

# 11<sup>th</sup> Swiss Summer School in Democracy Studies and 7<sup>th</sup> Deliberative Democracy Summer School

## INEQUALITY AND DELIBERATION

23 - 27 June 2025

University of Zurich

### PROGRAMME

#### Monday 23

*Deliberative Minipublics and  
the Struggle for Political Equality*

#### Keynote Lecture h. 16:00

Cristina Lafont Northwestern University  
Moderated by Hannah Werner University of Zurich

#### Roundtable h. 17:30

Céline Colombo Office for Participation, Canton of Zurich  
John Gastil Penn State University  
André Bächtiger University of Stuttgart  
Fabian Reidinger State Ministry Baden-Württemberg  
Moderated by Daniel Kübler University of Zurich

#### Tuesday 24

*No Justice Without Deliberative Democracy*

#### Panel 1

John Dryzek University of Canberra  
Moderated by André Bächtiger University of Stuttgart

#### Wednesday 25

*Challenging Inequalities in Latin America  
Through Democratic Innovations*

#### Panel 2

Thamy Pogrebinschi WZB Berlin Social Science Center  
Moderated by Daniel Kübler University of Zurich

#### Thursday 26

*Social Identities, Inequalities and Democratic  
Decision-Making*

#### Panel 3

Edana Beauvais Simon Fraser University  
Moderated by Alice el-Wakil University of Copenhagen

#### Friday 27

*How Europeans View and Evaluate Deliberative  
Democracy. Insights from empirical research*

#### Panel 4

Jean Benoit Pilet Université Libre de Bruxelles  
Moderated by Alexander Geisler University of St Gallen



Universität  
Zürich<sup>UZH</sup>

UNIVERSITY OF  
CANBERRA

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AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE





## AGENDA

June 2025	Monday 23	Tuesday 24	Wednesday 25	Thursday 26	Friday 27
	KEYNOTE ROUNDTABLE UZH KOL G 217	Panel 1 UZH KOL G	Panel 2 UZH KOL G	Panel 3 UZH KOL G	Panel 4 UZH KOL G
09:00					
09:30					
10:00					
10:30					
11:00		Seminar KOL G 221	Seminar KOL G 221	Seminar KOL G 221	Seminar KOL G 221
11:30					
12:00		Lunch*	Lunch*	Lunch*	Lunch*
12:30					
13:00					
13:30					
14:00					
14:30					
15:00					
15:30					
16:00	KEYNOTE ROUNDTABLE Aperitif	KOL G 212 KOL G 220			
16:30					
17:00					
17:30		Dinner*	City Tour*	Social activity*	Closing Aperitif*
18:00					
18:30					

\*For summer school presenters and instructors only



## VENUE

### University of Zurich (UZH)

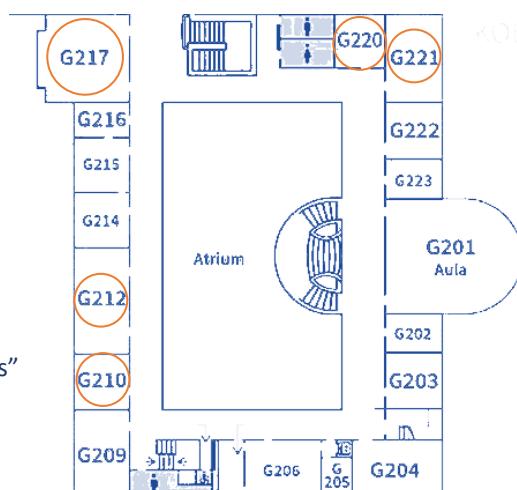
Building KOL Rämistrasse 71 8006 Zürich, Floor G

