,197

Appendix 5 Models' full specification

Appendix 5 - Table A Results of M1 – OLS (Figure 4)

VARIABLES	M1					VIF
Multilingual skills	0.0574**			-0.0512	0.00127	3.37
	(0.0205)			(0.0366)	(0.0362)	
Multilingual preferences						
Native languages	-			-0.0180	-0.0255	
	0.108***					2.82
	(0.0249)			(0.0416)	(0.0416)	
Foreign languages	0.318***			0.344***	0.122*	2.66
	(0.0314)			(0.0491)	(0.0502)	
Nationality (ref=non-national)						
Bi-national		-0.147*	-0.0904	-0.107		2.19
		(0.0665)	(0.0716)	(0.0716)		
National		-	-0.176*	-0.230**		3.23
		0.369***				
		(0.0542)	(0.0717)	(0.0714)		
Controls						
Gender (ref=men)					0.0978*	1.11
					(0.0397)	
Age					0.0142	1.20
					(0.0120)	
Education					0.161***	1.13
					(0.0325)	
Political interest					-0.0678*	1.41
					(0.0278)	
Satisfaction w/ democracy					0.0322**	1.56
					(0.0101)	
Trust in representative institutions					-	
					0.0360***	1.05
					(0.00871)	
Left-Right self-placement					-0.220***	1.14
					(0.0163)	
Cultural views					0.200***	1.30
					(0.0223)	
Internal efficacy					0.0415	1.60
					(0.0279)	
DMP support					0.0514*	1.03
					(0.0230)	
Constant	3.398***	3.609***	3.881***	3.932***	2.833***	
	(0.0782)	(0.0191)	(0.0488)	(0.145)	(0.239)	
Observations	2,946	2,946	2,946	2,946	2,599	
R-squared	0.003	0.042	0.018	0.045	0.197	

Dependent variable: support for multilingual DMPs.

Standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Appendix 5 - Table B Results of M2 – OLS (Figure 5)

VARIABLES	M2			
	Full sample	Subsample A <i>negative W1</i>	Subsample B <i>neutral W1</i>	Subsample C <i>positive W1</i>
Treatment				
Translation	0.0102 (0.0681)	-0.474** (0.182)	0.227° (0.137)	0.0662 (0.0838)
Linguistic-based deliberation	-0.0847 (0.0692)	-0.241 (0.186)	0.327* (0.138)	-0.188* (0.0855)
Multilingual selection criteria	-0.0328 (0.0685)	-0.0976 (0.187)	0.286* (0.139)	-0.136* (0.0836)
Constant	3.720*** (0.0516)	3.700*** (0.138)	3.273*** (0.104)	3.886*** (0.0636)
Observations	1,981	331	432	1,218
R-squared	0.001	0.024	0.015	0.011

Dependent variable: support for multilingual DMPs.

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, ° p<0.06

Appendix 6 Robustness checks

Appendix 6 - Table A Results of M1 – weighted and/or ordinal

VARIABLES	weighted		M1 ordinal		ordinal & weighted	
Multilingual skills	0.08*** (0.02)	0.00 (0.04)	0.16*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.14*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.07)
Multilingual preferences						
Native languages		-0.03 (0.04)		-0.06 (0.08)		-0.06 (0.08)
Foreign languages		0.12* (0.05)		0.28** (0.10)		0.28** (0.10)
Nationality (ref=non-national)						
Bi-national	- 0.23*** (0.06)	-0.11 (0.06)	- 0.43*** (0.12)	-0.21 (0.14)	- 0.45*** (0.10)	-0.21 (0.12)
National	- 0.43*** (0.05)	- 0.23*** (0.07)	- 0.81*** (0.10)	-0.46** (0.14)	- 0.79*** (0.09)	- 0.45*** (0.13)
Controls						
Gender (ref=men)		0.10* (0.04)		0.16* (0.08)		0.16* (0.08)
Age		0.02 (0.01)		0.03 (0.02)		0.04 (0.02)
Education		0.16*** (0.03)		0.35*** (0.06)		0.33*** (0.06)
Political interest		-0.07** (0.03)		-0.12* (0.05)		-0.13* (0.05)
Satisfaction with democracy		0.03* (0.01)		0.07*** (0.02)		0.06** (0.02)
Trust in representative institutions		- 0.04*** (0.01)		- 0.07*** (0.02)		- 0.08*** (0.02)
Left-Right self-placement		- 0.21*** (0.02)		- 0.45*** (0.03)		- 0.42*** (0.03)
Cultural views		0.20*** (0.02)		0.41*** (0.04)		0.42*** (0.04)
Internal efficacy		0.04 (0.03)		0.06 (0.05)		0.05 (0.05)
DMP support		0.06** (0.02)		0.15** (0.05)		0.18*** (0.05)
/cut1			- 3.31*** (0.17)	- 1.96*** (0.47)	- 3.37*** (0.16)	- 1.81*** (0.47)
/cut2			- 1.67***	-0.19	- 1.72***	-0.05

