# radical

# democracy

# Summer School

### Summary Report Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC

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/// Participedia

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# **1. Introduction**

# Background

The CERi-Participedia Summer School (June 4 to June 10, 2023) - organized under the theme "Radical Democracy", brought together leading experts, researchers and graduate students and community leaders, activists and practitioners for a week of workshops, discussion, dialogue, community events and field trips. 33 students registered (22 non-credit and 10 credit) from the social sciences, including political science, philosophy, communications, sociology, cultural studies, humanities, arts and science, anthropology, economics, environment, health, science and related disciplines at the graduate level. Several participants are based in civil society with organizations working on climate change, community development, and poverty reduction. Together, with the summer school team and 29 invited guest faculty, artists, and practitioners, they explored what it means to re-imagine, research and practice radical democracy in their communities and in everyday life.

# **Conceptual Framework**

Radical democracy refers to aspirations, ideas and practices that aim or embody an attempt to re/ uncover the roots of what democracy is or should be. It takes seriously the claim that "democracy -[is] a process in permanent radicalization of itself" (Kothari et al., 2019, xxi). As such, the term is better conceived as a project of radicalizing or deepening democracy, rather than a free-standing and exhaustive substitute to liberal democracy. Since the collapse of the socialist alternative and its related imaginaries, radical democracy has come to best represent the multitude of democratic experiments and manifestations that can be found all over the world. Those movements have often departed from the class-based struggle of classical Marxism in order to embrace a multiplicity of fights against a variety of forms of domination, and to work towards a more equal and just future without the teleological end-point of communism (Loyd and Little, 2009).

The theoretical literature is inhabited by two major strands. One is associated with deliberative democracy, and relies on enhancing the public exchange of reasons to deepen democracy. The second strand, influenced by post-structuralist thought, affirms the ineradicability of power and conflict and endeavors to mobilize democratic power to fight dominative forces. The Participedia Summer School curriculum took an expansive view of radical democracy and included the two strands, as well as other theories that seek to strengthen democracy. We also paid particular attention to practices that do the same, as we aimed to thread both theory and practice in our exploration of the subject.



### Learning Objectives

- Participants explored the dimensions of radical democracy, the different visions, ideas and schools of thought, its possibilities and limits, and related theoretical debates.
- Participants analyzed practical cases of democratic innovations and/or social movements in light of the theories associated with radical democracy.
- Participants synthesized and presented their learnings – drawn from theory and practice – by co-designing a radical democratic initiative within a local, community or regional context and applying a creative communications approach to their plans.

# About the Summer School Pedagogy

The in-person program ran from June 4 to June 10, 2023 inclusive and was preceded by two 1.5 hour orientation sessions on-line in May to orient participants to the theoretical materials needed to begin their in-person exploration of radical democracy and its manifestations. The in-person program was organized around themes that guided the inquiry and presented participants with some of the most innovative research and practices to explore radicalizing and deepening democracy.

The course took two main pedagogical approaches. The first asked participants to synthesize what they have learned through reading responses and active participation in seminars. The second pedagogical approach was dialogic and practice-oriented and involved participants in co-designing a radically democratic community initiative for a neighbourhood, town or village, that were asked to present visually as part of a final showcase event.

**Contact Hours:** 30 classroom hours plus 20 hours independent study

# Student Assignments

#### **1. Active Participation**

Participants were responsible for engaging and contributing to an active learning environment in class. Participants are evaluated on the quality of their engagement during self-organized seminars and with speakers and each other throughout the summer school. Active participation can take diverse forms, such as asking questions, commenting, active listening and presentations.

#### 2. Reading Responses

Participants submitted a 500 to 800-word reading response on the readings assigned for each day. The reading response was designed to help participants develop their reflections on the theme of the day and to serve as the basis for discussion in seminars. Participants who had written a response to the readings assigned for the day were expected to facilitate the discussion amongst their peers during the daily self-organized seminar. This was not an exercise in summary – participants were encouraged to be creative and critical in their responses.

#### 3. Democratic Design/ Poster Presentation

Participants collaborated in small groups on a creative project related to the theme of the summer school synthesizing the insights gathered throughout the week. Their work was to identify and design an issue of concern and to plan a community initiative for a neighbourhood/town/village/community that would function in a radically democratic way, or produce radically democratic outcomes. Participants were invited to present that design in a format of their choosing (e.g., poster presentation, film, poem, theatre skit, chart, etc.).

#### 4. Case Study

Participants were invited to work in small groups to examine one case study among those listed on the case study page. They were instructed to review the case and to come to class prepared to discuss the case with the other participants in their group. Discussion questions were provided to support a close reading of the case.

#### 5. Reflection on Learning

This assignment invited participants to reflect on the key learning moments during the summer school - from the readings, interactions, presentation, field trips or other dimensions of the program. Participants provided examples of their learning transformation, i.e., new perspectives, questions and or insights.

### Evaluation

In the spirit of a radical pedagogy that values inclusivity, equality, and transformativity, the course integrated notions of "ungrading" in its approach to evaluating participants taking the program for credits (Blum, 2020). The main objective of this method is to decenter competition, hierarchy, and extrinsic motivations, and open up a space for participants to (re)discover the joy of learning. Participants were provided written feedback for their assignments by the teaching team, but were not assigned grades. The participants were assessed on a pass/fail basis. Whether attending the summer school for credit or non-credit, participants were expected to complete all assignments and could expect to receive feedback. Walking Tour With Hogan's Alley Society





Student-led Reading Seminar



Guest speaker workshop

### Key Themes, Agenda and Speakers





"Let's focus on the concrete endeavors to decolonize ourselves, our relationships, and our institutions. Or let's focus on concrete steps to end oppression. Or let's focus on concrete steps to advance liberation."

-Genevieve Fuji-Johnson

# **Emerging Ideas**

While there were a set number of themes and related resources around which the program was designed, there were a number of outstanding ideas that emerged through the guest presentations, groups dialogues, field trips and community events.

A selection of emerging themes are listed here:

- Concepts of coercion, deliberation, agonism, antagonism - the dimensions of radical democracy – came to be understood more profoundly in the context of radical democratic inclusion
- A democracy that is aware of and draws from its roots will take seriously the practice of "the people exercising power together as equals." Given the deep inequalities and blind spots of democracy, we need to foster imaginative ways to bring people into governance.
- The researcher has a role in democratic society vis a vis their positionality, solidarity with their research participants and choice of research methods that allows space for understanding democratic agency and that produces knowl-edge that helps to unearth structural injustices and realize the key aspirations of a more radical, e.g., inclusive, just, deliberative and participato-ry, democracy.

- Vitally important deliberative spaces for citizen participation require meaningful time to establish trust, inclusion and relationality. These spaces needed to be imbedded in, i.e., funded and facilitated by, all levels of governance.
- By paying attention to and co-creating the norms of interaction in the classroom, the classroom became a microcosm of a demo-cratic community.
- While focusing on theory, the faculty encouraged self-reflection, specific cases and stories of radical democracy in diverse contexts thus moving the study of radical democracy out of the classroom and into the world.
- To be radically democratic in practice and not in theory alone, one is required to look inward and question. As visiting faculty, Genevieve Fuji-Johnson urged participants: "Let's focus on the concrete endeavors to decolonize ourselves, our relationships, and our institutions. Or let's focus on concrete steps to end oppression. Or let's focus on concrete steps to advance liberation."

# 2. Program Highlights



# Orientation

Meeting online in advance of the in-person residency allowed participants time to meet each other and to prepare to participate. The flipped classroom allowed time for participants to be oriented to the readings, case studies, assignments and format of the program.

#### **Guest Presentation: Astra Taylor**

Given that not all participants had a political science background, we needed to find ways to "level the playing field" in terms of foundational knowledge. We asked students to screen the 2018 documentary film 'What is Democracy?' and then two weeks later met for the second time on-line to talk with the film's director, Astra Taylor, about radical democracy, the hard work of organizing, her campaign for relieving student debt and her current book on solidarity. Taylor challenged us to think about what democracy feels like for many, e.g., fear, grief, suffering - and what democracy looks like e.g., an outburst or a horizon we are moving toward. She asked us to consider the obstacles to participating in democratic life and the need to find new ways, both macro and micro, to address inequality, build power, and help people participate in democracy, including, but not only, voting in elections.

Taylor is inspired by the idea that a new democratic contract might be forged by a "massive withdrawal of consent and a coordinated campaign of constructive coercion." Ultimately, she said, democracy is about public policy and changing policy is very hard. She invited students to ask themselves, what gives you energy? And to work for change in areas that matter to them.



# Welcome Reception

As part of the welcome event, the co-directors of the host organization Simon Fraser University's Community Engaged Research Initiative, CERi, Stuart Poyntz and Am Johal shared messages of support for the summer school and the ideas to be explored, and welcomed all students to the program. Paul Emiljanowicz, managing director of Participedia, provided an overview of the aims of Participedia and the values it represents. Joanna Ashworth moderated.

#### Guest Presentation: Tzeporah Berman

Tzeporah Berman, the Director of International programs with the NGO Stand.Earth was our keynote speaker. She shared her work of 30 years on the front lines of old growth forest protection and climate action. We learned that Berman knows a lot about the lived experience of radical democracy. Her story of activism, protest, deliberation, negotiation, dialogue and finding agreements inspired many. Tzeporah's calls to action included:

- Be brave courage builds hope
- If being called "rude" is because you tell the truth to powerful people, then be rude.
- Take care seek supportive allies, particularly when being attacked for challenging power.

Quoting Rebecca Solnit, Tzephora added: "Hope is not happiness or confidence or inner peace; it's a commitment to search for possibilities."

Following Tzeporah's presentation, summer school participants were invited to mix and mingle with our invited faculty, guests and practitioners, offering an opportunity for networking over drinks and appetizers. This informal connection space set a positive, welcoming tone for engagement, conversation and interactions throughout the week.