Keynote: Room **G 217**

Morning Seminars: Room **G 221**

Afternoon workshops: Room **G 212, G 220**

Reception desk and office: Room **G 210**



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## DAILY PROGRAMME

### Monday 23 June

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15:30	Registration and Admission	KOL G 210
16:00	Welcome and Opening	KOL G 217
	Hannah Werner University of Zurich	
	Daniel Kübler University of Zurich	
	Simon Niemeyer University of Canberra	
16:10	<b>KEYNOTE</b> <i>Deliberative Minipublics and the Struggle for Political Equality</i>	
	Prof. Cristina Lafont Northwestern University	
		moderated by Prof. Hannah Werner University of Zurich
	The rise of inequality in recent decades has led to an unequal concentration of political power that threatens to wipe out the achievements of centuries of democratic struggles for political equality. This concern explains the appeal of deliberative minipublics such as citizens' assemblies, citizens' juries, or deliberative polls. By empowering ordinary citizens to participate in political decision-making, these institutions can offer citizens a powerful tool to counteract the oligarchic tendencies of electoral democracies. Many argue that since random selection provides all citizens equal chances to exercise political power, citizens' assemblies promote political equality better than electing representatives from political elites. This view fuels proposals for conferring legislative authority to minipublics, either to complement or to replace electoral institutions. In this talk, I analyze the interpretation of political equality that guides these proposals and show its undemocratic features. It justifies a form of 'rule by the few' that would disempower the citizenry even more. I argue in favor of proposals for institutionalizing minipublics that would empower the citizenry and thus improve democratic equality.	
	<b>Reading</b>	
	• Lafont, Cristina, and Nadia Urbinati. 2024. <i>The Lottocratic Mentality: Defending Democracy against Lottocracy</i> . Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press (Introduction and Chapter 8).	
17:30	<b>ROUNDTABLE</b>	
	Céline Colombo Office for Participation, Canton of Zurich	
	John Gastil Penn State University	
	André Bächtiger University of Stuttgart	
	Fabian Reidinger State Ministry Baden-Württemberg	
		Moderated by Daniel Kübler University of Zurich
18:30	Aperitif	



Tuesday 24 June

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**PANEL 1** *No Justice Without Deliberative Democracy*

**Seminar** KOL G 221

9:00 **Prof. John Dryzek** University of Canberra  
moderated by **Prof. André Bächtiger** University of Stuttgart

Inequality matters to the degree it is unjust. At the micro level, deliberation has been charged with perpetuating unjust social inequalities, reflected in unequal communicative capacities across individuals. At the macro level, deliberative processes could be complicit in the legitimization of an unjust political economy. Against such critics, I argue that epistemic injustice can be effectively remediated within deliberative forums. Further, at both micro and macro-systemic levels, effective and inclusive deliberation is needed to tell us what justice should mean in particular contexts. The kind of agency necessary here can only flourish under deliberative democratic conditions, such that there can be no justice without deliberative democracy. The argument can be illustrated in relation to climate justice, the Sustainable Development Goals, vaccine justice, genome editing justice, and an alternative to effective altruism.

**Readings**

- Alnemr, Nardine, Chouair ,Thais, and Nicole and Curato. 2020. 'Can the Poor Exercise Deliberative Agency in a Multimedia Saturated Society? Lessons from Brazil and Lebanon'. *Political Research Exchange* 2 (1): 1802206.
- Dryzek, John S. 2013. 'The Deliberative Democrat's Idea of Justice'. *European Journal of Political Theory* 12 (4): 329–46.
- Parthasarathy, Ramya, Vijayendra Rao, and Nethra Palaniswamy. 2019. 'Deliberative Democracy in an Unequal World: A Text-As-Data Study of South India's Village Assemblies'. *American Political Science Review* 113 (3): 623–40.

