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#### Decentralized energy is key to a transition towards degrowth

Demaria et al. 2013 [Federico Demaria is an economist working on ecological economics, political ecology and waste policy. He obtained a full scholarship and an IB certificate in the United World College of the Adriatic in 2003. François Schneider is an industrial ecologist and degrowth researcher Filka Sekulova is a PhD student at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. She holds a Master's degree in Spatial, Transport and Environmental Economics from the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Joan Martinez Alier is a Catalan economist, Professor of Economics and Economic History and researcher at ICTA at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. “What is Degrowth? ¶ From an Activist Slogan to a Social Movement” Research & Degrowth (R&D) and Institut de Ciència i Tecnologia ¶ Ambientals (ICTA)¶ Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) Environmental Values 22 (2013): 191–215]

Degrowth actors are often engaged in oppositional activism such as campaigners working to stop the expansion of highways, airports, high speed trains ¶ and other infrastructures. Opposition takes different forms: demonstrations, ¶ boycotts, civil disobedience, direct action and protest songs. A good example ¶ of degrowth opposition in the financial sector is the action taken by Catalan ¶ degrowth activist Enric Duran; in September 2008, Duran publicly announced that he had ‘robbed’ nearly a half-million Euro by legally receiving relatively ¶ small loans from several banks, which he had no intention of returning (as he ¶ had spent them on worthy causes). This was a political action to denounce ¶ what he termed the ‘predatory capitalist system’. One purpose of his act was ¶ to denounce the unsustainability of the banking system. Referring to the creation of money as debt, Duran declared that if the banks can create money from ¶ nothing, ‘I’ll make them disappear into nothingness’. From 2006 to 2008, he ¶ financed various anti-capitalist movements, including magazines printed in ¶ hundred-thousand copies focusing on the energy crisis (i.e. peak oil), on critiques of the debt-based economy, and on presenting concrete alternatives for ¶ a sustainable economy of solidarity.18¶ Building alternatives¶ Practitioners on the other hand promote local, decentralised, small scale and ¶ participatory alternatives such as cycling, reuse, vegetarianism or veganism, ¶ co-housing, agro-ecology, eco-villages, solidarity economy, consumer cooperatives, alternative (so called ethical) banks or credit cooperatives, decentralised ¶ renewable energy cooperatives. This is an illustration of the ‘nowtopia’ of ¶ Chris Carlsson (2008), or developing alternatives outside present institutions, ¶ now. The eco-villages and Transition Towns movement are important experiences within this strategy and often intersect with degrowth.19 Some actors ¶ working on the development of alternatives argue that the change of individual ¶ values and behaviour should be the main target of degrowth. This is manifest ¶ in the lifestyles of people who practice voluntary simplicity, living better with ¶ less, downshifting and slowing down life’s pace. Much attention is given to ¶ how conscious critical consumption can promote transformation at both the ¶ individual and the social level. The major idea being if less time is spent on ¶ formal work and consumption, more time can be dedicated to other activities ¶ which are fundamental to one’s well-being, such as social relations, political ¶ participation, physical exercise, spirituality and contemplation. Such a shift ¶ will potentially be less environmentally harmful. Italy’s Reti di Economia Solidale (Solidarity Economy Networks) is a useful example. Born in 2002, they are an experiment to articulate and consolidate ¶ existing experiences through the creation of economic circuits, where the different projects sustain each other, exchanging and creating market spaces while aiming at well-being and sustainability. There are already more than twenty ¶ Distretti di Economia Solidale (Solidarity Economy Districts) with hundreds ¶ of small enterprises working as business clusters under strong socio-ecological ¶ principles. In Spain, Enric Duran, Didac Costa and associates have developed ¶ the Catalan Integral Cooperative (CIC). The CIC20 is based on economic and ¶ political self-management with egalitarian participation of its members and ¶ attempts to include ways of satisfying all basic human needs, including the ¶ creation of a local currency (the ‘ECOS’).

#### Degrowth solves the western development model – it is a rejection of economic rationality, creating new human identity