Welcome Reception



# **Community Agreements**

On the first day of class Joanna Ashworth led the facilitation with the class to develop community agreements, that is, how we wanted to interact in the classroom. These agreements allowed us to name some of the conditions and some boundaries needed for a respectful and learningful interaction. The agreements attempted to co-create norms for how the group wanted to meet and interact by explicitly naming our expectations of each other and our needs for safety, inclusion, respect while also challenging deeply held assumptions and blindspots. We returned to the agreements and added to them throughout the week.

#### Agreements

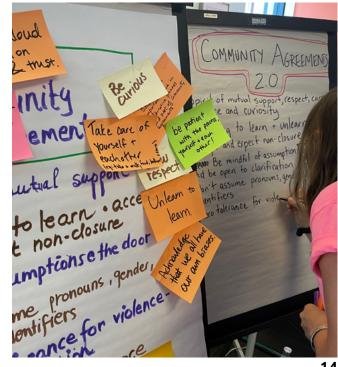
- Spirit of mutual support, respect, patience and curiosity
- Listen to learn and 'unlearn'
- Accept and expect non-closure
- Be mindful of assumptions, biases, and be open to [offering] clarification

- Don't assume pronouns, gender or identities
- Zero tolerance for violence or discrimination
- Mindfully take space, make space
- Acknowledge and respect different communications styles
- Interruptions discouraged
- 'Stupid' questions encouraged

#### **Speaking Guidelines**

- Say your name
- Try to speak to the room
- Pump Up the Volume (Twinkle Hands means we cannot hear!)
- Explain jargon or terms
- Raise hand to speak







# Lived Experience with Democracy: Along a Spectrum from Disempowered to Empowered

This warm up exercise, led by Tara Mahoney, invited students to share their particular experiences with democracy, including in their communities, workplaces and/or in their political districts. The examples ranged from disengaged and disempowered to highly engaged and empowered and many degrees between the two ends of the continuum. As seen in the image above, most responses were weighted by participants toward the disempowered end of the spectrum, leading to an interesting group discussion. Selected examples include:

#### Disempowered

- Tensions between traditional (voting) and non-democratic ways of decision making
- Climate policy gaslighting
- Feeling disempowered in professional setting due to process
- Encounters with political leaders who lie
- Student council vote ignored ('this is a school not a democracy')

#### **More Empowered**

- Community groups come together to discuss ways to make better collective decisions
- Being part of a citizens' assembly
- Making a legal claim
- Contributing to a new policy or program

# **3. Summer School Themes**



The Summer School program was anchored in five key themes, outlined below. Each day, a new theme was explored with invited guest speakers, followed by collective reflection in our daily check-out activities. The facilitated conversations started off each morning with a team of students leading a conversation based on the assigned readings for the day.

# Theme 1: Power and Disruption

There are many ways of conceptualizing power. The most common one is to think of it as coercion, that is, as having someone do something they would not otherwise do by threat of sanction or the use of force. Coercion is not only a "regrettable" aspect of politics, it is an essential feature of most forms of collective agency. Without coercion, there is only the status quo, or as Jane Mansbridge puts it, "drift". Hence, as democratic movements contest the institutional power of the state (fight power), they also have to mobilize a form of coercion to do so (use power). Other ways of conceiving of power exist which emphasizes the possibility of mobilizing it in a more consensual, deliberative and/or relational way.

This session studied power as an inescapable and at times desirable aspect of democratic politics. It raised questions such as: what are the different forms of democratic power? What differentiates between brute force and democratic power? How is it possible to maintain the democratic nature of power (equality and inclusion of minorities) while using it more radically (against privileged interests, for instance) to democratize society? How might we empower the people to a greater extent without failing to protect minorities and those who "lose" more often at majority decision-making processes?





#### Core Faculty Presentation: Etienne Cardin-Trudeau

Etienne Cardin-Trudeau provided a primer on the basic strands of radical democracy and the inherent tensions within democracy. The model outlined the dimensions of radical democracy, beginning first with the etymology of "democracy" meaning demos (the people, the many) and kratos (meaning power, the use power, fight power). He explored some of the tensions inherent within liberal democracy, such as the constraints put on the ability of the people to govern itself. He also surveyed the tension between collective agency, which in most cases requires the use of coercion, and the protection of individual rights and freedoms. In order to justify coercion, the state or the people acting needs a standard of legitimacy. In liberal theory, that standard is embedded into the formal procedures and institutions of the state. However, because liberalism is deeply attached to the protec-

tion of individual rights, it can sometimes impede the use of collective agency by blocking coercion, which ends up favouring the status quo. Etienne argued that to radicalize democracy, we need to accept the explosion of the demos into demoï, and to empower those actors by multiplying the possibilities for the legitimate use of coercion across society. He noted, however, that we have yet to find a coherent standard of legitimacy to do so. He ended his presentation by analyzing the 2012 Student Strike in Quebec as an example of competing claims of legitimacy to the use of coercion.

The question remains, 'What counts as a standard for legitimacy?' And of course, most complicated of all, who is the legitimate demos/demoï?

#### Guest Presentation: Antonin Webster

Antonin Webster discussed the democratic possibilities of hope and its role in democratic politics. Moving away from seeing coercion as the main form of democratic power, Antonin emphasized the role that deliberation, but especially deliberation around hope, can bring to the table. He described democratic politics as conflictual and risky, and argued that because of that, hope, as in the imagination of a possible future, played an important part in shaping collective action. According to him, people's capacities to engage with others and sustain action and commitments across time rely thus on some kind of hope.

He presented the different ways in which hope could be both empowering or disempowering for democratic politics, according to how it is expressed and embedded into power structures. Hope oriented towards the past could be reactionary in non-democratic contexts, whereas it could be disruptive in a democratic one. Hope oriented towards the future could be deterministic in a non-democratic context, and deliberative in a democratic one. Focusing on the future-oriented type of hope, Antonin discussed what it meant for people to "hope with others" and associated this with deliberations oriented towards the future. Indeed, in order for people to hope with others, they have to deliberate, talk and listen to each other and frame what they, collectively, are hoping for. He noted three important features of hoping with others:

- 1. Transforming individual preferences into collective ones
- 2. Articulating and defining collective hoped-for futures
- 3. Interpreting and re-interpreting present and future possibilities

Antonin closed his presentation by articulating what hope means for radical politics. He argued that moments of hope are key to radical democratic politics since they create spaces for people to "shape collective alternatives" in a process of continuing renewal.





#### Guest Presentation: Melissa Williams

Melissa Williams invited us to participate in an analysis of land acknowledgements. She offered comparisons between two different styles of acknowledgement commonly used by the University of Toronto and Simon Fraser University, noting the references that Vancouver makes to settler politics with the words "unceded" versus Toronto's references to Indigenous governance with the "Dish With One Spoon Wampum Agreement." This distinction between lands that have been settled by Treaties and those that have not contributed to a lively discussion that followed, allowed participants and organizers to reflect on the land acknowledgements they use, and to go deeper. Melissa further delved into the Wampum Belt Kaswentha using a visual image to unpack the symbolism of the physical, beaded artifact, and how it represents modes of Indigenous governance that differ in distinct ways from settler politics. We learned that Indigenous governance has an inherent sense of trust embedded, and that temporality has different meanings and expectations for Indigenous communities compared with settlers.

#### Students' Check Out -Power and Disruption

- How to do a better land acknowledgment
- How to believe in hope
- Coming to terms with and having a more nuanced understanding of coercion
- Hope should be co-constructed
- Nuanced community agreements
- How to respect all people
- Distinction between being powerful and feeling powerful
- What are the standards of legitimacy?
- How can we make things better?



# Theme 2: Creativity and Futurity

Radical democrats and activists have, for the most part, abandoned the teleological end-point of communism or of emancipation from relations of power. The future they imagine is constituted by power, but also by hope for a better society, a society, however, that can never be perfect or final. This session draws from design as "a conversation about possibilities of being, doing, and knowing" (Escobar, 2020, 140), and art-based activism, to challenge participants to imagine how to get involved in making where they live, work and study, more democratic places. It asks, among other things, what role does art and creativity play in democratic life? How can design thinking help us build a world that is more just and more inclusive? What are some of the limits of this approach?

Democracy is present or absent in the way public spaces are designed. Streets, airports, and parks, are more or less democratic in terms of how they are used and by whom. The design of public spaces has the potential to address and create greater democratic possibilities. Using the concept of design justice, an approach to design that contests the status quo and seeks to empower the people, "the demos", to design, we explored creativity and design as tools for imagining and creating a more radical democracy, one that is inclusive of difference, and seeks to build and use power through collective action, including action that imagines and plans for ways to make life better for more people.

Collective action through design processes are often constrained by a lack of imagination, a loss that can in part be attributed to trauma, to disenfranchisement, to colonization, and to a sense that design is only for experts. Afro-futurism, as described by Adrienne Marie Brown, is a form of imagination that seeks to break open new forms of representation and foster active resistance. Imagination is a way to re-appropriate culture, space and things. Design is a process that produces tangibles – things, publications, objects to be shared. This session explored the idea that we must not limit who gets to imagine new futures.



#### Guest Presentation: Olumoroti Soji-George

Olumoroti (Moroti) Soji-George, art gallery curator, began his talk by suggesting that "art is emancipatory." To be emancipatory, art must in some ways practice radical refusal – and intentionality. These are the means to generate power and to create change. Tactics of refusal involve embodied knowledge, i.e., knowledge gained through the body and include appropriation, satire and assemblage. Morarti's work as a curator foregrounds art that questions systems and gestures of colonial powers. In the exhibition, 'Art and Empire', he says, "language is the link. We clamour for the right to opacity"

- Fugivity to escape and transgress from what is proper and proposed.
- Black and BIPOC artists struggle with working in art spaces within colonial power structures.
- The gallery space is also a meeting space for the community but the lack of accessibility to art spaces poses serious challenges for creating opportunities to learn and to act together.