12:00 Lunch UZH Mensa MEN

## Workshops

	<b>Workshop A</b>	KOL G 212	<b>Workshop B</b>	KOL G 220
	<u><i>Climate &amp; Environmental Justice</i></u>		<u><i>Cleavages and Polarization</i></u>	
	with John Dryzek and Alice el-Wakil		with Andrè Bächtiger and Marco Steenbergen	
13:00	<b>Katariina Kulha</b> University of Turku  <i>Advancing justice in climate transitions: the potential contributions of deliberative mini-publics - an introduction</i>		<b>Eugen Chapiro</b> University of Southern Denmark (SDU)  <i>Reaching agreements on polarized issues: how deliberative consensus-making affects polarization</i>	
13:45	<b>Pierrick Chalaye</b> University of Pau and Adour Countries  <i>Democratising the (just) energy transition</i>		<b>Basel Mansour</b> University of Geneva  <i>Deliberative democracy as a tool to steer historical reconciliation in deeply divided</i>	
14:30		Break		
15:00	<b>Mengya Li</b> University of Zurich  <i>Deliberative Mechanisms in Co-Produced Low-Carbon Governance: A Case Study of China's Pilot Cities</i>		<b>Jesse Mehravar</b> University of Western Ontario  <i>The Inclusivity of Majority and Minority Constructions of Canadian National Identity Boundaries in Face-to-Face Conversations</i>	
15:45	<b>Faris Henry Gergis</b> Molde University College  <i>Bridging or Barricading? Exploring the State Stakeholders' Attitudes Towards Public Participation in the Context of Sustainable Urban Mobility in Bergen and Trondheim</i>		<b>Agim Selami</b> TU Berlin  <i>Using Democracy to Remedy Democracy: Citizens' Assemblies in North Macedonia</i>	
16:30	Discussion		Discussion	
17:00	End of workshops			
18:00	Book launch session			
19:00	Dinner Restaurant UNITURM UZH			





Wednesday 25 June

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**PANEL 2** *Challenging Inequalities in Latin America  
Through Democratic Innovations*

**Seminar** KOL G 221

9:00 **Prof. Thamy Pogrebinschi** WZB Berlin Social Science Center  
moderated by **Prof. Daniel Kübler** University of Zurich

Inequality is one of the most pervasive challenges to democracy. It erodes political inclusion, weakens accountability, undermines the rule of law, and perpetuates social injustices. Yet, while socioeconomic disparities restrict opportunities for meaningful citizen participation, democratic innovations emerge as a response to such problems, aiming to enhance democracy by improving social equality and political inclusion. This lecture will explore how democratic innovations can address inequality, focusing on Latin America, one of the most unequal regions in the world. Using a problem-driven approach to democratic innovations, we will examine concrete cases of participatory institutions and processes designed to tackle income and territorial inequalities, unequal access to goods and services, and discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, and age.

**Readings**

- Pogrebinschi, Thamy. (2023) *Innovating Democracy? The Means and Ends of Citizen Participation in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press - pages: 1-12 and 58-76.
- Touchton, Michael, and Brian Wampler. (2014). "Improving Social Well-Being Through New Democratic Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(10), 1442–1469.
- Schattan Ruas Pereira Coelho V. & Waisbich L., (2016) "Participatory mechanisms and inequality reduction: searching for plausible relations", *Journal of Public Deliberation* 12(2)
- Pogrebinschi, Thamy. (2023) *Innovating Democracy? The Means and Ends of Citizen Participation in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press - pages 12- 36 (optional, for Latin America context)