/cut3			(0.15)	(0.46)	(0.14)	(0.46)
			-	1.08*	-	1.21**
/cut4			0.50***		0.56***	
			(0.14)	(0.46)	(0.13)	(0.46)
			1.39***	3.32***	1.29***	3.39***
Constant			(0.15)	(0.47)	(0.14)	(0.46)
	3.63***	2.78***				
	(0.08)	(0.24)				
Observations	2,946	2,599	2,946	2,599	2,946	2,599
R-squared	0.03	0.19				

Appendix 6 - Table B Results of M2 – full sample (weighted / ordinal)

VARIABLES	M2											
	OLS weighted	OLS controls	OLS controls	OLS controls & weighed	OLS controls & weighted	Ordinal	Ordinal & weighted	Ordinal & weighted	Ordinal & controls	Ordinal & controls	Ordinal, controls & weighted	Ordinal, controls & weighted
Treatment												
Translation	0.0364 (0.0670)	0.0328 (0.0681)	0.0388 (0.0681)	0.0328 (0.0681)	0.0388 (0.0681)	0.138 (0.118)	0.138 (0.118)	0.155 (0.118)	0.182 (0.126)	0.191 (0.126)	0.182 (0.127)	0.190 (0.127)
Linguistic-based deliberation	-0.0606 (0.0681)	-0.0736 (0.0694)	-0.0674 (0.0695)	-0.0736 (0.0694)	-0.0674 (0.0695)	-0.0144 (0.120)	-0.0144 (0.120)	0.00772 (0.121)	0.0143 (0.130)	0.0243 (0.130)	0.0688 (0.131)	0.0798 (0.131)
Multilingual selection criteria	-0.0686 (0.0672)	-0.0695 (0.0684)	-0.0638 (0.0685)	-0.0695 (0.0684)	-0.0638 (0.0685)	0.0980 (0.120)	0.0980 (0.120)	0.0166 (0.120)	0.0268 (0.130)	0.0362 (0.130)	-0.0659 (0.130)	-0.0579 (0.130)
Multilingual skills#1												
Sum languages spoken sometimes/often		-0.0221 (0.0260)		-0.0221 (0.0260)					-0.0704 (0.0493)		-0.0922 (0.0480)	
Multilingual skills #2												
Native speakers			-0.0804 (0.0411)		-0.0804 (0.0411)					-0.173* (0.0779)		-0.163* (0.0707)
Foreign speakers			0.0316 (0.0431)		0.0316 (0.0431)					0.0300 (0.0816)		0.00153 (0.0832)
Nationality (ref=non- national)												
Luxembourg + other		-0.124 (0.0831)	-0.0690 (0.0885)	-0.124 (0.0831)	-0.0690 (0.0885)				-0.231 (0.158)	-0.129 (0.169)	-0.225 (0.137)	-0.149 (0.146)