#### **Guest Presentation: Justin Langlois**

Justin Langlois began his talk about art intervening to create more democratic spaces with the question: "What stories do we tell about a place?" He suggested that it may be as simple as putting out a message without knowing who will receive it. One of Justin's projects, 'The Broken City Lab Collective' in Windsor Ontario, began with thinking about the city and what stories it held. Projecting messages onto buildings at night saying "We are in this together." And posting messages on billboards and asking for people to respond to questions like: I think of \_\_\_\_\_ as a public space. The project proposed a number of questions that were put into public spaces, inviting participation from the citizens.

# "Begin with examining your positionality. Your social circumstances."

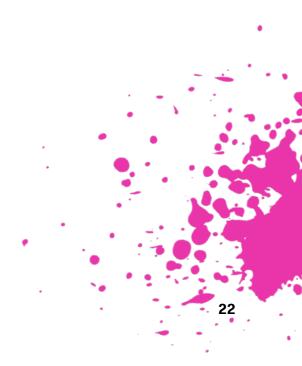
#### -Justin Langlois

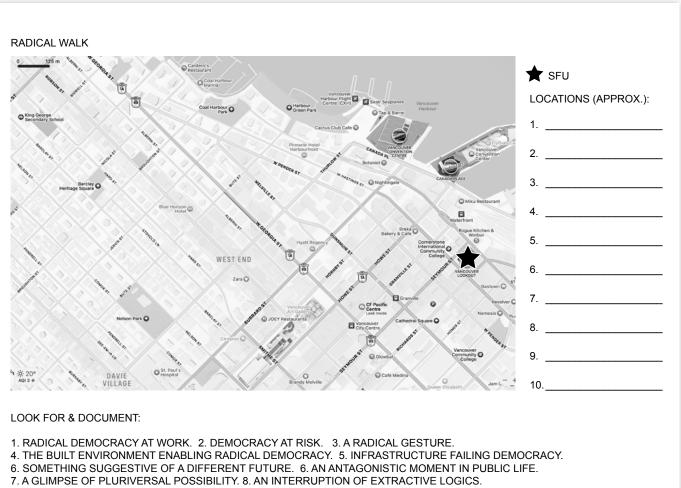
The project included pop up workshops, a Letter Library, an imaginary consultancy, seed bombing, creating bee sanctuaries, attending city council sessions, creating captions. These initiatives were all ways to put something out into the world – "it's a gesture that gets us excited to ask questions about 'what else could we do?'."

The project also held a city competition to nominate someone who is the best at making the city better. For example, the best cook, the best waver, etc. and by doing this, recognizing value in a public way. The project also created a new art school and suggested new ways to be in school. In terms of radical democracy, these forms of art could be referred to as 'antagonism' which is to push against what is and to ask, "What else could this be? What else is possible?" A proposed art school was based on the notion that eventually the school will give up power – but begins with peer-led activities, readings, extra-curricular activities and other ways of learning outdoors. The school questions what counts as education - e.g., bowling with beer cans in the street, inventing games, rewriting the rules of Monopoly. Framing questions are a part of intervention as well. For example, asking 'What if this were a school?' Challenging the original notions of a school by moving to outdoor spaces, and taking on embodied learning projects like tree rubbing, sound drawings, canoeing, making food and other ways to know a space.

Inviting participation is also important and creates ways for people to express their preferences through stickies, or to express their differences – e.g., 'arguments over beer' was another initiative on a multitude of topics. The project sought to have people add their voices in playful and serious ways.

To prepare participants to think more critically about democratic spaces in the city and the possibilities for intervention and change, Justin invited them to walk around the city to identify spaces that they consider to be democratic, lack democracy, and to consider ways to intervene in these spaces.





- 9. TRANSFORMATION, STALLED. 10. HOPE OR NO HOPE.

Radical Walk Map Activity



#### Core Faculty Presentation: Tara Mahoney and Jesi Carson

Once the participants had been primed with talks and activities by the guest faculty, core faculty Tara Mahoney and Jesi Carson introduced the course project – designed to be a way to integrate notions of power, intervention, and forms of radical democracy that create change and increase equity, justice and inclusion. The projects were to be produced in small groups and with each member identifying their own passions, people and places; and as Tara Mahoney suggested to the group, to consider art methods that "allow people to dive into another's experience and background in a rapid way" and consider "art as a medium to talk about what we care about."

Participants were introduced to design thinking methodology. Jesi Carson invited participants to think about the design project assignment using this question: How might we co-design a radical democratic intervention for a specific community or place? Students worked in randomly assigned project teams to begin exploring their shared interests, their understanding of radical democracy and what might be possible in terms of a constructive and creative intervention.

Small group project teams were formed, using design thinking frameworks and large format "discover phase" methods worksheets to identify shared interests and values among team members, which led to the selection of keywords to guide project development throughout the week.

The day ended with a check out of students' observations of their learning experience from the day.



#### Students' Check Out -Creativity and Futurity

- Be ok with messy
- What works for me doesn't always work for others, notice possible barriers
- Building on embodied privilege
- Art and politics
- Art possibilities and oppression
- "Difference" does not imply better or worse
- Politics of the body in occupying spaces
- Sense of excitement "come together"
- Opacity and refusal

- Appropriation and refusal
- Terms are loaded, and need to be unpacked, opened for new possibilities
- Challenge Privilege
- How to take this into the world
- Play and art as important as seriousness
- Rural Urban
- Build onto each other's creativity it should be normal not a luxury
- Break assumptions about 'who designs?' 'Who thinks?' 'Who creates?'
- Creativity is power
- Variety of art activates knowledge



# Theme 3: Democratic Forms of Agency

People act, everyday, everywhere, towards an incrementally more just future. In this session, forms of democratic agency, from protest to participatory budgeting, to citizens' assemblies, to digital democracy, were analyzed in terms of their process design and impact. Exploring the interconnections between theory and practice, this day shed light on people's lived experiences of democracy and what it means to practice radical democracy everywhere - in one's personal life, in the community, in organizations, and beyond. We were attentive to questions such as: what are the theories and methods that inform and guide our actions? What are the methods for studying and learning from the practice of radical democracy? What is the value of focusing on lived experience? And more generally, how can we, ourselves, be radical democrats?

The day began with a Case Study Session, followed by a series of shot workshops on research methods, hosted by Selen Ercan, Hans Asenbaum and Ricardo Mendonca. The workshops began with asking a number of questions: What are the ways of enacting democratic agency? How can we theorize and empirically study democratic agency? Agency is usually associated with finding a voice, speaking up, and making oneself heard drawing on text or speech. This session introduced a range of other ways democratic agency can be expressed and enacted in radical democracy. Drawing on examples from the case studies discussed in the previous session, the session unpacked when and how non-verbal acts and performances, such as silence, visuals, or embodied presence can also help to enact democratic agency and contribute to the project of radical democracy. They also presented forms of democratic engagement that enable nonverbal participation through arts and play. In doing so, the conceptual toolbox for both practicing and researching radical democratic expression was expanded.

#### **Case Study Session**

In the first session of the day, the class explored the relationship between research methods and democratic agency. Forms of democratic agency, from protest to participatory budgeting, to citizens' assemblies, to digital democracy, were analyzed in terms of their process design and impact. Exploring the interconnections between theory and practice, this day shed light on people's lived experiences of democracy and what it means to practice radical democracy everywhere - in one's personal life, in the community, in organizations, and beyond. We were attentive to questions such as: what are the theories and methods that inform and guide actions? What are the methods for studying and learning from the practice of radical democracy? As researchers, what is the value of focusing on lived experience?

To begin this session on democratic agency and research methods, participants worked in small groups to examine case studies and asked questions about the cases, i.e., What are organizers/actors in the case demanding?; How is power created by the actors?; What is legitimate power against the system?; What are the forms of agency? What is the political economy of the case?; How is the initiative supported?; What are the strategies for action?;

Each of the seven small groups presented their case study in light of the dimensions of power and collective agency and what represented "radical democracy" in a particular place and or setting.

In debriefing this exercise, students identified the key actors, the range of demands, the tactics for intervention and formal and informal means of exercising power for change. Case Studies:

- 1942 Land Back Occupation with Six Nations in Ontario
- Decide Madrid Digital Democracy Initiative in Spain
- Greek Solidarity Movement for Citizens Health
- Farmers Protests in India
- The United Kingdom's Citizen Assembly of Climate
- Landless Workers in Brazil
- Knitting Nanas Against Gas in Australia



#### **Guest Presentation: Selen Ercan**

Selen Ercan began the series of workshops with a talk on the state of contemporary democracies. She pointed to the growing distrust of the state and a rise of new forms of political participation – what is referred to a small p politics. These changing forms of everyday democracy, Ercan suggests, include forms of resistance and renewal where citizens are expressing their concerns and preferences – from formal methods such as citizen juries, citizens assemblies, participatory budgeting to arts-based practices, protest, theatre, and sound.

Ercan suggested that "the everyday actions of 'the people' means there is a broader understanding of what politics is and where it takes place. With an increased focus on lived experience and where listening to issues is also political." In the deliberative democracy literature, observed Selen, there is a lag in research and scholarship particularly where in the public sphere citizens are actively drawing attention to issues through non-verbal and verbal expressions – through images and symbols, art, physical 'embodied' presence. She asked: "In what ways do these forms of expression contribute to democracy?" When the marginal voices are heard, when there are reason-giving practices, when there is reflection, such as the example provided of the use of a larger than life sized puppet, 'Little Amal' to talk about the long and difficult debate in Europe about the inclusion of refugees.

Using the lens of performative research, it is possible to seek to understand democratic interventions in terms of agonism (using power), antagonism (using force or symbolic violence against the system) and deliberation (reasoned communication that exposes values, truth and inconsistency, consensus). Walking through a series of case studies, Ercan asked questions of each case using the matrix provided that helped students understand the multi-dimensionality of the cases in terms of the purpose of engagement, the portrayal of the audience and the means of engagement.