12:00 Lunch UZH Mensa MEN

## Workshops

	<b>Workshop A</b>	KOL G 212	<b>Workshop B</b>	KOL G 220
		<u>Representation and Communication</u>		<u>Institutional Design</u>
		with Thamy Pogrebinschi and Nenad Stojanovic		with John Gastil and Alexander Geisler
13:00	<b>Nivek Thompson</b> University of Technology Sydney	<i>Inclusion in deliberative mini-publics: challenges and opportunities</i>	<b>Mariana Morais</b> TU Berlin	<i>Space politics of citizens' assemblies: seating, badges, and microphones arrangements shaping inclusive participation</i>
13:45	<b>Olivia Kamgain</b> University of Ottawa	<i>Can descriptive representatives be accountable?</i>	<b>Pieter Velghe</b> UCLouvain	<i>Policy Follow-Up of Participatory Processes in Brussels: Tracing the impact of participation in an institutionalized context</i>
14:30		Break		
15:00	<b>Weronika Kędzia</b> Adam Mickiewicz University	<i>The Language(s) of Deliberation: Citizens' Assemblies in Multilingual Societies of Central and Eastern Europe</i>	<b>Victor Sanchez-Mazas</b> University of Geneva	<i>Innovating democracy with the people? Designing a citizens' assembly for democracy</i>
15:45	<b>Ralph Martins</b> The Ohio State University	<i>Storytelling in small-group deliberation: Who, What, and Why?</i>	<b>Elisa Vogel</b> Pennsylvania State University	<i>Digital affordances and deliberative democracy: A comparative case study of online participatory technologies</i>
16:30	Discussion		Discussion	
17:00	End of workshops			
18:00	City Tour – Zurich's powerful women			
20:00	End of City Tour			





Thursday 26 June

**PANEL 3** *Social Identities, Inequalities and Democratic Decision-Making*

Seminar KOL G 221

9:00 Prof. Edana Beauvais Simon Fraser University  
moderated by Prof. Alice el-Wakil University of Copenhagen

My present work builds on the notion that we need to rethink the nature and location of collective action due to not only changing modes of production, technology, and communication, but also the rise in identity politics and other postmodern features of political culture (Warren 2001). I consider how the socio-demographic composition of social and political associations—including democratic innovations—impact their ability to achieve democratic aims. By “democratic aims,” I mean outcomes related to inclusion, outcomes related to learning and opinion change, and outcomes required for democratic legitimacy—such as representing difference and coordinating cooperation. Specifically, I consider whether associations need to promote cross-cutting interactions to achieve democratic outcomes or whether, and under what conditions, exclusive identity-based associations—such as exclusive racial-, gender-, or sexuality-based associations—can promote democratic aims. Existing work in democratic theory does not hold high hope for exclusive identity-based associations (Warren 2001). In my present work, I make the case that the positionality of identity-based group matters for whether these groups have higher or lower potential for achieving democratic outcomes. Drawing on feminist theories of intersectionality, Iris Young's concept of seriality, and bellhooks' theories of centering the margins helps us see that, when it comes to constituting identity groups, there is more flexibility in terms of exit than we might think, what it means to couch something in terms of common interests varies depending on context, and identity goals can promote cooperation and coordination, thus deepening democratic legitimacy. That is, even the most basic, ascriptive identity groups are not merely given, they are taken up and enacted, and how and why they are taken up and enacted matters for their democratic potential

**Readings**

- Warren, Mark E. 1999. 'Introduction'. In *Democracy and Trust*, edited by Mark E. Warren, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wojciechowska, Marta. 2019. 'Towards Intersectional Democratic Innovations'. *Political Studies* 67 (4): 895–911.
- Young, Iris Marion. 1994. 'Gender as Seriality: Thinking about Women as a Social Collective'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19 (3): 713–38.

