



# The Deliberative Citizen: Exploring who is willing to deliberate, when and how through the lens of personality

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To understand the possibilities for deliberative democracy, we need to understand the deliberative citizen and their behaviour in different settings. This includes the question of ‘who’ is willing to deliberate and ‘why’ (inclusiveness), and what it means to deliberate (deliberativeness). We explore the deliberative citizen both theoretically and through the lens of a minipublic case study in Italy. In particular, we investigate the potential role of personality in different deliberative behaviours. We find that personality not only impacts on who is willing to participate, it also affects the nature of participation in the deliberative forum, which we explore via individuals’ propensity to ‘talk’ or ‘reflect’. There is tentative evidence that there is a trade-off, between the two at least for certain personality types, a finding that reflects earlier observations in deliberative democracy. While the findings suggest yet another challenge for achieving deliberative democracy, we are far more sanguine. Achieving deliberative outcomes requires a better understanding of how different deliberative situations are better suited to different kinds of individuals in a deliberative system, rather than seeking a ‘one size fits all’ approach to deliberative democracy.

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## INTRODUCTION

Deliberative democracy at its heart is concerned with the way in which citizens are connected to politics. An important component of this question concerns understanding the nature of the political citizen and how it can inform institutional designs. These questions are not particular to deliberative democracy; they are common questions underlying other variations of democratic theory. Liberal democracy, for example, assumes that the will of the public is formed independently of the political process and that the main role of democracy vis-à-vis the citizen involves the aggregation of ‘pre-political’ preferences — or choices that reflect expressed interests (Warren 1992). Deliberative democracy, on the other hand, is defined by a belief that preferences — if not citizens themselves — are shaped by the political process. Deliberative theory thus needs to account for ideal and non-ideal modes of preference formation from a democratic perspective, as well as the normative implications for values such as democratic freedom (e.g. Rostboll 2005).<sup>1</sup> For deliberative democrats, the process of preference formation ideally involves some form of ‘authentic’ deliberation that takes seriously alternative views — although there is some debate about what form this should take (Bächtiger et al. 2010).

Deliberative democracy is also concerned with the inclusiveness of all affected by political decisions and the consequentiality of the outcomes — such as the meaningful transmission of the results of citizens’ deliberations to decision making (Dryzek 2009). The potential trade-offs between the deliberative, inclusive and consequential dimensions of deliberative democracy have been

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in economics there is a growing literature concerned with the idea of ‘preference construction’ (Slovic 1995; van den Berg et al. 2000; Lichtenstein and Slovic 2006), which has been followed by development of the idea in political theory, with deliberative democracy one of the strongest exponents of this view (Warren 1992).

much discussed. This is particularly the case in respect to the practice of minipublics (Parkinson 2006), as opposed to deliberation in mass political settings.<sup>2</sup>

One particular recurring theme is the tension or trade-off between the deliberative and inclusive dimensions of where it is not possible for all to actively engage together in deliberation on a specific issue. Potential solutions involve assumptions about the individual, such as the belief that it is possible to engage in deliberation internally, rather than collectively and thus develop a deliberative system that involves division of labour at the level of individual (e.g. Goodin 2000). Alternatively, prominent authors of the recent 'systemic turn' in deliberative theory advocate a division of labour between different sites. Any particular site need not be deliberative, so long as the final outcome reflects good quality deliberation (Mansbridge, Bohman et al. 2012). This has been criticised as abandoning the ideal of achieving deliberation more widely among citizens, which would surely improve outcomes to the extent that more adopt a 'deliberative stance' (Owen and Smith 2014; see also Niemeyer Forthcoming 2014).

The prospect for wide scale deliberation returns us to the question of whether such a goal is possible, or even desirable. If it is possible, then understanding what the deliberative citizen looks like and how and why do they deliberate is important. The question is fraught, partly because there is a legitimate concern that not all citizens can or will deliberate in an ideal sense and, partly as a consequence, deliberative democracy as a complete normative agenda is not possible. But, as we reflect below, citizens do deliberate to varying degrees and the extent to which that can be improved, such that their political preferences reflect their real interests (Manin 1987; Niemeyer 2011a), understanding how

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<sup>2</sup> There has been an unfortunate tendency for some critics of deliberative democracy to conflate the idea with deliberative minipublics (eg. Pateman 2012). A more appropriate critique from our perspective concerns why minipublics have come to dominate the field, which is really ultimately concerned with improving mass politics (Chambers 2012), although recent versions of the ideal of 'deliberative systems' appear to emphasises the quality of political decisions rather than popular deliberation (Mansbridge et al. 2012). On this matter we share the criticism of Owen and Smith (2014) who argue that it is still important to seek to improve the deliberativeness of citizens (or, in their terms, the deliberative 'stance').

this can be achieved is important. And it is important to achieve this improvement as widely as possible or any recipe for a deliberative system (or any other form of political system) will be open to the similar legitimacy criticisms levelled at minipublics (see e.g. Parkinson 2006).

As for the deliberative capacity of the average citizen, there are so many conflicting answers in the literature, much of which have been deduced from survey research or in specific (usually American and often non-deliberative) settings (Neblo et al. 2010; Mutz 2002). When the settings are intended to be deliberative (such as minipublics) there are conflicting results, to say the least, that require explanation is the deliberative democracy is to move beyond these enclaves.

As well as developing clearer theories about what it means to 'deliberate' to avoid the problem of concept stretching (Steiner 2008), we believe that some of the confusion about the deliberative citizen can be addressed when personality is brought into the frame. Personality provides a window into individual capacities and predispositions. And when it is combined with possible interactions with context or situation it can explain how different types of individual are attracted to different deliberative situations and how they subsequently behave, with implications for how we can improve those capacities and design such sites to be more inclusive in a deliberative sense.

Here we explore the role of personality in deliberation to see how it can inform us about what is both desirable and what is possible when we speak of deliberative capacity. We find that there is a personality dimension affecting both participation and deliberation, with implications for deliberative theory and practice. We also find that detailed analysis of what it means to deliberate at the individual level, through the lens of personality, opens up interesting questions about what we might call 'deliberativeness'.

The paper begins by opening up the question of inclusiveness and deliberativeness from the perspective of the individual. The discussion then moves on to look at the role of personality as a factor mediating deliberative behaviour and how personality can interact with situation in order to produce different behavioural outcomes in respect to deliberation. Attention is then

turned to the Italian case study, which involves a three-day deliberative minipublic (*Iniziativa di Revisione Civica; or Civic Review Initiative, IRC*), which was convened to consider the amalgamation of 5 local councils in a region near Bologna. The process was analysed in respect to deliberative changes that occurred during the event and the personality profiles of participants. The results of the analysis are reported and discussed, with concluding comments about the findings and the implications for deliberative theory and practice.

### **REPRESENTATION: WHO PARTICIPATES IN DELIBERATION?**

The problem of participation in deliberation is structurally similar to the problem of voting that is classically expressed by the inability of public choice theorists to explain why citizens bother to vote when their chances of influencing the outcome are minimal. And yet they do, in numbers that far exceed expectations based on a purely 'rational' approach (Brennan and Lomansky 1993; Goodin and Roberts 1975). The problem is more profound for deliberation, particularly in mass settings (Chambers 2012), where the 'cost' to the citizen is far higher.<sup>3</sup> Depending on the actual reasons for this participation, there may be questions about how representative these processes might be, even beyond the relatively small numbers involved (Parkinson 2006).

Research on civic volunteerism has discovered patterns of political participation related to certain individual level characteristics, primarily a variety of demographic and political variables, such as time, money and education (Burns et al. 2001). These characteristics of participation accentuate the limitations of traditional political participation because all individuals do not have the same skills and resources. When it comes to deliberation, the same individual variables have been shown to also distort the representation of citizens in deliberative practices because all citizens do not participate to the same extent and those who do are those already politically privileged (Sanders 1997). This phenomenon is well established, but has more to do with structural questions — such as access to political resources — than the characteristics of the individual.

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<sup>3</sup> This may be offset to some extent in formal minipublics that are associated with a political decision. But even where there is little formal connection to decision-making, citizens do participate in minipublic deliberation.

When it comes to the individual we believe that personality holds the key to understanding at least part of the participation question.

### **Personality and Participation**

The main argument for why personality matters in relation to participation is because personality variables have been shown to predict those situations individuals' tend to seek out or avoid, including political situations. Individuals selectively choose situations that evoke conduct in line with their dominant personality characteristic, while situations less attuned to one's personality are avoided. The phenomenon is referred to as 'personality niching', or the effect of self-selection based on personality (Carnahan and McFarland 2007).

