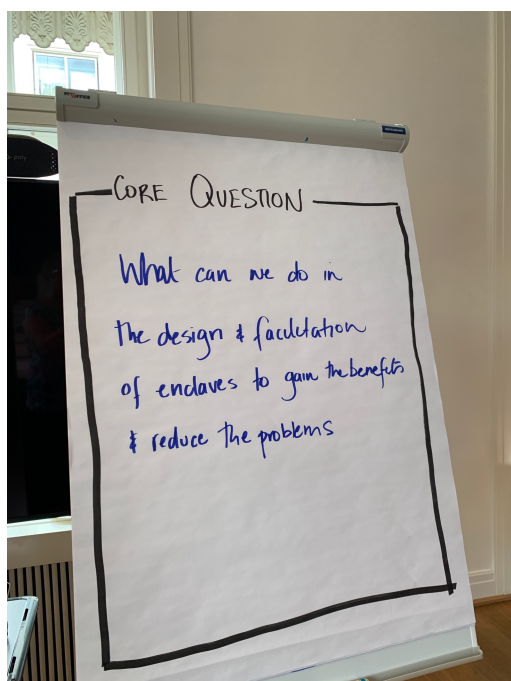# Enclave Deliberation Workshop

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This document contains the information provided at the Enclave Deliberation workshop (provided as one-page sheets and used in the textra process) plus the outputs that were developed during the workshop. Textra is an information sharing process developed by Thiagi and is described in MosaicLab's book on Facilitating Deliberation.

A separate case study of the Yarra Valley Water's deliberation as an example of enclave deliberation was also shared.

Workshop Inputs
Enclave Deliberation – what the research tells us

Definition - enclaves

Enclaves are communities of discourse of the likeminded or those similarly situated within a larger deliberative system. (Mansbridge 1994)

Definition - disempowered groups

Karpowitz and others state:
- At any given time and place there are identifiable groups that are "more difficult to organise, articulate, mobilize and integrated into policy discussions." Hendriks in Karpowitz.
- They may be formally excluded or may lack resources and hence typically exert less influence on public policy making.
- People may be disempowered due to gender, ethnic groups, or in relation to particular issues regardless of their socio-economic status.

Abdullah and others use the following categories
- Politically disempowered – disadvantaged over the long term in the larger political system – weaker political voice and participate at lower rates all political settings
- Situationally disempowered – in a weaker position on the topic
- Deliberative disempowered – those less likely to speak within a forum

Types of enclave groups – two Cheers
Karpowitz and others suggest these types of enclaves
- Shared pre-deliberation views (e.g. people with specific views on immigration)
- Shared structural location (e.g. immigration lawyer)
- Shared identity (e.g. immigrant groups)

Abdullah and others suggest shared social perspectives or structural location in society as the most legitimate basis for enclave deliberation. Perspectives meaning experience, history and social knowledge.

Why use enclaves

Mansbridge et al (2006) quoted in Karpowitz

- The demand for reason and consensus in deliberation may marginalise or exclude some (disadvantaged) groups as deliberation favours people who are educated and hold higher status (as they are used to this type of dialogue and reasoning).
- Evidence suggests that people with more education and higher status speak more frequently.
- Consensus may suppress discussion of difficult differences in way that narrow the possible agenda and silences some people.

Gronlund suggests that enclaves are important for political articulation and mobilisation for those in a disadvantaged position

Also, in practice recruitment is not perfect. People in a minority group (eg indigenous peoples) may not be selected through a standard recruitment process (or result in token representation), so setting up an enclave ensures that their views are captured in the process.

Benefits of enclaves

Mansbridge believes that the three key benefits are: clarity, creativity and support
- Promotes clarity in understanding interests and preferences
- Creativity in generating new ideas
- Mutual support in getting those ideas before the public

Others have written about the benefits in the following ways:

- Safer to learn – easier to compromise with peers vs defending a minority view to the majority. It's easier to reconsider their own views in peer groups rather than in mixed groups.

- Enclaves provide a wider range of views.

- Members of low status groups are typically quieter in a mixed group. Enclaves allow their voices to be amplified

- Opportunity to develop their own unique perspectives and arguments – they can explore their ideas in an environment of mutual encouragement.

- Enclave deliberation may allow disempowered participants to overcome oft-observed forms of coercion by elites.

- Enclaves can mitigate the pressures of being a token representative in a deliberation – the voices of the least advantaged may be muted by being dispersed across many

small discussion groups and it can be a burden to be the only representative of a particular minority (constantly scrutinised, need to speak for others, subject of generalisations).

Problems with enclaves

- Group loyalty is harder to dislodge. The unity of the group may be greater than other aims.

