EU-CIEMBLY

EU-CIEMBLY: Creating an Inclusive European Citizens' Assembly

D2.3

Theoretical Models for an Intersectional and Inclusive Citizens' Assembly

EU-CIEMBLY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSOs   Civil Society Organisations: non-governmental, non-profit entities formed by individuals acting independently of the state

EU-CIEMBLY   Acronym for the current project, the long-title being–Creating an Inclusive European Citizens' Assembly

IOPD   International Observatory on Participatory Democracy

LGBTQ+   An umbrella term for those who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual, Queer and the Plus sign intends to include all those not listed in the acronym (such as intersex and asexual people)

PMIMG   People from Multiple, Intersecting Marginalised Groups

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of the EU-CIEMBLY project is to create a model for EU citizens' assemblies that maximises intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation. To that goal, the researchers mapped the landscape of the relevant scholarship in Deliverable 2.1. Building on that foundation, Deliverable 2.2 initiated the development of theoretical and normative frameworks for fostering intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation within citizens' assemblies. This Deliverable extends the theoretical work of Deliverable 2.2 by proposing innovative models for citizens' assemblies. Adopting a 'blue sky' approach, it moves beyond practical constraints of resources and capacity to explore creative and conceptual design features, pushing the boundaries of what is possible in the pursuit of truly inclusive and deliberative democratic practices.

Drawing from political theory, sociology, representational theory, and critical theory on democratic innovations, Deliverable 2.3 proposes different models and design features for citizens' assemblies that enhance inclusiveness for marginalised groups and PMIMG (people belonging to multiple, intersecting, marginalised groups; see Deliverable 2.2, Appendix I). The models in this Deliverable integrate intersectionality in a way that allows for a focus on a variety of interacting social positions, forces, factors, and power structures that create the barriers experienced by marginalised groups and PMIMG when participating in citizens' assemblies. By focusing on these dynamics, the models seek to propose design features to enhance intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation (as per the project's analytical framework, presented in Deliverable 2.2).

The Deliverable consists of six theoretical models. Model 1: *Descriptive Representation*, presents a range of options through the lens of including PMIMG in the participant body and bureaucracy involved in a citizens' assembly. Model 2: *Discursive Representation*, emphasises inclusion of diverse knowledge, perspectives and discourses through various mechanisms by moving beyond the sole focus on identity-based representation of PMIMG. Model 3: *Subaltern Counterpublics*, acknowledges the systemic marginalisation of certain groups and advocates by providing safe, dedicated spaces for PMIMG to articulate their perspectives without the fear of being pressured by dominant narratives. Model 4: *Power Sharing*, focuses on the ways in which an intersectional citizens' assembly could address power

imbalances through popular control, governance, and community-driven design. Model 5: *Agonistic Pluralism*, provides a number of design choices around facilitating conflicting opinions in citizens' assemblies, to draw out the views of PMIMG and minority perspectives. Finally, Model 6: *Relationality and Interdependence*, discusses a range of design choices that would complement many of the models through emphasising commonalities, relationships, and bonding between participants, their communities, and other parts of the broader society, such as nonhuman animals or landmarks.

The exploration of the models is followed by a section that covers alternative design choices or 'additional considerations', including using an additive model for sampling, and reconsidering the traditional strive for consensus in citizens' assemblies, and the subsequent implications for intersectionality. Lastly, the Deliverable sets out the scope for future work in the project. In particular, the section flags considerations of strengths based versus deficit framing, essentialism versus external inclusion, balancing perspectives, and considerations of legitimacy when altering the conventional sampling model. The section also includes broader points around the need for a deliberative system approach and discusses the potential to create an overarching politico-philosophical framework about the project's conceptualisations of democracy, as well as considerations for the creation of policy recommendations. These are important points to consider as the project heads into more practical considerations under Work Package 3.

The Deliverable concludes with an overall options table (Table 7), which maps all the potential starting points for design choices by model and according to each stage of the citizens' assembly (i.e., governance, organisation, and management; sampling and recruitment; and facilitation and deliberation). The options explored in this deliverable thus provide a beginning point, based on theory and drawing on the analytical framework from Deliverable 2.2, in order to begin designing the citizens' assembly pilots. These models are theoretical in nature, so they were designed to help conceive ideas and therefore do not represent an off-the-shelf solution for later work. Instead, they represent a starting point for later work packages, and aim to provide novel ideas for both the EU-CIEMBLY project and others seeking to implement intersectionality in deliberative designs.

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I. Introduction

Intersectionality was conceptualised as a theoretical framework to examine the overlapping and intersecting dimensions of discrimination and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). In the context of deliberative democracy, this framework helps illuminate how structural and institutional barriers constrain the participation of people from multiple, intersecting marginalised groups (PMIMG; see Appendix I, Deliverable 2.2) in democratic fora, such as citizens' assemblies (Lupien, 2018; Wojciechowska, 2019). Enhancing inclusion requires adopting policies and practices that actively address these barriers and the specific needs of PMIMG.

In essence, intersectionality underscores the unique challenges, needs, experiences, and knowledges of individuals who belong to multiple marginalised social groups. To improve the inclusion of PMIMG, a citizens' assembly must embed the core principles of intersectionality into both its design and practice. The central aim of the EU-CIEMBLY project is to create policy recommendations for citizens' assemblies that emphasise intersectional inclusion. While Work Package 3 seeks to explore how past citizens' assemblies have enhanced inclusion *in practice*, Work Package 2 takes a theoretical approach to explore a wide range of *possibilities*. Work Package 2 produced four Deliverables. Deliverable 2.1 was a bibliographic map of relevant research on intersectionality and democratic participation. It was followed by Deliverable 2.2, which was an interim report providing the analytical and normative framework of the project. The report findings were further developed to include findings from the project team's workshop in Madrid in November 2024, as well as insights from the preliminary work of Work Package 3, leading to the production of the current Deliverable 2.3 At the time Deliverable 2.3 was produced, Deliverable 2.4 was also under way; analysing intersectionality in policy and legal documents of the EU, to formulate some initial policy recommendations.

The objective of Deliverable 2.3 is to propose models and design features that promote intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation within citizens' assemblies, thereby reducing barriers for marginalised groups and PMIMG to participate effectively in these fora (see Deliverable 2.2, section I.1.). As such, this Deliverable presents different theoretical models or conceptualisations of how intersectionality could be embedded in the design features and practices of a

citizens' assembly. The proposed theoretical models use intersectionality to focus on a variety of interacting social locations, forces, factors, and power structures that shape and influence human life (Hankivsky et al., 2014). These design options will then be used by the project team as the foundation for the planning of three citizens' assemblies in Work Package 3, which will be piloted in Work Package 4.

It should be noted here that the goal of this Deliverable is not to suggest a single, practical, and implementable framework for a specific pilot, but rather to propose a variety of theoretical models and potential design features. The models build on the analytical framework in section II of Deliverable 2.2, and the issues identified in section IV of Deliverable 2.2. Each model aims to, in its own way, maximise the inclusion of PMIMG in citizens' assemblies. Deliverable 2.3 is, then, a collection of design options that could inform the development of pilot assemblies for this project. However, this Deliverable was also created with a broader purpose: to offer a range of innovative design options that enrich the wider literature and practice surrounding citizens' assemblies. In essence, the work presented here is intended to serve as a source of inspiration for anyone involved in designing, implementing, or studying citizens' assemblies.

The development of these models draws from political theory, sociology, representational theory, and critical theory on democratic innovations. Each model represents different standpoints on intersectionality. For example, Model 1 starts with the premise *"intersectionality in citizens' assemblies is about descriptive representation"* and then builds design features around that premise. While the models offer valuable insights, they also present conflicting priorities and values, alongside challenges and limitations, particularly when it comes to practical implementation. The primary aim is to provide a range of design elements for the pilots, each supported by a theoretical argument. These models allow for exploration and experimentation in the pursuit of more inclusive and intersectional democratic processes, in turn offering a foundation for future practical applications.

It should also be noted that these models are neither necessarily discrete nor meant as off-the-shelf solutions. Some models overlap in content and cross-reference others. It is envisaged that later work packages (or citizens' assembly designers more broadly) may choose different elements from different models in combination (e.g., ideas for sampling from one; a facilitation style from another). Additionally, not

every model includes distinct features for each design aspect of a citizens' assembly. Readers may notice that certain design features are missing for some models; this is intentional and based on the approach that the analysis set out here should be seen as a starting point for further thought, as opposed to a conclusive guide on how to design a citizens' assembly. The intention of this work is to explore a range of options, adding to the literature on intersectionality and citizens' assemblies.

As mentioned previously, the models were first developed with reference to the literature in Deliverables 2.1 and 2.2, before being presented to the full EU-CIEMBLY team at the workshop in Madrid in November 2024 (Task 2.3). The Task 2.3 Workshop involved two days of feedback and development of Deliverable 2.3 by the EU-CIEMBLY multidisciplinary academic and practitioner project team. Many of the ideas that came from that workshop are included in this Deliverable.

II.1. Overview and Structure

Deliverable 2.3 presents six models and is structured around each model. The model descriptions include an introduction with a short description of the key literature and ideas on which the model is based, before moving to the potential design choices that relate to this theory, coupled with a brief argument for each. These design choices are mapped onto the three broad categories for the phases of a citizens' assembly, as discussed in Deliverable 2.2: (1) governance, organisation, and management; (2) sampling and recruitment; and (3) facilitation and deliberation. The discussion of each model then proceeds with an explanation of how the model fulfills intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation (as elaborated on in Deliverable 2.2, section II.2.). Lastly, the limitations and challenges for each model are described before a brief summary of the model and its key points is presented in a table.

The final substantive section of the Deliverable (section III) includes ideas that did not fit the criteria for a full, theoretical model but could still be incorporated into citizens' assemblies with a focus on intersectionality. Section III additionally includes limitations and possible directions for future work in the project, relating to the literature on deliberative democracy, intersectionality, and inclusion. The Deliverable finishes with a conclusion, featuring a full summary table of the design features proposed throughout the Deliverable.

II. Theoretical Models

II.1. Model 1: Descriptive Representation

Intersectionality in a citizens' assembly could be operationalised in terms of descriptive representation, i.e., marginalised groups, or the specific intersections of groups, being represented by participants in the room. The *Descriptive Representation* model is grounded on the idea of representing intersectionality through the inclusion of diverse people as participants. Hanna Pitkin's noted work in 1967 separated descriptive from substantive representation, whereby descriptive representation refers to representatives 'mirroring' a group or groups in terms of their own characteristics (Pitkin, 1967). This, to some degree, should lead to substantive representation; i.e., acting on behalf of a certain group and thereby representing their interests.

Put simply, the descriptive model of representation argues that those who 'look like' the group (demographically) can and will represent the group and the group's interests. This model is present in the political discourse when academics or journalists analyse the composition of a representative body according to characteristics like gender or ethnic origin (i.e., *constitutive representation*; Siow, 2023). Authors have also called this the politics of presence (for a summary, see Stienstra & Nguyen, 2020). Past citizens' assemblies have operationalised descriptive representation by ensuring that a citizens' assembly has participants representing specific minority groups. This was done by guaranteeing the participation of, for example, a minimum number of women, youth, those from different regions, or ethnic minorities. However it should be noted that the researchers for this project were not able to find an example of a citizens' assembly to date which has operationalised descriptive representation through ensuring that the assembly has participants representing the intersection of multiple minority groups.

This model is geared towards considerations of external inclusion rather than internal inclusion, which are discussed in Deliverable 2.2 (especially in sections 2.2. and III.2.1.). In brief, definitions of external and internal inclusion were given by the theorist Iris Marion Young (2002): *external inclusion* emphasises the need to design

for the inclusion of people from a given group (or the combination of groups) to be 'in the room'. This could occur by being part of the citizens' assembly itself (as participants) or in the governance, organisation, and management of the assembly. By contrast, *internal inclusion* refers to special efforts made to ensure people from marginalised groups are included in the actual deliberation that takes place in a citizens' assembly. Since this model is operationalised on the notion of descriptive representation, it is closer to considerations of external inclusion.

II.1.1. Design Features

II.1.1.1. Governance, Organisation, and Management

Descriptive representation warrants inclusion within the personnel and governance structures of the citizens' assembly's bureaucracy (i.e., see section II.1. of Deliverable 2.2), i.e. *vertical inclusion*. Although this may be beyond the scope of the current project as the organisational team has largely been determined, it is a point worth considering by others who are planning to hold a citizens' assembly. A *Descriptive Representation* model could also include representation across the key personnel in the assembly (i.e., chairs, facilitators, and experts). This could involve ensuring that the roles include representation from marginalised groups (whether visibly or through identifying with a social group in other ways such as in a verbal introduction or profile) or the intersections of social groups (PMIMG).

II.1.1.2. Selection and Recruitment

There are several ways to implement the *Descriptive Representation* model in terms of sampling and recruitment. Typically, citizens' assemblies seek to use random selection and include participants at a rate similar to their level of representation in the population (see Deliverable 2.2, section III.2. for an overview). This method entails some consideration of the minimum proportion of the population that a group needs to represent, in order to have more than one participant in the assembly (e.g., if a group is 1% of the population and the citizens' assembly is set to be 100 participants, that group is not often sampled for, in order to ensure threshold representation; see Deliverable 2.2, section III.2.1.1.). Another increasingly common approach is to set quotas based on public policy priorities for the sponsoring

government agency. For example, the European Commision-supported European Citizens' Panels programme, alongside applying a random sampling method, set a requirement that young people (aged 16 to 25) would make up a third of the participants (European Commission, n.d.).

There are many options here for a model of *Descriptive Representation*. One option is to select the relevant social groups, finding their representation in the population alongside the intersections between these social groups. The next step would be to ensure each intersection is represented in the citizens' assembly, regardless of the size of the intersection between each group. For example, a citizens' assembly may seek to represent Groups A, B, and C. The sampling model here would need each combination of people; for instance, participants representing AB, and BC, not just Groups A, B, and C individually (for an example, see Figure 1). Another option is to ensure threshold representation of the intersection; e.g., rather than one person representing these intersections, mandating that two or more people belonging to the intersection of the social groups should be recruited, i.e., two or more participants representing AB and BC.

Figure 1. An example visual representation of intersecting identities to be considered in sampling for an intersectional citizens' assembly aimed at descriptive representation.

1	Racial/Ethnic Origin
2	Immigration/Citizenship Status
3	Sex/Gender
4	Sexual Orientation
5	Disability/Health Status
6	Religion/Belief
7	Age/Generation
8	Geographic location
9	Socio-economic status
10	Education
11	Language
12	Caregiving responsibilities
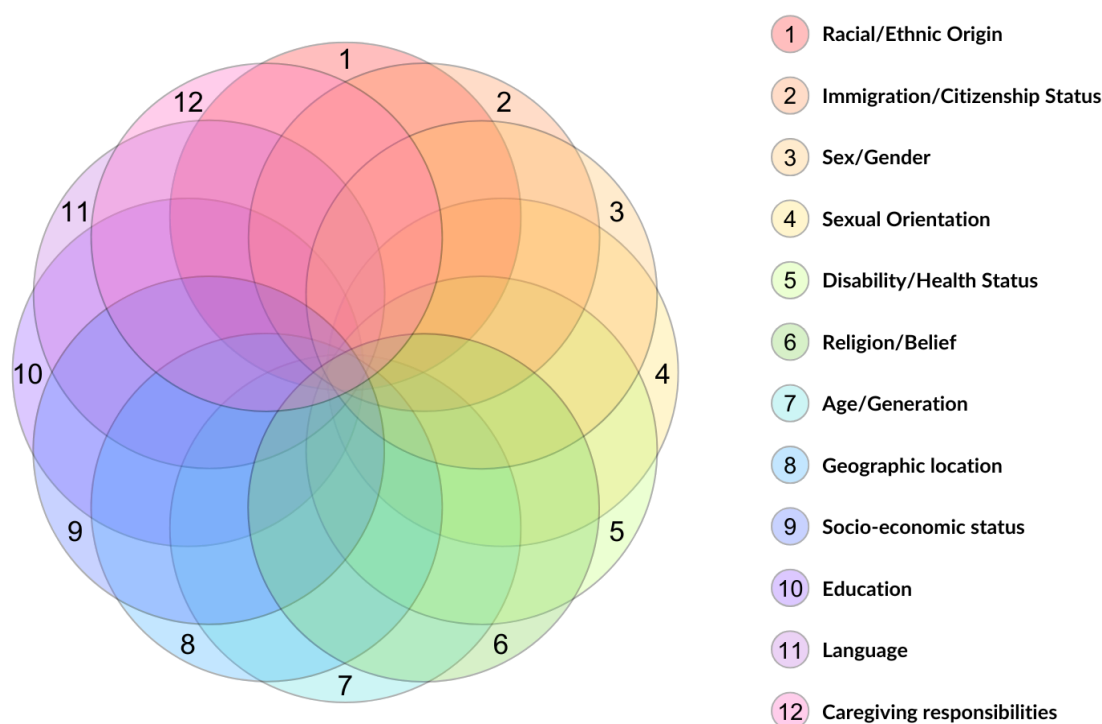
Source: The research teams' elaboration based on Duckworth (2020).