Performing Democracy			
Non-verbal protest through a democratic lens			
Selen A. Ercan, Hans Asenbaum & Ricardo F. Meno	donça		
<b>fo cite this article:</b> Selen A. Ercan, Hans Asenbaum & Ricardo Democracy. Performance Research, 27:3-4, 26-37, DOI: 10.108			
	Deliberative	Agonistic	Antagonistic
Purpose of engagement (why)	<b>Deliberative</b> communication	<b>Agonistic</b> confrontation	Antagonistic rejection
Purpose of engagement (why) Portrayal of audiences (whom)			

Slide from Selen's Presentation







#### Guest Presentation: Ricardo Mendonca

Ricardo Mendonca presented a range of research methods to illustrate ways to better understand, analyze, and assess different forms of democratic agency. The focus was particularly on those methods that allow space for an expanded understanding of democratic agency, and those that put the 'lived experience' of democracy at the center of their empirical analysis. Mendoca shared details of the 'Movement of People Affected by Leprosy' in Brazil. The session also focused on the role of the researcher in the study of democratic agency. Rather than understanding researchers as neutral and objective investigators, he emphasized the democratic role they can play in society. The researcher can and should position themselves vis-à-vis their research participants to conduct research and produce knowledge that helps to unearth structural injustices and realize the key aspirations of radical democracy. The session focused particularly on those methods that aim to promote radical democracy.

#### Guest Presentation: Hans Asenbaum

Hans Asenbaum prepared a hands-on workshop and focused on the practical and analytical skills required for analyzing and realizing democratic agency. Using a selection of visual data on the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement taken from social media, participants analyzed this data collectively in small groups. The class worked on interpreting and coding this data drawing on the concepts and methods discussed in previous sessions. They were encouraged to think about their choice of methods for data analysis and establish connections with their own work as well as with the larger project of radical democracy.

#### **Enacting Democratic Agency Through Sound**

- Protest, chanting, drumming, songs, speakers
- City of Memory sounds protests from around the world– Stuart Falk
- Sounds are a form of expression
- Democratic Sound listening
- A repertoire of contestation e.g., Banging pots and pans in front of the legislature

By way of conclusion, the guest faculty underlined how research related to power and how the researcher is an agent of change, given that the products of knowledge are forms of power. Agency, or the power to act, is a continuous testing of hypotheses in everyday life. Science has always claimed to be emancipatory, but science does not have a monopoly on the production of knowledge. Not all forms of knowledge are the same – e.g., social movements are producers of knowledge and produce frames or arguments. Producing knowledge is another way to make claims. Research methods - such as surveys, focus groups, etc. are ways to respond to questions and offer strategies to deal with phenomena.



Day 5

Care, Inclusion & Decolonization Centering Relationality in Radical Democracy

In-person, Vancouver, Canada Thursday, June 8, 2023



Theme 4: Care, Relationality and Decolonization

Radical democrats recognize the constitutive role of power for politics, and they have been more and more attentive to the relationships that power – but also other features of human life such as love and care – produce, underline or draw from. To be radical is to recognize the interdependence inherent in any human group, and life on Earth more broadly, and point towards ways of recognizing and embracing this feature to strengthen democracy.

This session raised the question of the place of relationality in democratic settings. How should democratic citizens relate to each other, and how does it affect the space of democratic power and our ability to restrain power from being used in an undemocratic fashion? How should we conceive of inclusion when certain democratic forms of agency require us to exclude people to preserve the safety and power (effectiveness) of the group? How is decolonization one of the most radical, necessary and possibly beneficial ways of transforming how we relate to each other and the world?

#### **Radical Indigenous Agency - okinewâpikonew**

#### Petals:

Social, Cultural, Economic, Political & Legal

#### Centre:

Pistil & Stamen – spirit beings / non-human beings /people, balance, creation, life, reproduction

#### Leaves:

kiski-nowâcihcikana – Ceremonial cycles Kasispowickikew – 'bringing the past to the future' or living histories Nêhiyawêwin - language

Nêhiaywaskiy – living earth



Shalene Jobin, 2023, Beaded oknewåpikonew, p. 206, Upholding Indigenous Economic Relationships: nehiyawak narratives

Slide from Kathy's Presentation

#### Guest Presentation: Genevieve Fuji-Johnson

Genevieve Fuji-Johnson encouraged the participants to think about undertaking active forms of solidarity which seek to redress harm together with 'those experiencing oppression' (2022: 57) rather than speaking over or for subalternised communities in their struggles and turning away from 'saviourism' (Fuji Johnson 2022: 58) and 'white allyship' (Simpson 2016: 30), towards solidaristic approaches to research, resurgence, and movement building which do not reinforce existing relations of power and harm. These conversations speak to some of the concerns that Black feminist thought raises through the term intersectionality. Intersectionality troubles the silo-ing of discrete, 'single issue' social movements which fail to recognise the spaces for convergence across their borders. Audre Lorde reminds us of this when she affirmed that, 'there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives' (1982).

#### Guest Presentation: Kathy Walker

Kathy Walker called on all of us to rethink what an authentic land acknowledgment entails and by introducing us to Jo-ann Archibald's Storywork, what it means to reach backward - to ancestors and forward - to our interconnecting relationships. How thought is informed by one's relationship with land was among the many profound teachings from the seminar as well.

Following scholar Shalene Jobin, Kathy offered what she calls radical infrastructure of democratic agency, referred to as the peoplehood model, that gets to the root of an Indigenous form of governance. This model, using a beaded rose image, includes thinking about democracy in terms of five dimensions- social, cultural, economic, political, and legal – with the centre of the flower as the source of life – the demos – the people.



# Theme 5: Democracy and Ecology

"The Common" has become a key principle of alternative political movements in the 21st century. It can be defined as the principle according to "which we are able to build the commons, maintain the commons, and sustain the commons" (Dardot and Laval, 28) where the commons refers to "self-organized social systems for managing shared wealth" (Bollier, 2020, 72). In societies deeply shaped by neoliberal rationality, the common is increasingly invoked as the operative concept of practical struggles creating new forms of democratic governance. We use Dardot and Laval's book as a source to trace the active lives of human beings, saying that only a practical activity of commoning can decide what will be shared in common and what rules will

govern the common's citizen-subjects. This re-articulation of the common calls for nothing less than the institutional transformation of society by society: it calls for a revolution.

This session explored the theory and practice of The Common and implications for deepening democracy. It considered questions such as: how does capitalism affect democracy? Is radical democracy necessarily anti-capitalist? Is it possible for people to voluntarily and democratically decide to undergo a process of degrowth, or collectively take other difficult decisions in relation to climate change?

#### Guest Presentation: Valerie Paquet

Presenting on the ideas of what a creative and ecological approach to the commons looks like in practice, PhD candidate, Valerie Paquet, offered first a reminder of the concept of the 'Tragedy of the Commons' as conceived by Garett Hardenl. This concept reminds us that unchecked development requires a form of governance that sits between the free market and the state.

The Urban Commons is a space where creative interventions – new ways to imagine new systems (social, economic and political) and crafting solutions are possible. Valerie shared ways to 'resist the city' and construct an urban commons through: Tactical urbanism, micro interventions, and imagination of movement. Citations of note include: 'Re-Enchanting the World', by Silvia Federici; 'The Right to the City' by Lebvre and Vandana Shiva's work on creating new forms of commonality. Examples of reclaiming the commons projects were offered from Mobilization 6600 in Montreal, La Hidra Cooperative in Barcelona, and Haus der Stastick in Berlin. These cases sparked inspiration and questions around:

- Shared social space and/or resources
- Strategies of re-appropriation
- The collective, i.e., community of users
- Forms of a collective governance model to manage the resource.

When invited, the class worked in small groups for only 15 minutes and yet were able to identify their own 'tactical urbanism' projects – using these criteria offered by Valerie.

# Micro-intervention

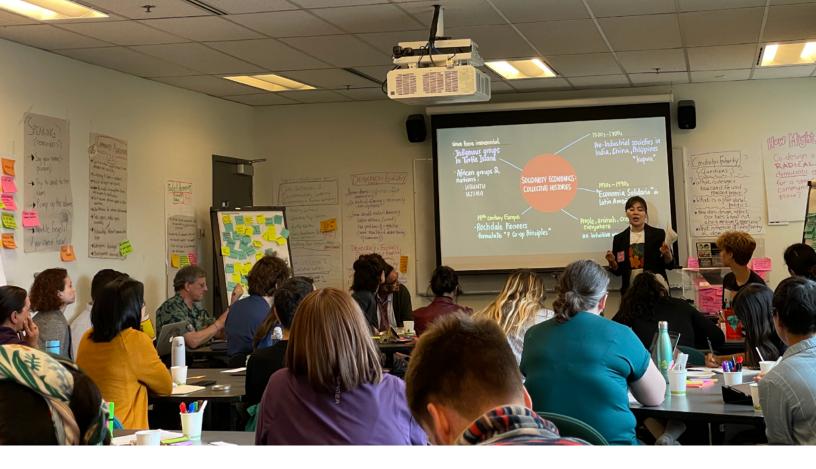


The landscape is political





Slide from Valerie's Presentation



#### Guest Presentation: Am Johal and Dionne Co

Am Johal and Dionne Co presented, *The Solidarity Economy: Can a More Radical Democracy Keep Capitalism in Check?* This session focused on the relationship between tradition and change that is embedded within the ecological crisis today and the need for an egalitarian, affirmative dialectics to think beyond the imaginary of state and capital. Solidarity economics is a practical and relational response to the structural crises embedded within capitalist economics. The congenial nature of relationships within the solidarity economy brings forth unique dilemmas when applied in real life. As such, this session also touches on the contradictions brought upon by utopian visions and solutions.

Am Johal began by talking about the region of Italy known as Emilia Romani – close to the city of Bologna, where the local solidarity economy has operated in an intentional way for decades. Public policy has supported the bio regional approach to an economy that is grounded in values of collective agency and cooperative governance. Citing Polani's "The Great Transition" Am suggests that the capitalist economic model is in decline, and the solidarity economy is on the rise – as evidenced by the Italian regional model as well as in other contexts.

Dionne Co, oriented the class to specific examples of the solidarity economy and in particular, to Solid-State Enterprises, a cooperative that fosters economic development for young BIPOC immigrants living in the municipality of Surrey.