Personality niching is particularly relevant to voluntary participation: for example, in a minipublic. Representativeness is usually managed in minipublics by selecting citizens so that the composition of the deliberative group resembles the broader community (Gastil and Richards 2013). But they may not represent the personality profile of the affected community. This is potentially important because personality also correlates with political preferences, attitudes and ideologies (Risse 2000). Thus, if personality influences willingness to participate it is also likely to influence representation of particular attitudes, preferences and ideologies with implications for other kinds of representation, such as 'discursive representation' (Dryzek and Niemeyer 2008).<sup>4</sup> At the least, there is then a problem for generalizability of experimental/empirical research findings in respect to minipublic deliberation.

The same reasoning can be applied when it comes to how deliberation impacts perceptions of fairness and legitimacy, which might be related to personality. Individuals high on personality trait of Extraversion tend to experience the world and situations as more just and fair compared to other people. Also, the trait of Neuroticism (see below) is related to feelings of unfairness and unequal treatment. Highly neurotic persons more easily experience negative stress and frustration (Costa Jr and McCrae 2008). Non-neurotic individuals are more

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<sup>4</sup> For research on personality and political ideology and attitudes, see Gerber (2010; 2011) and Mondak (2010)

predisposed to feelings of fairness and to see the world as an inherently just place (e.g. Narvaez and Lapsley 2009). Overall, personality could illuminate who seeks out particular deliberative situations, as well as how they behave in those situations.

## **DELIBERATIVENESS: WHO DELIBERATES AND HOW?**

Deliberativeness has always been a tricky and fluid concept, with different ideas about what it should look like. But most authors acknowledge that the dimensions of deliberativeness and inclusiveness are interlinked. In other words, any tension between deliberation and inclusiveness is dependent on how it is we define them — and deliberativeness in particular. Bächtiger et al (2010) distinguish between two main types. The first is the stricter, procedural notion of deliberation based on Habermasian ideals (type I). The second is a more open approach to intersubjective communication, with greater emphasis on outcomes than deliberative process (type II).

Type I deliberation privileges a fairly narrow idea of reason giving rise to a unique ‘rational consensus’. It has been (quite rightly) heavily contested for its non-phenomenological nature.<sup>5</sup> Any such assumption has important implications for inclusiveness in practice. In particular, difference democrats contest that conceptualizing the deliberative person in these terms really referred to a specific type of person — and a white, middle class, educated male of a certain age in particular — and that this excluded many other kinds of person, especially those who were already marginalized and effectively voiceless (Benhabib 1996).

There is a growing literature concerning the legitimate role of more open modes of deliberation — such as story-telling and rhetoric — in conveying meaning and argument (Black 2008; Dryzek 2010; Yack 2006). However, this (type II) approach to deliberation has not been properly theorised beyond the form of speech than might be admissible. Moreover, understanding the consequences of deliberation, where individuals amend their position in response to a ‘convincing’ argument, has been understudied (for exceptions, see Mackie 2002;

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<sup>5</sup> And although it is still often critiqued, very few if any deliberative democrats still subscribe to rational consensus as an ideal for deliberation (see e.g. Niemeyer and Dryzek 2007).

Niemeyer and Dryzek 2007; Sanders Forthcoming; Farrar et al. 2010; Barabas 2004).

The greater emphasis on the dialogical process of deliberation over preference transformation has shielded an important question in relation to deliberation and deliberativeness from an individual perspective: specifically, the expectation that individuals' simultaneously provide arguments as well as reflect on those arguments suggest a tension in deliberative theory.

What is required of the deliberating individual is not just cognitively demanding (Holt 1999), it is also psychologically demanding. On some accounts deliberation requires that individual beyond self-interest (c.f. Mansbridge et al. 2010). And it involves a process whereby deliberating individuals are supposed to simultaneously advocate — by various means, perhaps even robustly (Bächtiger 2011) — while simultaneously be primed to change their mind, or at least be prepared to, even if it is not necessary from a deliberative perspective that they do (e.g. Baccaro et al. forthcoming; Niemeyer Forthcoming 2014). In other words, on one hand individuals are supposed to provide arguments to support particular outcomes, and on the other hand they are also supposed to be open to the arguments of others and, where necessary, either accommodate those perspectives or re-evaluate their position altogether.

Such an assumption may not accord well with the way in which individuals actually behave (or RealPsychology, if you will), or at least for certain individuals in particular situations. For example, it might be possible that individuals simply make arguments for the sake of being heard, without engaging in a process of internal reflection (e.g. Gambetta 1998), where in such cases deliberation performs an expressive role in politics, albeit one more communicative than voting (see Brennan and Lomansky 1993). Inducing reflection might involve a whole different set of capabilities quite separate to the act of speaking. And, although we are careful not to suggest that the two are completely disconnected (Mercier and Landemore 2012), we the relationship between the two is likely to be more complex than involving group cognition via discussion (Goodin and Niemeyer 2003).



## **Deliberativeness and Personality**

The personality niching effect seems promising to help explain the internal dynamics of the deliberative processes in relation to speaking/arguing and reasoning/reflection. For a start, those citizens who are willing to participate in a deliberative event could be predisposed by virtue of personality to a particular form of deliberative conduct:

...those who self-select for any situation are likely attuned to its permitted behaviours and requirements, and they often reinforce one another in the direction of their common inclinations (Carnahan and McFarland 2007, p604).

Personality niching implies that deliberative participants conform to a particular type or types of personality profiles, at least in certain respects. When individuals inclined to similar conduct are placed together they tend to reinforce these tendencies among each other. It may even be the case that different recruitment methods attract different kinds of individuals, which is reflected in personality.<sup>6</sup>

But even if there is a particular personality type who is more attracted to deliberation, there will still be variations within any given deliberative group (as indeed there is for our case study). And for any given group, we argue that the particulars of a given deliberative situation will impact on the way in which those individuals behave. In other words, we need to explore the relationship between how different individuals interact with particular deliberative situations.

## **THEORY OF PERSONALITY: INTERACTIONAL APPROACH**

Here we seek to examine when and how personality variables influence willingness and ability to deliberate, both theoretically and then empirically. But in doing so it is important to keep in mind the context, or situation in which

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<sup>6</sup> This question will be more thoroughly tested in forthcoming research. Preliminary research based on different framings of a recruitment letter to appeal to different personality types suggests that there is a differential effect in both the recruitment of different kinds of individual, as well as their deliberative behavior (Lazarow et al. 2014).

deliberation is taking place — the configuration of which could yield dramatically different dynamics. We are not the first to explore how citizens' deliberative capabilities are affected by the combination of personality and the structuring role situation. Mendelberg (2002), for example, hypothesises the interaction between individuals with differences in 'need for cognition' and the deliberative impact of available time in providing impetus for cognitive laggards to engage with available information.

We are careful not to imply that personality determines deliberative behaviour in all circumstances. The interaction between person and situation addresses a common but misguided critique against personality psychology as being deterministic. However, like most personality researchers, we adopt a more nuanced, interactionist view: that although individuals have rather stable behavioural tendencies individual behaviour involves the interplay between personality and situation (Wagerman and Funder 2009). Interactionism accounts for both general psychological functioning (i.e. how individuals act similarly in a particular situation) and individual differences (i.e. how individuals differ from each other in other situations) (Hibbing 2011).

The actual impact of personality in a given context depends on the situational strength. Clearly defined situations with well-defined norms of appropriate behaviour can be termed "strong". In "weak" situations social expectations are not as straightforward. As an effect, in weak situations personality styles are more easily detected because they cannot simply rely on norms and social expectations. Strong situations provide less room to manoeuvre for personality because the situation is more strictly defined and structured.

There are a number of contextual factors that might affect the strength of the deliberative situation — facilitation, for example.<sup>7</sup> But it is not necessarily the case that strong contexts are desirable in all instances. Not only can strong experimental situations distort the way in which we understand the nature of

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<sup>7</sup> Facilitation in deliberative minipublics is one good, understudied example (exceptions include Fisher 2004; Baccaro, Bächtiger et al. forthcoming) where, among other things, facilitators can help to build deliberative group norms that overcome individual tendencies (e.g. Felicetti et al. 2012; see also Curato et al. 2013).

political cognition (Holt 1999), it may also do so differentially according to personality. There may well be facets of personality that are conducive to deliberation — the kind of traits that may be cultivated within more deliberative political cultures over the longer term.

The Valsamoggia CIR constituted a strong situation. However, this produced both deliberative and non-deliberative features for different kinds of individual that need to be better understood (Niemeyer et al. 2012). This is likely to be true for most if not all minipublics, which have dominated empirical research on how citizens actually deliberate (Thompson 2008), resulting in a very confused picture.