These two sampling options would likely lead to the final composition of the citizens' assembly having greater representation of a given minority group than what their representation in the population would warrant. Some may perceive this approach as over-representing these groups, although others have argued this is aligned with intersectional equality/equity (see Celis & Childs, 2020; the Deliverable returns to this discussion in the unresolved issues section in III.2.). Another way to ensure descriptive representation of PMIMG could be through sampling algorithms run on the participant pool. There is currently not a specific sampling algorithm for maximising intersectional representation, but one could be created for this purpose.

Alternatively, the participants themselves could determine the social groups of which they are a member or which they represent. A typical method of recruiting the sample for a citizens' assembly involves sending out a survey that asks for various demographics. These recruitment surveys often employ demographic questions to assess variables such as gender, age and education level. The organisers then ascribe group memberships to participants based on these characteristics, and they

may use them for sampling (see Deliverable 2.2, section III.2.1.1.). An alternative method of sampling could be to ask participants who they are, without assigning the potential categories *a priori*. This would mean participants could tell organisers who they are, who their experiences represent, which communities they may represent, *in their own words* during the recruitment phase, without prior categorisation from the organisers. In this way, participants could emphasise the social group memberships that are most important to them and their identities, as opposed to conventional, closed survey methods which weigh these group memberships evenly. Starting with a qualitative answer in sample selection rather than a demographic one may garner a different sense of descriptive representation (Magnusson, 2020).

II.1.2. Intersectional Equality, Inclusion, and Deliberation

Part of this Deliverable seeks to link each theoretical model back to the analytical framework described in Deliverable 2.2, and consider intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation under the project framework. The *Descriptive Representation* model would recognise intersectional equality by differentially representing PMIMG, perhaps recognising that different or greater effort is needed for the equal representation of PMIMG when compared with conventional recruitment methods (substantive equality/equity as opposed to mere formal or procedural equality); therefore, a greater number of representatives are required. As discussed above, the *Descriptive Representation* model seeks intersectional inclusion by making specific efforts to include PMIMG both through their representation in sampling and in the key personnel and/or bureaucracy involved in a citizens' assembly. Representing the intersections of social groups also moves inclusion beyond token or threshold representation for single social group memberships, as there would be more than one participant from a social group through the intersectional sampling strategy. The model does not specifically address intersectional deliberation, other than through the inclusion of PMIMG; the assumption being that since PMIMGs will be part of the citizens' assembly, they will have an equal opportunity as others in deliberations.

II.1.3. Challenges and Limitations

A number of challenges and limitations arise from the *Descriptive Representation* model, as is the case of all models in this Deliverable. Specifically, the following question arises: is it reasonable to expect an individual to represent the full spectrum of experiences associated with their social group or combination of groups? Is this a role they are willing to take, and one they are equipped for? Although there might be an expectation that some level of group representation takes place in theory, this is not a required part of a citizens' assembly in practice, nor are the participants bound to play any "role" (MacKenzie, 2023).

Past work has theorised that descriptive representation "essentialises" participants, meaning it creates a stereotypical assumption that someone from a combination of groups will think, feel, experience, argue, or *be* a certain way (Benhabib, 2002). There are broader issues around the mandate needed in order for individuals to represent a specific group, and intersectionality complicates this further. While someone may be a member of a group or have a specific intersectional experience, they may not represent the common experience of this group. For instance, someone who is socially categorised as white but identifies as an ethnic minority may not be able to articulate the ethnic minority group's common collective experience (Alfred et al., 2007). A further issue arises with allowing participants to describe themselves rather than using pre-identified sampling categories. Such a design may increase the organiser's subjectivity at the selection stage. Given the specific selection procedure could not be specified in advance with this approach, there could be concerns about it being less systematic or transparent.

Another limitation is assuming PMIMG will represent a minority group's interests. Some individuals may adopt positions that differ from their group's broader interests, for various personal, social, or other reasons (Belli, 2013; Siow, 2023). It is also increasingly common that those from marginalised groups adopt the majority perspective and may even advocate against what is perceived as that groups' rights (Brooks, 2024; Jost, 2018). Thus, there are many limitations around relying simply on descriptive representation for an inclusive and intersectional citizens' assembly.

As with many of the models discussed in this Deliverable, PMIMG are still a minority in the deliberating group (among the citizens' assembly participants as a whole). As

discussed in Deliverable 2.2, section II.2.3.2., close attention needs to be paid to voting and consensus-based models of citizens' assembly decision-making in any of these citizens' assembly models. The issue of consensus in citizens' assemblies is revisited in section III of this Deliverable (see section III.1.3.), and the potential stresses associated with citizens' assemblies for minority group members are returned to in section III.2.

II.1.4. Summary

In summary, the *Descriptive Representation* model posits the idea that intersectionality can be ensured in a citizens' assembly by some of the participants, governance members, or managers being PMIMG themselves. Potential design options are presented in Table 1. The model could be implemented through specific sampling techniques to ensure these groups are fairly represented, or represented at a greater rate than their representation in the population. Other options include representation in governance, organisation, and management positions, or in the diversity of the personnel serving as the chair, experts, or facilitators. While this model would feature intersectional equality and intersectional inclusion, there were no specific suggestions around deliberation itself; as mentioned above, the assumption is that PMIMG participate effectively by virtue of the fact that they are included as participants. There were also a number of limitations, such as the abilities, mandate, and ethics of having one or more individuals represent a specific minority group or intersectional position.

Table 1. A summary of the potential design choices under a Descriptive Representation model.

Governance, Organisation, and Management	Selection and Recruitment
Intersectional vertical inclusion through the representation of PMIMG in governance and decision-making.	Sampling ensures representation of the intersections of the selected social groups.
Intersectional vertical inclusion through the representation of PMIMG across chair, facilitator, and expert roles.	Threshold representation of the intersections of the selected social groups (i.e., two people at each intersection).

Create a sampling algorithm designed specifically for intersectional representation.

Participants declare who they are qualitatively, rather than using predefined categories.

Source: Authors' own elaboration. See Table 7 in the conclusion for a full version of the table that covers all of the models. Note this model did not include options for facilitation and deliberation.

II.2. Model 2: Discursive Representation

Descriptive representation does not always guarantee substantive representation, i.e., the meaningful inclusion of diverse experiences, opinions, worldviews, and knowledge from a given social group (Dryzek, 2010; Lupien, 2018; Stienstra & Nguyen, 2020; Young, 2002). Even when PMIMG are recruited into a citizens' assembly (i.e., *external inclusion*), they face barriers that prevent equal participation, thereby limiting their opportunities to engage in deliberation or influence decision-making processes (Dryzek, 2010; Young, 2002). The *Discursive Representation* model is grounded on the idea of representing intersectionality through the inclusion of the diverse *knowledge, perspectives, and discourses* of people from marginalised groups and PMIMG.

One approach to representing the voices of PMIMG is to focus on the discourses emerging from their positionality and unique, lived realities rather than relying solely on their presence in the deliberation. As Chambers (2003) and Dryzek and Niemeyer (2010) have noted, deliberative democracy should be less tied to traditional notions of representing individuals than aggregative democracy: a theoretical framework that emphasises democracy as a process of aggregating the preferences of individuals to arrive at collective decisions. Deliberative democracy, which is often compared with aggregative democracy, emphasises dialogue and communication as the foundation of democratic practice, shifting the focus from the presence of individuals to the ideas and perspectives they bring forward (Smith, 2009). Rooted in this principle, the *Discursive Representation* model advocates for the representation of diverse perspectives through focusing on discourse, thereby broadening and enriching the scope of democratic engagement.

As discussed above in Model 1: *Descriptive Representation*, regular citizens do not and should not be assumed to possess a mandate to represent the interests, worldviews, experiences, or opinions of the group as a whole, because they do not have the authority or power vested in them by others to formally represent the group or community (Grossback et al., 2006). Model 2: *Discursive Representation*, aims to address this issue by designing mechanisms that enable the representation of a collective voice through the inclusion of advocates; individuals nominated to represent a specific group or articulate their perspectives during deliberation. Furthermore, the discursive model acknowledges the significant barriers and power imbalances that exist in communication, particularly for regular citizens from marginalised groups (Afsahi, 2020; Barnes, 2002; Celiktemur, 2016). Advocates often possess or develop the skills needed to effectively represent group interests and articulate key discourses in ways that randomly selected members of the group may not be equipped to do. Over time, these advocates build expertise in navigating deliberative spaces, allowing them to ensure that the voices of the groups they represent are both heard and understood (Kahane et al., 2013).

The *Discursive Representation* model, therefore, moves beyond descriptive representation (see Model 1 above)—whereby individuals are chosen solely based on their social group memberships—to instead advocate for *substantive* representation (Celis & Mügge, 2018; Mansbridge, 1999). The discursive approach acknowledges the potential gap between the representation of identity and group interests. It is based on the understanding that a person's descriptive traits may not be the most effective way to represent the social group they are assumed to embody (Dryzek, 2010; Young, 2002). For example, including a minority woman, such as a Roma woman, in a citizens' assembly, does not necessarily guarantee that the interests and perspectives of her group, or of her intersectional position, will be represented. The aim of the *Discursive Representation* model is to create mechanisms that help lessen barriers for PMIMG and enable collective viewpoints to emerge and be meaningfully deliberated upon.

II.2.1. Design Features

II.2.1.1. Selection and Recruitment

A *Discursive Representation* model could employ a hybrid recruitment process, combining sortition (i.e., random sampling as discussed in Model 1: *Descriptive Representation*) with a targeted recruitment approach (i.e., purposive sampling). This means that the majority of the participants could be selected through conventional random sampling methods, ensuring a broadly demographically representative sample. However, a designated portion of the participants could be reserved for targeted recruitment. These reserved slots could be filled by representatives from various Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). CSOs refer to non-governmental, non-profit entities formed by individuals acting independently of the state. They often represent the interests, values, or goals of citizens or specific communities (Lee, 2011). CSOs encompass a diverse range of entities, including advocacy groups, minority-rights organisations, grassroots movements, faith-based organisations, non-government organisations (NGOs) and community groups. These organisations play a vital role in influencing policy, fostering public accountability, and ensuring that diverse voices are included in governance processes (Lee, 2011).

The selection of the categories of CSOs to be invited would need to be determined by priorities, such as identifying the most marginalised groups that need representation in the citizens' assembly. Then, specific CSOs would need to be selected from within that category based on criteria such as a track record of deep engagement with the relevant community they are helping to represent. Once selected, the involvement of CSOs in the recruitment process could take one of two forms. First, CSOs could nominate those who work with communities, advocates, or CSO employees to serve as participants in the citizens' assembly. These participants may have developed advocacy skills over time and possess valuable experience in representing minority positions. This can help mitigate the power imbalance that often exists between those advocating for minority perspectives and the participants from dominant groups who have been randomly selected. The randomly selected participants from dominant groups may not be experienced in deliberation. However, they may have an advantage due to their social group positioning (e.g., being a man, being white, and/or highly educated). Moreover, the epistemological perspectives

and contribution by the participants from dominant groups often align with societal norms or the status quo. These viewpoints are often more readily accepted, as their underlying assumptions require less explanation or justification to resonate with others in the deliberative setting. Iris Marion Young (2001) describes this phenomenon as *articulateness privilege*: a form of advantage whereby certain ways of speaking and reasoning are perceived as natural or superior, reinforcing power dynamics in deliberation (p. 38). Including experienced advocates nominated by CSOs helps counteract this imbalance, ensuring that minority perspectives are articulated appropriately and given equitable weight in the assembly's discussions.

Alternatively, CSOs could identify and nominate a regular citizen from the community with which they work to participate in the assembly, ensuring discursive representation for the groups they serve. For instance, a representative from an LGBTQ+ advocacy group for people with disabilities could participate in the citizens' assembly with a mandate from the CSO. This could be someone recruited from the community. They might share their experiences, perspectives, and opinions on a specific policy issue. Anyone nominated by the CSO would have the confidence that they have the collective backing (or form of mandate) from the organisation. This may involve holding joint meetings with their communities and the CSO, or gaining insights about their broader group's position before participating in the assembly. Their contribution would provide a more nuanced understanding of how a particular issue impacts their community, blending personal insight with a broader advocacy perspective.

The CSO representatives bring the voices of marginalised groups into deliberations, mitigating communicative challenges that regular participants might face. If selected for their advocacy experience, this will enable representatives to effectively position the interests of people from marginalised groups (and PMIMG) and articulate their concerns and perspectives. Moreover, regardless of their level of advocacy skills or experience, these representatives would be mandated to represent a defined set of group interests, a distinction from citizens who may primarily reflect their own lived experiences or descriptive characteristics.

II.2.1.2. Facilitation and Deliberation

Regardless of the sampling model, the plan for deliberation within the citizens' assembly needs to include expansive modes of communication. Many authors have advocated for a more generous accounting for speech in deliberation which includes alternative ways of deliberating, beyond the prototypical, calm, reasoned, verbal contribution (e.g., Afsahi, 2020; Stienstra & Nguyen, 2020; see also Model 5: *Agonistic Pluralism* and section III.1.2. of this Deliverable). Facilitating more creative inputs and techniques for deliberation can enable broader inclusion (Ashworth, 2020). If an assembly does adopt more expansive modes of communication, it would need to ensure that this is captured in the note-taking. Such note-taking may need a specific guide, training, or to be designed to ensure inclusion of these deliberations (European Commission, 2024).

The above could be achieved by incorporating diverse formats and modes of communication, including personal narratives, life stories, and verbal and non-verbal contributions (Abdullah et al., 2016; Ashworth, 2020; Karpowitz et al., 2009; Lupien, 2018). Some deliberation has also included making or reflecting on different forms of artistic expressions (Ashworth, 2020). Such contributions could come through modifications to the educational phase of the citizens' assembly or through other materials provided (e.g., in a code of conduct or information pack before or between sessions). Indeed, the inclusion of different viewpoints in the deliberative phase of the citizens' assembly is a good way of accommodating various discourses. A common component of citizens' assemblies is the educational phase, in which experts speak to the assembly, and/or educational material is given to the participants ahead of the deliberation (see Deliverable 2.2, section III.3.3.). In the educational phase, citizens' assemblies could include contributions from a variety of advocates, such as CSOs representatives, or CSO-nominated 'regular' citizens who represent different sides of the debate or hold diverse political opinions (diverse opinions are also explored in Model 5: *Agonistic Pluralism*). Presenting submissions to the citizens' assembly in this way also allows for storytelling methods, through which PMIMG may be able to present their story as it relates to the policy topic under discussion.

Similarly, this material could be presented to the assembly using other forms, whether it be video, written materials, artworks or similar. Model 6: the *Relational and Interdependent* model, also discusses the possibility of introducing activities such as a field trip to increase bonding through shared activities, or for a group or individual to make representations on behalf of a geographic feature, nature, nonhuman animals, or similar. Additionally, to enhance inclusivity, the discourses should be presented through diverse modes of communication, such as verbal, written, and non-verbal forms, ensuring accessibility for all participants. The methods of deliberation that are used would need to explicitly account for the participants considering these presentations or material, to ensure they are not simply overlooked or dismissed.