The class was invited to imagine the possibilities of a world where all needs are met and within this context to imagine work. Talking together in small groups, participants discussed ideas for new coops or social ventures and the ways that deliberative democratic practices can be brought into a workplace context.

# 4. Radical Democracy Design Projects

The democratic design projects were intended to integrate and build on the many ideas, concepts and practices of radical democracy discussed throughout the week through collaborative design and teamwork.

The projects address the broad question: How might we co-design a radical democratic intervention for a specific community or place?

#### Core Faculty Presentation: Jesi Carson and Tara Mahoney

This session was a continuation of the design workshop introduced earlier in the week by core faculty Jesi Carson and Tara Mahoney. The teams formed during the first workshop were brought back together, and additional design thinking methods were introduced, inviting students to synthesize insights and hone a more specific research question for project development using the "How Might We?" framework.

Student teams developed concepts for radical democratic innovations that draw on the shared issues of concern and keywords that they had set as a foundation during the first workshop along with learning and insights gathered throughout the week. They were asked to prepare a poster, along with a ten-minute presentation, with an invitation to go beyond their comfort zone and share, for example, a skit or a song to illustrate key elements of their ideas. On the last day of the summer school, student teams shared their ideas visually and orally in a design showcase presentation. Projects reflect on the issues of concern, the community involved, strategies for mobilizing and engaging the community and a reflection on what makes this project 'radically democratic.'

The project design was evaluated using the following criteria:

- Identify a unique idea for intervening in a community, site, public space
- Reflect on the intent of the intervention
- Consider what makes this project radically democratic? e.g., Deliberative? Agonistic or Antagonistic? How?
- Show evidence of collaborative design (e.g., poster is filled out in all spaces, ideas gathered from various members of the group)

Student team projects are summarized on the following pages.

## **Empower Care**

This project envisions a place where toddlers and their families are offered childcare and housing; where children are invited to have agency and co-create the space according to their needs. And where parents are invited to be radically inclusive and to create a space where all people feel safe, welcome and part of the solidarity economy/society. Art-based practices, deliberation and collective ownership (of the housing) are primary methods of empowerment.



## Words of Wisdom: Creative and Courageous Intergenerational Conversations

Offering elders and youth a chance to deliberate and dialogue on political issues that they care about but do not have the space to hold these conversations – in terms of convening and facilitating. Natality, as political philosopher, Hannah Arendt's suggests embodies the idea of involving children in political conversations. Natality suggests that there are always new possibilities for action.



# Musical Jam – A Dialogue of Sound

Using found musical instruments and spontaneous performance, this project brought collective music making to a public space with the intent of reclaiming public space, multi-generational inclusion. The project was based on the idea of a mobile intervention that would pop up around the city and invite communal dialogue on public issues.



## Greening the Neighbourhood: An Urban Garden to Tackle Climate Change

we are looking to establish an "urban garden" that can not only create a sense of community, but also raise awareness necessary to take climate action for ordinary citizens. We want this to be an expanding entity that can grow beyond a singular neighbourhood. This can augment one's deliberative skills as they will need to work together to create a thriving garden, as well as communicate with their fellow citizens regrading various climate issues. This will hopefully not just attract people who are interested in climate activism but also those who would like to help in the community.



## The Un-University

Is it possible to imagine creating a school that draws on all kinds of knowledges from a community? What relationships, feelings of belonging, land-based knowledge, local skills, can be shared, exchanged and or created through these un-university offering? This project was described offering learning to the community through 'community scholars' and leveraging resources – people, spaces, materials, etc. from a local university but offering classes by and for the community on a range of topics that are requested from the community.



# Puzzle for the Park

Set in a public park, people who frequent the park are invited to identify problems that need to be addressed and share solutions – a community garden, a singing group, a place where trust and social cohesion are fostered through participatory governance.





# **5. Community Event**



Building on the themes of the Participedia Summer School, this evening event convened a group of engaged scholars who together explored the theory and practice of radical democracy through the lenses of power, disruption, care, creativity, the commons and new forms of democratic agency.

Speakers shared stories about the impacts of radical democratic deliberation that address matters of concern such deep inequality, public distrust of Democracy, the Land Back Movement, Black Lives Matter, Indigenous rights, climate change, impacts of colonization and more. They considered the potential and possibilities of collective action, deliberation and changes in public policy to strengthen democracy and mobilize change. Two summer school students, Pim Trommelen and Saemi Nadine Jung, were respondents to these presentations and invited questions from the panelists. Panelists included Bonny Ibhawoh, Director, Participedia and Professor, McMasters University; Genevieve Fuji Johnson, Professor, Simon Fraser University; Kathy Walker, Professor, University of Saskatchewan; Melissa Williams, Professor, University of Toronto; and Jonathan Rose, Professor, Queen's University. The event was moderated by Stuart Poyntz, Professor and Director, School of Communication, Simon Fraser University.

Digital artist Corrina Kelling created illustrations while speakers shared their ideas. The final illustrated panels were projected on the screen during the conclusion of the event. Thanks to the Vancity Office of Community Engagement, SFU Woodwards, we convened this community in the Goldcorp Centre for the Arts. Over 100 people registered for this event. It was also videotaped and the final production can be found at this link: <u>Community Event:</u> <u>The Struggle for Democracy</u>.

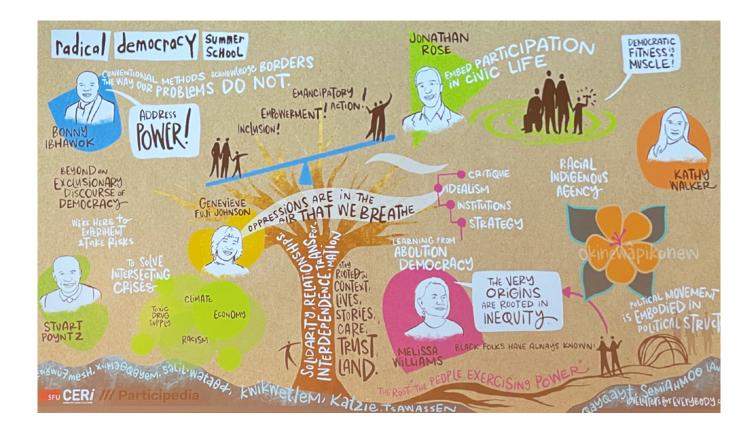


## Bonny Ibhawoh

Bonny Ibhawoh launched the conversation by referencing the title of the session, 'The Struggle for Democracy' by naming the struggle in terms of inclusion, empowerment and fostering creative ways to bring people into governance as the normative aspect of democracy. Sharing the UNs Common Agenda vision and the work of the Global Assembly on climate change provided powerful examples of what a global approach to collective action makes possible.

# Genevieve Fuji-Johnson

Genevieve Fuji Johnson: Among the many points Fuji-Johnson shared in these settings, was the theme of trust, how it has been violated and how it might be restored or created. In the context of violent systems, she asked, how can trust be established between those who dominate and those who are subjugated? Creating forms of meaningful connection are difficult and you point to relationships of responsibility and accountability (not always authentic) that need to be forged through the transformation of self. Fuji-Johnson urged us to consider that we must become more radical, and to recognize the domination that affects collective life while finding moments of action, agency, and new imaginaries.

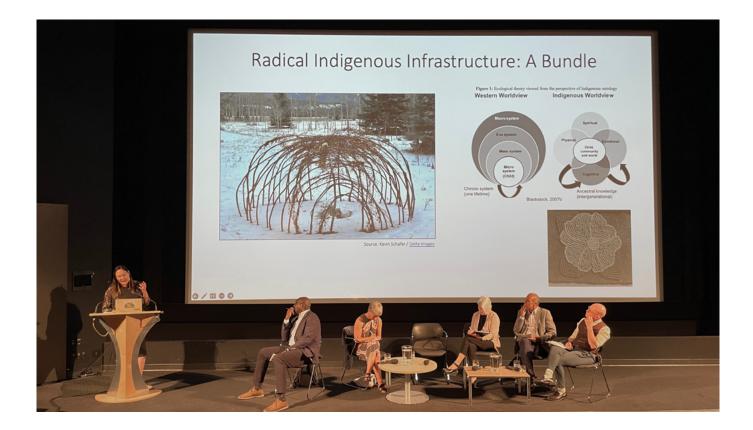


## Melissa Williams

Melissa Williams focused on the theme of democracy after sovereignty and unpacked the meaning of radical democracy as a contested concept - asking: what does it mean to go to the root? How is it possible for the people to exercise power together as equals when we live in a deeply unequal form of democracy? Pointing to Land Back, BLM and abolition democracy she reflected on what they teach us now about enduring inequality going back 500 years. Williams challenged to think about how these struggles are relevant for scholars, governors and ordinary people.

### Jonathan Rose

Jonathan Rose identified the obstacles to citizen participation in democratic life, particularly the deeply ambivalent role of the government in making this happen AND offered a vision for creating meaningful citizen engagement. Rose pointed to opportunities and possibilities related to embedding participation into public institutions though 'democratic action funds' and creative approaches that ensure citizens have a role in shaping their future through deliberative and participatory means. The examples from a range of jurisdictions were inspiring!

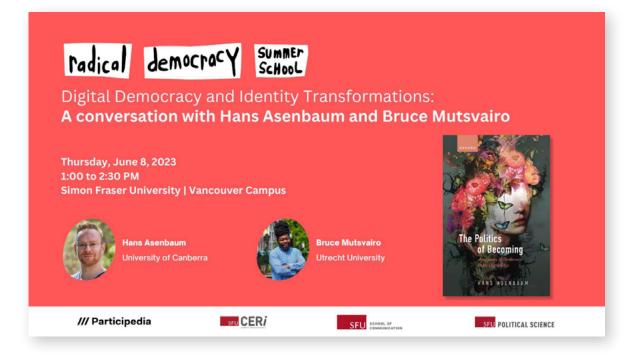


# Kathy Walker

Kathy Walker focused her comments on the theme of radical infrastructure of indigenous democratic action, a presentation that was insightful and layered with meaning. Sharing the work of grassroots action of the teepee protests and Tristan Durocher's ceremonial fast and walk showed us that this form of radical indigenous democracy is a democracy that is "aware and draws on its roots'. It is democratic action that draws on language, ceremony and memory of colonial practices.