Luxembourg only	-0.435***	-0.330***	-0.435***	-0.330***	-	-	-0.906***	-0.749***
	(0.0698)	(0.0904)	(0.0698)	(0.0904)	0.892***	0.696***	(0.125)	(0.159)
Gender (ref=men)	0.0833	0.0800	0.0833	0.0800	0.146	0.138	0.171	0.166
	(0.0492)	(0.0491)	(0.0492)	(0.0491)	(0.0929)	(0.0929)	(0.0937)	(0.0936)
Age	0.0365*	0.0364*	0.0365*	0.0364*	0.0723*	0.0730*	0.0580*	0.0589*
	(0.0150)	(0.0151)	(0.0150)	(0.0151)	(0.0284)	(0.0285)	(0.0281)	(0.0282)
Education	0.0457	0.0324	0.0457	0.0324	0.0932	0.0720	0.0303	0.0131
	(0.0394)	(0.0404)	(0.0394)	(0.0404)	(0.0744)	(0.0762)	(0.0741)	(0.0762)
Political interest	0.00851	0.0111	0.00851	0.0111	0.0335	0.0368	0.0681	0.0718
	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.0659)	(0.0660)	(0.0651)	(0.0653)
Satisfaction w/ democracy	0.0423***	0.0428***	0.0423***	0.0428***	0.0718**	0.0726**	0.0748**	0.0752**
	(0.0126)	(0.0126)	(0.0126)	(0.0126)	(0.0244)	(0.0244)	(0.0245)	(0.0245)
Left-Right Self Placement	0.00857	0.00671	0.00857	0.00671	0.0260	0.0223	0.0346	0.0312
	(0.0110)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)	(0.0209)	(0.0210)	(0.0211)	(0.0212)
Cultural views	-0.0263	-0.0222	-0.0263	-0.0222	-0.0464	-0.0397	-0.0374	-0.0304
	(0.0206)	(0.0207)	(0.0206)	(0.0207)	(0.0397)	(0.0398)	(0.0393)	(0.0396)
Internal efficacy	-0.0453	-0.0450	-0.0453	-0.0450	-0.0669	-0.0665	-0.0646	-0.0637
	(0.0284)	(0.0284)	(0.0284)	(0.0284)	(0.0542)	(0.0542)	(0.0536)	(0.0536)
Trust in rep. institutions	0.0455	0.0448	0.0455	0.0448	0.0777	0.0768	0.0738	0.0728
	(0.0347)	(0.0347)	(0.0347)	(0.0347)	(0.0665)	(0.0665)	(0.0667)	(0.0667)
DMP support	0.248***	0.249***	0.248***	0.249***	0.541***	0.545***	0.599***	0.602***
	(0.0271)	(0.0271)	(0.0271)	(0.0271)	(0.0554)	(0.0554)	(0.0555)	(0.0555)
Support multilingual DMPs (W1)	0.0828***	0.0807***	0.0828***	0.0807***	0.170***	0.165***	0.176***	0.172***
	(0.0243)	(0.0243)	(0.0243)	(0.0243)	(0.0481)	(0.0482)	(0.0482)	(0.0482)
/cut1					-	-	-	
					3.191***	3.191***	3.289***	
					(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.146)	
/cut2					-	-	-	
					1.837***	1.837***	1.968***	

/cut3						(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.104)	(0.498)	(0.491)	(0.494)	(0.486)
						-	-	-	2.481***	2.848***	2.614***	3.055***
						0.499***	0.499***	0.630***				
/cut4						(0.0908)	(0.0908)	(0.0913)	(0.501)	(0.494)	(0.496)	(0.489)
						1.304***	1.304***	1.186***	4.528***	4.897***	4.716***	5.158***
						(0.0968)	(0.0968)	(0.0957)	(0.509)	(0.504)	(0.506)	(0.500)
Constant	3.778***	2.251***	2.114***	2.251***	2.114***							
	(0.0505)	(0.261)	(0.257)	(0.261)	(0.257)							
Observations	1,981	1,745	1,745	1,745	1,745	1,981	1,981	1,981	1,745	1,745	1,745	1,745
R-squared	0.002	0.127	0.129	0.127	0.129							

Dependent variable: support for multilingual DMPs

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Appendix 6 - Table C Results of M2 – subsample (weighted / ordinal)