The *Discursive Representation* model creates space for a broad range of discourses, including those often excluded, such as activist perspectives, conflicting viewpoints, and discourses that are disruptive to the status quo or to dominant narratives (Curato, 2020; Drake, 2021). Within this model, activists could be invited to participate as advocates or contribute to the educational phase, either by engaging directly in deliberations or by providing content for participants to deliberate upon (Drake, 2021). Expanding on this idea, a citizens' assembly could even consider including disruptive protests by activists as part of the process, acknowledging them as valid forms of expression. By integrating these perspectives, the deliberative process becomes more inclusive, capturing a broader spectrum of ideas and experiences that might otherwise be overlooked.[1]

Finally, the assembly's reporting and recommendations must ensure all perspectives are accurately reflected. Deliberations should aim for meta-consensus, producing a set of recommendations rather than a singular final decision, allowing for the complexity of diverse perspectives to be appropriately acknowledged and incorporated. Meta-consensus refers to an agreement on the underlying frameworks, values, and principles shared by participants, even when there is disagreement on specific outcomes (for a description, see Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2006; see also Deliverable 2.2, section III.3.4.). In practice, this means that the work of citizens' assemblies is focused on producing a set of recommendations that are

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[1] Although note, as this Deliverable explains in the general limitations section (see section II.7.2.), there is a need to consider which alternative viewpoints are included, who is given a platform, where that is fair, and when this may work against intersectionality and inclusion.

acknowledged and accepted by all rather than achieving a consensus outcome. These recommendations are then presented to the organisers who commissioned the citizens' assembly and often include detailed explanations. These explanations should capture the nature of the support that participants feel towards certain issues and highlight any existing differing opinions–particularly minority opinions.

II.2.2. Intersectional Equality, Inclusion, and Deliberation

Intersectional equality can be enhanced in various ways through this model. Recognising that advocacy is a skill, allowing PMIMG to be represented by experienced advocates may be thought of as intersectional equality or as equity. This feature recognises that some groups need different treatment to ensure they have an equal say in deliberation given that power imbalances in communication exist in broader society. It also helps to promote PMIMG discourses by positioning the input of those with lived experience as expertise that should be explicitly considered in deliberation.

The *Discursive Representation* model enhances intersectional inclusion by acknowledging that identity-based representation of marginalised groups and PMIMG alone does not guarantee their substantive inclusion within a citizens' assembly. To address this, the model advocates for mechanisms that strengthen discursive and substantive representation (i.e., moves towards internal inclusion) of PMIMG. The involvement of CSOs is a mechanism that bolsters the representation of discourses and interests of PMIMG (intersectional deliberation). Moreover, the inclusion of either CSOs' representatives or regular citizens nominated by CSOs ensures that the perspectives of PMIMG are effectively conveyed, minimising communicative barriers (see Afsahi, 2020).

II.2.3. Challenges and Limitations

While the discursive representation of PMIMG through the involvement of CSOs—either by sending their representatives or nominating regular citizens—addresses the communicative and epistemic challenges that regular citizens may face in deliberation, it raises concerns about popular control in the citizens' assembly. Popular control, a core principle of deliberative democracy, emphasises

the degree to which ordinary citizens, as opposed to elites—defined as individuals with greater social power, such as those in government, managerial positions, or academia—or experts, genuinely influence the processes and outcomes of a citizens' assembly. This principle ensures that decision-making power remains with the people (Smith, 2009). A concern with aspects of this model is that it may empower CSOs, who already have the opportunity to express their viewpoints through traditional participatory methods like submissions and campaigns (Fung, 2006). The inclusion of representatives to present the marginalised groups' perspectives may skew the balance of popular control and challenge its legitimacy in the citizens' assembly. As a result, this approach could reproduce the power structures and hierarchies that citizens' assemblies are inherently designed to try and avoid.

While advocates may be more skilled at articulating PMIMG perspectives and influencing majority opinion within a randomly selected citizens' assembly, their expertise in 'speaking the language' of deliberative forums could unintentionally create power imbalances. This approach risks patronising marginalised participants by presuming they are unable or unwilling to speak for themselves, thereby undermining the principles of empowerment and authentic representation. Although it could also be viewed as an advantage of this model, by supporting equitable outcomes, this dynamic might lead to situations in which individuals with advocacy experience exert greater influence than others, even fellow participants from marginalised groups.

Involving CSOs in citizens' assemblies presents several challenges. One of the primary tensions is determining who has the mandate to represent whom. A CSO may not necessarily have the legitimacy to advocate for the rights and interests of all members of a particular group or those with intersecting identities. CSOs often face criticism for failing to adequately represent intersectional subgroups within the communities they claim to serve. For instance, many LGBTQ+ organisations have recently grappled with how to represent ethnic or religious minorities effectively within their frameworks (Tauqir et al., 2011). Additionally, some CSOs may lack the capacity or resources to engage in a citizens' assembly, perceiving it as less relevant or impactful compared to their usual methods of advocacy. Those that do choose to engage may bring specific agendas, creating the risk of experienced political

operators attempting to influence or steer the citizens' assembly toward particular outcomes or to lobby other participants. Further, the inclusion of CSOs, with their politicised, preformed views may make the citizens' assembly seem less neutral, damaging the citizens' assembly's credibility with the public. Balancing these limitations while leveraging CSOs' potential to enhance inclusion requires careful design and safeguards to maintain the integrity and diversity of the deliberative process.

II.2.4. Summary

The *Discursive Representation* model, summarised in Table 2, places great emphasis on substantive representation by including the diverse knowledge, perspectives, and discourses of marginalised groups and PMIMG. It goes beyond descriptive representation, which focuses on the identity traits of an individual, to ensure the inclusion of collective voices through mechanisms like the involvement of mandated CSO representatives. The model also encourages organisers to use more diverse methods of input, such as storytelling or art. Taken together, these suggestions seek to emphasise the discursive inputs of PMIMG within citizens' assemblies.

Table 2. A summary of the potential design choices under a Discursive Representational model.

Selection and Recruitment	Facilitation and Deliberation
Alongside some random selection, a proportion of the sample is reserved to be filled by CSOs…	A broader range of communicative acts are allowed in deliberation (e.g., personal narratives, life stories, verbal and non-verbal contributions, and written inputs).
… Under one option these positions are filled with experienced advocates for the community.	The deliberation phase includes presentations from CSOs, community members or others, beyond 'experts'.
… Under another option these positions are filled with those selected from the community by CSOs.	Materials beyond conventional deliberation and speech are provided (e.g., videos, written materials, artworks or similar; see also Model 6).

Under a third option, these positions are filled Activists could be invited by engaging partly with experienced advocates for the directly in deliberations, providing content community and partly with those selected from for deliberation, or staging a disruptive the community by CSOs. protest.

Meta-consensus is the aim; i.e., to produce a set of recommendations, not a singular final decision, allowing for the complexity of diverse perspectives to emerge.

Source: Authors' own elaboration. See Table 7 in the conclusion for a full version of the table that covers all of the models. Note this model did not include options for governance, organisation, and management.

II.3. Model 3: Subaltern Counterpublics

This model is grounded on structural transformation of the public sphere and its exclusionary mechanisms to better represent and include PMIMG. It is rooted in Nancy Fraser's (2014) concept of "subaltern counterpublics". According to Fraser (2014), subaltern counterpublics are discursive arenas that develop in parallel to the official public spheres, whereby members of subordinated social groups counter dominant discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs (Setälä, 2014). Fraser rejects the idea of a singular public sphere, arguing instead for the existence of multiple, parallel publics. In this framework, subalterns (i.e., marginalised groups) are doubly excluded from the centre of political power, positioned both vertically 'below' and horizontally 'outside' of the dominant sphere. Fraser's (1990) example of the women's movement in the United States highlights how such groups can carve out political spaces separately from the official public sphere to articulate concerns otherwise rendered invisible—such as the discourse around sexual harassment. Importantly, Fraser also envisions subaltern counterpublics that feed these concerns into the official public sphere, thereby contributing to its transformation (Herborth, 2023).

By applying Fraser's concept of subaltern counterpublics to the design of a citizens' assembly, this model provides a space where PMIMG participants can deliberate without the pressure of conforming to dominant narratives or majority opinions. In these counterpublics, PMIMG can engage in consensus-building, unified

decision-making, and voting processes that reflect their unique perspectives and experiences. These spaces have also been called "enclaves" in the literature, although more when referring to groups of like-minded people deliberating on matters, for example, a group of activists from a certain social movement (Sunstein, 2017; Yang, 2020).

The goal of a *Subaltern Counterpublic* model is to offer a space where PMIMG are empowered to challenge dominant discourses, rather than simply participating in a space where they might be pressured into agreeing with the majority to achieve consensus. This model addresses the risk of suppressing minority voices in traditional deliberative settings by allowing for a deeper examination of how marginalised groups form collective identities and engage in democratic decision-making. Furthermore, incorporating subaltern counterpublics into citizens' assemblies ensures that the process goes beyond superficial inclusion and instead fosters an environment where marginalised perspectives and experiences actively shape the deliberation and outcomes. It also highlights how marginalised groups and PMIMG may require spaces of their own to deliberate, allowing for more equitable participation in the final assembly decisions.

II.3.1. Design Features

II.3.1.1. Governance, Organisation, and Management

A counterpublic can be envisaged as a safe, productive space for participants from marginalised groups to deliberate without the fear of being pressured, misunderstood, judged, or silenced. This approach provides minority or PMIMG participants with a dedicated space to engage in discussions without the pressure of dominant, majority opinions potentially silencing or overshadowing their voices. It allows for the articulation of their perspectives and concerns in a safe and supportive environment, before contributing to the larger group.

There are two ways that counterpublics could be formed, organised, and managed within citizens' assemblies. First, the organisers could design identity-based counterpublics. Counterpublics could be created based on shared identities or experiences, such as racial or ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic status, or migrant and refugee status. For example, an assembly could establish a

counterpublic for women of colour or for individuals with disabilities. To ensure the effectiveness of this approach, the citizens' assembly must include enough participants (more than two) from similar backgrounds during the initial sampling process.

However, this method carries potential drawbacks. It may appear forced or imposed, potentially undermining the agency of participants from marginalised groups. Participants might feel constrained by being grouped solely based on visible or assumed identities, which could reinforce essentialist stereotypes. This approach is likely to raise several challenges concerning identity, mandate, representation, and essentialism (Benhabib, 2002) along similar lines as discussed under Model 1 and Model 2 (see sections II.1.3. and II.2.3.).

Therefore, the creation of a counterpublic/counterpublics could be an organic process, not one imposed by the organisers. Counterpublics could be formed based on participants' views, self-perception, and voluntary selection, rather than predetermined identities. This approach reduces the risks of essentialism, stereotyping, and loss of participant agency. In practice, this means that participants from similar backgrounds would not be automatically assigned to a counterpublic based on identity. Instead, they would decide for themselves whether they identify as belonging to a marginalised group, and whether they feel the need for a dedicated safe space to deliberate separately from the main assembly. This self-selection mechanism not only preserves participants' sense of agency but also fosters meaningful discussions in an environment designed to amplify marginalised voices. The self-selection method therefore ensures a more inclusive and empowering process than top-down counterpublics, by allowing participants to opt into counterpublic deliberations based on their own understanding of their needs, identities and perspectives.

Organisers could provide opportunities for participants from marginalised groups to decide whether they wish to form a counterpublic. For example, prior to the assembly, organisers could reach out to participants and inquire if they self-identify as belonging to one or more marginalised groups and are interested in joining a counterpublic. For PMIMG this could mean joining one or more groups based on their identities, if they choose to do so. This approach ensures that participation in

the counterpublic is voluntary and rooted in the participants' own preferences and needs.

An alternative model could be interest-based, rather than identity-based, whereby there are a number of areas of specific interests that participants could discuss, similar to a *World Café* activity (Löhr et al., 2020). *World Café* is a methodological approach that emphasises how structured, interest-based dialogues can foster meaningful conversations across diverse topics. Following this idea, a citizens' assembly could have subgroup discussions based on how a number of factors interact with a participants' experience of the topic, including factors like social class, disability, gender and so on. Participants could then choose which counterpublic they interact with.

Such a format, with careful moderation, may mean that the epistemic contributions of PMIMG come through more effectively, as they are supported as the experts in their own lived experience. This would ensure that those with relevant experiences and interests can deliberate even if they do not currently identify with the relevant experience or social group; e.g., the parent of a child with disability or someone previously from the working class could join discussions on disability or socioeconomic class. However, this creates the risk that those from a minority group, with the relevant lived experience, are minimised in the discussion by majority group members with an interest or less direct experience. Put another way, there is a risk that the example parent mentioned above takes up space in the deliberation, relative to someone who is from a disabled group. Nevertheless, making space within the assembly for these topics to be discussed may bring rich content, including from PMIMG, into the deliberation.

Additionally, counterpublic deliberation could occur at different stages of a citizens' assembly. The stages are: 1) forming the counterpublic(s) before the main citizens' assembly begins, 2) forming the counterpublic(s) in parallel with the main assembly, 3) allowing the counterpublic(s) to occur after the main assembly to express opinions on the recommendations of the group, or 4) inviting an already established counterpublic to participate. These four scenarios need different considerations from the organisers to make this model effective.

For option one, a counterpublic could be formed before the main assembly begins. In this set-up, participants from marginalised groups come together beforehand to discuss the topic or policy issue at hand. The outcomes of these discussions could then be brought to the main citizens' assembly for integration into broader deliberations. Alternatively, the counterpublic could be created during the citizens' assembly itself. In this setup, after a few initial combined sessions, participants who identify as members of one or more marginalised groups may move into a separate counterpublic for focused deliberation. Once they have had the opportunity to deliberate within this dedicated space, they would rejoin the main assembly to share insights and integrate their perspectives into the collective discussion.

In option two, the counterpublics could be running alongside the main citizens' assembly. As an example, similar models have been proposed in New Zealand, where the Indigenous groups of a specific area have recognised territorial rights (Smith et al., 2021). A proposed model has these Indigenous groups deliberating separately to the main, randomly selected citizens' assembly group, with some relationship between forums (Kahane et al., 2013; O'Neill, 2024). The findings of the parallel group would need to be considered by the main citizens' assembly; therefore, facilitation, deliberation, and the assembly's decision-making processes would need to be designed with these inputs in mind.

In option three, a counterpublic could be formed after the main citizens' assembly has concluded its deliberations. In this setup, members of marginalised groups would be invited to form a post-assembly counterpublic to deliberate, reflect on, and review the topics discussed as well as the outcomes of the main assembly. This space would allow participants to assess the recommendations made by the assembly, offering feedback or critique from their specific social location. The aim would be to evaluate whether the final outcomes adequately address their interests and concerns. This post-assembly phase provides an opportunity to identify and address any oversights or exclusions that may have occurred during the main deliberations before the recommendations are finalised.

In option four, an already established counterpublic could be included in the process. In this case, the counterpublic, which operates independently of the citizens' assembly, could be invited to participate at specific stages of the deliberation. This participation would allow them to contribute pre-formed insights and

recommendations based on their ongoing advocacy work and lived experiences. Their involvement ensures that the assembly remains responsive to the concerns of marginalised groups without requiring them to begin the deliberation process from scratch. However, this set-up may move too far beyond the conventional sampling of a citizens' assembly and may be best treated as a focus group contribution to the deliberative stage of the assembly.

The *Subaltern Counterpublics* model could also include workshops within CSOs to produce an output, and be combined with Model 2, in which a representative comes to present these results. The results are then considered and deliberated on in the facilitation process to ensure the counterpublics' perspectives are included in any recommendations (Williams, 2020). These workshop groups could include those who would not typically be included in a citizens' assembly due to their representation in the community (e.g., transgender people tend to be a small portion of the population and may not be represented descriptively) or being outside of the normal inclusion criteria (e.g., those under a certain age or who have recently migrated).

II.3.1.3. Facilitation and Deliberation

The role of a facilitator is important in delivering and managing a well-structured counterpublic deliberation. Facilitators need to actively encourage the participants to explore commonalities and differences within the counterpublic. A well-trained facilitator is critical to preventing counterpublic discussions from becoming echo chambers that reinforce extreme or polarised views (Abdullah et al., 2016). This requires a nuanced understanding of group dynamics and the skill to redirect discussions when they risk becoming unproductive or divisive. A counterpublic could also be self-facilitated, depending on the group's preference and topic sensitivity, although this could require a level of experience that participants may not necessarily have.

The documentation and final reporting of the citizens' assembly should ensure that the views and opinions brought by the counterpublic into the main assembly are accurately recorded. Attention should also be given to documenting the influence of counterpublic discussions on the assembly's deliberations and outcomes, to track how minority viewpoints are integrated into collective decision-making processes. The counterpublic approach would ensure that the assembly's final

recommendations appropriately represent the diversity of voices within the deliberative body.