An interactionist approach helps make sense of particular findings in deliberative research, and thus improve the applicability of the results. For example, individuals who tend to seek out deliberative settings may also be predisposed to trusting other people. Thus, findings that deliberation leads to increased trust among participants (e.g. Grönlund et al. 2010) would need be modified along the lines that deliberation activates trust in particular types of individuals, who are already predisposed to minipublic participation without speaking to problems of political trust more widely. And such participation might also attract individuals who have a personality with a low ‘need to evaluate’ (Bizer et al. 2002) in everyday political situations, but willing to reflect under more deliberative circumstances, leading to dramatic changes in preferences — with implications for conclusions about the cognitive impacts of minipublic deliberation (Niemeyer 2011a) and the generalizability for deliberation in mass political settings (Chambers 2012).

Interactionism can help to tease out the relative contextual, situational and social psychological variables in deliberative research, both conceptually and empirically. For example the otherwise helpful insight into ‘deliberative cultures’ proffered by Gambetta (1998), highlights ‘discursive machismo’ or ‘indexical’ cultures that engage in speech acts, without deliberative reflection. This resonates strongly with our ‘speech act vs. reflection’ hypothesis above. But where Gambetta refers to it as a cultural phenomenon, here we wish to treat it as an individual one — which may or may not trace its routes from particular

cultural settings. Moreover, we accept the different setting affect different kinds of individuals, and in different ways. Thus, rather than seek to understand aggregative deliberative behaviour, here we are interested also in how types of individual tend to behave in deliberative settings.

### **The Need for a Comprehensive Approach to Personality**

We are not the first to consider personality in relation to deliberation. However, we believe that we are the first to do so using a comprehensive approach. Some deliberative scholars have included certain personality variables as part of broader research programs (see for example Bächtiger and Hangartner 2010; Neblo, Esterling et al. 2010; Sager and Gastil 2002). Neblo et al (2010) include personality variables in their empirical investigation of deliberative participation in America. Their study showed that the personality variables need for cognition, need for evaluation, and conflict avoidance, had a significant effect on individuals' *hypothetical* motivation to participate (Neblo, Esterling et al. 2010, p574). Also when it came to actual participation, conflict avoidant individuals were less likely to participate, while individuals' with high political efficacy were more likely (Neblo, Esterling et al. 2010, p577).

Despite these attempts to investigate the role of various personality traits in deliberation, personality has not yet been examined in a consistent, comprehensive fashion with the explicit aim to understand both the normative and empirical implications. Many existing studies in deliberation only explore a single personality trait (usually Openness), without including other traits in the study, or drilling down further to explore specific facets within those traits. While traits assess general behavioural tendencies, facets accounts for more specific behavioural patterns among individuals.

For our research, we implement a comprehensive personality assessment (based on the 'big five' personality traits and component facets that are commonly used to explain human personality (Digman 1989): openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism — and thirty sub-facets. Each trait is defined by six sub-level facets, which are:

- **Neuroticism**
  - Anxiety
  - Angry hostility
  - Depression
  - Self-consciousness
  - Impulsiveness
  - Vulnerability
- **Extraversion**
  - Warmth
  - Gregariousness
  - Assertiveness
  - Activity
  - Excitement seeking
  - Positive emotions
- **Openness**
  - Fantasy
  - Aesthetics
  - Feelings
  - Actions
  - Ideas
  - Values
- **Agreeableness**
  - Straightforwardness
  - Altruism
  - Compliance
  - Modesty
  - Tender-mindedness
  - Trust
- **Conscientiousness**
  - Competence
  - Order
  - Dutifulness
  - Achievement striving
  - Self-discipline
  - Deliberation

And we do so with a view to understand the role in influencing participation in deliberation and the style of deliberation while also being sensitive to the role of situation in shaping behavior. The Valsamoggia IRC is the first instance where this approach has been implemented in the field.

### **THE CASE STUDY: VALSAMOGGIA CITIZENS' INITIATIVE REVIEW**

The Valsamoggia CIR involved a deliberative minipublic conducted in region to the south of Bologna, Italy, 3-5 October 2012 on the question. The deliberative event — called a *Civic Review Initiative (Iniziativa di Revisione Civica; IRC)* — was conducted in the lead up to a local, consultative referendum in which citizens were asked whether they were in favour or against a unification involving five neighbouring city councils in northern Italy.<sup>8</sup> Since 2009 the five municipalities have been discussing the possibility of amalgamation and an amalgamation of this sort requires a consultative referendum. The proposal itself is controversial, with both strong support and opposition, and had already been the subject of considerable public debate (see Niemeyer, Felicetti et al. 2012)

The deliberative event was commissioned the interim body established to coordinate activities between the existing councils (Unione) with the goal of improving citizens understanding and knowledge of the issue in the lead up to a referendum on the established amalgamation proposal. The deliberative discussion was undertaken under the auspices of a facilitator. The final outcome

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<sup>8</sup> The area includes the five municipalities in the Emilia-Romagna region: Bazzano, Castello di Serravalle, Crespellano, Monteveglio, and Savigno with a total of 29,868 people living in the territory.

was a report on the main themes of discussion and used as an input to the pre-referendum debate.

### **Recruitment**

Letters of invitation to participate in the event was sent out to 800 citizens. The recruitment letter stated that participants would contribute to a document stating their conclusions and reasons, to be distributed to the electors prior to the referendum.<sup>9</sup> It emphasised that participation did not require any particular skills, competences or preparations for the event. And it was also stressed that a facilitator would be responsible for maintaining the deliberativeness of the event and ensuring autonomy on the part of participants. A modest stipend of 150 Euro was also offered as inducement to participate. Seventy-one individuals accepted the invitation (8.9% of the total), which is close to the average for similar processes.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The aim of this document to help fellow citizens to express and make informed decisions before the referendum in order to strengthen democratic proceedings in the community, based on a similar mechanism to that identified by MacKenzie and Warren (2012) where fellow citizens could 'trust' their peers to provide them with relevant information pertaining to the issue.

<sup>10</sup> Acceptance rates for invitations letters can range from as low as 5% (Littleboy et al. 2006) to as high as 30% (Dryzek et al. 2009; Niemeyer 2004) Recruitment processes for deliberative minipublics usually produce higher responses from older and more educated individuals. The responses in Valsamoggia reflected the population on demographic measures, more closely than most. Still there was a process of stratified random sampling to produce a list of 20 citizens to resemble the valley's population in terms of socio-demographic features (gender, age, origin, education). In other words, the participants were 'descriptively representative' of the target population (Mansbridge 2000).

**Table 1 Valsamoggia IRC Participants**

<b>Participant number</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Age</b>
13	Female	Secondary School (Second level)	42
14	Female	Post-secondary academic degree	~45
15	Female	Post-secondary academic degree	31
16	Male	Secondary School (First level)	69
18	Male	Postgraduate degree	39
20	Female	Secondary School (First level)	42
22	Male	Secondary School (First level)	19
23	Female	Secondary School (First level)	57
24	Male	Secondary School (First level)	67
25	Female	Not supplied	~40
26	Male	Not supplied	~45
27	Female	Postgraduate degree	26
28	Male	Secondary School (First level)	55
29	Female	Postgraduate degree	33
30	Male	Secondary School (First level)	~40
31	Male	Secondary School (First level)	67
32	Male	Post-secondary academic degree	59
33	Male	Post-secondary academic degree	41

### **The IRC Process**

The IRC lasted three days. Local activists were invited to make a presentation in support of their position (usually either in favour or against the referendum proposal). Experts on the local context, political parties, movements, local businesses, representatives of different work organizations (with a stake in the unification process) and local administration were invited to participate in a panel to present their positions/arguments to the participants. The speakers' role was to illustrate from a variety of perspectives subjects of great importance to help citizens' reflect ahead of the referendum. Participants were able to ask questions to the speakers.

## METHODS AND RESULTS

### Assessment of Personality and Willingness to Participate

Assessment of personality involved the implementation of a widely used and validated measurement of personality in the form of NEO-PI-3 (Costa Jr and McCrae 2008). The most comprehensive test available was used, consisting of 240 items on a 5-point scale.<sup>11</sup> The longer instrument was used to provide a more detailed assessment of the whole of personality, including both traits and sub-level facets (the test includes 8 items for each facet) as well as to improve robustness of the results in the face of small sample size. Out of the 20 individuals that participated in the deliberative process, 18 completed the personality test.