12:00 Lunch UZH Mensa MEN

## Workshops

	<b>Workshop A</b>	KOL G 212	<b>Workshop B</b>	KOL G 220
	<u>Marginalization</u>		<u>Theories of Inclusion</u>	
	with Edana Beauvais and Hannah Werner		with Alice el-Wakil and Simon Niemeyer	
13:00	<b>Marcella Pereira Nery</b> HWR Berlin		<b>Ceri Holman</b> University of York	
	<i>Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups in Democratic Innovations: A Study of the German Context</i>		<i>Addressing Inequalities Through Deliberative Pedagogy</i>	
13:45	<b>Euchan Jang</b> Ohio State University		<b>Kirsten Lydic</b> University of Pennsylvania	
	<i>Deliberation's Dark Matter: Silence, Marginal Speech, and Systemic Exclusion</i>		<i>Accessing the imaginary: Participatory intervention research as a catalyst for enacting strong democracies</i>	
14:30		Break		
15:00	<b>Olivia Gheyselinck</b> Vrije Universiteit Brussel		<b>Nemanja Andjelkovic</b> University of Belgrade	
	<i>Intersectional Barriers to Participation in Climate Assemblies: A Study of the Brussels and Paris Cases</i>		<i>The contribution of deliberative democracy to the process of democratization of the public sphere: articulating inclusive contestation</i>	
15:45	<b>Iphigénie Koutsougeras</b> UCLouvain		<b>Sammy McKinney</b> University of Cambridge	
	<i>Intersectionality and Deliberative Democracy: Theoretical Challenges and Methodological Complexities</i>		<i>The Politics of Scaling Democratic Innovation: Meanings, Goals, and Concerns</i>	
16:30		Discussion	<b>Olivia Mendoza</b> University of Canberra	
			<i>Emotional Labour: A Feminist Agenda for Deliberative Democracy</i>	
17:15				Discussion
17:30	End of workshops			
17:45	Meetup at bQm bar			



Friday 27 June

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**PANEL 4** *How Europeans View and Evaluate Deliberative Democracy: Insights from empirical research*

**Seminar** KOL G 221

9:00 **Prof. Jean Benoit Pilet** Université Libre de Bruxelles  
moderated by **Alexander Geisler** University of St. Gallen

While we know that citizens assemblies and other deliberative forums are spreading across Europe, we still know relatively little about how they are perceived by the wider public. In this lesson, we will present and discuss the burgeoning literature on public support for deliberative democracy. In particular, we will explore three elements: (1) how much support there is among Europeans for a greater use of mini-publics, (2) what are the main traits of citizens who support (vs. those who oppose) a deliberative turn in contemporary democracies, and (3) under what conditions mini-publics seem to generate greater public support.

**Readings**

- Choi, Jeongho, and Byung-Deuk and Woo. 2025. 'Support for a Strong Leader or Democracy, or Both?' *Democratization* 32(1): 76–95.
- Claassen, Christopher, Kathrin Ackermann, Eri Bertsou, Lucas Borba, Ryan E. Carlin, Amnon Cavari, Sirianne Dahlum, et al. 2025. 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Support for Democracy: A New Approach'. *Comparative Political Studies* 58(6): 1171–98.
- Pilet, Jean-Benoit, Davide Vittori, Sébastien Rojon, and Emilien Paulis. 2024. 'Who Do Europeans Want to Govern? Exploring the Multiple Dimensions of Citizens' Preferences for Political Actors in Nine European Countries'. *Party Politics* 30(2): 367–78.

12:00 Lunch UZH Mensa MEN

## Workshops

	<b>Workshop A</b>	KOL G 212	<b>Workshop B</b>	KOL G 220
	<u><i>Impacts of Deliberation</i></u>		<u><i>Artificial Intelligence in Deliberation</i></u>	
	with Jean Benoit Pilet and Simon Niemeyer		with Daniel Kübler and Francesco Veri	
13:00	<b>Fanny Möckel</b> Uppsala University		<b>Nicolás Palomo Hernández</b> Scuola Normale Superiore	
	<i>Potentials and challenges of deliberative minipublics in Swedish landscape planning</i>		<i>Doing politics through the algorithm: Using AI to 'augment' deliberative democracy</i>	
13:45	<b>Elena Anna Paola Reinhart</b> University of Geneva		<b>Brooke Hubsch</b> Penn State University	
	<i>Participation equality and Opinion Changes</i>		<i>AI, Governance, and Talking Together: The role of deliberative values in public perception of decision legitimacy</i>	
14:30		Break		
15:00	<b>Andri Heimann</b> University of Zurich		<b>Toni Wessmann</b> University of Turku	
	<i>Exploring deliberative multiplier effects on minipublic participants' social network</i>		<i>Analyzing Citizens' Assembly Discussions: Deliberation, Outcomes, and the Role of AI in Synthesizing Results</i>	
15:45	<b>Tim Daw</b> Stockholm University		<b>Omer Bilgin</b> University of Oxford	
	<i>A survey experiment on the public impact of video media on a climate assembly. Effects on attitudes towards climate policy and citizens' assemblies.</i>		<i>To what extent can AI tools reduce representational inequalities in deliberative democratic engagements?</i>	
16:30	<b>Valeria Vuk</b> University of Zurich		<b>Maher Akraa</b> University of Zurich	
	<i>Online Citizen Participation and Democratic Legitimacy: The Impact of Self-Selection and Sortition</i>		<i>Meme Warfare and Digital Hate Speech: Analyzing Extremist Discourse in Swiss Student Protest Comment Sections</i>	
17:15	Discussion		Discussion	
17:45	End of workshops			
18:00	Final Aperitif			