II.3.2. Intersectional Equality, Inclusion, and Deliberation

The *Subaltern Counterpublics* model assists in enhancing the intersectional inclusion and deliberation of PMIMG by incorporating a safe deliberative space. Through counterpublic deliberation, the model seeks to amplify minority voices by encouraging the sharing of stories, experiences, and perspectives unique to PMIMG. As Sunstein (2017) pointed out, in a diverse group setting, majority group participants tend to undermine the views of the marginalised group members. Counterpublics may therefore be a way to ensure those views are formed and heard, hence enhancing intersectional equality. The contributions of the counterpublic are then integrated into the main assembly, ensuring that their substantive representation is prioritised (*intersectional equality*). This approach moves beyond the *Descriptive Representation* model, and advances the *Discursive Representation* model, focusing on capturing and embedding the nuanced viewpoints and lived realities of PMIMG in the decision-making process.

II.3.3. Challenges and Limitations

The *Subaltern Counterpublics* model assumes that individuals who share certain social group memberships have similar experiences and perspectives and would naturally prefer to deliberate together. However, this assumption risks being essentialist, as it presumes that all members of a group share a unified, homogeneous worldview (Sunstein, 2017; also explored in the limitations of Model 1 above). This counterpublic approach may also diverge from the principles of intersectionality theory. By grouping people solely based on a single aspect of their identity, the model risks oversimplifying the complexities of intersectionality, and overlooking the unique experiences and perspectives that arise from living at the interplay of multiple identities.

In addition, scholars have argued that the very nature of deliberation needs some level of disagreement (Esterling et al., 2019). Therefore, organisers must carefully consider the composition of counterpublics in order to prevent an overconcentration

of participants who strongly agree with one another, which could dominate deliberation time and limit diverse perspectives. However, the extent to which this dynamic might occur in practice remains unclear, with some studies disputing its likelihood (Grönlund et al., 2015). In addition, as argued by intersectionality theory, groups are often more diverse than they appear due to the unique experiences that occur from different positionalities.

Another risk of counterpublic deliberation is that they drive polarising views. As Sunstein (2017) puts it: "The central problem is that widespread error and social fragmentation are likely to result when like-minded people, insulated from others, move in extreme directions simply because of limited argument pools and parochial influences" (p. 105). Put another way, there is a risk that a counterpublic discussion could lead to the group polarising on an extreme position and being unwilling to move from it.

A key strength of citizens' assemblies is their ability to bring people together and unite around commonalities, to reach some level of consensus or agreement (Smith, 2009). Citizens' assemblies have been shown to have a de-polarising effect on the attitudes of participants (Eun, 2024). One example of citizens' assemblies' de-polarisation effect was seen in South Korea during the 2019 basic income policy debate (Eun, 2024). Eun (2024) found that information sharing and group discussions (the educative and deliberation phases, respectively) had moderating effects on participants' attitudes and positions. Therefore, despite the appeal and effectiveness of counterpublics as a mechanism to amplify marginalised voices, they should be designed and implemented with caution to minimise the risks of insular, polarised views and the emergence of a limited argument pool from the counterpublic, that creates issues within the citizens' assembly as a whole. If a counterpublic comes to an extreme view and enough participants take up that view within the citizens' assembly, then an untenable proposal may be adopted by the citizens' assembly, affecting the likelihood of impact and the public legitimacy of assemblies in general (Jackson & Kreiss, 2023; Lafont, 2015). Using counterpublics in a limited way, or ensuring they have skilled moderators that are attentive to this issue, may help to minimise this potential risk.

II.3.4. Summary

The *Subaltern Counterpublics* model represents an approach to enhancing intersectional inclusion and deliberation within citizens' assemblies. While it introduces mechanisms to empower marginalised voices, it also demands careful design and moderation to address inherent challenges, such as essentialism, polarisation, and integration with broader deliberative processes. By grounding itself in Fraser's critique of exclusionary public spheres, this model underscores the potential of counterpublics as a safe and productive space for participants from marginalised groups to form, express, and deliberate their views and perspectives. Table 3 provides a summary of the design features discussed above.

Table 3. A summary of the potential design choices under a Subaltern Counterpublics model.

Governance, Organisation, and Management	Facilitation and Deliberation
Identity-based counterpublics are created or imposed by the organisers (e.g., a counterpublic of all of participants from a specific social group).	The counterpublic includes a well trained, skilled facilitator (may not necessarily be a social group member).
View-based or self-selected voluntary counterpublics where social groups decide whether they would like a counterpublic …	Counterpublics could be self-facilitated (facilitated by social group members/PMIMG).
... Under one option the social groups may decide themselves *before* the citizens' assembly to form a counterpublic within it.	Documentation/reporting ensures the counterpublics' views are recorded and document the influence of counterpublic discussions on the assembly's deliberations and outcomes (i.e., how minority viewpoints are integrated into collective decision-making process).
… Under another option, interest-based counterpublics are formed, akin to a *World Café* approach, where participants join counterpublics based on interests rather than social group membership.	

Four options for the timing of counterpublics: 1) forming the counterpublic before the main citizens' assembly begins...

... 2) forming a counterpublic to run in parallel to the main citizens' assembly.

... 3) allowing counterpublic(s) to occur after the main citizen's assembly to express opinions on recommendations.

... 4) inviting an already established counterpublic to participate.

CSOs provide input from community members (may establish a focus group type counter public), and this material is considered in deliberation.

Source: Authors' own elaboration. See Table 7 in the conclusion for a full version of the table that covers all of the models. Note this model had no suggestions for selection and recruitment.

II.4. Model 4: Power Sharing Model

> *"The demos must have the exclusive opportunity to decide how matters are to be placed on the agenda of matters that are to be decided by means of the democratic process"* (Dahl, 1989 p. 113)

The concept of "popular control" has been a longstanding element of citizens' assemblies and deliberative democracy corpus, as exemplified by the opening quote of this section from Dahl. A core component of citizens' assemblies is putting the power back into the hands of the deliberating citizenry (Smith, 2009). This model would extend the notion of popular control to include intersectional equality (equity in terms of control) and inclusion (whereby PMIMG are included *vertically* as leaders, not just *horizontally* as participants). The *Power Sharing* model is based on the principle of intersectionality as a framework that aims to address power dynamics, and seeks to empower PMIMG and those from marginalised groups. The model

works from a 'bottom-up' approach (i.e., community-led, by the 'regular, everyday people') rather than taking a 'top-down' (elite or expert-led) approach. Given that the model focuses on the notion of power-sharing between elites and communities, its design features largely concentrate on governance and management (Parry et al., 2024).

The *Power Sharing* model starts from the basis that members of marginalised groups or PMIMG have less power in society, and less power when participating in citizens' assemblies across all phases (see Deliverable 2.2, section II.2.) than persons not belonging to such groups. In other words, being a member of a marginalised group, or more than one such group, means that people and communities have less social, economic, and/or political power than those from elite or majority groups and are therefore less likely to have control over a citizens' assembly. This includes 'agenda setting' power: having lesser power means PMIMG have fewer opportunities to shape or participate in the governance, formation, and terms of reference of citizens' assemblies, and the concept of citizens' assemblies itself reflects the dominant epistemologies around democracy and culture (Mansbridge et al., 2010; Parry et al., 2024). These concerns have been particularly highlighted in the governance of global citizens' assemblies, where organisers from so-called 'Global North' states have tended to hold the agenda-setting power, which has affected the inclusion and participation of those from the 'Global South' (Parry et al., 2024). The results of such a model may feel more authentic to communities than the more conventional citizens' assembly model, which has been criticised as being too artificial, sanitised, or engineered (Curato & Calamba, 2024).

II.4.1. Design Features

II.4.1.1. Governance, Organisation, and Management

As noted above, common within the idea of citizens' assemblies is popular control. The *Power Sharing* model is centred on the notion of empowerment of PMIMG by including elements of co-design and community governance in which PMIMG representatives have the authority to set the agenda and establish the rules of engagement. Determination of the problem frame and limits around what can and cannot be discussed typically comes from the majority, i.e. those who have the most

power (Calvert & Warren, 2014). Under the *Power Sharing* model, the epistemic framing of a citizens' assembly needs to be influenced or controlled by those who have *less* power. As mentioned above, in past work organisers have recognised that the norms for a citizens' assembly are often shaped by the norms of the 'Global North', and may need some customisation, flexibility, and adaptability to local contexts rather than broad uniformity (Parry et al., 2024).

The design features under this model could draw on elements from the literature on co-design. One option would be creating a governance or steering group with representatives from the relevant groups, potentially selected through CSOs or similar. Ideally, the minority group members/PMIMG would have 'veto power' by which they could veto or *control* the direction and formation of the citizens' assembly.

Another option to consider is having community advisors that provide input into the design of the citizens' assembly. Again, ideally this group would have power or control, rather than be simply consultatory, although a consultation or advisory group may also be considered a 'light' version of this model. Further, it may be important to allow PMIMG to set the topic and control it, as well as select the relevant social groups sampled for (Siow, 2023). This avoids majority group members/elites choosing the social groups that are included in the assembly based on a stereotypical or biased way of perceiving group interests. Past projects have also engaged in attentive listening and partaking approaches (Curato, 2019; Curato & Calamba, 2024). These projects involved one-on-one meetings or informal conversations with those in the community, conducted in spaces that they were comfortable in, where they could fully express their views, e.g., their own homes. Partaking involves spending time immersed in the community, with its members, to understand the issues they face, and how a typical day in the community plays out.

In some projects that are heavily co-designed with communities, the communities are able to shape or re-shape the agenda through meetings and workshops before any data collection or policy making gets under way (Legg & Nottingham Citizens, 2021; Tattersall, 2024; Wood, 2023). One way of doing this would be to brainstorm with regular people in communities before the citizens' assembly. Additionally, a citizens' assembly 'organising' session can be added to the scheduling, where the participants set the rules, alongside broader settings such as the agenda for the assembly, critiquing the topic, the choice of experts, and how the sessions are

organised. This may involve the participants choosing the chair, the experts, further participants to add to the group in order to deliberate, and so on.

II.4.1.2. Selection and Recruitment

The *Power Sharing* model does not specify any particular sampling or recruitment style and may be open to modification from the governance or organisational groups. For both the selection and recruitment, and the facilitation and deliberation phases of these models, it would be important to maintain an open mind and challenge the assumptions that organisers often take for granted when creating and running deliberative democracy in practice (Curato & Calamba, 2024). As above, the community advisers or those who govern the assembly could determine the social groups that are to be included in the sampling design i.e. the groups from which the citizens' assembly will recruit participants. Additionally, community control may mean conventional citizens' assembly sampling and recruitment techniques are modified because community leaders believe they will not work for their own communities.

An alternative possibility is that the participants would be able to select who needs to be represented in the citizens' assembly. For instance, in a past Canadian Citizens' Assembly the chair and the members realised no Indigenous participants were included and so opted to include two Indigenous participants in the Citizens' Assembly (Warren & Pearse, 2008). Under a *Power Sharing* model, the community governance and/or participants could have the power to decide who else could be represented. This could either take place in the form of a community advisory panel, within the broader governance process, or during the assembly (near its commencement) where participants have the opportunity to reflect on any gaps in participation which organisers could seek to fill through either calling on alternates (from a random sampling process) or relying on CSOs (such as those described in Model 2).

II.4.1.3. Facilitation and Deliberation

Having a chair, experts, and facilitators composed of PMIMG may enact the *Power Sharing* model, because PMIMG are positioned as the ones with power and expertise in the room. This overlaps heavily with ideas in Model 1 around the

descriptive representation of PMIMG, and has the possibility to address some of the shortcomings of Model 1 by providing for a more prominent role of PMIMG not only as participants but as co-designers. This approach might also resonate with academics who have advocated for more leadership roles for marginalised groups/PMIMG (Wojciechowska, 2019). The involvement of PMIMG at these different levels should lead to more inclusive decision making and greater *substantive* representation. As above, any conventional citizens' assembly facilitation or deliberation techniques, or the broader assembly plan, may be modified by community governance if they believe it will not work for the community.

II.4.2. Intersectional Equality, Inclusion, and Deliberation

The *Power Sharing* model seeks to emphasise intersectional equality and maximise intersectional inclusion by allowing PMIMG to control the proceedings. Curato and Calamba (2024) explain that citizens' assemblies have been criticised for being 'top-down', that is, formed by elites rather than 'bottom-up' or community-led. Citizens' assemblies' deliberative processes have been criticised as being imported and artificial. Inclusive governance and management ensures that any deliberation process is more able to meet intersectional deliberation under our analytical framework, given that the process for designing a citizens' assembly would be adapted to the communities' needs. Under the *Power Sharing* model, such inclusive governance is presumed to increase intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation. This model could allow for intersectional deliberation by giving traditionally disempowered citizens the ability to shape the entire process, allowing them to ensure the design features enable intersectional deliberation. Through deliberative facilitation techniques, such a model could also actively equalise power relations (explored elsewhere in the Deliverable, especially in Models 5 and 6).

II.4.3. Challenges and Limitations

Practitioners have argued that in reality, academics tend to overestimate the extent to which there is a real power imbalance between participants in the citizens' assembly room (e.g., see Magnusson, 2020). This is partly due to the participants being presented as equal (treated the same regardless of prior knowledge, expertise or education/status) and the unfamiliarity of the context (no one there has experience

or has been in this situation before). This means it is important for the project not to overestimate the extent to which power imbalances will be present within the citizens' assemblies; the expert input into Work Package 3 will also be useful in tempering this discussion. Drake (2021) argues that alongside a discussion of power, it is important to discuss oppression. Indeed overlapping systems of oppression are central to the theory of intersectionality (Cho et al., 2013). Ensuring that any model or discussion of power also considers and discusses systems of oppression will be important for the project.

While the models in this deliverable will be further explored in Work Package 3, there are particular challenges in this model regarding giving the power over to communities to make decisions. A tension exists, for example, if the community chooses to modify many key elements of a citizens' assembly, as this may cause issues for the broader legitimacy of the assembly and for projects that seek to study them (such as EU-CIEMBLY). Additionally, this model may be easier to implement in smaller, community-focused citizens' assemblies rather than bigger, country-based or transnational assemblies. As a community differs from a nation or a wider political space, it would be more challenging to immerse someone in country-wide or Europe-wide issues in the way that is suggested here.

II.4.4. Summary

In summary, an emerging body of literature challenges the foundations of citizens' assemblies and their ability to truly be controlled by the citizenry. The *Power Sharing* model emphasises a bottom-up, community-led approach to citizens' assemblies, aiming to address systemic power imbalances. Its key design features (see Table 4) include co-designing assemblies with community governance, granting veto power or substantial control to marginalised groups, and maintaining flexibility to adapt deliberative processes to local contexts. However, this model faces challenges such as balancing community control with maintaining the legitimacy and structural integrity of citizens' assemblies.

Table 4. A summary of the potential design choices under a Power Sharing model.

Governance, Organisation, and Management	Selection and Recruitment	Facilitation and Deliberation
Communities have the ability to set the agenda, frame the topic, and overall, control the terms, organisation, and management of the citizens' assembly.	Community-led governance has the ability to alter the sampling and recruitment strategy.	Facilitators, chairs, and others involved in the facilitation and deliberation may be PMIMG (overlaps with Model 1).
The citizens' assembly is governed by a community governance or steering group, potentially drawn from CSOs or communities.	The community-led governance chooses the relevant social groups to be sampled in the citizens' assembly.	Community-led governance has the ability to alter the facilitation and deliberation plan.
Community control may be on a spectrum and could vary from ultimate veto power or control, through to simple co-design or engagement, meetings or advisory groups.	The participants in the citizens' assembly are able to add groups or individuals that they think are missing.	
Using strategies like attentive listening and partaking (living with/in the community) to understand their views before designing the citizens' assembly.		
Citizens' assembly members get to brainstorm and critique the citizens' assembly, potentially changing its structure, composition etc.		

Source: Authors' own elaboration. See Table 7 in the conclusion for a full version of the table that covers all of the models.

II.5. Model 5: Agonistic Pluralism

Agonistic pluralism, rooted in the work of thinkers like Chantal Mouffe, emphasises the importance of fostering a democratic environment where conflicts and differences are acknowledged and debated openly, rather than suppressed or ignored (Mouffe, 1999, 2007). The challenge of presenting such a model for an intersectional citizens' assembly is ensuring the balance between argument and respect, and finding literature and design choices that ensure diverse voices come through in the discussion.