### Results: Who Participates

The use of the NEO-PI-3 instrument assumes that the five personality dimensions are present across all individuals, irrespective of variation across the traits. This indeed appeared to be the case for the Valsamoggia data.<sup>12</sup> Once verification of the data was confirmed the Valsamoggia sample was then compared to the Italian population. To do this, the individual facet scores for each respondent were standardised compared to the population of the same demographic group (gender, age, education) resulting in a score with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.<sup>13</sup>

Figure 1 shows both the average score for each of the five main personality traits and their six component facets compared to the Italian population. The average adjusted trait levels are shown as the bars, with the lines showing the adjusted

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<sup>11</sup> There are shorter versions, such as the NEO-FFI (60 items) and the TIPI (10 items), which are more commonly used in political settings.

<sup>12</sup> Cronbach's alpha test was applied to the raw data resulting in a measure of internal consistency among the items of a scale, were 0.83, 0.69, 0.90, 0.55 and 0.84 for N, E, O, A and C, respectively. All were acceptable, although Agreeableness was at the lower end of the scale (see Costa et al. 2007, p380), such that the data can be used to benchmark against the wider population as well as evaluating the relationship between personality and behaviour within the deliberating group.

<sup>13</sup> Initially this was done against the US norms, as has been the case for previous Italian studies (e.g. Costa, Terracciano et al. 2007). However, it was possible to normalise our data for direct comparison with the Italian population using the data from the Cost, Terracciano et al study, which was very kindly supplied to us by Terracciano. The method for normalising the data for comparison can be found in the 2007 paper.



average for each of the facets. Those scores that are close to the average population result (50) are not significantly different. Significantly positive or negative differences are shown as results in the grey region of the figure.

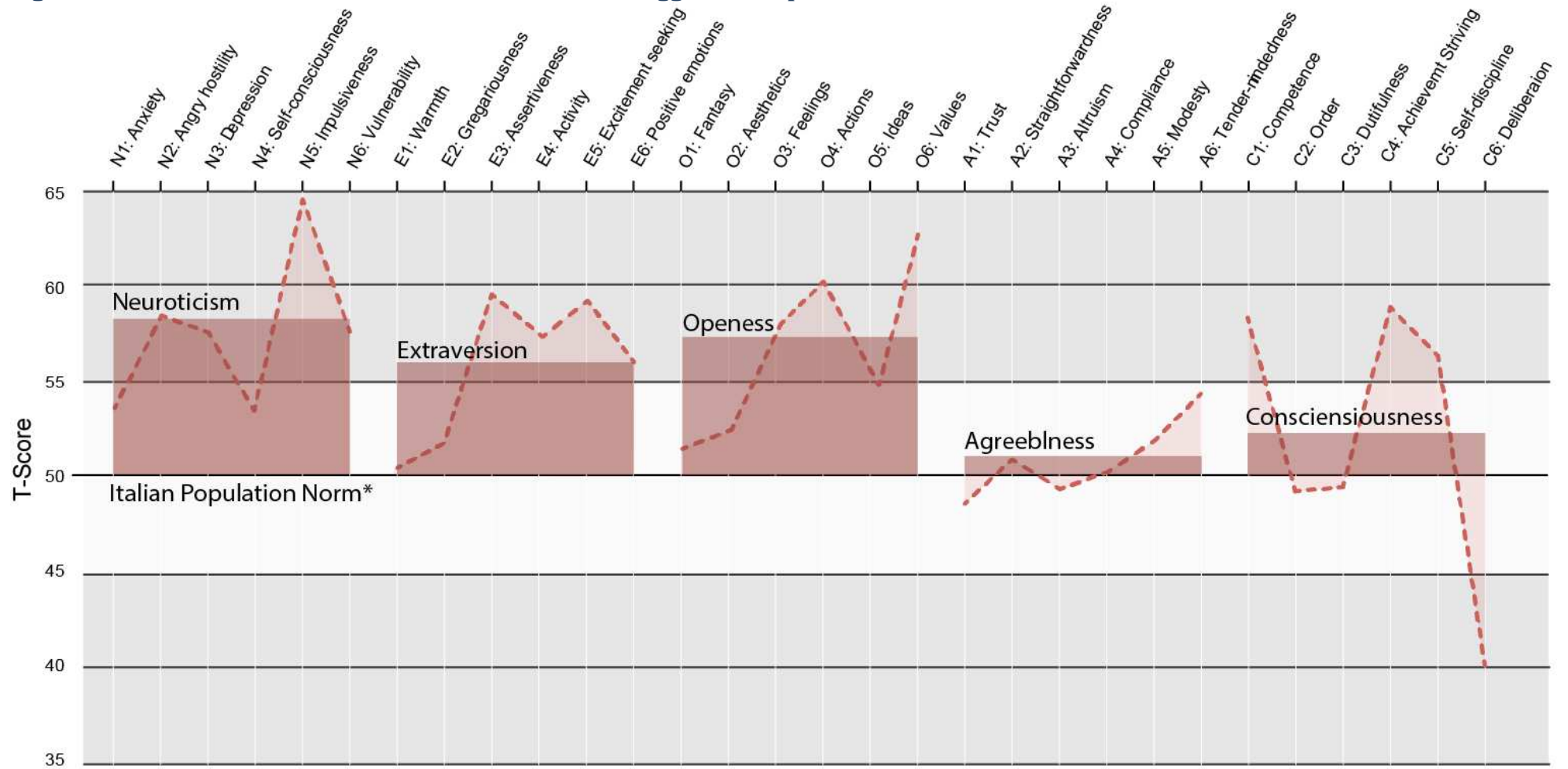
The following assessment focuses primarily on the differences to the Italian population at the level of traits, specifically the relatively high level of Neuroticism, Openness, and to a lesser extent, Extraversion; as well as the relatively neutral levels of Agreeableness and Conscientiousness. However, it can also be seen from the figure that there are some very significant findings at the facet level, some of which contradict the more general trait level findings. Most notable is the very low level of deliberation among participants — a putatively alarming finding for a deliberative event, although ‘deliberation’ here means something qualitatively different to that described by deliberative democrats.

### High Neuroticism

There is a consistently high level of Neuroticism among the Valsamoggia participants compared to the Italian population. Low levels of neuroticism (emotionally stability) have been correlated to participation in social and collective activities (Caspi et al. 2006). Thus, these findings appear to contradict this research. Instead of the most emotionally stable individuals being those attuned to participate, those who chose to participate in the deliberative event were highly neurotic individuals.

To make sense of these mixed results it is necessary consider the specific facets of neuroticism. A neurotic individual is generally anxious, prone to worry and easily agitated and angered. She is alert to danger and aware of potential, lurking disasters. A neurotic person is thus inclined to avoid social and collective actions (as indicated in prior research) because social settings are experienced as extremely stressful for these individuals.

Figure 1. Normalised Facet and Trait Scores for Valsamoggia Participants\*



\*The results have been standardised against the population data provided by Terracciano (see footnote 13) such that the T score figures show the significance of difference to the Italian population, where the population has a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. There are two limitations in respect to assessing the level of self-selection on the basis of personality. The personality profiles for the 800 citizens who were sent the recruitment letter are not available; nor are they for those respondents where were not included in the study. Both groups, however, were randomly selected. The second limitation concerns potential differences between the population from which the IRC participants were drawn and the Italian national norms, against which our results are compared. However, while some studies do show regional differences in personality between national and 'founder' populations (e.g. Costa, Terracciano et al. 2007), compared to our results — which concern a region considered closest to the Italian norm — are comparatively small.

However, on the other hand, neurotic individuals are relatively strongly opinionated (Mondak 2010) and thus more likely to engage in, if not actively seek out, opportunities to express their opinions. A deliberative minipublic is a valuable expressive vehicle for these individuals. Traditional political avenues are simply too combative. By contrast, the smaller setting and non-hierarchical features of deliberative minipublic is less threatening, while still providing a valuable politically expressive function (Mondak 2010).

### High Openness

People high in openness enjoy experiences that are novel and have the potential to be cognitively engaging. High scorers on openness predict traditional ideological liberalism (Mondak 2010). They are the opposite of being dogmatic with negative correlations between openness and prejudice and intolerance (Flynn 2005; Stenner 2005). This trait is related to the frequency of engaging in political discussions, the size of ones social network and the number of opinions an individual holds. All these behaviours speak to our results, i.e. high scores on openness correspond with a proclivity to participate in deliberative proceedings. Deliberation encourages individuals to have opinions and to engage in political discussions.

Similar to openness, extraversion has been shown to correlate to the frequency of political discussions and the size of networks in which politics are discussed, which is corroborated in their willingness to also participate in deliberation. The sociable, talkative and opinionated style of extraverts is presumably what makes them attracted to deliberative settings.