Kathy also spoke of the four petals representing ceremonial cycles, living histories, language, and relationships with the living earth. Citing Cindy Blackstock, Kathy pointed to the Cree sweat lodge as a metaphorical representation of the womb of Mother Earth. Noting that political movements are recreated through material structures, she says that the fundamental democratic challenge is to dismantle the settler-colonial infrastructure - an infrastructure that, according to Cowen and LaDuke (2020), disconnects living beings from the land. This bundle of material and metaphorical structures - the rose, the sweat lodge, the teepee, represent an Indigenous ontology. Giving voice through protest and ceremony Indigenous agency is reserging through a radical Indigenous democratic infrastructure.

# 6. Digital Democracy Seminar



44

Offered as an additional program, with support from the Department of Political Science and the School of Communication at Simon Fraser University, this seminar included summer school participants and the wider university community. Hans Asenbaum and Bruce Matsvario engaged in a conversation about the possibilities, limitations and dark side of digital democracy. The session was moderated by Edana Beauvais, Participedia Digital Democracy Research Cluster Chair, Simon Fraser University.

## Hans Asenbaum

Hans Asenbaum began the session with a brief presentation of his new open access book The Politics of Becoming: Anonymity and Democracy in the Digital Age (Oxford University Press, 2023) to shed light on digital opportunities and perils for democracy. He presented a theory of digital space and elaborated on the implications of digital identity transformations. Asenbaun spoke of "the ways that we build democratic assemblages by curating ourselves, which offers potential for radical democratic practices." Asenbaum suggested that, "new digital means of communication offer new prospects for radical democracy. They create new opportunities for participation and inclusion as well as possibilities to express our inner diversity by creating multiple selves online." The dark side was also discussed as digital communication opens the gates to cyberbullying, fake news, and hate speech, which often targets marginalized groups.

## Bruce Mutsvairo

Bruce Mutsvairo, responding to this opening presentation, spoke of the global south context for digital democracy, noting that embracing the idea of democracy means that access to digital media should be available for all, yet in NIgeria, like many countries in the global south, only 14 percent of the population have access to social media. And while it may be possible to express yourself in a free way on-line, suggested Mutsvairo, the digital divide reminds us that it is not a utopia and there are material inequalities in terms of access to on-line. Mutsvairo argued for pluralistic spaces; discursive spaces in real time, face-to-face that provide opportunities to build more democratic spaces, used in democratic ways.















Current Page: Digital Democracy Seminar Next Page: Walking Tour of Hogan's Alley



# 7. Walking Tour of Hogan's Alley

The Hogan's Alley Society (HAS) is a non-profit organization composed of civil rights activists, business professionals, community organizations, artists, writers and academics committed to daylighting the presence of Black history in Vancouver and throughout British Columbia. HAS adopts research driven approaches to community development that seeks to preserve and promote the historical, cultural, societal and economic contributions made by Black Settlers and their descendants to Vancouver, Greater Vancouver, the Province of British Columbia, the Pacific Northwest and Canada.

The tour of the neighbourhood was led by Lama Mugabo, a former board member of Hogan's Alley. The tour inspired summer school participants to see how deliberative and agonistic struggle works in practice to build power, negotiate with the local government and create opportunities for reclamation of this historical neighbourhood for use by the Black community in Vancouver. Participants certainly learned about both the dark history and the recent triumphs of this community. "Learning that a vibrant community of Black Canadians was not only tragically erased, but that their memory is nearly forgotten, comes as a harsh shock. But focusing only on the pain of this tragedy isn't telling the complete story. Instead, I've become driven by how strongly the voices of triumph and hope still ring out from underneath the loss."

-Ejiwa Ebenebe, Vancouver-based Artist











# 8. Student Feedback and Reflections

Students were invited to provide written feedback on the key learnings from the summer school in terms of specific outcomes, challenges, limitations, and evidence of change. Below, selected responses from these written papers represent some of the important learning experiences of participants.

#### **Pre-Reading Materials**

... I would've liked more time to unpack and reflect. Personally, I find that I do my best thinking when I'm by myself. A good group discussion is an excellent way to generate exciting questions and to form new ways of framing a problem, but I need time to go off by myself to follow these things through and organize my thoughts. I wish that I'd had more time for that. It was an excellent course though, overall, and I'm very grateful to have been a part of it.

#### Safe Learning Space

Before starting this summer school, I was really worried about how my background in public health would fit with the theme of the school, but I have so much gratitude for Etienne, Joanna, Jesi, and Tara who answered students' questions, encouraged them throughout the process, and created a safe space for discussion.

#### **Democracy in the Classroom**

One of the most powerful things that Radical Democracy summer school offered was incorporating democratic values within all processes of learning and teaching. Laying out the ground rules and guidelines for this collective space of learning based on democratic deliberative process was something that I was able to internalize participatory and deliberative process. This becomes a lived experience, lived knowledge. Just like ... one of the speakers said during the reflection time, "real democracy requires all knowledges - from people with lived experiences and their lived knowledges," I got to learn directly and internalize how critical it is for any successful radical democratic project to incorporate these democratic processes before anything.

#### **Creativity and Active Learning**

I appreciated the creative and non-classroom elements that were included in the Summer School. Going outside and discussing in nature and collaborating in artistic ways provided another layer and showed me that democracy can be practiced in many forms. Above all, my time in the Summer School has reminded me that creativity and imagination can and should be brought back into the academy and in my processes as a researcher.



...discussions on Indigenous governance, resurgence, and traditions to be among the most powerful of discussions – Genevieve, Melissa and Kathy allowed us to be in a safe space while discussing these topics that are quite frankly not discussed enough or when they are, in a very performative way. I appreciated their honesty and sincerity.

#### **Research and Agency**

The program also emphasized the significance of practice and research in empowering democratic agency. Central to this exploration were questions about methods for studying and learning from the practice of radical democracy and the value of focusing on lived experiences. As I listened to the speakers, words like information, truth, data, objectivity, reality, and practicality emerged from my doodles, capturing the value I attributed to research.

#### **Democratic Theory and Practice**

Hearing so many different perspectives, experiences, and understandings of democracy (whether they identified it as radical or not) broadened my horizons, in terms of how democracy is currently understood and in what it could be.

..."radical" does have multiple meanings. Our more normative discussions and collaborative processes allows us to better envision what could in fact contribute to meaningful changes.

Something that was quite impactful to me was showing how democracy and democratic elements could be incorporated into many parts of everyday life. Looking at how we could increase participatory culture, how we could reshape current institutions, or make new ones, and how we can look at our constructed environment with an eye for democracy was both exciting and it introduced new possibilities for how life could be. On the down side, it also made me realize just how un-democratic most of our society really is. But we also learned so many strategies to change the world around it - it still seems a bit daunting, but no longer as impossible as it did before. It has definitely renewed and ignited an interest in political science that I had somewhat lost. (Curse the Summer School for making me question whether I want to do a Masters in Poli Sci again!

Democracy is not an easy puzzle to solve. In fact, it very likely will never be "solved" – there is no perfect solution to be found. While this is not a comforting realization, the challenge for me during the Radical Democracy Summer School was to lean into that discomfort and recognize that what is critical for democracy is not finding a panacea, but rather creating and fostering space for the contemplation of the democratic tension and challenging of the status quo. The contemplation of and striving for a better democracy is the only place we can hope to achieve all that it promises.

#### Beyond the Summer School -Implications for Study and Practice

As I sat on the plane thinking about my experience at the Radical Democracy Summer School, I was struck by one particular thought: what sort of society we would live in if everyone was afforded the opportunity to periodically take a week away from the chaos of everyday life to ponder what democracy really means and how we can best work together to create fair and equitable communities? One of my key take-aways from this experience is the necessity (and also the current lack) of spaces for people to do exactly that – to consider what it means to work together, to be not just bystanders or subjects in society, but to be co-creators of community. There was a clear hope in the wonderful group of students, presenters and supporters that we all want emancipation and liberation, yet we struggle to find the embodiment of the politics we dream of. While we grapple with the inherent tensions and polarities of our complex polity, there is a deep craving for relationship and belonging. The week of summer school highlighted for me the deep need to be present, to be embodied. Presence and embodiment have always played a role in countering anti-democratic forces, be they in the form of protests, sit-ins or lie-ins, or in the act of showing up in a space formerly segregated. Presence is resistance and is not a metaphor, it is a solid state of being.

I am left with a sense that our modern democratic and not-so-democratic societies need more space to dream up new worlds, new possibilities and imaginative futures.

Being surrounded by such a passionate group of people demonstrated that there are still so many folks that are committed to this work. Throughout the week I kept returning to the themes of care and relationships within radical democracy. Hearing Kathy Walker speak, moving through the readings for the course, and seeing the care and relationships building in the classroom really emphasize their utility and necessity. Moving forward this is a teaching that I hope to hold onto.



#### Students' Check Out Final Reflections

As on all days participants were invited to "check out" by sharing impressions, tensions, reflections, questions, words or ideas that resonated. On the final day we asked, 'what are your takeaways from the summer school as a whole?'

#### Content

- Radical democracy is about creating new things by imagining collectively
- Researching activism is an academic project
- Struggle and resistance create the conditions for deeper democracy
- To be radical means to fight oppression
- Democracy is hard work and exhausting...we need ways to make it work in small ways
- Though our learning we are broadening awareness of possibilities
- What does it mean to be radical? To be radical means to know our history

#### Process

- This learning is both an emotional and intellectual experience
- Dialogue and sharing enables us to centre truths, gather ideas, bring care and listen to history
- We are learning to make sense of each other's struggles
- By sharing what is common we are fostering discourse together
- With a democratic mindset, we are finding ways to improve the democratic system by creating a huge sense of community
- What holds us back from demonstrating these forms of democratic expression and interventions? The structural barriers are real. These networks of relationships can change structures. We need more of this.