Deliberative democracy and the relevance of the public sphere have been widely theorised. Deliverable 2.2, section II.2., discusses the default assumptions in conventional deliberative democracy approaches, including the views of Habermas (1990, 2019), whereby participation is characterised by open, equal, and rational debate and speech. However, a well-known response to such a perspective has been from Mouffe (1999), who criticises conventional models, such as those by Habermas, and their reliance on the idea of the "ideal speech situation" and rational achievement of consensus, where democratic participation is characterised by "apathy". Mouffe (1999) emphasises that Habermas' conception of deliberation does not take into account power and antagonism, as well as the importance of conflict, instead calling for a revival of passion and competition.

Mouffe is not the only researcher to question Habermas' views on deliberative ideals: other studies have criticised the work due to its failure to take into consideration the political nature of society (e.g., Dryzek, 2000; Grönlund et al., 2010). According to Mouffe's (1999) alternative view (agonistic pluralism), what is important for democracy is to understand not how to avoid power but how power affects–and can be compatible with–the pursuit of democratic values. In concrete terms, this implies provoking citizens' assembly participants into passionate political contestation, so that they can provide and defend their interpretation and bring forward their values.

However, such a model needs to consider specific design features, especially in order to emphasise inclusion and intersectionality, and avoid a situation where a minority's position is further marginalised. Westphal (2019) reflects on how conflict can be regulated and institutionalised, and specifically on how the "ideal conditions for agonistic politics" can be established (p. 19). The authors emphasise that past

theories have identified different ways that conflict can be regulated. One is Mouffe's (1999) approach, which considers conflict regulation in terms of an ongoing confrontation among 'friendly' enemies that recognise the principles of liberty and equality. The second comes from Connolly (2004), who stresses the importance for actors "to engage in self-reflective processes, understand and affirm the contestable nature of their identities and acquire an openness towards pluralism and the uncertainty it implies" (p. 36, as cited in Westphal, 2019, p. 195), and builds on the development of the virtues to respect the opponents and be responsive towards those "who challenge the established order from weaker positions" (Westphal, 2019, p. 195). The third one is Tully's (2014) idea of dialogical negotiation: by participating in dialogues, citizens can negotiate each other's points of view. Based on this latter approach, actors can express their perspective in very diverse ways:

> presenting a reason, a story, an example, a comparison, a gesture or a parable for consideration, showing rather than saying, expressing disagreement, deferring or challenging, […] stonewalling, feet-dragging and feigning, dissenting through silence, breaking off talks […] and countless other discursive and non-discursive activities with make up deliberative language games. (Tully, 2002, p. 223)

In sum, agonistic pluralist approaches empower dialogue and the airing of multiple perspectives rather than a "taming of conflicts" (Westphal, 2019, p. 196). There are a number of ways that agonistic pluralism could be operationalised in a citizens' assembly.

II.5.1. Design Features

II.5.1.1. Governance, Organisation, and Management

Power asymmetries must be taken into consideration when identifying the rules of participant recruitment and also during deliberation in citizens' assemblies (Welp, 2023). This is largely explored in Model 4 above (the *Power Sharing* model) but also fits well within this *Agonistic Pluralism* model, given that power relations are central to the theory. Theories of agonistic pluralism tend to be bottom-up, rather than elite-led or top-down, meaning that the initiator of the citizens' assembly and the rules on its governance, organisation, and management should come from the

community or citizens themselves as much as possible. An agonistic pluralism approach may refuse the involvement of a sponsor who assumes a hegemonic role, so the initiators and protagonists are citizens, with no direct involvement from the public administration (Forell, 2023). Having said that, the design of an assembly can still be inspired by the agonistic pluralism approach without its organisers or governance coming from the community as such, but by tweaking other aspects of the deliberation and decision-making processes, as discussed below in section II.5.1.3.

II.5.1.2. Selection and Recruitment Processes

The *Agonistic Pluralism* model warrants different selection and recruitment processes than the conventional model for citizens' assemblies. One such approach could be based on "Conflict-Oriented Selection" (Westphal, 2019), which deviates from traditional random selection based on demographic characteristics. Demographic representation cannot ensure that different types of views are presented or that diverse/plural perspectives are taken into account (Dryzek, 2010), as explored in the limitations to Model 1 and when presenting Model 2 above. The conflict-oriented selection approach would lead organisers to map the relevant conflicts and select participants who can represent the different sides of a particular conflict (Westphal, 2019).

There are various ways in which sampling under an agonistic pluralism model could be implemented. Despite being set in a very different context from the EU-CIEMBLY project (i.e., that of fragile contexts recovering from armed conflicts), a study by Curato and Calamba (2024) provides the case of a deliberative forum prioritising the inclusion of those "with deep stories to share" (p. 9) over conventional sampling methods. Paxton (2015), in an experiment aimed at testing agonistic pluralism, recruited participants from diverse "conflicting political, religious, ethnic/national groups, causal, and class groups" (p. 115) through snowball sampling or purposive sampling. In snowball sampling, participants refer others to the activity through 'word of mouth'. An example might be an older Chinese woman telling her circle of friends about a research project, who then participate in it. In purposive sampling, participants are selected specifically based on their experience and/or social group memberships. An example might be when a citizens' assembly seeks to include

someone visually impaired who would otherwise not have been sampled. In the context of the present project, this would mean using both snowball and purposive methods to seek out participants from specific conflicting groups. An alternative approach could be selecting participants based on a submission, such as asking people why they would want to participate in a discussion/assembly on a given topic, and allowing participants to use video, essay, or other mediums to tell the organisers about themselves and their views.

Another way of selecting participants could be through a modified version of the Q methodology (Parry, 2022). The Q methodology is a mixed qualitative-quantitative method through which it is possible to investigate participants' subjective perspectives on a specific object of interest (Stephenson, 1953). Participants place statements on a topic in order, ranking those they agree and disagree with most. These statements are prepared prior to the exercise and often reflect a range of common viewpoints on the topic. It could also be possible to combine elements of Model 1 on descriptive representation with the Q methodology on representation of viewpoints into a selection algorithm, to ensure both descriptive diversity/external inclusion of intersectionality, and so that diverse viewpoints are represented in the room (Parry, 2022). A demographic layer could be added to this sampling method to ensure some level of randomisation or descriptive representation (Model 1). Limitations around deviating from the conventional citizens' assembly sampling model apply for these proposed Model 5 solutions. These limitations are further explored in the general limitations section of this Deliverable.

II.5.1.3. Facilitation and Deliberation

An agonistic approach suggests that designs which seek to allow for equal speaking opportunities during deliberation should be supplemented by designs that support particular voices, discourage the changing of opinions, and create equal power to negotiate ideas (Westphal, 2019). An agonistic approach differs from a conventional approach–in which the aim is to achieve consensus by finding compromises–by considering instead a different role for experts, whereby facilitators and experts exert minimal influence over the participants and processes (Fiket et al., 2023). For example, at the beginning of the citizens' assembly process, facilitators may limit their role to the task of informing all participants in the assembly about the basic

rules or a 'code of conduct' for democratic participation such as civility, respect for the others, and so on, and that each actor's contribution should not intentionally be aimed at modifying the opinions of others (Harris, 2019; Smith, 2009). This strongly affects the way in which the educational phase takes place, as it may be driven by the participants rather than by facilitators and/or experts. Additionally, Fraser (2003) suggests that during the deliberation phase, engaging in meta-level discussions—i.e., debates about how debates are structured—fosters more in-depth criticism and leads to fairer deliberation.

One way to differentiate between a citizens' assembly inspired by agonistic pluralism and a more conventional design is to allow the participants to choose who should speak to them. Such a suggestion could also fit well within Model 4 above (about modifying power relations). According to Aruga (2021), intersectionality theory suggests that the knowledge and experiences of PMIMG "may not sit well within normalised knowledge frameworks" (May, 2014, p. 16). This means there is a need to ensure that any educational phase does not reflect a top-down approach to participation, where participants are viewed as "in need of education in order to reach a considered judgement" (p. 16).

At the beginning of the deliberation process, after presentations are made, PMIMG should first articulate their perspective (supported by facilitators), followed by reactions from the more powerful groups. This structure is motivated by the fact that the starting point for deliberation (i.e., reaching the 'common good') may already be biased against those who are most marginalised in other parts of society (Aruga, 2021). During the deliberation phase, participants may use facilitators and experts selectively, based on need e.g., when certain information is needed for deliberative negotiation purposes. To take inspiration from practice, experts in the second phase of panels in the Conference for the Future of Europe were available on an *ad hoc* basis, when and if their input was needed by participants (Technopolis Group, 2022). According to an agonist perspective from an intersectional and inclusive approach, facilitators may help ensure that marginalised people and PMIMG can benefit from adequate facilitator support. Wojciechowska (2019) even suggests that marginalised groups take facilitation roles, e.g., by adopting a rotating mechanism (or through vertical inclusion, i.e., explored in Model 1).

Paxton (2015) suggests a *deliberative journey* design to combine the approaches of several prominent theorists in agonistic pluralism (such as Connolly, Mouffe, and Tully) to find a balance "between providing an outlet for passionate expression (the adversarial discussion) and encouraging enhanced inclusivity through normative behaviours (the inclusive discussion)" (p. 250). Phase one (the adversarial phase) of the 'agonistic day' seeks to mobilise passion and create competition through the provision of collective identities,[2] whilst also providing space for plurality within each position (Paxton, 2015). Thus, "(t)he 'agonistic day' begins with a political contestation whereby passions [are] mobilised and citizens [are] encouraged to debate their values with conflicting others" (Paxton, 2015, p. 256). At this stage, citizens would be given the option to change their positions during the discussion.

Second, Paxton (2015) suggests engaging citizens so that the diversity of the discussion is ensured. She calls this phase "view-sharing" or the "inclusive phase", which "opens up the discussion by making space for a diversity of views as well as promoting respectful, reflexive interactions, which enable interdependency and contingency" (p. 257). In this phase, much like circular seating at the European Parliament, an inclusive democratic discussion is fostered where citizens are given an equal number of tokens to be used to intervene in the discussion. These tokens mark the speaking and listening time of each individual participant. However, what is relevant here is that, on the one hand, tokens provide a tool with which marginalised citizens have a voice on par with that of more powerful citizens; on the other hand, they enhance the quality of the discussion because, when listening, the participants have time to reflect on each others' opinions and build their own argument (Paxton, 2015).[3]

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[2] Paxton (2015, p. 248) provides an example of how to enhance adversarial understanding of identity: "to better reflect the diversity within each end of the spectrum, participants will be provided with a list of examples affiliated with either side of the argument. In the case of abortion, for instance, one example for the 'against' camp might be 'against the ending of potential human life,' whereas another might be 'generally against abortion, except under particular circumstances.' Likewise, the 'for' group might range from 'in favour of the women's right to choose what happens to her body,' but another example might be 'generally in favour of abortion as an option, except under certain circumstances.' By adding such examples to these groups, I hope to reflect the way in which binary identities appear to sometimes surface inevitably, whilst also promoting more pluralistic positions".

[3] Paxton (2015, pp. 254 and 256) adds: "They are also asked to follow several guidelines, including 'try to respect others, set aside prejudices, listen, reflect on your own beliefs and accept and demonstrate to others that not everyone will share your views.' However, in order to avoid rendering the discussion overly prescriptive, these are suggested as guidelines, rather than enforced as strict rules (…) Yet it is careful not to over-emphasis these principles, or propose a prescriptive account which altogether eradicates conflict from the political contestation [as] when this occurs, citizens turn

A third and final phase consists of using a common task to promote unity/a collective decision. Participants have to reach a decision on the discussed topics and ensure the different perspectives have been captured (Paxton, 2015). Paxton (2015) explains that this can be done by asking citizens to rank a series of preferences. This approach also aligns with Bowsell's (2021) suggestion that leaving citizens free to define policy recommendations without help represents a great burden for the participants. Lastly, under this model, deliberation does not end with a consensual agreement or a fixed solution, but with a balanced, negotiated proposal that takes into consideration the different views and positions of the citizens involved in the assembly, which is adequately documented in the final report (Westphal, 2019).

Counterpublics were explored more fully in Model 3: the *Subaltern Counterpublics* model; however, rather than an identity or social group-based counterpublic, there is the possibility that a group could be formed based on shared opinions. Where Model 3 and Model 5 could be brought together is in the creation of a counterpublic based on shared opinions. A counterpublic could be formed by those with shared opinions. This could happen during the citizens' assembly, even if only briefly during the deliberation, so that arguments can be discussed and explored in more depth, before rejoining the main citizens' assembly. This could aid in articulating the arguments for a certain position. These arguments would be more interest-based and self-selecting than identity-based (as previously discussed in reference to the *World Café* method in section II.3.1.1.).

II.5.2. Intersectional Equality, Inclusion, and Deliberation

Agonistic pluralism recognises intersectional equality because it seeks to give greater voice to alternative viewpoints and put conflicting views–or minority perspectives–on an equal footing with those held by the majority. This equalising may help give effect to intersectional equality and intersectional deliberation by elevating these views and ensuring they are properly taken into account/voiced during deliberation. According to this model, deliberation happens among adversaries who share the principles of democracy but deliberate within a space that allows for dissent and for expressing a plurality of voices. As such, agonistic

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away from democratic politics and toward fundamentalist forms of expression. Thus, ethical guidelines are held in necessary tension with the promotion of agonism, passion and conflict".

democracy can "give impulses to the debate on practical responses to the political challenge posed by pluralism" (Westphal, 2019, p. 188). Taking pluralism into consideration also implies paying strong attention to inclusion and marginalisation, as well as intersectional inclusion.

II.5.3. Challenges and Limitations

The challenge remains that agonism and conflict may be viewed more negatively by marginalised groups and PMIMG than by majority group members. However, much like the theory of intersectionality, which posits that experiences in life are different depending on one's positionality, this will also likely vary depending on the group, the PMIMG, and the context (Crenshaw, 1989). In a similar vein, many of the project members at the Madrid workshop raised the idea that agonism may collapse into antagonism, or become too argumentative, which is a potential risk with this model. This risks becoming stressful for participants and, as outlined in relation to minority group stress above (i.e., in Model 1: the *Descriptive Representation* model), this may be inequitable/more stressful for PMIMG than majority group members. Careful emphasis on mutual rule setting, as described above, is important to address these challenges.

Facilitation would also need careful consideration when this model is viewed through an intersectional and marginalised group lens, to ensure the dignity and respect of all participants is upheld. The *Agonistic Pluralism* model may need distilling or greater emphasis may need to be placed on pairing it with other models. For example, this model alongside features from Model 6 (*Relationality and Interdependence* model) may help to remedy some of these issues.

Much like the *Discursive Representation* model above (Model 1), the *Agonistic Pluralism* model involves airing a range of viewpoints, some of which could be viewed as extreme. These models need to consider the balance of viewpoints (including free speech) with the rights and free participation of marginalised groups. This is discussed further in the project limitations section below (II.7.2).

The light-touch moderation approach of agonistic pluralism may have limitations, especially regarding the participation of marginalised groups. Kapoor (2002, p. 472) has criticised agonistic pluralism for praising pluralism and staying away from

problematising "the activities of marginali[s]ed groups". This lack of critical examination has the potential to essentialise PMIMG, therefore ignoring or minimising concerning actions or behaviours toward them (Kapoor, 2002). Another limitation of Mouffe's agonistic pluralism is the assumption that actors or participants will naturally recognise the need to "act democratically" without further explanation about how that would occur in practice, such as in a citizens' assembly (Kapoor, 2002).

II.5.4. Summary

For decades, deliberative democrats have explored the extent to which debate is cool-headed and should aim to reach consensus, versus a more-colourful contestation of ideas (Connolly, 1995, 2004; Mouffe, 1999, 2017; Tully, 2002, 2014). Agonistic pluralism encourages conflict to some degree, albeit respectfully. This section discussed some approaches to the organisation of citizens' assemblies and selection, although the content largely related to facilitation and deliberation. These potential designs are summarised in Table 5 below.

Table 5. A summary of the potential design choices under an Agonistic Pluralism model.

Governance, Organisation, and Management	Selection and Recruitment	Facilitation and Deliberation
The citizens' assembly should be initiated, governed, organised, and managed, by the community or bottom-up, rather than top-down models (see also Model 4).	Conflict oriented selection, to ensure participants with different viewpoints on an issue are selected (rather than a random sample) or snowball or purposive sampling could be used.	This phase starts with a meta-level discussion as to how debates will be structured.
The citizens' assembly should not be initiated or progressed by the public administration, or these groups should have less involvement.	Selection takes place based on submissions, allowing participants to tell the organisers about their views (e.g., through a video submission or similar).	Participants decide who speaks to the assembly (experts, groups, CSOs, communities etc.).