### Neutral Conscientiousness and Agreeableness

The two remaining traits — conscientiousness and agreeableness — are closer to the Italian population norm. Intuitively one could expect conscientious people to feel obliged to participate in a deliberative event, to execute their duty as citizen. However, the lack of strong correlation in our sample between conscientiousness and participation follow the same pattern as obtained in prior studies (Bekkers 2005). This lack of correlation has been explained by the fact that conscientious individuals are prone to prioritize other family, social and

work related duties, while considering civic responsibilities as ‘extracurricular activity’ (Mondak 2010). Especially, when citizens trust in politicians and the political system is low, conscientious individuals will stay away from politics because they might view it as wasted time.

Agreeable individuals’ main concern is to establish positive interpersonal relations and to get along with others, which means that they have a proclivity to pro-social behaviour (Carlo et al. 2005). To what extent they are willing to participate in political discussions is presumably related to their perception of the actual political setting. A competitive environment might discourage them, while a friendly atmosphere might encourage them to participate.

The very low score for ‘deliberation’ in the Agreeableness trait is actually consistent with the relatively high score for Neuroticism. Low deliberation in terms of personality connotes a relatively spontaneous disposition, rather than considered in terms of making decisions.

### **Assessment of Deliberation**

Analysis of the aggregate changes that were observed during the IRC is outlined in 0. The results somewhat misleadingly suggest that not very much happened during the deliberative process, but for a start, there was a good deal of change occurring at the individual level. And there were also a good deal of talking going on, with 346 individual ‘speech acts’ — are defined here as acts of speech that were bounded by speech act by another participant.<sup>14</sup> This is a relatively crude measure for deliberative process — other measures such as Discourse Quality Index (DQI) have been developed to assess the quality of the process and will be used in forthcoming studies. However, the measure is sufficient for the purposes of examining the relationship between talking and reflecting (internal deliberation).

Table 2 shows the variation in number of speech acts across the participants for the plenary sessions (about 1/3 of the process was spent in breakout groups of 4-5 participants which was not included in the tally). Two participants did not

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<sup>14</sup> Speech acts were also divided in to ‘short’ and ‘long’ statements, where long statements comprised any speech act longer in duration than 30 seconds.

speak at all during the plenary processes (although they did speak during breakout groups and informal sessions, such as meals and short breaks). Beyond this there is a good deal of variation within the group.

**Table 2. Number of Participant Speech Acts**

Participant number	No. Statements	Short Statements	Long Statements
13	20	17	3
14	48	34	14
15	19	13	5
16	13	9	2
18	13	12	1
20	0	0	0
22	5	2	3
23	4	4	0
24	0	0	0
25	34	30	4
26	38	23	15
27	25	19	5
28	5	4	1
29	6	1	5
30	27	16	11
31	0	0	0
32	27	19	8
33	62	48	14

### **Relationship Between Talking, Personality and Deliberative Transformation**

Turning now to the analysis of impacts at the individual level, of interest here is the impact of personality on the tendency to speak during the large plenary session. Apart from practical limitations on counting the number of speech acts during the breakout groups, the plenary sessions are important because it was here the participants tended to more strongly advocate in favour of particular outcomes, rather than actively discuss or seek clarification.

Table 3 shows the correlation between number of speech acts and each of the personality traits for participants ascertained from the NEO-PIR survey. Of the

traits, only Openness is correlated to proclivity for speaking in the plenary session.

**Table 3. Pearson Correlation between number (and length) of speech acts and personality Trait**

<b>Personality Trait</b>	<b>Number of Speech Acts (Pearson Correlation)</b>
Neuroticism	-0.01
Extraversion	0.39
Openness	0.51*
Agreeableness	0.31
Conscientiousness	-0.08

Table 4 shows the correlation between each of the personality traits and the extent to which participants changed their preference ordering for the four options in Table 6, the attitudes and the level of reflection — which is measured using the proxy of change in intersubjective consistency (see Appendix C) — in the relationship between preference and attitude compared to the rest of the group.

**Table 4. Correlation between Personality, Preference Change, Attitude Change and Reflection**

	<b>Preference Change</b>	<b>Attitude/Belief Change</b>	<b>Reflection</b>
Neuroticism	0.12	-0.36	0.11
Extraversion	0.10	0.16	-0.05
Openness	-0.02	0.20	-0.62*
Agreeableness	0.23	-0.10	-0.16
Conscientiousness	-0.08	0.16	0.04

None of the traits are individually a predictor of preference change or attitude change — although as can be seen in Figure 4 individual facets within the traits do produce significant correlations. And it is also possible the combinations of traits may correlate to changes, although this analysis is not performed here.

However, there is a relatively strong relationship between Openness and reflection. That is to say, the more Open a participant is means that their post-deliberative position will be less consistent with the remainder of the group. When we look at individual changes to individuals who are strongly Open in personality, we see that they tend to change their attitudes but less so their preferences. In other words, as a result of deliberation they appear to adjust their beliefs, but very much less so for the case of preferred outcomes.

This kind of transformation — by vociferous, Open individuals — would be expected to result in a lower reflection and indeed this appears to be the case.<sup>15</sup> The relationship between both Openness and reflection; and speech acts and reflection are plotted together below in Figure 2. From the figure it can be seen that both Openness and speech acts have an overall, inverse relationship with IC, which is significant for both cases. But what is the causal relationship? The overall relationship is slightly stronger for Openness than speech acts. And when we look at the individuals in the graph we can see that those individuals who did not talk in the plenaries but were also less consistent with the rest of the group post-deliberation (e.g. 22, 23 and 29) were very strongly Open.

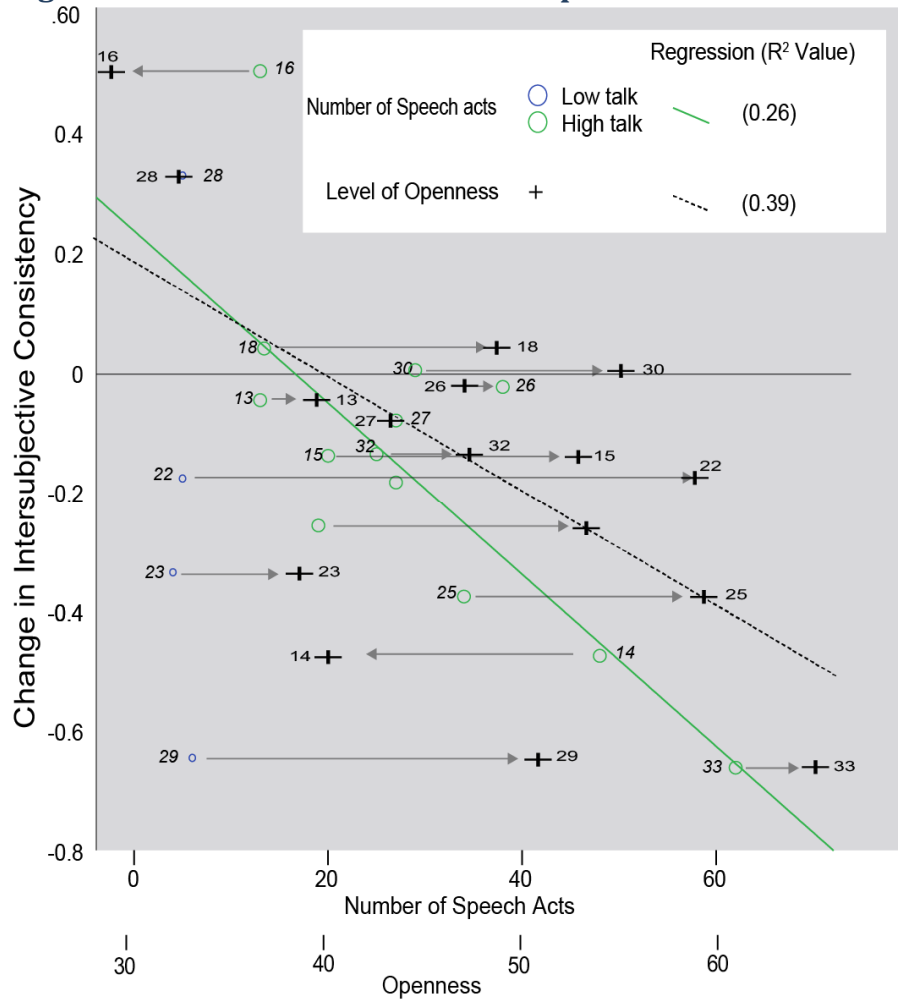
There is also a good theoretical reason to believe that it is the personality dimension that is driving the observation, but perhaps not quite for the same reasons that have hypothesised earlier. Openness is plausibly linked to talk. The finding that openness is related to the number of statements delivered in the plenary session resonates well with prior findings on openness and political discussion. Openness is related to an individual's tendency to engage in political discussions as well as the size of network with which politics is discussed (Mondak 2010). Open people do not impose restrictions on their own, or others, thoughts and actions but willing to seek novel solutions. They tend to be opinionated and attentive to political news (Mondak 2010).