## INSTRUCTORS

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Cristina Lafont	Northwestern University	John Gastil	Penn State University
John Dryzek	University of Canberra	André Bächtiger	University of Stuttgart
Thamy Pogrebinschi	WZB Berlin Social Science Center	Alexander Geisler	University of St. Gallen
Edana Beauvais	Simon Fraser University	Francesco Veri	University of Zurich
Jean Benoit Pilet	Université Libre de Bruxelles	Simon Niemeyer	University of Canberra
Nenad Stojanovic	University of Geneva	Daniel Kübler	University of Zurich
Alice el-Wakil	University of Copenhagen	Hannah Werner	University of Zurich
Marco Steenbergen	University of Zurich		

## PARTICIPANTS

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Maher Akraa	Ceri Holman	Olivia Kamgain
University of Zurich	University of York	University of Ottawa
Olivia Gheyselinck	Nemanja Andjelkovic	Euchan Jang
Vrije Universiteit Brussel	University of Belgrade	Ohio State University
Omer Bilgin	Marcella Pereira Nery	Victor Sanchez-Mazas
University of Oxford	HWR Berlin	University of Geneva
Iphigénie Koutsougeras	Sammy McKinney	Faris Henry Gergis
UC Louvain	University of Cambridge	Molde University College
Tim Daw	Fanny Möckel	Mengya Li
Stockholm University	Uppsala University	University of Zurich
Pierrick Chalaye	Nicolás Palomo Hernández	Pieter Velghe
University of Pau and Adour Countries	Scuola Normale Superiore	UC Louvain
Jesse Mehravar	Toni Wessmann	Katariina Kulha
University of Western Ontario	University of Turku	University of Turku
Elena Anna Paola Reinhart	Brooke Hubsch	Kirsten Lydic
University of Geneva	Penn State University	University of Pennsylvania
Elisa Vogel	Andri Heimann	Valeria Vuk
Penn State University	University of Zurich	University of Zurich
Weronika Kędzia	Olivia Mendoza	Agim Selami
Adam Mickiewicz University	University of Canberra	TU Berlin
Nivek Thompson	Basel Mansour	Eugen Chapiro
University of Technology Sydney	University of Geneva	University of Southern Denmark
Ralph Martins	Mariana Morais	
Ohio State University	TU Berlin	

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7<sup>th</sup> Deliberative Democracy Summer School

# INEQUALITY AND DELIBERATION

23 - 27 June 2025, Zurich

#### Scientific Committee

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The logo for the Swiss Summer School Democracy Studies, featuring a stylized orange square with white hands and the text "SWISS SUMMER SCHOOL DEMOCRACY STUDIES" in orange.

The logo for Democracy Studies, featuring a stylized orange square with a hand icon and the text "DEMOCRACY STUDIES" in bold, followed by a subtitle "How and why is democracy challenged around the world today?".

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