Q methodology could be used, either on its own or as a layer in representation (alongside demographics), to ensure different opinions are included in selection and recruitment.

Experts and facilitators do not present materials to the participants; their role is largely restricted to discussing the rules of the citizens' assembly.

As in Models 1 and 4, PMIMG may take facilitation roles.

The citizens' assembly starts with passionate debate and through mobilising contestations.

Experts and facilitators are brought in only when needed or called upon by the participants.

Facilitation is structured so PMIMG are the first to articulate their views in the deliberation.

Tokens are used to ensure that participants have equal speaking times.

Deliberation ends with a balanced negotiated proposal including the different views and positions of the citizens involved in the citizens' assembly.

Counterpublic(s) are created to ensure arguments from a certain perspective can be further developed and articulated (including Model 3).

Source: Authors' own elaboration. See Table 7 in the conclusion for a full version of the table that covers all of the models.

II.6. Model 6: Relationality and Interdependence

No one individual or social group exists in isolation. This model for the design of inclusive and intersectional citizens' assemblies is based on the ideas of relationality, the ethics of care, and places emphasis on connectedness; in essence, it is based on the notion that all people are interdependent. Rituals of engagement exist in many societies, which often emphasise relationality and interdependence. In *Inclusion and Democracy* (2002), Iris Marion Young uses the example of Māori culture as a template for relationality, but these ideas are central to many Indigenous political models. The basic relational process within Māori culture includes the following: people are formally welcomed into the space with cultural protocols beginning with a welcoming call, followed by a response; this involves greetings, acknowledging the people that both the visiting and the host group is representing, including those who have died/passed recently, and establishing the reason for meeting. Next, formal speeches emphasise what everyone has in common (e.g., ancestors, events, or shared histories). After formal speeches, it is common for all members to close the physical space between them by each sharing the breath of life through the pressing of noses, or by simply embracing. This is followed by a shared meal and an opportunity to meet others and talk informally. Next, people formally introduce themselves in relation to the event and again share conversations on ancestry, common issues, and so on; only then do the agenda proceedings get underway, such as a meeting or deliberation (or in this case a citizens' assembly; Smith et al., 2021). Many cultures have similar methods for engaging before starting to deliberate important issues (Armstrong, 2007).

Other ideas of political participation and the public sphere also emphasise the relationships and interdependence between groups, including feminist and disabled communities' theory, and theory on the inclusion of non-human animals and nature. Theorists, including in feminist and environmental traditions, have discussed the idea of an "ethics of care", whereby people have a responsibility and moral imperative to care for others in their social decision-making and policy making (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984; Sevenhuijsen, 2003).

Similarly, Afsahi (2020) emphasises the interrelationality and interdependence present in the lives of people with disabilities. Some require the help of others to fully

participate as citizens in societies that do not fit around their needs and abilities. There is also a growing recognition of relationality to the natural environment and representing non-human animals, geographical features, or parts of the environment in deliberation, as well as generations not yet born or young children (Chwalisz & Reid, 2024; Wiebe, 2020). These ideas all lend themselves to a relational approach to design choices.

Thus, Model 6, the *Relationality and Interdependence* theoretical model, is considered here as an additional source of inspiration for designing citizens' assemblies in which shared values, goals, and other commonalities are emphasised, and participants have time and space to get to know one another. This could sit alongside other designs explored so far in this deliverable, such as Model 3: *Power Relations* and Model 5: *Agonistic Pluralism*, as many of these models would be best implemented when participants have a level of trust and mutual respect.

II.6.1. Design Features

II.6.1.1. Governance, Organisation, and Management

When undertaking new, novel, or creative activities within a citizens' assembly, it is advisable to have the relevant expertise on board in governance, organisation, and management positions. This could include the use of professional activity designers to review the citizens' assembly and add, modify, or provide feedback on creative activities during the events. Experts in team-building exercises or even leadership-building activities can be engaged when designing and implementing a citizens' assembly. An experienced trainer in team-building activities could either prepare a tailored ice-breaker pack of activities or even take the floor themselves on the first day of the assembly and deliver activities in which all participants can interact with each other.

II.6.1.2. Facilitation and Deliberation

Seemingly simple design choices, like designing for time and space for participants to interact outside the formal contours of the assembly process, (further discussed below) may go a long way in encouraging informal interactions and fostering

commonalities. For instance, instead of the assembly beginning with the 'traditional' informative or educative phase, it may begin with a session devoted to the community (if taking place at the local level) or a session devoted to customs of the country (if taking place at the national level) or customs that participants from different countries may have in common. The organisers might also consider bringing in local or national artists or artistic initiatives from within the community, such as local choirs or short theatrical plays.

At its most basic form, the relational model would suggest some kind of event outside of formal deliberations for the participants to meet. Some past citizens' assemblies have included informal time to bond, including a welcome event, and/or a shared dinner (Participedia, 2021; Renwick et al., 2017). These spaces are used so that participants can get to know one another outside of a formal working setting. Within the citizens' assembly itself, part of the assembly could involve space for participants to share their stories or lived experience with the policy topic in an informal and unstructured way, provided that the topic is appropriate. Such activities could be useful not only to learn about the topic from different perspectives, but also to build relationships and understand the positionality and lives of the other participants.

While past work on citizens' assemblies commonly discusses a rule-setting stage, a more relational model may include a session on rule-setting but also on shared values i.e., having the participants determine the values that guide the citizens' assembly. This would enhance relationality through a shared task but also place the emphasis on what participants have in common, which may lay the groundwork for further debate and deliberation. Under this model, a citizens' assembly may include a shared task if it is relevant to the topic at hand, like building legos or partaking in a field trip. Such activities may be combined with the more expansive account of deliberation, advocated for in Model 2 above, including more creative methods of deliberation, in order to reduce power imbalances associated with "articulateness privilege" (Young, 2001, p. 38).

Design features could draw more on relational knowledge and representing communities or families. Past work has found that participants are often nervous about their ability to represent everyone in the community (Magnusson, 2020). One such design feature could be that every member is asked to talk to five people in

their community, family, and/or friends network about their views on the citizens' assembly topic before the citizens' assembly, or before deliberation, to gain a wider viewpoint on the topic. This informs participants about the opinions in their community and among those they care about.

Model 2 discusses the discursive representation of certain groups or PMIMG. It is possible to have a non-human group or nature represented at this phase in a citizens' assembly. Combining Model 2 with the relational model could involve someone making representations on behalf of a natural landmark or non-human animal or other feature (Wiebe, 2020). The representative would need the appropriate expertise to represent the non-human group or nature, potentially being drawn from a governance entity or CSO. In the context of deliberation, this could take the form of one or more participants "stepping into the shoes" of the river, forest, or other natural entity. Participants would then have to speak from the perspective of the natural entity instead of their own (Chwalisz & Reid, 2024). Similarly, there could be representation for those too young to deliberate or those not yet born (future generations). The challenges associated with the surrogate representation of these younger generations are similar to those encountered in representing nonhuman entities.

Additionally, the deliberation phase can incorporate trauma-informed facilitation techniques on an *ad-hoc* basis to better engage survivors. These survivor-centred approaches may be employed when participants have experienced past violence, oppression, or injustice (e.g., intimate partner violence, state violence), and when the assembly's topic could potentially trigger a trauma response. Facilitators using trauma-informed methods will emphasise the expertise that survivors bring through their lived experiences, and respond to their unique needs. This approach often involves framing interactions with survivors as partnerships, fostering mutual respect and empowerment (Jumarali et al., 2021). Trauma-informed techniques help build trust, which in turn facilitates greater engagement (Jumarali et al., 2021). By ensuring that lived experiences and personal narratives are foregrounded in a public forum like a citizens' assembly, facilitators can create a safe and supportive space for participants to share their realities. This fosters a more inclusive and respectful deliberative process, while acknowledging the complexities of survivors' contributions.

A citizens' assembly could also be designed to encourage relationality/relationship building between sessions or even between subgroups of participants. The relational model lends itself to a lot of what was discussed around counterpublic deliberation under Model 3. This could be operationalised in different ways through technology, such as a Whatsapp group, or some other type of online platform. Operating from the basis that minority group members face greater social stress on average from group deliberations, Model 3 could be modified to be more like a support group rather than a structured space for deliberation. Similarly, this model could include ways for participants to connect between assembly sessions or between the citizens' assembly pilots themselves.

II.6.2. Intersectional Equality, Inclusion, and Deliberation

The *Relationality and Interdependence* model focuses on what the participants share or have in common with each other, their communities, and the world around them. Part of the rationale for engaging in activities that lie outside of the professional, Western style of engagement is to balance the power relations between participants and have them perceived as humans first, rather than according to certain presentational style or style of dress, educational qualification, social class, gender, ethnicity, or profession. This approach is meant to emphasise intersectional equality and inclusion through equalising these power relations and humanising participants. These design features could contribute to intersectional deliberation by forging ties among participants, laying the groundwork for later disagreement or debate that does not easily escalate into conflict. Such groundwork emphasises commonality and ideally helps the participants to disagree amicably and to ground the discussion in a broader set of values or bonds.

II.6.3. Challenges and Limitations

There may be limitations around the ability of the EU-CIEMBLY project to test all of the above ideas, in that it operates within a certain time and budget framework. However, there are many ways in which the design of an assembly can be inspired by the *Relationality and Interdependence* model, starting from simple design changes (e.g., embedding an informal session as the first step of the assembly) to more elaborate constructs (e.g., field trips), so there is scope for the project to look at

such design features creatively. There are also limitations around contact between participants from different nations or languages in that language may pose a challenge to engagement in a shared activity. For example, some of the features of this model may not work so well if interpreters are involved.

II.6.4. Summary

Theory emanating from various marginalised perspectives–including Indigenous groups, feminist theory, and disabled communities–highlights the need to emphasise the relationality, interdependence, and commonalities between deliberators. Model 6: the *Relationality and Interdependence* model (see Table 6 for an overview), while not a complete account of how to run a citizens' assembly, seeks to emphasise these values through design choices which then lay the groundwork for deliberation from a place of respect and shared values. This is the most agile and mouldable of the models discussed in this Deliverable. It is almost a given that an assembly that aims to bring to the fore intersectionality considerations should incorporate some version of these design features in one form or the other.

Table 6. A summary of the potential design choices under Relational or Interdependent model.

Governance, Organisation, and Management	Facilitation and Deliberation
The design phase includes input from professional activity designers to ensure activities are appropriate, enjoyable, and provide feedback on any plans.	Include icebreaking activities, and/or a shared activity related to the community, and/or a session devoted to customs and traditions.
	Start the citizens' assembly with an artistic display, e.g., a choir performance or play.
	Include a shared dinner or welcoming event that provides a relaxed space to meet others.
	Add a session on rule-setting, shared values and goals among the participants at the start of the citizens' assembly.
	Have participants canvas their community, family, and/or friends for their views on the

issue discussed in the citizens' assembly.

Have nature, nonhuman animals, children, or future generations represented in some way in the educational phase, whether by materials, stories, or a representative individual.

Have facilitators trained in trauma-informed deliberation techniques.

Offer opportunities, likely with technology, for participants to connect in between citizens' assembly sessions (including to support others).

Source: Authors' own elaboration. See Table 7 in the conclusion for a full version of the table that covers all of the models. Note that this model did not include options for selection and recruitment.

III. Additional Considerations, Limitations, and Future Work

The Deliverable has so far presented six models for the design of citizens' assemblies that cater to considerations for intersectional inclusion, equality, and deliberation. This final section explores additional ideas beyond the thematic options addressed above. The discussion includes taking an additive approach to sampling, reconsidering consensus, and the expression of the final recommendations or outputs of the citizens' assemblies, and considerations for diverse representation in the positions of chair and experts. These ideas may fit alongside the models above and present potential design considerations for an intersectional citizens' assembly. The Deliverable then moves on to the limitations and future work around the project that arose during the writing process. The Deliverable then finishes with an overall conclusion and summary table of the suggested design features.

III.1. Additional Considerations

III.1.1. An Additive Approach to Sampling for Marginalisation and Intersectionality

A different approach to sampling might be an additive approach to marginalisation and intersectionality. As discussed in Deliverable 2.2, section 1.4., the additive

approach posits that social group memberships add together to create a greater experience of marginalisation by society (or greater experience of privilege; Bauer et al., 2021; Ferraro & Farmer, 1996; Greenman & Xie, 2008; Hayes et al., 2011). To put this another way, through this perspective, being a member of an ethnic minority group, plus a woman, plus LGBTQ+, gives three times the experience of marginalisation compared to the dominant group for each of those characteristics. While this is simplistic, an additive model of sampling may choose to select for several different marginalised demographic characteristics, sum these together and ensure a relatively high level of minimum representation by those with several marginalised group memberships.

How could this work in terms of sampling for a citizens' assembly? One approach could involve assigning participants a 'score' based on their group memberships. To give a concrete example, say each minority group membership gives someone a point. For example, each marginalised social group membership could be assigned a point, which would contribute to a cumulative score reflecting the extent of an individual's marginalisation. Here are two examples of people with three marginalised social group memberships:

- A person being from a minority ethnic group (1), plus a woman (1), plus living with a disability (1)
- A person being a recent migrant (1), a gay man (1), and working for a lower income (1)

The sampling strategy, therefore, may be to include a proportion of those with two marginalised group memberships, some with three, four or more, and so on.

There are limitations with taking this approach. Some have theorised that the additive approach departs from conventional conceptualisations of intersectionality by removing the content of the identity or social group (Bauer et al., 2021). Therefore, it starts from the premise that each additional social group membership equates to less power, but in doing so, it strips away the specific contexts, histories, and lived experiences associated with those group memberships. In other words, intersectionality theory posits that the experience of being a migrant, lesbian woman produces a unique experience of power and marginalisation. However, this method would instead take an additive approach to intersectionality in the sampling. For

instance, it would argue that an individual who experiences three marginalised social groups at once could instead generally represent those with membership in three marginalised social groups, i.e., membership in any three marginalised social groups overall, rather than representing the viewpoints and experiences of those specific intersections. Despite these limitations, the additive approach to sampling may be a practical way to ensure that a sufficient portion of the citizens' assembly sample are PMIMG (and therefore from the least powerful groups) in order to ensure intersectional inclusion. As has been suggested for the models above, this sampling strategy could be placed alongside other design choices to reduce the effects of these limitations.

III.1.2. Reconsidering the Strive for Consensus

One of the issues explored as part of this Deliverable concerns "the endpoint" of a citizens' assembly: how the group as a collective should come to a final decision. This includes, to what extent participants should all agree with the same decision; whether participants should all agree with the same decision for the same reasons; and how the group decision should be recorded and communicated to those having the power to act on that decision. 'Decision' here may refer to a policy recommendation or a set of recommendations, which are either handed to politicians or those with the power to act on it, or, in some cases, be voted on in a referendum (Machin, 2023; Pal, 2012).

Traditionally, discussion on decision-making within a citizens' assembly focuses on consensus. Consensus has a privileged position in deliberative democratic theory. Literature on citizens' assemblies in particular views consensus as "a normative goal of deliberation as well as a practical outcome of the assemblies (…) [and as] the desirable stopping point beyond which discussion does not need to be pursued" (Machin, 2023, p. 856). This is reflected in citizens' assembly practice: a typical definition of a citizens' assembly sees 'consensus-driven output' as the result of the group's deliberations. For instance, the International Observatory on Participatory Democracy (IOPD) defines 'consensus building' as a key characteristic of a citizens' assembly, whereby:

> Citizens' assemblies aspire to reach *consensus or near-consensus recommendations* through dialogue, compromise, and mutual

understanding. While unanimity may not always be achievable, the goal of consensus-building fosters a sense of ownership and legitimacy among assembly participants, enhancing the credibility of their recommendations. (IOPD, 2024, p. 7)

In the guide *Key Design Features for Deliberative Mini-Publics*, produced by the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance (Farrell et al., 2019), it is stated that at the end of the process, a deliberative mini-public (such as a citizens' assembly) needs to take a decision in the format of a single recommendation or a series of recommendations, which are the expression of a collective outcome. The formulation of this collective outcome is related both to how the participants reach their conclusions through deliberation, and to how they express their position related to the proposed outcomes. The latter concerns practical choices as to how consensus is expressed, rather than reached: this can be done through a show of hands, a secret ballot, common statements that reflect shared views and points of disagreements, or a combination of these methods (Farrell et al., 2019). An important aspect of the academic discussion on consensus and decision-making is, indeed, whether and how the participants' reasons and considerations during the deliberations are considered in formulating and communicating the outcome of the assembly.