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<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that most studies where an overall improvement in IC has been observed, there has been a proportionately stronger change in attitude than preference. However, there is usually a situation where change in attitude results in at least some level of change in preference. For this case study this was not the case for many of those individuals who dominated discussion. Moreover, the more they spoke, the less they changed their preference, even though there was often a strong change in attitude (see for example Figure 4 in Appendix B).



**Figure 2. Antecedents of Reflection: Openness vs. Level of Talk**



When we look further, we can see that there is a tendency for Open individuals to change their attitudes (see Figure 4 in 0), but less so their preferences as a result of deliberation. In other words, they are willing to change, but not in the manner that is usually considered important in deliberation, at the level of preferences.

There are three possible explanations for observations associated with Open individuals. The first is that they held the 'right' preferences from the start, but needed to clarify their positions during the process, resulting in attitude, but not preference change (Barabas 2004). Another is that the preference options available are not able to capture the transformation experienced at the preference level by Open individuals. The final is that transformation is temporally delayed, while Open individuals engage in further (internal) deliberation as they digest the arguments covered during the IRC event.

We believe that latter two of the explanations are more likely to reflect what was observed. Openness is indicative of a nuanced thinking and the ability to cope with conflicting feelings and information without falling back on a simplified way of thinking about an issue. Low scorers on Openness have a tendency to adopt firm positions in order to avoid the stress of recognizing the inherent complexity, which most social and political issues bring and would thus be more likely to exhibit preference clarification (and possibly in the very undeliberative form of motivated reasoning: Redlawsk 2002).

The second explanation, referring to the incompleteness of the preference options in the survey, where a good number of Open individuals argue that there are procedural issues related to the whole development of the referendum question (which is the subject of another paper in preparation).

It could be also be feasibly argued that what our result shows is an example of highly open individuals who are engaged in an on-going thought process, acknowledging the full complexity of the issue, yet, not feeling the need to speed up the process of reaching a final decision. They like to solve complex problems, hence, see no need of fixating their position or streamlining their thoughts to fit into a standard way of assessing it. Openness is also related to levels of political aptitude, efficacy and self confidence (Mak and Tran 2001), which further strengthens the interpretation that what we witness are people who do not need to take a stand to prove to others that they are capable, their belief in themselves make them more independent. This is a finding that has been observed in relation to other deliberative minipublics where there has been a follow up survey a number of months after the event (Littleboy, Boughen et al. 2006). In most, but not all cases, there is evidence of on-going reflection and adjustment of preferences.

So it appears that there may indeed be a tension between talking and internal deliberation (the second hypothesis notwithstanding), but in the case of Open individuals, the tension may be temporal as much as internal. The implication for deliberative design would thus be the careful attention needed before 'rushing' to a decision following argumentation. Open individuals would be far better suited to informal modes of deliberation (beyond minipublics) or perhaps

minipublics that involve much longer time-frames than a few days, such as Citizens' Assemblies (Warren and Pearse 2008).

However, Open individuals were not the only prolific 'talkers' in the IRC. As noted above, there are different motivations involved in engaging in deliberative discussion, with different deliberative consequences and we suggest here that there is a personality component explaining these differences. Openness (and the individual facets associated with it) is not the only personality feature to be associated with talk. Moreover, the deliberative consequences of that talk are in fact different. Take for example, participant 14 in Figure 2, which appears to confound the otherwise strong relationship between level of Openness and IC. It turns out that participant 14 is strong on the Agreeableness facet of "Modesty" (A5), which is the most strongly associated with speech acts of all personality facets (stronger than any individual facet for Openness, see Figure 4 in Appendix C).

In general, agreeable individuals' main concern is to get along with others, hence when they talk they want to establish contact with others. Agreeableness is an interpersonal trait, which predicts individuals about getting along with others. Highly agreeable individuals are driven by a desire to establish good-natured relations with others. This tendency is especially prominent in political settings, making them more likely to seek collaboration (Park and Antonioni 2007). A possible explanation for the correlation between high scores on the facet of modesty and the number of statements is that when these modest individual are placed in social groups their desire is to constantly reiterate and give emphasize to others' statements. This means that the content of their own statements is not meant to further their own agenda or make a strong argument for their own opinions but to stress others' positive contributions to the discussion. This is a very different dynamic to the tension between talking and reflecting that we hypothesised earlier, and which appears to occur for individuals who are Open, but not those who are Agreeable (and Modest, in particular).

There is also deliberative design implication for these (albeit) tentative observations. Agreeable individuals may require more formal settings in order to induce deliberative reflection of the type that we have idealised above. But even

certain types of deliberative minipublic will not do. For example a critical examination of the Australian Citizens' Parliament (Curato, Niemeyer et al. 2013) has suggested the process was very oriented to developing group cohesion, rather than contesting ideas, which would induce a more agreeable — but not necessarily deliberative outcome.

## **Conclusion**

The findings in this paper, though tentative, point to potentially important implications for the way in which we understand the possibilities for deliberative democracy. Deliberative participation and deliberative style appear to be mediated by personality, as well as situation. Certain types of individual are more likely to volunteer to participate in deliberative minipublic and, although the specific features are likely to be different for other kinds of deliberative forum, including informal political discussion among friends and peers, there is reason to believe that there will also be a selective representation along the lines of personality.

And we find that there also appears to be a personality dimension underlying differences in deliberative style, particularly when it comes to the relationship between engaging in speech acts and reflection resulting in changes to attitudes and preferences. This potential interaction between personality, deliberative situation and deliberative style opens up a potentially rich discussion on the conflicting results that have been observed when it comes to deliberation in practice — in addition to internal problems within the field relating to inconsistent application of theories of deliberation, lack of middle theories and inappropriate research design. The implication is not dissimilar to the move toward personalised medicine, which recognised that treatments for various ailments are differentially effective based on identifiable variations within the population (Blau and Liakopoulou). We do not believe that deliberation needs to be personalised per se. However, if we take seriously the systematic differences among citizens that merely reflect different needs and styles when it comes to deliberation, rather than a capacity to deliberate, it suggests a rather different approach to deliberative systems than suggested by Mansbridge et al (2012). It suggests that, rather than think about different sites in a deliberative system that

may or may not be 'deliberative'; we need to think about different sites (and possibly, time-frames) that suit different deliberative styles. And even that different deliberative styles can work together at the same site to produce good outcomes, if we accept that some individuals are more likely to contribute to the content of deliberation via speech acts, while others are more likely to reflect on that content.

We have only begun to scratch the surface in relation to this personality and deliberation, including the role of situation in this dynamic. But we are confident that this can be a productive line of investigation for deliberation and deliberative democracy as it seeks to move from theory to reality.

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## APPENDIX A ATTITUDE STATEMENTS

Table 5 below shows an English translation of the statements that were provided to participants in the Italian IRC case study (originals are in Italian).

**Table 5. Q sort Statements**

No.	Statement English version
1	The shift from the union to the fusion is a step to big which brings too many uncertainties. If things are done more gradually the change will be painless because people will be already used to it.
2	The fusion is a small step to complete a path of amalgamation that started 20 years ago. The amalgamated municipality it is a reality in facts. How much do we have to wait still?
3	The amalgamation will erase the local diversities
4	The fusion is not the only solution to the issues of our territory but it is the more concrete
5	It is not yet clear how are they are going to amalgamate the contracts of the municipal clerks across the territory. Things like these should be decided before the amalgamation.
6	The fusion is a decision that has already been taken and they are trying to impose it top down. They are trying to sell the product "amalgamated municipality"
7	With or without the amalgamation, the important thing that is at the practical level, nothing will change. For example the offices should stay where they are.
8	The amalgamation will benefit the employees and the citizens. The employees will increase their competences through more training. Therefore the citizens will benefit of more specialized professionals.
9	We are misusing the fusion. The needs of the territory are not being respected and the Valsmaoggia is being used as a lab rat
10	I would not like that the money of my taxes would be used in the municipalities next to mine
11	Through the fusion we will be able to derogare il patto di stabilita' and therefore unblock some funds. The latter can be invested in the municipalities that are more in need
12	The fusion seem to me another way to change everything to change nothing
13	The fusion is a leap in the unknown
14	The fusion is necessary to lower the taxes
15	There are not enough elements do decide in favour or against the fusion
16	The fusion is an innovative process that will make as an example to follow for Italy and the rest of Europe.
17	The fusion is the right answer to the limit of the union
18	The amalgamation will offer the possibility of save money by cutting the political costs and the bureaucracy costs and making the administration more efficient.
19	The choice of the fusion is due to the wish of certain political parties to maintain the political dominance
20	The fusion will bring the resources to make the intervention that our territory needs, like the bicycle paths or the public transport between the municipalities or the high school.
21	If the fusion will not be done, the single municipalities will not be capable of maintaining the current quality of the services.
22	Through the fusion we will be able to exploit the potentials of the territory to improve the building-, commercial- handcraft- and agricultural development.