VARIABLES	OLS weighted			M2 - subsample Ordinal			Ordinal weighted		
	Negative (W1)	Neutral (W1)	Positive (W1)	Negative (W1)	Neutral (W1)	Positive (W1)	Negative (W1)	Neutral (W1)	Positive (W1)
1.treatment	-0.420* (0.178)	0.286* (0.141)	0.0789 (0.0818)	-0.596* (0.279)	0.529* (0.251)	0.200 (0.153)	-0.548* (0.278)	0.613* (0.255)	0.204 (0.153)
2.treatment	-0.144 (0.180)	0.351* (0.142)	-0.162 (0.0835)	-0.214 (0.286)	0.709* (0.255)	-0.211 (0.157)	-0.0780 (0.283)	0.729* (0.260)	-0.185 (0.158)
3.treatment	-0.0918 (0.180)	0.270° (0.143)	-0.167* (0.0817)	-0.0665 (0.286)	0.643* (0.260)	-0.0596 (0.155)	-0.0621 (0.283)	0.597* (0.264)	-0.149* (0.154)
/cut1				-2.951* ** (0.295)	-2.865* ** (0.304)	-3.460* ** (0.195)	-3.108* ** (0.309)	-2.824* ** (0.306)	-3.529* ** (0.198)
/cut2				-1.557* ** (0.227)	-1.310* ** (0.204)	-2.180* ** (0.139)	-1.653* ** (0.227)	-1.356* ** (0.213)	-2.308* ** (0.142)
/cut3				-0.420* (0.211)	0.325 (0.191)	-0.835* ** (0.120)	-0.474* (0.206)	0.301 (0.198)	-0.992* ** (0.121)
/cut4				1.109* ** (0.225)	2.363* ** (0.227)	1.043* ** (0.124)	1.062* ** (0.218)	2.227* ** (0.228)	0.940* ** (0.122)
Constant	3.731* ** (0.131)	3.292* ** (0.109)	3.941* ** (0.0616)						
Observations	331	432	1,218	331	432	1,218	331	432	1,218
R-squared	0.019	0.015	0.012						

Dependent variable: support for multilingual DMPs

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, ° p<0.06

Appendix 7 Interpretation tests

VARIABLES	DV= Inclusive DMP [°]		DV=DMP participation ^{°°}	
	without nationality	with nationality	without nationality	with nationality
Multilingual preferences				
Native languages	-0.213*** (0.0305)	-0.0420 (0.0388)	-0.269*** (0.0718)	-0.0498 (0.0924)
Foreign languages	0.138*** (0.0389)	0.0618 (0.0404)	0.581*** (0.0920)	0.457*** (0.0963)
Nationality (ref=non-national)				
Bi-national		-0.359*** (0.0841)		-0.132 (0.200)
National		-0.587*** (0.0839)		-0.688*** (0.201)
Controls				
Gender (ref=men)	0.199*** (0.0473)	0.197*** (0.0470)	-0.526*** (0.112)	-0.538*** (0.112)
Age	0.0647*** (0.0142)	0.0641*** (0.0142)	-0.194*** (0.0336)	-0.187*** (0.0338)
Education	0.122** (0.0386)	0.126** (0.0383)	0.374*** (0.0911)	0.372*** (0.0909)
Satisfaction with democracy	0.00308 (0.0332)	0.0173 (0.0329)	0.707*** (0.0785)	0.726*** (0.0784)
Trust in representative institutions	0.107*** (0.0267)	0.106*** (0.0265)	0.279*** (0.0629)	0.285*** (0.0628)
Left-Right Self Placement	0.0334** (0.0120)	0.0303* (0.0119)	0.0554 (0.0286)	0.0504 (0.0286)
Cultural views	-0.0773*** (0.0104)	-0.0774*** (0.0104)	0.0276 (0.0247)	0.0271 (0.0246)
Internal efficacy	-0.308*** (0.0194)	-0.318*** (0.0193)	-0.0551 (0.0459)	-0.0716 (0.0460)
DMP support	0.0371 (0.0334)	0.0331 (0.0331)	0.262*** (0.0789)	0.252** (0.0787)
Constant	3.081*** (0.223)	3.566*** (0.233)	-1.099* (0.527)	-0.583 (0.554)
Observations	2,600	2,600	2,530	2,530
R-squared	0.198	0.214	0.207	0.213

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

[°] The related item is 'Citizens' Assemblies like the KBR should involve only Luxembourg Nationals, and not residents who are not Luxembourg Nationals', where '1'=fully agree and '5' fully disagree, implying that higher value coincides with more support for inclusive DMPs.

^{°°} The exact question is 'If retained to be member of a Citizens' Assembly or public consultation on climate change or any other important issue in the future, how likely is it that you would participate?', with a scale ranging from 0 (very unlikely) to 10 (very likely).