- Creates greater polarisation and extremism. Polarisation can occur due to a desire for social acceptance in the group and confirmation bias of the views put forward in the group.

- Less diversity of views and at the extreme may lead to group think.

- There is an illusion of unanimous opinion among the members of the enclave

- Groups most likely to go to extremes if: they share an identity that is make clear to them during deliberation, they meet regularly over time and they insulate themselves from competing views. And a critical factor is that members enter the deliberation with a particular preference.

- If a process is enclave only (not part of a wider deliberation), it undermines the legitimacy of the process as it is not seen to achieve the "common good" and rather is just an expression of the claim of a specific group. A representative group is seen as more likely to consider the common interest.

- Enclaves can reinforce lines of division and enmity between enclave participants and others, if part of a wider deliberation

Context – Jane Mansbridge - Using Power/Fighting Power

In democracies we must use power to get things done. By power I mean coercion – getting other people to do what they would not otherwise do by threat of sanction or the use of force.

Some group, usually a majority, must coerce the rest. Because coercion is always contestable and often highly unfair and substantially unjust communities using this power must also constantly fight the very power they use.

They must gird that power with institutional safeguards (eg individual rights, rule of law etc).

In addition, democracies need to foster and value enclaves of resistance.

Even the most just societies need these enclaves of protected discourse.

Each settlement creates not only the capacity for action but a lot the need to protect and facilitate in some way those who have lost.

Overcoming the challenges of enclaves

MosaicLab ideas (all contained in MosaicLab's book)
- Story telling – lived experience – in the shoe of
- Positive disagreement – to explore differences
- Deep Democracy
- Bob Dicks Option 1.5
- Our learnings on polarisation
- Discussion agreements
- Don't allow people to talk on behalf of others
- Build from an enclave to a mixed group deliberation that includes randoms

Ideas in the literature
- Oscillate between enclaves and broader deliberation – Jane Mansbridge

- Use of emotion story telling – Young and Sanders in Two Cheers

- A move away from deliberation always being orientated to the common good accepting that articulation of self-interest has a role in deliberation - Jane Mansbridge

- Connect the enclave discussion to power centres – that they be part of a larger process or democratic deliberation - Abdullah

- Polarisation is not necessarily an undesirable outcome – as it may be needed to create change from a majority conservative view.

Case Study

Silicon Valley – role of government in creating broadband networks
Consensus Conference
October 2006

One community panel with each person being a member of at least one of the groups that had the lowest rates of home access to broadband – low income people, African Americans, Hispanics, seniors, disabled and rural residents.

Size: 12 members (plus 15 control group members who did not deliberate).

Group was given the task of articulating the interests of the group on this issue, rather than consideration of the common good. The output was policy recommendations.

Research findings
Informed
- Participants came to know important facts
- Participants felt they were receiving high quality information and they were learning new information and considering new points of view
- Participants learnt from experts and from discussion with their peers

Civic attitudes
- Participation had no significant effects on a broader interest in local politics or trust in local government or confidence in the abilities of ordinary people to deliberate – authors consider that this may be because the group already had a high level of interest etc.

Polarisation and groupthink
- Instead of groupthink, participants recognised that their consensus emerged from a climate characterised by real difference of opinion.
- Rather than moving to group polarisation to follow perceived group norms (as expected in enclaves) the group became aware of conflicts amongst themselves but were not made uncomfortable by them and were able to achieve consensus on recommendations.
- These findings contradict the groupthink and polarisation theories of enclave deliberation.
- The panellists achieved consensus not based on absence of disagreement but rather a willingness to engage differences productively.

Legitimacy
- Participants and observers (government, industry, advocacy groups) perceived the process and outcomes as legitimate.

Case Study

Facing Racism in a Diverse Nation and Dialogue for Affinity Groups
Organiser – Everyday Democracy

Multiple small groups
Several 2-hour sessions
Outcome: action plans for their communities

Both affinity groups (enclaves) meeting before joining a mixed group – so one step in a larger discussion, not an isolated event.

Affinity meeting 1	Relationship building and connection to the issue
Affinity meeting 2	Preparing for the mixed group sessions – identifying and prioritising issues and identifying points of agreement and disagreement
Mixed group meetings 3-8	Six meetings of mixed groups to create the action plans
Affinity meeting 3	Closing session to identify any additional actions they wanted to take as a group

Authors note that enclaves can be safter places for individual to reconsider their views when they allow members to see that people like themselves hold a variety of views about their own interests, beliefs, and policy preferences.