No.	Statement English version
23	The new municipality will be politically more powerful in front of other municipalities like Bologna metropolitan. In this way our interests will be protected outside our municipality.
24	The consequence of the fusion is that either we will pay more than before or they will cut the services
25	It is not possible to say yes or not to the amalgamation without knowing how it will be, how much will it cost and how it will be done.
26	The fusion will change our relationship with the administration. The fusion will move away the administration and the power from the local territory and centralizing it somewhere else
27	The fusion benefits the bigger municipalities at the detriment of the smallest also with respect to the external funding.
28	The fusion is too risky because is a one way process
29	The needs of the citizens are too different across the municipalities. It will be too difficult for The amalgamated municipality to answer to everybody.
30	If the administration chose for the fusion it means that it is the right choice. This choice should be taken by the experts not the citizens
31	In these days of crisis and changes at the European level, the amalgamation is necessary and opportune.
32	The union is a failure and a cost, because it absorbed just a very small part of the services and the money
33	It is not worth to make the amalgamation in this time of reorganization with the metropolitan bologna
34	It is not necessary to be big to be good. The small municipalities can be better managed of the bigger and do more things. It is a matter of good administration.
35	In this fusion there is no project, no vision and no strategy. Things should be done in a very different way.
36	With the amalgamation there will be a deficit of democracy because the municipalities will be only consultative. The citizens will have no power

## APPENDIX B ASSESSING DELIBERATIVE PARTICIPATION AND TRANSFORMATION

Assessment of deliberative transformation was conducted both at the level of expressed policy preferences and attitudes (beliefs and values) in relation to the issue of council amalgamation. The method followed closely the approach used by Niemeyer for analysing deliberative minipublics (e.g. Niemeyer et al. 2013; Hobson and Niemeyer 2013; Niemeyer 2011a). In short, the method involves implementing two surveys, the first involving a rank ordering of preference options, the second involving a quasi rank ordering of statements capturing beliefs and values in relation to the council amalgamation issue — which have been collected, implemented and analysed in accordance with Q methodology (see for example Niemeyer, Ayirtman et al. 2013). While the implementation of the attitude statements was done so in accordance with Q methodology, the analysis of the data in this paper is not a Q analysis. Q method involves inverted factor analysis of attitudinal statements (where Q methodologists use the language of subjectivity) where the resulting factors describe predominant perspectives in relation to the issue, which can be quantitatively and qualitative interpreted to improve understanding of the issue at hand. A report of the preliminary Q analysis can be found in Niemeyer et al. (2012).

To obtain the pre-deliberative data, participants were interviewed in their homes by Italian speaking researchers, where they completed both the preference and attitude questionnaire (Q sort). This research was undertaken within a broader research project on values, attitudes and preferences among deliberative participants. At this stage, a short personality test — the Ten Item Personality Inventory — was introduced and distributed to the participants. The test was described as a mean for researcher to better understand individual political conduct. Their anonymity was ensured. The post-deliberative data was collected in the final session of the last day of the deliberative event.

The preference survey options are shown in Table 6. The “Yes” and “No” options relate to a proposal for council amalgamation that was put to IRC participants, with the addition of two additional options: increase the power of the Unione, which is the interim body implemented to coordinate activities between the existing local councils (Option A); and Postpone the amalgamation altogether and permit time for the development of a new plan (Option D).

**Table 6. Preference Options, Valsamoggia case study**

Option Identifier	Option	Option Description	Option Description English
<b>A</b>	Unione	Rafforzare l'Unione dei comuni	Increase the power of the Unione
<b>B</b>	NO	Lasciare le cose come sono	Leave things as they are
<b>C</b>	YES	Procedere alla fusione	Go ahead with the amalgamation as proposed
<b>D</b>	Postpone	Fare la fusione in modi e tempi diversi	Postpone the amalgamation

As a result of the deliberative process there was only a small change in overall position among the participant, where the overall “preferred” option (based on average rank) changed from being in favour of the status quo (A: Unione) to being in favour of the proposed amalgamation (C: Yes).

**Table 7. Average Preference Ranking of the Four Outcome options**

Option	Description	Pre deliberation	Post Deliberation
<b>A</b>	Unione	<b>1.9</b>	2.3
<b>B</b>	NO	3.4	3.6
<b>C</b>	YES	2.0	<b>1.8</b>
<b>D</b>	Postpone	2.7	2.3

An English version of the attitude survey (Q sort) administered to participants before and after the IRC process can be found in Appendix A. As for preferences, there was a relatively small aggregate change in attitudes. Three of the strongest changes are shown in Table 4. The first statement relates to beliefs about the practicality and feasibility of not proceeding with amalgamation. The second two relate to beliefs about the political process surrounding amalgamation.

**Table 8. Statements with greatest level of change in response**

No	Statement	Average Response (stage)		Change between Stages	
		Pre	Post	Ave	Var
21	If the fusion will not be done, the single municipalities will not be capable of maintaining the current quality of the services.	-0.2	2.0	2.2	13.6
6	The fusion is a decision that has already been taken and they are trying to impose it top down. They are trying to sell the product "amalgamated municipality"	-1.3	0.8	2.0	4.9
35	In this fusion there is no project, no vision and no strategy. Things should be done in a very different way	-0.8	1.0	1.8	4.7

These measures merely capture the overall level of change that occurred during deliberation. However, as discussed in the introduction, deliberation need not necessarily result in a change in preference (or attitude) per se. Niemeyer and Dryzek

(2007) suggest that deliberation should ideally result in outcomes that directly reflect the degree to which individuals have taken the arguments of other seriously, as well as the way that these arguments should map onto preferences. The result is a situation where all individuals do not necessarily agree on the outcome, but they do agree on what are the important issue dimensions (arguments) and the way that these relate to outcomes (preferences), an outcome that they refer to as metaconsensus (see also Dryzek and Niemeyer 2006).

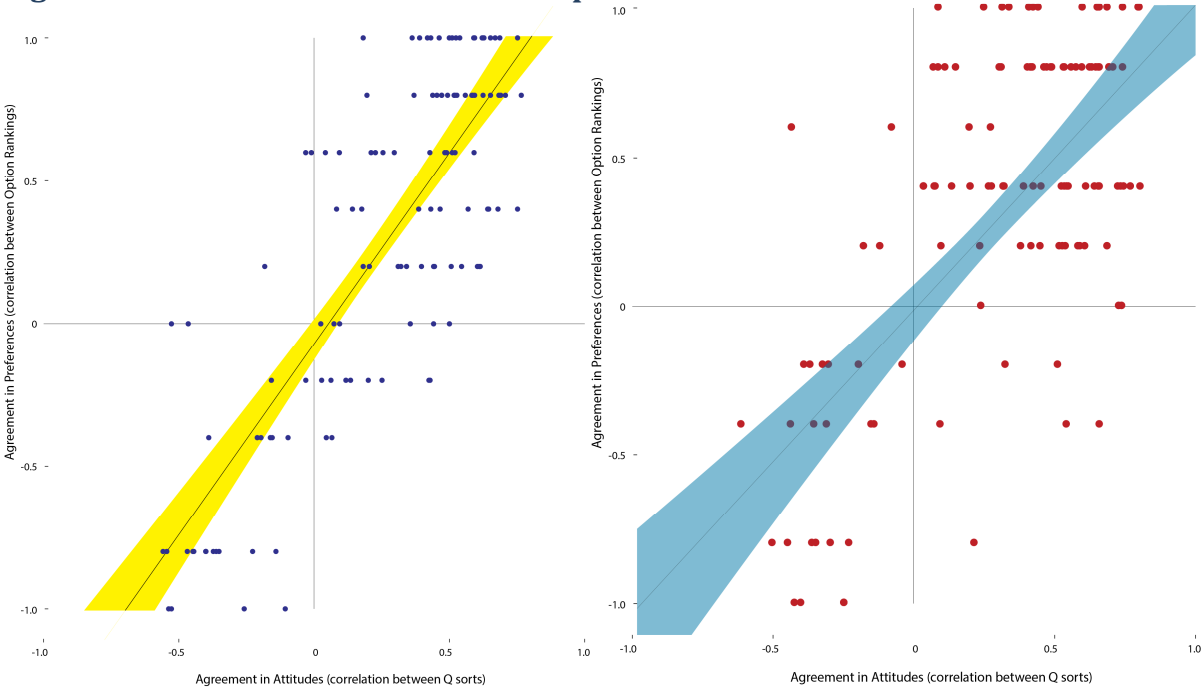
### **Intersubjective Consistency and Reflection**

One method that Niemeyer (Niemeyer 2011b; Niemeyer and Dryzek 2007) has developed for identifying the extent to which metaconsensus has been formed, and whether participants in deliberation have synthesised the incipient arguments and relationship to preferences is via Intersubjective Consistency (IC). The application of the approach has been used to assess the level of 'reflection in the transformation of individuals, which appears to be consistent with the quality of deliberative process (Niemeyer 2011b, a).