Empirical research on citizens' assemblies on-the-ground also reveals the significance placed on consensus by organisers and researchers. The EU Citizens' Panels, for example, are designed around the need for consensus (Technopolis Group, 2022). Evidence from research on citizens' assemblies on climate change that have taken place across the world shows that the objective of the assemblies was not to highlight and understand the main points of contention over climate change but instead to seek the recommendations on which the assembly participants could agree (Machin, 2023). In this sense, "consensus is regarded as an unquestioned good and a finality, whereas disagreement is seen as temporary, obstructive, and unfortunate" and thus the closer to consensus the assembly gets, the better its legitimacy (Machin, 2023, p. 857).

The emphasis placed on consensus in the context of citizens' assemblies has its theoretical foundations in the work of leading deliberative democracy scholars. For Habermas, deliberation is oriented toward mutual understanding; language and

communicative action are oriented towards consensus (see Deliverable 2.2, section II.2.3.1.). Deliberation is a search for "the better argument", which will become visible to participants through recurring discussions and the attempt to convince others through argumentation (Jezierska, 2019), and subsequently, unanimous preferences will derive from a rational discussion (Elster, 1986, as cited in Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007). The need to use rational arguments then impacts on the deliberative subjects and their ability to do so, which is particularly relevant in a discussion around designing an intersectional citizens' assembly where not everyone belongs to the same social group or has the same knowledge, experience, and communicative abilities.

Habermas' conception of deliberation as the search for consensus, presupposes that the deliberation participants are capable of argumentation, transparent, coherent, and ready to explain their positions to others. As such, this conceptualisation of deliberation which promotes dispassionate and reasoned communication has been criticised as privileging the already privileged (typically white male) social groups and excluding more emotional forms of communication that may be more natural for minority social groups (i.e., Indigenous story telling, trauma-informed participation; Jezierska, 2019; Mansbridge, 1999; Young, 1996). The goal of consensus has also been criticised as unachievable and undesirable in the sense that it silences particular voices (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007, p. 499 and references therein).

It has thus been argued that the limitations to the inclusiveness, scope, and purpose of deliberation, which are caused by the "pursuit of the better argument", can be tackled by removing consensus from the position of the *telos* of deliberation (Jezierska, 2019). Consensus should not be seen as the goal, but only as one potential outcome of deliberation, belonging on the same pedestal as dissent, or disagreement. This proposal by Jezierska addresses one of the most serious empirical shortcomings of Habermas' theory: a "monologic consensus" demands that in a deliberative group all affected participants have been included in the deliberation, they all agree with a proposition, and they agree with the proposition for the same reasons (Jezierska, 2019, p. 17). The premise of decoupling consensus from deliberation is that decisions can still be democratic even without unanimity or the consent of all those affected. Certainly a decision backed by strong consensus along the lines of Habermas' position guarantees a very strong output legitimacy.

Approaching consensus not as the endpoint of deliberation but as one possible outcome of deliberation, however, provides for stronger procedural legitimacy by enhancing the inclusiveness of deliberation (Jezierska, 2019, p. 17). In this sense, voting after deliberation is promoted as a way to ensure that agreement and disagreement are equally possible outcomes of deliberation (Bohman, 1994; Jezierska 2019).

Although voting would produce a weaker output–from the perspective of democratic legitimacy–than an outcome supported by consensus of all involved parties, it is also a more time-efficient method of reaching a decision. Decoupling deliberation from the need for consensus opens up the discussion to passionate, bodily, and other affectual forms of communication, which is particularly relevant to PMIMG (see Deliverable 2.2, p. 52). Using this approach, understanding thus supersedes consensus as the *telos* of deliberation.

As a collective decision-making method, voting is a way of communicating a preference and requires a commitment from the individual to be bound by the results of the vote (Moore & O'Doherty, 2014). The approach of voting after deliberation would also affect the design of the rest of the process or in the case of this project, the design of deliberation within an intersectional citizens' assembly. The project's design choices would need to enable "an ethos of questioning", which allows for and encourages participants to justify their positions, listen to the others, and change their mind through their engagement with others (Jezierska, 2019).

Others have also warned against insisting on consensus as the desired result of a static deliberative decision-making. Drawing on the agonistic school of thought, which is the theoretical foundation of Model 5 presented in this Deliverable, environmental politics scholars raise attention to the risk that an assertion of consensus could lead to the depoliticisation of the discourse on climate politics and could be manipulated by powerful stakeholders who want to disguise the real politics of climate change (Kenis & Levens, 2014; Machin, 2023; Ward et al., 2003). Karpowitz and Mansbridge (2005) warn against the costs of trying to reach consensus. These costs include time and a danger of forced consensus. The authors report that "participants in deliberative settings aimed at consensus often complain that their objections are overlooked in the group's eagerness to settle the

situation" (Karpowitz & Mansbridge, 2005, p. 354). Their proposed solution to this problem is dynamic updating i.e.,

> training the group to engage in an ongoing or at least regularized, process of discovery, in which members of the group try to analyse the state of current and potential interests as they see them at each stage of the deliberation. (Karpowitz & Mansbridge, 2005, p. 354).

The potential for common and conflicting interests needs to be mapped at the beginning of the deliberative process to avoid expectations of forging consensus, which might then lead to anger and opposition to the final plan or set of recommendations. Organisers and facilitators must be aware of the fact that conflict may not be immediately obvious but may feed from the greater power of some participants to set the agenda, or the fear among some participants of the interpersonal costs of raising a conflictual issue for example. This 'warning' is particularly relevant for our models (such as Models 4 and 5) and the inclusion needs of PMIMG (see Deliverable 2.2, section II.2.2.). The significance of the facilitators' role in the process of dynamic updating can hardly be underestimated as they are the ones who must try to find ways through language and communicative processes to ensure "steady and realistic updating of participants' understandings of one another's" values and interests (Karpowitz & Mansbridge, 2005, p. 354).

The likelihood of wear and tear is another pitfall of designing a decision-making process around consensus (Karpowitz & Mansbridge, 2005, p. 354). Even without the element of conflict, the process of reaching consensus through deliberation in an enterprise as open-ended as a citizens' assembly is demanding on the citizens involved (Boswell, 2021). The open-ended nature of the deliberation often means that the group will be faced with various potential conclusions related to different aspects of the subject-matter being discussed. Asking citizens to put the results of their deliberation in an order and then into a set of recommendations is a stressful process, especially when it follows a series of discussions, attendance at expert talks, and understanding how an assembly works.

Facilitating practices which encourage "consensus-seeking behaviours" (even if not consensus as such) also risks inhibiting disagreement and critique of existing policies (Curato et al., 2013, as cited in Boswell, 2021). Citizens' assemblies, it is

argued by Boswell, must give participants a "stronger license to disagree with each other, especially among those less experienced and confident in argumentative discourse" (2021, p. 9). In terms of designing a model assembly, this points to a need to equip "all participants with the skills to push back against claims they disagree with, or to have their distinct point of view heard" (Boswell 2021; Carson 2017b, as cited in Boswell, 2021).

As indicated in the discussion so far, deliberative democrats in theory and in practice have moved away from the strict ideal of consensus advocated by Habermas. Attention has been placed instead on meta-consensus i.e., "an agreement about the nature of the issue at hand, not necessarily on the actual outcome" (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007, p. 500; also explored in Model 2). Participants here are striving for "mutual recognition of the legitimacy of the different values, preferences, judgments, and discourses held by other participants" (Curato et al., 2017, p. 31). Consensus is seen by deliberative democrats as a *theoretical reference point* rather than an aspiration for real-world decision-making (Curato et al., 2017). Instead, attention to pluralism and meta-consensus as the end-goal of deliberation recognises that decision-making in deliberative democracy, which may take the form of voting, negotiation, or compromise, requires agreement on a course of action but not on the reasons for it.

Deliberation as a means to reach agreement as described above must also involve clarification on the sources of disagreement, and understanding the reasons of others. Accordingly, citizens reflectively determine both their own preferences and the reasons behind those preferences, and respect the preferences and the reasons of others (Curato et al., 2017). In a process driven by meta-consensus, agreement is reached by participants partly because they know that their concerns have been recognised and addressed, even if other participants do not share those concerns (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2006).

The literature is less clear on how exactly meta-consensus is to be achieved in practice, and it is something that this project will need to reflect on further going forward. It has been suggested that recommendations need to reflect the reasons and considerations given by the participants that led them to the collective outcome, that a citizens' assembly is more than a procedure that polls participants' preferences, and that decisions emerging from the assembly should be reflected in a

wider report (Curato, 2019). The notion of *deliberative voting* could assist us in this task, as a consensus-driven decision-making process tailored to the deliberating group itself. It is based on Moore and O'Doherty's (2014) conception of deliberative acceptance: to let something stand as the position of the group, even if it is not fully shared by everyone in the group.

Deliberative acceptance allows any part of the group, at any point, to effectively veto a consensus proposal by expressing disagreement. This differs from typical tacit consent situations, whereby the minority position is faced with the majority position at the point of having to reach a conclusion (Moore & O'Doherty, 2014). Under deliberative acceptance there is a continuous back-and-forth possibility of vetoing a consensus by expressing disagreement in the context of deliberation (i.e., *in situ)*, which alleviates the pressure otherwise imposed on minorities who disagree with the majority position. This approach also aims to address a situation whereby the absence of dissent in a group comes from "a fear of isolation or from an unthinking deference to the views of a majority", instead of a free and full discussion in which all views are given a fair hearing (Moore & O'Doherty, 2014, p. 308).

An important precondition for deliberative acceptance is that all participants are given an equal opportunity to persuade one another, relying only on the force of the better argument. It requires the design of procedures that allow for deliberation that is "more than just the airing of different views in the manner of a focus group" but rather a "sorting of those views according to how much sense they make to others in the group" (Moore & O'Doherty, 2014, p. 306). The method of deliberative voting is therefore put forward as a *means* to manifest decision-making through deliberative acceptance. Here, voting is not seen as a decision-making mechanism at the end of the deliberation, but more as a way of signalling positions. The purpose of the voting procedure within deliberation is "to make visible the degree of acceptance of a position within a deliberative group and the reasons deliberators have for accepting or rejecting the position" (Serota & O'Doherty, 2022, p. 1).

This process allows non-dominant voices to be heard and recorded in the final collective statement and reduces the risk that the facilitator makes consensus statements just to reach an agreement, which would otherwise halt further disagreement from the group and lead to silent acquiescence by participants who believe there is no more space for disagreement. The process has the potential to

provide participants "whose style of communication deviates from the norms of deliberation an explicit opportunity to have their minority positions heard by the group and represented in the deliberative outputs" (Serota & O'Doherty, 2022, p. 10). This may be particularly helpful in the context of an intersectional assembly that aims to give voice to PMIMG.

At the other end of the theoretical spectrum from the positions elaborated so far, are those who criticise the consensus-oriented nature of decision-making in citizens' assemblies and advocate for more contestation and dissensus. According to agonist and radical democratic theory, disagreement is a constitutive feature of modern democratic societies; dissent and conflict should not, therefore, be seen as an obstruction to political discussion and participation but as a way to allow alternatives to be imagined, discussed, negotiated, and demanded (Machin, 2023). Through empirical research on a number of different Climate Change Assemblies, Machin argues that "the ultimate goal of consensus renders any form of dissent as temporary and obstructive" (2023, p. 849). According to democratic agonists, disagreements should be seen as "legitimate expressions of difference that both expose closure and exclusion and open up the possibility of alternatives" (Machin, 2023, p. 855). The argument is that a deliberative space that allows for political disagreement can both engage citizens in political debate, facilitate the emergence of alternatives, and give voice to conventionally marginalised perspectives (Machin 2020; Machin, 2023).

The goal of consensus, it is argued, leaves no space within the citizens' assembly for participants with different beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences (i.e., 'opponents' to each other) to express and consolidate distinct positions that may offer alternative strategies and options (Machin, 2023). Azmanova takes the argument even further by noting that the pursuit of "the better argument" as the goal of deliberation is impossible in practice because the ideal conditions for deliberation are too demanding to implement. For instance, she criticises the claim that 'good deliberation' can result in superior preferences in comparison to the preferences a participant brings into the deliberation to begin with. She claims that preferences are not formed or changed by argument but by experience and, therefore, we cannot expect that "the narrow social experience of mutual reason-giving will, or should, trump identity features that evolved throughout a person's lifetime engagement in a

variety of social practices such as work, advocacy, and affective relationships" (Azmanova, 2010, p. 49).

Viewing deliberation as a *rendering account* moves away from the aim to create a conflict-free collective identity and focuses instead on the need for justification of claims and actions, or "giving reasons for having reasons" (Azmanova, 2010, p. 49). This point of view perceives the differences among participants not as something to be overcome but as something to be made explicit and confronted. It views the process as unconstrained: the offering of arguments is meant to lead the various actors to reveal the reasons for their arguments, and as a process, locate the origin of individuals' interests and grievances. The design of the process moves away from the search for "the best argument" and looks for each participant's position in the shared social environment. As Azmanova (2010) states: "On this vision, deliberations take place as a process of *diasparagmos* (…) – tearing apart the public body (…) in order to reveal the ills of social injustice that permeate it" (p. 52). The aim is the formation of collective meaningfulness instead of collective public will. The participants' original stances recognise their social positions and their differences in relation to others social positions, and renders debates meaningful to all participants even if the debate does not lead to agreement: "Such dynamics of public deliberation ultimately reveal to us how we are all entangled together in processes of social (re)production— processes that are those structural sources of social injustice generating moral disagreement in the first place" (Azmanova, 2010, p. 52).

The process of rendering accounts described above resonates well with our aim to create an inclusive citizens' assembly that caters to intersectionality. It is a process that demands justification by participants not through any special speech or communicative skills (that often come more naturally to privileged social groups) but through a willingness to share their position within the broader social environment. One possible issue for further reflection within our models is what Azmanova calls "the only procedural condition" for an intersectional citizens' assembly, which is: "diversity, achieved through random sampling of the relevant population. Such random sampling ensures that all social positions, all elements of the *socium*, are represented, and thus–relevant social conflicts are communicatively enacted" (2010,

p. 52). Some thought is needed regarding how this view can be reconciled with the sampling framework that the EU-CIEMBLY model pilots will put forward.

To conclude so far, perhaps not surprisingly, there is no academic literature specifically devoted to the topic of consensus within an intersectional citizens' assembly, or any systematic empirical research on how consensus as the aim of decision-making specifically affects those from a marginalised background or is affected by minority/majority group dynamics. The ideas set out in this subsection of the Deliverable can be taken forward by the project in thinking about, and designing, the pilot citizens' assemblies.

III.1.3. The Selection and Diversity of Experts and Chairs

Experts and chairs represent key personnel within a citizens' assembly, as discussed in earlier sections. This section provides a brief overview of past work on considerations regarding expert and chair selection. Diversity in expert selection remains inconsistent across different assemblies. While there is growing recognition of its importance, practices for ensuring diverse, representative expert panels are not standardised. Transparent processes and participant involvement in selecting experts are promising strategies for addressing these concerns. Moreover, the participants could select their own experts to mitigate bias and enhance democratic control over the deliberation process (this was also discussed in Model 5: *Agonistic Pluralism)*.

Research indicates that expert diversity enhances the democratic legitimacy of citizens' assemblies. Diverse expert panels ensure broader representation of views and lived experiences, particularly those of marginalised groups. This inclusivity promotes participant engagement and public trust in the assembly's outcomes. For example, Dean et al. (2024) emphasise the importance of impartiality in expert selection. The impartiality and balance of experts are critical to the credibility and acceptance of the recommendations made by citizens' assemblies. If the expert selection process is perceived as biased or lacking transparency, it can undermine the legitimacy of the assembly's outcomes, especially in the eyes of policymakers, the commissioning authority, and the broader community (Dean et al. (2024). Roberts et al. (2020) argue that expert diversity helps make deliberative processes more equitable and representative. Greater diversity among experts can improve

how participants from marginalised groups engage with information and feel represented. Transparent processes for selecting experts are essential to maintaining the assembly's legitimacy.