- Spaces of resistance claimed space, public space, space for hope, safe space.
- We need to take the universals beyond the classroom.
- Music can also be a form of radically democratic expression
- We have slowed down the pace of speaking and deep listening

#### **Personal Transformation**

- Electrified words that were unclear are now more meaningful
- Re-enchanted by being in this room and experiencing the openness of all in a safe and equitable space
- Re-enchanted with politics through this learning
- I feel legitimate
- Health is political I am no longer isolated. I feel connected
- I worried about being seen as an anarchist but I am engaged and recognize all experiences
- Enchanted by the singing singing a new possible world
- Embodied presence in deliberation
- Sense of temporality [and the tension between] rushing and time
- It doesn't take a lot of people to ignite change
- We create hope together with allies
- Crisis is an opportunity for creativity
- Be aware of the dark side I see new possibilities for engagement
- Adrienne Marie Brown's quote losing our imagination is trauma – to imagine is revolutionary
- Big ideas and conversation
- Indigenous scholarship
- Be brave write a poem about the experience

# 9. Conclusion

Implications for Democratic Teaching and Learning, and Next Steps

The summer school revolved around a set of themes — power, disruption, creativity and futurity, agency, care, ecology, decolonization and creative interventions. Through these themes we explored the democratic tensions between values of individual freedom and equality, and the possibilities of collective agency.

To be radically democratic is to recognize the interdependence inherent in any human group, and embrace love and care to strengthen democracy and life on Earth more broadly. The role of art and creativity are significant tools for doing that work and reshaping the world. We considered how design justice and participatory art practiced with diverse populations made it possible to strengthen citizen participation and bridge the gap between people and government.

The program not only explored the theory and practice of radical democracy, it offered training in creative research methods that can be brought to both global and local contexts such as land-back movements, climate change, Black Lives Matter, demands for access to health-care services, and other complex areas of concern.

Astra Taylor urged us not to abandon the word. Democracy, she says, is not only theoretical or philosophical, it is a practice of action, of agency and thinking, active reflection and reflective action. Kathy Walker invited us to reinvent democracy from the root. Tzeporah Berman reminded us that hope for the future requires courage and that courage is contagious. Justin Langlois, Jesi Carson, Moroti George and Tara Mahoney added that imagination is also required. Joanna Ashworth suggested that co-creating guidelines for democratic life can be helpful. Etienne Cardin Trudeau urged us not to shy away from examining power.

Radical democracy refers to aspirations, ideas and practices about the roots of what democracy is or should be — a system of governance that ensures equality, justice and inclusion of all citizens and the means for working through conflicting visions of how to plan and govern through deliberative and/or agnostic processes. The summer school explored ways to reimagine and re-shape the world guided by powerful concepts, collaborative research and organizing tools and methods that, following Latour, identify issues of shared concern and bring communities together to learn and act. This learning conversation imagined nothing short of fostering radically democratic practices everywhere, at all levels, all at once.





# **10. Appendices**

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# Appendix 1 - Presenter Bios

#### Joanna Ashworth, Simon Fraser University

Joanna Ashworth (MEd, EdD) is a research associate with CERi, Community Engaged Research Initiative at Simon Fraser University and a researcher with Participedia.net. She founded and directed the Professional Programs and Partnerships in the Faculty of Environment at Simon Fraser University (SFU) from 2015-2021. In 2020 she received the Presidents Award for Sustainability Leadership . Joanna is the founder of SFU's certificate program in Dialogue and Civic Engagement, former instructor at the Centre for Sustainable Development at SFU, and past director of Dialogue Programs at SFU's Wosk Centre for Dialogue.

#### Astra Taylor, Filmmaker

Astra Taylor is a Canadian-American documentary filmmaker, writer, activist, and musician. She has written and edited several books on democracy and the Occupy movement. She also worked on challenging predatory practices around debt. Her film, *What is Democracy*?, came out in 2018.

#### Stuart Poyntz, Simon Fraser University

Stuart R. Poyntz is Professor and Director of the School of Communication and a Director of the Community Engaged Research Centre (CERi) at Simon Fraser University. His work in participatory research has largely involved teenagers in informal learning spaces and art institutes. Dr. Poyntz's research addresses children's media cultures, theories of public life, social care and urban youth cultures. He has published five books, including the forthcoming monograph, "Youthsites: Histories of Creativity, Care and Learning in the City" (Oxford UP).

#### Bonny Ibhawoh, McMaster University

Bonny Ibhawoh is Participedia's Principal Investigator leading our international network of researchers, educators, practitioners, and policymakers through Phase 2 of the Participedia project. Dr. Ibhawoh is also an expert with the United Nations Expert Mechanism on the Right to Development, he is Director of the McMaster Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice, Project Director of the Confronting Atrocity Project, and is a professor of Human Rights History and African History at McMaster University.

#### Tzeporah Berman, Stand.Earth

Tzeporah Berman BA, MES, LLD (honoris causa) has been designing environmental campaigns and working on environmental policy in Canada and beyond for over thirty years. She is currently the International Program Director at Stand.earth and the Chair of the Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty Initiative. She is the Co-founder of the Global Gas & Oil Network, the former co-director of Greenpeace International's Global Climate and Energy Program, and the co-founder of ForestEthics (now Stand.earth).

# Antonin Lacelle-Webster, University of British Columbia

Antonin Lacelle-Webster is a Ph.D. candidate in political theory in the Department of Political Science at University of British Columbia. He is broadly interested in issues related to democratic theory, democratic innovations, the politics of hope and despair, and the political thought of Hannah Arendt.

# Etienne Cardin-Trudeau, University of Toronto

Etienne Cardin-Trudeau is a Ph.D. candidate in political theory in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. He is working on the political philosophy of Mary Parker Follett and is interested in democratic theory, with a focus on participatory and agonistic views of democracy. His research interests also include Quebec nationalism and Indigenous politics.

#### Justin Langlois, Emily Carr University of Art + Design

Justin Langlois is an artist, educator, and organizer. His practice explores collaborative structures, critical pedagogy, and custodial frameworks as tools for gathering, learning, and making. He is the co-founder and research director of Broken City Lab, the founder of The School for Eventual Vacancy and curator of The Neighbourhood Time Exchange. He is currently an Associate Professor and Assistant Dean of Integrated Learning in the Faculty of Culture + Community at Emily Carr University of Art + Design.

#### Tara Mahoney, Simon Fraser University

Tara Mahoney, (Ph.D) is the research and engagement coordinator and postdoctoral fellow at SFU's Community-Engaged Research initiative (CERi). Tara's current research is focused on how to make public participation in academic research more accessible to diverse communities. In partnership with Apathy is Boring she is exploring role of community-engaged research in supporting young people engage with political institutions through the development of a youth-focused run-for-office program and a policy development program.

#### Jesi Carson, Participedia

Jesi Carson is a design researcher and interaction designer specializing in community engagement and creative facilitation. She holds a Bachelor's Degree in Interaction Design and Master's Degree in Multidisciplinary Design Research from Emily Carr University of Art + Design. Jesi's current roles include Design Technology Lead of Participedia, Co-director and Board President of the Vancouver Design Nerds, and Co-founder of the Global Classroom for Democracy Innovation. She has published and presented her collaborative work at various conferences and scholarly events, including the International Scholarship of Teaching and Learning Conference, the Participatory Design Conference and the American Institute of Graphic Arts MAKE Conference for Educators.

#### Selen Ercan, University of Canberra

Selen Ercan is a Professor of Political Science and Director at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra. Her research interests include theory and practice of deliberative democracy, identity politics and multiculturalism, and alternative forms of political participation. Her recent publications include *Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy* (with Asenbaum, Curato, and Mendonça; Oxford University Press, 2022), *Mending Democracy: Democratic Repair in Disconnected Times* (with Hendriks and Boswell; Oxford University Press, 2020), *Deliberative Systems in Theory and Practice* (with Elstub and Mendonça; Routledge, 2019).

#### Cara Peacock, University of Toronto

Cara Peacock is a Ph.D. student in political theory in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. She is working on decolonial political thought at the intersection of Western political thought, Indigenous feminist thought and Black feminist thought. Her M.A. thesis focused on Idle No More as a space of Indigenous women empowerment.

#### Hans Asenbaum, University of Canberra

Hans Asenbaum is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra. His research interests include radical democracy, queer and gender studies, digital politics, and participatory research methods. In 2022 he received the Rising Star Award of the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR). Hans is the author of The Politics of Becoming: Anonymity and Democracy in the Digital Age (Oxford University Press, 2023) and co-editor of Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy (with Ercan, Curato and Mendonça, Oxford University Press, 2022). His work has been published in the American Political Science Review, New Media & Society, Politics & Gender, and the International Journal of Qualitative Methods.

#### Ricarco F. Mendonça, Federal University of Minas Gerais

Ricardo F. Mendonça is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the Federal University of Minas Gerais in Brazil (Brazil). He is a Research Fellow at the Brazilian National Institute for Digital Democracy (INCT.DD) and the coordinator of Margem (Research Group on Democracy and Justice). He also holds fellowships from the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) and from Fapemig. Mendonça works in the areas of democratic theory, contentious politics, and political communication. His recent publications include Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy (with Ercan, Asenbaum and Curato); Oxford University Press, 2022), Deliberative Systems in Theory and Practice (with Elstub and Ercan; Routledge, 2019), and Junho de 2013: Sociedade, Política e Democracia no Brasil (with Tavares and Ballestrin, EdUERJ, 2022).

#### Genevieve Fuji-Johnson, Simon Fraser University

Genevieve Fuji-Johnson is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Simon Fraser University. She studies and teaches feminist political thought (with an emphasis on BIPOC feminist scholars), solidaristic scholarship, democratic theory, interpretive policy analysis, qualitative methodology, and a range of current public policy issues. Her current research, with sex worker rights activist, educator, and writer, Kerry Porth, focuses on the governance of sex work in Canadian and US cities. They are currently working on a book project, and corresponding graphic novel, that develops a case for solidaristic scholarship explicitly serving the justice struggles of marginalized communities.