Intersubjective consistency is measured to the extent that all combinations of pairs of participants share an understanding of how attitudes map onto preferences — importantly, the nature relationship itself is not pre-defined but an intersubjective property of the group. The correlation between attitudes and preferences for each pair of participants are plotted (Attitudes on the x-axis and preferences on the y-axis) and the resulting regression is an indication of Intersubjective Consistency, the stronger the regression, the higher the IC. In most cases there is an increase in IC during group deliberation, sometimes very dramatically (Niemeyer 2011b).

The pre- and post-deliberation IC scatter plots are shown below in Figure 3. Interestingly, the IC relationship for this study is comparatively high, although there is still a slight improvement as a result of deliberation.

**Figure 3. Pre- and Post-Deliberative IC plots**



Level of ‘reflection’ by a given individual was measured as a change in IC. This was assessed by taking only those points denoting pairs of participants in the IC plots in Figure 3 that included the target individual and obtaining the regression R for that subset of points pre- and post-deliberation. Intersubjective consistency change was measured by the difference in regression R between the deliberative stages.

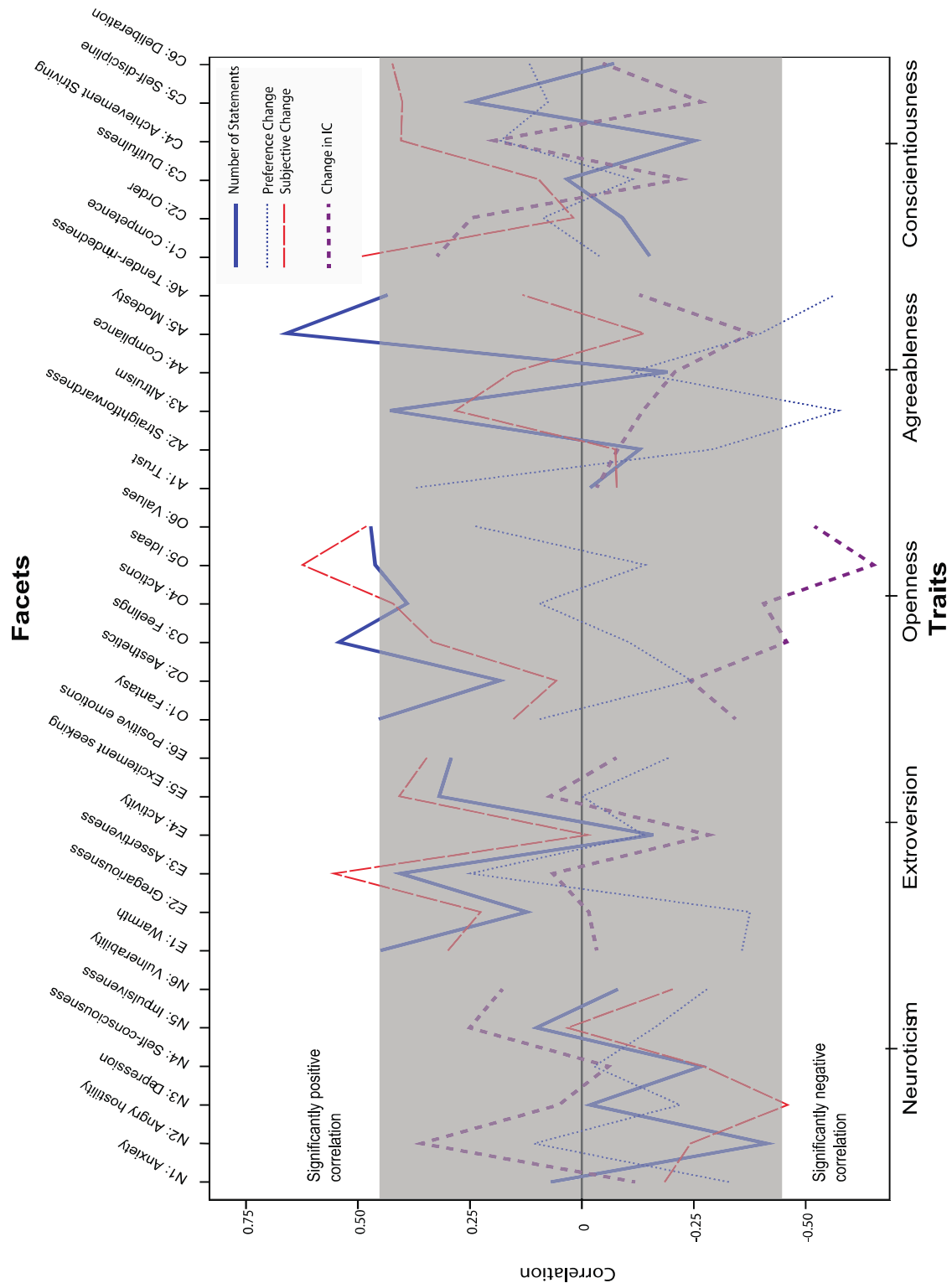
There are considerable weaknesses to this approach, particularly where there is a high level of consensus among participants (Niemeyer 2011b). However, in this case there remains considerable disagreement throughout the process.



## APPENDIX C RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FACETS AND DELIBERATIVE TRANSFORMATION

Figure 4 shows the results of analysis of correlation between personality (at the facet level) and three variables: number of speech acts, attitude change and preference change. Those relationships that are statistically significant at the 95% level fall outside the greyed area.

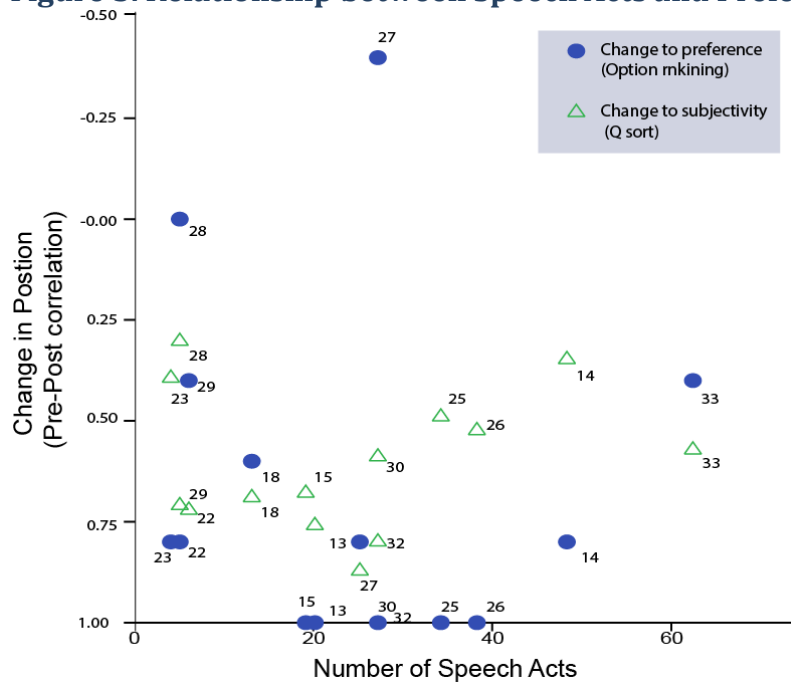
**Figure 4 Correlations between Personality, Speech Acts and Deliberation**



## APPENDIX D RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONALITY AND DISCURSIVE TRANSFORMATION

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show respectively the relationship between number of speech acts and preference and attitude change, and the relationship between speech acts and change on the principle issue dimension for the IRC — whether to accept or reject the proposal for the amalgamation.

**Figure 5. Relationship between Speech Acts and Preference and Attitude Change**



**Figure 6. Change in Preference for Amalgamation versus speech acts.**