Similarly, there have been different methods of selecting chairs for assemblies (Courant, 2021; Humphreys, 2016). Some have recruited a chair externally, based on their reputation in the community and their skills, whereas some assemblies take gender or demographic diversity into account when selecting chairs, including a gender balance (Electoral Reform Society, 2019). Similar concerns exist here around transparency and legitimacy. As briefly discussed in the models above (including Model 1: *Descriptive Representation* around their diversity; and Model 4: *Power Sharing* in allowing communities/the participants to have the power to choose who speaks to them), the selection of experts and chairs provides an opportunity to operationalise intersectionality within citizens' assemblies. However, to the researchers' knowledge there have been no in-depth studies on how the diversity of the experts or chair(s) affects inclusion or decision-making in an assembly, and none have discussed these roles in relation to intersectionality.

III.2. Limitations and Future Work

There remain a number of limitations and possibilities for future work that have arisen during the writing process of this Deliverable and across this work package (see also the discussion of limitations in Deliverable 2.2, section I.V). These include considerations of deficit and strengths-based framings and essentialism versus inclusion, tensions between inclusion and balancing minority perspectives, and exploration of how far sampling can move from a sortition model and still be viewed as legitimate. Ideally, citizens' assemblies would exist as part of a broader deliberative system that makes space for the more creative inputs that may not fit within a traditional citizens' assembly paradigm. Lastly, this section explores two points for the project to consider, especially relevant to Work Package 5: the need for the creation of an overarching politico-philosophical framework, and how to package the final recommendations of the EU-CIEMBLY project, as these will be broader than a simple, universal model of an intersectional citizens' assembly.

The initial framing of the project call spoke of 'vulnerable communities': a challenge in the project has been to consider how we describe the social groups, on whom we

centre the blame for inequity, and the balance between recognising inequality and the inherent strengths within people. Many authors have pushed back against these ideas of deficit framing, whereby majority groups or those who hold the power frame others as in deficit or left wanting in some domain (Davis & Museus, 2019; Walter, 2018). The project needs to consider strengths-based framing and approaches throughout the deliverables and ensure we do not create a stereotype or caricature of the 'most marginalised' or 'most vulnerable' person. Given that deficit based narratives are often the dominant framing in society, this will be an ongoing consideration.

Additionally, the project needs to consider the balance between essentialism in representation and realistically needing PMIMG in the room (external inclusion) in order to actually move towards an intersectional citizens assembly. There have been tensions in the literature around representation and essentialism. Some have argued for representation on the basis of self-ascription. Their argument is that identities are fluid and to some degree citizens have the freedom to exit an association from a social group (Benhabib, 2002). Whereas others–including from an Indigenous worldview–have argued that these categories are more fixed, for instance, even when someone does not identify as Indigenous, they simply are, given their ancestry: this is an inescapable fact (Coulthard, 2010). As such, Coulthard (2010) argues that some of these anti-essentialist arguments have gone too far. While this may to some degree depend on the social group under consideration (and the intersectional nature of these groups), this is a tension described in the literature that needs to be considered by the broader project, and discussed in the relevant works.

There are a number of tensions around inclusion, including minority perspectives on issues, and where the project may need to be necessarily exclusionary or balance interests (e.g., the ideas first raised by Popper, 1945/2011). There has been some academic and judicial discussion about conflicting characteristics, for instance, where the religious belief of one person may come up against the sexual orientation of another (*Bull and another v Hall and another*, 2013). What happens if a participant, in expressing their views, impinges on or impugns another social group or their protected characteristic(s)? Some models in this Deliverable discuss the diversity of viewpoints and a plurality of views. At what point does an extreme view need to be included in the discussion, and who gets to decide this? Examples

include the marriage equality debate and how it has been shown to impact the mental health of LGBTQ+ participants, or deliberation on cutting employment benefits with beneficiary participants in the room whose quality of life would be impacted by such cuts (see Bartos et al., 2021). This presents a risk to inclusion and intersectionality, as sometimes views that appear mainstream impact the wellbeing of minoritised participants and potentially PMIMG and their participation in an assembly.

In addition, there are stresses associated with intergroup contact for marginalised group members. There are ethical issues with asking minority group members to share their experiences, worldviews, and knowledge with majority group members in a citizens' assembly. To give a concrete example, what assemblies tend to do is randomly select an ethnic minority representative, such as a working class woman of southeast Asian descent, then ask her to attend and represent her social group(s) where she may argue for her own rights against the majority. Compounding this stress, the communication literature shows that individuals from certain groups are less likely to be listened to than majority group members (for a discussion see Deliverable 2.2, section III.3.). The effects that being a member of a marginalised or minority group can have on health and wellbeing are well documented, and emerging literature suggests that the burden of representing a minority in contact with other groups may create a level of inequitable stress (e.g., Cyrus, 2017; Roy et al., 2023; Tan et al., 2020).[4] The project will need to be attentive to design choices that can alleviate the above stresses or burdens, such as pairing descriptive representation with design features from the other models presented in this Deliverable. Threshold representation (i.e., having a minimum number of participants from specific groups) and a deliberation style tailored to the needs of the group can mitigate the risks.

An argument that keeps arising is to what extent the sampling of a mini-public needs to be based on a scientific, probabilistic sampling procedure, whereby every citizen has an equal chance of being selected (e.g., see Curato & Calamba, 2024; O'Flynn & Sood, 2014). Sampling and recruitment in some of the models explored in this Deliverable start to move away from a traditional sampling model for citizens'

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[4] Project partner Lara Greaves is currently an associate investigator on an Australian Research Council project researching the stress that minority group members face when interacting with majority group members; see e.g. https://about.uq.edu.au/experts/project/52151

assemblies (as outlined in Deliverable 2.2, section III.2.). Many models and descriptions of citizens' assemblies have emphasised the need for statistically representative sampling, including the importance of this for citizens' assemblies being viewed as fair and legitimate by the public (Garry et al., 2021; Pilet et al., 2022). It is possible that conventional sampling may be inappropriate to create a citizens' assembly that marginalised communities view as legitimate, due to pre-existing inequities in political participation and power in society. This is an ongoing debate in which our team has engaged and will continue engaging, potentially with additional, expert input.

There are some areas of citizens' assembly design that remain underexplored in the literature, especially in relation to intersectionality and inclusion. Note-taking, or the best way to capture diverse and minority opinions needs further development, especially, as discussed in relation to Model 2, where the work takes a more generous approach to speech and deliberation. One way to find further information on these topics in relation to intersectionality may be through the expert interviews or workshop in Work Package 3. This Deliverable has not gone into further depth (beyond what was in Deliverable 2.2, section III.3.5.) on following up the outcomes of citizens' assemblies, as there was very little content on the topic that related specifically to intersectionality, but note this is important to the design of every participatory mechanism.

Any citizens' assembly does not exist in a vacuum and ideally would exist as part of a broader movement towards deliberative democracy or system (see Curato & Böker, 2016; Mansbridge et al., 2012; Rountree & Curato, 2023). Some of the models explored in this Deliverable begin to branch out from the idea of a standalone, single and short citizens' assembly, towards many layers of deliberation and participation in the broader society (such as Model 3 and Model 6). Such models of deliberative democracy are less *exclusive* i.e., they can include more than simply those who were sampled to join in a conventional citizens' assembly. These solutions also add more diverse material for deliberation in a citizens' assembly (e.g., the examples from models above, including the *Discursive Representation* model).

Promoting a deliberative system could also allow for more of the creative deliberation techniques described by authors in the broader literature (Abdullah et al., 2016; Ashworth, 2020; Karpowitz et al., 2009; Lupien, 2018). The reality is that a citizens'

assembly provides very specific input on a policy issue, but there are a range of methods through which organisers and policymakers could get input from others. In terms of intersectionality, an intersectional approach may simply be wider than a sole citizens' assembly and involve other methods that stray from conventional citizens' assembly methods in order to get policy input from PMIMG. This would only enhance overall participation and be a positive step towards inclusive and intersectional citizens' assemblies.

Similarly, many of the models proposed, such as the *Agonistic Pluralism* and *Power Sharing* approaches, require rethinking the wider role of citizens' assemblies. These models caution against citizens' assemblies being another instrument of hegemony (i.e., governed by public institutions) and reflect a consultative approach (Galván Labrador & Zografos, 2024; Harris, 2019; Smith, 2009). That is, citizens' assemblies should become a tool in the hands of citizens who identify issues of conflict in society[5] and decide to initiate a citizens' assembly to deliberate.[6] In turn, this requires finding ways to force policymakers to take decisions from within bottom-up citizens' assemblies into consideration (see Harris, 2019 and Smith, 2009 on this issue). This can be possible by institutionalising the relationship between citizens' assemblies and policymakers so that the latter should mandatorily discuss citizens' assemblies' results when making decisions. Citizens' assemblies' decisions may be also subject to referenda, involving other citizens to widen their impact and influence.

Finally, there are two broader questions that are still to be progressed in the project. The first is whether the project requires an overarching politico-philosophical framework from which we can work deductively to conceptualise the very notion of democracy underpinning any citizens' assembly. Open questions here include whether a shared language is a prerequisite for democratic participation (see, e.g., Leal, 2021, pp. 133–139), and whether only citizens should be included in democratic processes such as citizens' assemblies (e.g., Balibar, 2001/2004 and 2010/2014). The project is taking a more inductive approach and deriving these normative pillars from our analysis of existing citizens' assemblies and from our planning of the pilot citizens' assemblies. Conclusions in this regard will feature in our recommendations in Work Package 5.

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[5] According to Smith (2009), indeed, citizens' juries often tend to identify 'safe' issues rather than contentious ones for deliberation purposes in order to avoid conflict.

[6] Of course, this poses additional questions around how to engage conflicting interests.

The second question relates to the objective of our project. It is not the goal of the EU-CIEMBLY project to create a single, universal model of an intersectional and inclusive citizens' assembly. Authors have criticised the idea of off-the-shelf deliberative democracy or a one-size-fits-all approach, especially when it comes to minority communities (Curato & Calamba, 2024). This issue will continue to be explored throughout the life of the project, culminating in advice and recommendations to policy makers in Work Package 5.

IV. Conclusion

The Deliverable sought to explore different theories that could be used to represent intersectionality in the design of citizens' assemblies. These models present different arguments or lens' through which to view citizens' assembly design choices. Each model included an argument as to what a certain theory could bring to the design, alongside how the model relates to the framework from Deliverable 2.2 on intersectional equality, inclusion, and deliberation. Each model also discussed the overlaps with other theories and the limitations and challenges for that perspective. Each model and section also included a summary table of the possible design choices for the pilots. These represent a starting point for further development in Work Package 3, where the intention is for later work to mix-and-match the potential options given in the current Deliverable. A summary of these ideas is presented in Table 7 below. The next steps for these ideas is to decide on what will be progressed in future work packages.

Table 7. An overview of the different models and starting points for the design choices for each theoretical model.

Governance, Organisation, and Management	Selection and Recruitment	Facilitation and Deliberation
Model 1: Descriptive Representation		
Intersectional vertical inclusion through the representation of PMIMG in governance and decision making.	Sampling ensures representation of the intersections of the selected social groups.	
Intersectional vertical inclusion through the	Threshold representation of the intersections of the selected social	

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representation of PMIMG groups (i.e., two people at each intersection).
across chair, facilitator, and expert roles.

Creating a sampling algorithm designed specifically for intersectional representation.

Asking participants who they are qualitatively, rather than using predefined categories.

Model 2: Discursive Representation

Alongside some random selection, a proportion of the sample is reserved to be filled by CSOs ...

Allowing for a broader range of communicative acts in deliberation (e.g., personal narratives, life stories, verbal and non-verbal contributions, and written inputs).

... Under one option these positions are filled with experienced advocates for community.

The deliberation phase includes presentations from CSOs, community members or others, beyond 'experts'.

… Under another option these positions are filled with those selected from the community by CSOs.

Materials beyond conventional deliberation and speech are provided (e.g., videos, written materials, artworks or similar; see also Model 6).

Under a third option, these positions are filled partly with experienced advocates for the community and partly with those selected from the community by CSOs.

Activists could be invited by engaging directly in deliberations, providing content for deliberation, or staging a disruptive protest.

Meta-consensus is the aim; i.e., to produce a set of recommendations, not a singular final decision, allowing for the complexity of diverse perspectives to emerge.

Model 3: Subaltern Counterpublics

Identity-based counterpublics are created or imposed by the organisers (e.g., a counterpublic of all of participants from a specific social group).

View-based or self-selected voluntary counterpublics where social groups decide whether they would like a counterpublic ...

... Under one option the social groups may decide themselves *before* the citizens' assembly to form a counterpublic within the citizens' assembly

The counterpublic includes a well trained, skilled facilitator (may not necessarily be a social group member).

Counterpublics could be self-facilitated (facilitated by social group members/PMIMG).

Documentation/reporting ensures the counterpublics' views are recorded and document the influence of counterpublic discussions on the assembly's deliberations and outcomes (i.e., how minority viewpoints are integrated into collective decision-making process).

… Under another option, interest-based counterpublics are formed, akin to a *World Café* approach, where participants join counterpublics based on interests rather than social group membership.

Four options for the timing of counterpublics: 1) forming the counterpublic before the main citizens' assembly begins...

... 2) forming a counterpublic to run in parallel to the main citizens' assembly.

... 3) allowing counterpublic(s) to occur after the main citizens' assembly to express opinions on

recommendations.

... 4) inviting an already established counterpublic to participate.

CSOs provide input from community members (may establish a focus group type counter public), and this material is considered in deliberation.

Model 4: Power Relations		
Communities have the ability to set the agenda, frame the topic, and overall, control the terms, organisation, and management of the citizens' assembly	Community-led governance has the ability to alter the sampling and recruitment strategy.	Facilitators, chairs, and others involved in the facilitation and deliberation may be PMIMG (overlaps with Model 1).
The citizens' assembly is governed by a community governance or steering group, potentially drawn from CSOs or communities.	The community-led governance chooses the relevant social groups to be sampled in the citizens' assembly.	Community-led governance has the ability to alter the facilitation and deliberation plan.
Community control may be on a spectrum and could vary from ultimate veto power or control, through to simple co-design or engagement, meetings or advisory groups.	The participants in the citizens' assembly are able to add groups or individuals that they think are missing from the citizens' assembly.	
Using strategies like attentive listening and partaking (living with/in the community) to understand their views before designing the citizens' assembly.		
Citizens' assembly members get to brainstorm and critique the citizens' assembly, potentially changing its structure, composition etc.		
Model 5: Agonistic Pluralism		

The citizens' assembly should be initiated, governed, organised, and managed, by the community or bottom-up, rather than top-down models (see also Model 4).

Conflict oriented selection, to ensure participants with different viewpoints on an issue are selected (rather than a random sample) or snowball or purposive sampling could be used.

This phase starts with a meta-level discussion as to how debates will be structured.

The citizens' assembly should not be initiated or progressed by the public administration, or these groups should have less involvement.

Selection takes place based on submissions, allowing participants to tell the organisers about their views (e.g., through a video submission or similar).

Participants decide who speaks to the assembly (experts, groups, CSOs, communities etc.).

Q methodology could be used, either on its own or as a layer in representation (alongside demographics), to ensure d ifferent opinions are included in selection and recruitment.

Experts and facilitators do not present materials to the participants; their role is largely restricted to discussing the rules of the citizens' assembly.

As with Models 1 and 4, PMIMG may take facilitation roles.

The citizens' assembly starts with passionate debate and through mobilising contestations.

Experts and facilitators are brought in only when needed or called upon by the participants.

Facilitation is structured so PMIMG are the first to articulate their views in the deliberation.

Tokens are used to ensure that participants have equal speaking times.

Deliberation ends with a balanced negotiated proposal including the

different views and positions of the citizens involved in the citizens' assembly.

Counterpublic(s) are created to ensure arguments from a certain perspective can be further developed and articulated (including Model 3).

Model 6: Relationality and Interdependence

The design phase includes input from professional activity designers to ensure activities are appropriate, enjoyable, and provide feedback on any plans.

Include icebreaking activities, and/or a shared activity related to the community, and/or a session devoted to customs and traditions.

Start the citizens' assembly with an artistic display, e.g., a choir performance or play.

Include a shared dinner or welcoming event that provides a relaxed space to meet others.

Add a session on rule-setting, shared values and goals among the participants at the start of the citizens' assembly.

Have participants canvas their community, family, and/or friends for their views on the issue discussed in the citizens' assembly.

Have nature, nonhuman animals, children, or future generations represented in some way in the educational phase, whether by materials, stories, or a

representative individual.

Have facilitators trained in trauma-informed deliberation techniques.

Offer opportunities, likely with technology, for participants to connect in between citizens' assembly sessions (including to support others).

Source: Authors' own elaboration. Note that this table includes all of those that came before it within the Deliverable.

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