#### Katherine Walker, University of Saskatchewan

Katherine Walker is Néhiyaw from the Okanese First Nation and is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Saskatchewan. Her research is informed by broad work experience in the fields of communications, business and Indigenous policy and program development. She has published numerous articles and research reports in collaboration with First Nations governments and organizations and is an OCAP certified researcher through the First Nations Information Governance Centre..

#### Melissa Williams, University of Toronto

Melissa Williams is Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto. A democratic theorist, her work has focused on questions of egalitarian inclusion and democratic representation under conditions of systemic injustice. Williams also has a strong interest in comparative political theory and has recently edited *Deparochializing Political Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2020). Her current book project, *Democracy after Sovereignty*, explores the possibilities of democratic collective agency beyond the state.

#### Jonathan Rose, Queen's University

Jonathan Rose is Professor and Head of the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University. He has written, co-written and edited six books and a number of articles both in the scholarly and popular press. His last two co-written books have been on citizen engagement and deliberative mini-publics. In 2018, Jonathan was a member of an Expert Panel on Government Communications for Elections Nova Scotia. He also co-chaired in 2016 the Bank of Canada's advisory panel that nominated Viola Desmond for the new \$10 banknote. He has provided advice to the federal and provincial Auditor General on government advertising several government departments and the Supreme Court of Canada on electoral reform. In 2006, he was Academic Director of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform and regularly speaks to groups around the world about citizen engagement. Jonathan is a board member of the Ontario College of Teachers, the body that regulates the province's 250,000 teachers.

#### Valérie Paquet, Université du Québec à Montréal

Valérie Paquet is a Ph.D. candidate in communication studies, and a sessional lecturer at the Université du Québec à Montréal. She is interested in practices and discourses that are part of post-oil economy logics, and emerging from social movements of ecological transition. She articulates her reflections in the fields of study in environmental and international communication related to climate change and the possibilities of social transformation.

#### **Bruce Mutsvairo**

Bruce Mutsvairo is a Professor at Utrecht University's department of Media and Culture Studies. He studies the relationship between journalism and democracy in non-Western societies. He is the co-author (with Ulrike Klinger and Daniel Kreiss) of the student textbook: *Platforms, Power and Politics: An Introduction to Political Communication in the Digital Age* (Polity, 2023).

#### Am Johal, Simon Fraser University

Am Johal (PhD) is director of community engagement at SFU's Vancity Office of Community Engagement, within the SFU Woodward's Cultural Unit. In 2015, he published "Ecological Metapolitics: Badiou and the Anthropocene". Johal worked on the Vancouver Agreement, a collective effort to address urban economic and social development. He has also been an advisor to two provincial cabinet ministers (Transportation and Highways; Community Development, Cooperatives and Volunteers).

#### Dionne Co, Solid State Community Industries

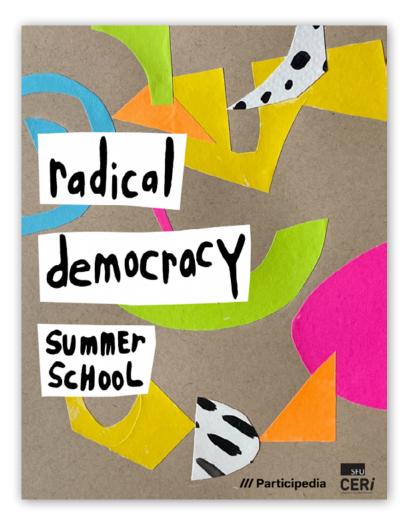
Dionne Co is the Director of Research at Solid State Community Industries, an economic development agency that builds worker cooperatives within a larger Solidarity Economy in Surrey, BC. Dionne has also co-founded and co-directs City in Colour Cooperative, an urban consulting co-op that produces research and policy work building towards joyful, equitable and accessible cities where people belong. Prior to that, Dionne has been involved in different non-profit organizations internationally and locally around the Lower Mainland. She is also an illustrator and holds a Master's degree in Urban Studies. She loves reading books and walking with her dogs, Horace and Lila. Visit dionneco.net to learn more about her work.

#### Olumoroti Soji-George

Olumoroti Soji-George (Moroti George), is a MA candidate at SFU's School for the Contemporary Arts and a curator living in Vancouver. His research and curatorial practice revolves around envisioning accessible and community-centred art spaces, highlighting the stories of individuals in communities who shape and create new monumental environments. Moroti believes in using space to encapsulate agency and the lived experiences of individuals who are not only recognized, but valued and respected.

# Appendix 2 - Full Syllabus

<u>Click here to download a copy of the Summer School Syllabus PDF</u> (Includes full schedule and list of required and recommended readings)



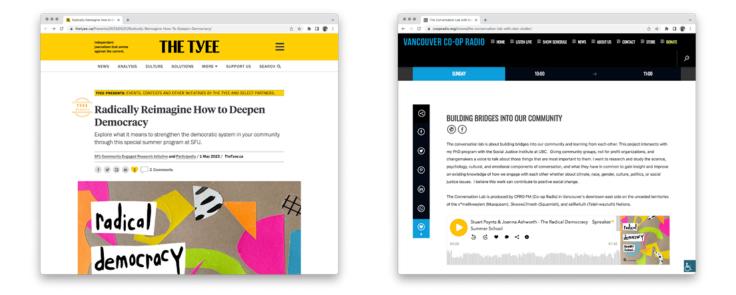
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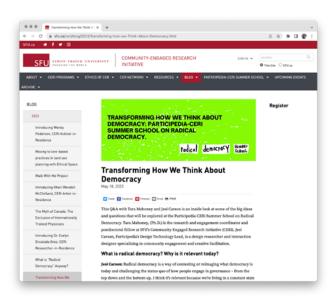
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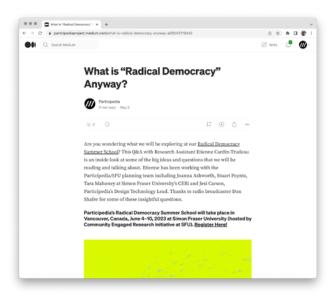
## Appendix 3 - Media and Publicity

Follow pink links to full articles.

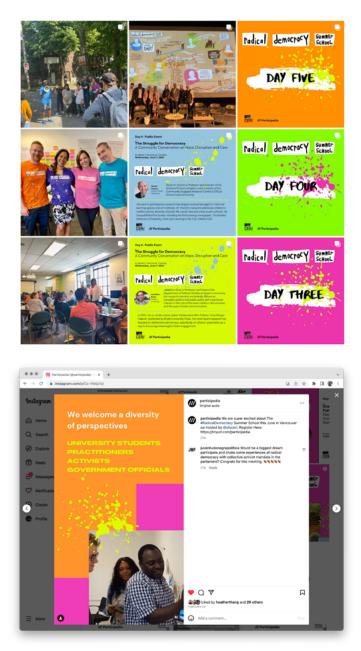
- The Tyee Presents: Radically Reimagine How to Deepen Democracy Joanna Ashworth
- Vancouver Co-op Radio: The Conversation Lab with Don Shafer Joanna Ashworth & Stuart Poyntz
- Participedia on Medium: What is "Radical Democracy" Anyway? Etienne Cardin-Trudeau
- SFU CERi Blog: Transforming How We Think About Democracy Tara Mahoney and Jesi Carson
- See social Media Samples on following pages







#### Participedia Social Media Samples



@Participedia on Instagram



Participedia @participedia · Jun 8 · · On June 7 we imagined new forms of #democracy at our #RadicalDemocracy #SummerSchool event: The Struggle for Democracy. Thank you panelists for your insightful presentations & engaging dialogue & thank you attendees for being part of fostering community for radical democracy!





Participedia @participedia · Jun 9 ···· #RadicalDemocracy #SummerSchool w/@SFU\_CERi left the classroom & took to the #Vancouver streets to explore Black history w/ @LamaMugabo2 & @hogans\_alley!

& thank you @pihkahtewapoy @Hans\_Asenbaum @bruce\_mutsvairo + @Edana\_Beauvais for fostering valuable dialogue in day5's sessions





Thank you to @selenAercan @Hans\_Asenbaum & @MendoncaRF for taking us on an empowering learning journey in yesterday's #SummerSchool sessions!

We explored & expanded our conceptual, methodological & practical toolboxes for practicing & researching #RadicalDemocracy!



Simon Fraser University and 6 others

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#### **CERi Social Media Samples**





@sfuCERi on Instagram

CERi

SFU's Community-Engaged Research Initiative @SFU\_CERi · Jun 8 · · · · The Struggle for Democracy event was a resounding success! As the highlight of our #RadicalDemocracy Summer School in partnership with @particepedia, it sparked inspiring conversations and engaging discussions. Big thanks to our esteemed panellists for making this event a success



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SFU's Community-Engaged Research Initiative Retweeted
 Paul Emiljanowicz @emiljanowicz · Jun 12

The @SFU\_CERi @participedia #radicaldemocracy Summer School had 33 registrants and 25 guest speakers/facilitators/artists come together from around the world to co-create a solidaristic space of co-(un)learning and thinking creatively + democratically. Here are 4 key takeaways



the SFU's Community-Engaged Research Initiative Retweeted

DelDemUCan @DelDemUCan · Jun 8

Today, our Centre's @Hans\_Asenbaum presented his soon to be published The Politics of Becoming @OUPPolitics at the radical democracy summer school! Thank you for the inspiring debate @bruce\_mutsvairo, for chairing @Edana\_Beauvais & for hosting @dialogger @participedia!



# radical

# democracy

# Summer School

# Acknowledgements

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Social Media & Program Website Design: Jessie Lee, SFU CERi



/// Participedia

# Thank you!

To all of our student participants, organizing team, invited faculty and guests, and funding sponsors: We appreciate you! This Summer School initiative was a huge success thanks to your efforts and participation. We look forward to future collaborations!

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