Actions/situations that reduced polarisation (probably many more):
- People less likely to have strong opinions on topics that are new to public discourse than long held topics
- Agreements that you speak for yourself not others, so dominant speakers do not impose an identity on the group

Authors believe that it is possible to create affinity group processes that enhance marginalised people's inclusion, participation, and influence in public forums.

They also note that one need not make the mistaken assumption that all members of politically or deliberatively disadvantaged groups are ineffective deliberators.

Source:
Abdullah, Karpowitz and Raphael (2016) "Affinity Groups, Enclave Deliberation and Equity" Journal of Public Deliberation Vol 12, Issue 2 Article 6

Research
Study of polarisation (Grunlund)

Compared like-minded and mixed groups on the topic of immigration.

Results that likeminded groups did not become more extreme – depolarisation occurred.

They conclude that opinion polarisation is not by any means an automatic consequence of biases in group composition or the initial disposition of group members.

Though noted these groups did not have a pre-exiting sense of solidarity.

Despite initial like-mindedness there seems to have been a sufficient degree of disagreement to trigger deliberation where arguments were assessed by their merits.

Information, discussion rules and moderators all encouraged participants to evaluate their arguments.

Evidence relating to polarisation (Abdullah et al.)

Studies of forums with enclaves show little or no evidence that groups shift further in the direction to which they were initially included because of social pressure or limited argument pools.

Sources

Please note that even though the material in this document is not properly referenced, the material is drawn mostly as direct quotes from the following academic articles.

Jane Mansbridge (1994) Using Power/Fighting Power

Christopher Karpowitz, Chad Raphael & Allen Hammond IV (2009) Deliberative democracy and in equality: Two cheers for enclave deliberation among the disempowered.

Kimmo Gronlund, Kaisa Herne & Maija Setala (2015) Does Enclave Deliberation Polarize Opinions

Carolyne Abdullah, Christopher Karpowitz & Chad Raphael (2016) Affinity Groups, Enclave Deliberation and Equity.

Jane Mansbridge et al (yet to be published) chapter in Assessing Deliberation for Cambridge University Press

Workshop Outputs

Our examples of enclave deliberation:

- Yarra Valley Water Price Submission – Australia (MosaicLab)

- XR in New York City – Prioritisation of demands/efforts - USA

- Consultations of Good Faith – IASS

- Defecting from Supremacy. Target audience (people classified as) – white men. www.whiteawake.org

- Local community planning process with Scottish local government – small deliberative focus groups with targeted population sectors before public meetings regarding the local plan.

- Fair Energy Transition for All (EU/ifok)
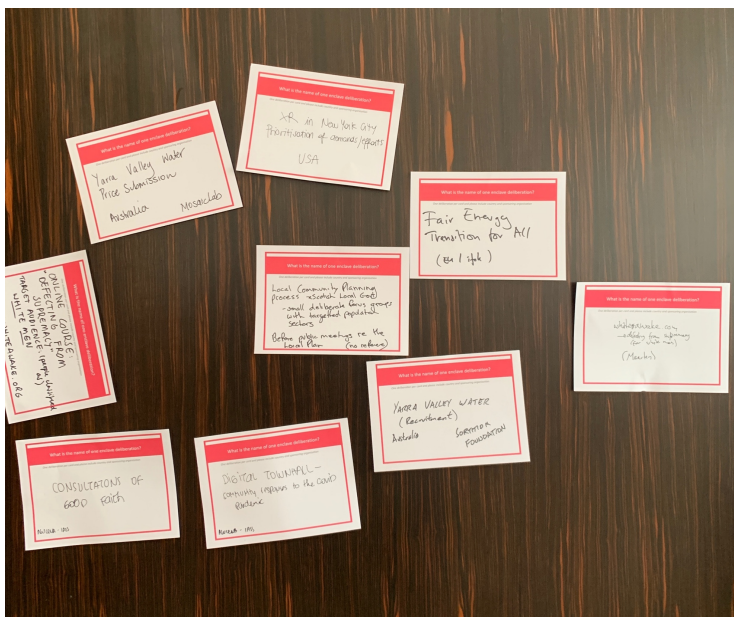
Ideas for what we can do in the design and facilitation to reduce any problems with enclaves:

- Involve people from the communities into the design and facilitation

- Enclaves need to grow rather than being designed – Bogota – "care blocks" leading to offering space

- Training facilitators

- Include the 'enclave' in the design of the process

- Deliberative equity in follow-up process

- The design of enclaves should focus on the differences between participants to show that they are not all the same

- After care – follow up, decompressing/group processing

- Three stages instead of two when bringing enclaves into wider deliberations

- Supplementary/additional recruitment to bring in missing groups

- Combine it with a large process

- Reserve space and time for those who are most silent

- Dismiss the necessity for consensus