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This degrowth source derives from anthropology. Authors within this current ¶ perceive degrowth as a ‘missile word’, which strikes down the hegemonic ¶ imaginary of both development and utilitarianism. Latouche has been an important author in this stream of thought. Critics of development from the 1970s ¶ and 1980s include Arturo Escobar, Gilbert Rist, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Majid ¶ Rahnema, Wolfgang Sachs, Ashish Nandy, Shiv Visvanathan, Gustavo Esteva ¶ (Sachs 1992), François Partant, Bernard Charbonneau and Ivan Illich. The essence of this source is the critique of the uniformisation of cultures due to the ¶ widespread adoption of particular technologies and consumption and production models experienced in the global North. As Latouche (2009) puts it, the ¶ western development model is a mental construct adopted by the rest of the ¶ world. Degrowth considers ‘sustainable development’ an oxymoron and calls for disentangling from the social imaginary that it entails, and beyond this, it ¶ criticises the notion of ‘development’ itself. ¶ The other face of this current in the degrowth movement is the critique of ¶ homo economicus, against utility-maximisation as the ultimate driving force ¶ of human behaviour. This critique was inspired by Marcel Mauss in the 1920s ¶ (Mauss 2007[1924]), and Serge Latouche, Alain Caillé and other members of ¶ the MAUSS (Mouvement Anti-Utilitariste dans les Sciences Sociales) (Caillé ¶ 1989). Other authors often quoted are social and economic historian Karl ¶ Polanyi (1944) and anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1972).¶ The conception of human beings as economic agents driven by self-interest ¶ and utility maximisation is one representation of the world, or one historic ¶ social construct which has been meticulously nested in the minds of many generations of economics students. Degrowth in that sense calls for more ample ¶ visions giving importance to economic relations based on sharing, gifts and ¶ reciprocity, where social relations and conviviality are central. The focus here ¶ is on the change in the structure of values and the change in value-articulating ¶ institutions. Degrowth is thus a way to bring forward a new imaginary which ¶ implies a change of culture and a rediscovery of human identity which is disentangled from economic representations (Bayon et al. 2010). Meaning of life and well-being¶ The essence of this source is the emerging need for more meaning in life (and ¶ of life) in modern societies. It is a critique of life-styles based on the mantras ¶ of working more, earning more, selling more and buying more. ¶ The ‘meaning of life’ source of degrowth also draws on findings in the literature on the economics of happiness. The disconnect between income increase ¶ and life satisfaction over time, a phenomenon known as the Easterlin Paradox ¶ (Easterlin 1974), as well as the association between the importance of material ¶ gains and emotional disorders (Kasser 2002), are two important references. ¶ The movement for voluntary simplicity, reducing individual consumption ¶ while seeing simple life as liberating and profound rather than restraining and ¶ limiting is an important vision within this source. Reference works here are ¶ Walden or Life in the Woods from Henry David Thoreau, Happy Sobriety by ¶ Pierre Rabhi, Voluntary Simplicity by Mongeau, Schumacher’s apology for ¶ enoughness and Kumarappa’s Economy of Permanence.

## AT: Nuclear Energy CP

#### State ownership of the nuclear industry deters private investment

Jorge Gonzales-Gomez and Peter Hartley, 2008, Rice University, "The global energy market: comprehensive strategies to meet geopolitical and financial risks," <http://www.bakerinstitute.org/publications/IEEJnuclear-JorgeHartley.pdf>

The state monopoly on the use of nuclear power remains a relatively large ¶ obstacle to its use. In contrast to coal, natural gas, wind and even hydroelectric plants, ¶ nuclear power plants can’t be operated by private investors under the Mexican ¶ constitution. Given the large up-front cost of constructing nuclear plants, and the many ¶ needs of the Mexican government for funds to invest in other infrastructure, it is not ¶ surprising that there aren’t plans to increase nuclear generating capacity. Regrettably, ¶ institutional factors in this case can impede the diversification of generating capacity in ¶ Mexico.

#### Can’t build fast enough

**Ferguson, 2k7**. (Charles D. Ferguson, Adjunct Senior Fellow for Science and Technology. “Nuclear Power Will Not Play Major Near-Term Role in Countering Climate Change, Concludes New Council Report” Council on Foreign Relations. April 18. Online.)

Nuclear energy is unlikely to play a major role in the coming decades in countering the harmful effects of climate change or in strengthening energy security, concludes a new Council Special Report authored by [Charles D. Ferguson](http://www.cfr.org/bios/10786/charles_d_ferguson.html), Council fellow for science and technology. To significantly combat climate change in the near term, the “nuclear industry would have to expand at such a rapid rate as to pose serious concerns for how the industry would ensure an adequate supply of reasonably inexpensive reactor-grade construction materials, well-trained technicians, and rigorous safety and security measures,” says the report. There are currently 103 nuclear reactors operating in the United States. Even with twenty-year extensions of their planned lifespan, all existing reactors will likely need to be decommissioned by the middle of the century. To replace them, the United States would have to build a new reactor every four to five months over the next forty years. “However, based on the past thirty years, in which reactor orders and construction ground to a halt, this replacement rate faces daunting challenges. For this reason alone, nuclear energy is not a major part of the solution to U.S. energy insecurity for at least the next fifty years,” says the report, [Nuclear Energy: Balancing Benefits and Risks](http://www.cfr.org/publication/13104/). Ferguson also argues against the United States increasing funding and subsidies for nuclear energy. While it is true that nuclear energy emits fewer greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, the conventional wisdom “oversells the contribution nuclear energy can make to reduce global warming and strengthen energy security while downplaying the dangers associated with this energy source,” he says. The report further warns that “the United States and its partners face the daunting challenge of preventing the diversion of nuclear explosive materials into weapons programs and controlling the spread of potentially dangerous nuclear fuel-making technologies and materials.” Nuclear waste is a particular cause for concern. “If nuclear power production expands substantially in the coming decades, the amount of waste requiring safe and secure disposal will also significantly increase,” says Ferguson, noting that “no country has begun to store waste from commercial power plants in permanent repositories.”

#### Nuclear is neither necessary nor sufficient to solve climate

Leiter ‘8(Amanda Leiter, Visiting Associate Professor at Georgetown Univ. “The Perils of a Half-Built Bridge: Risk Perception, Shifting Majorities, and the Nuclear Power Debate” Ecology Law Quarterly, 35 Ecology L.Q. 31. LexisNexis.)

That said, it would not be feasible to convert 100% of the U.S. power sector to nuclear energy, and even if complete conversion were possible, the United States would still contribute significantly to global greenhouse gas emissions. For one thing, nuclear power “is generally seen as a better fuel for base load … conditions than for meeting cyclical peak loads.”98 Further, as noted above, mining, processing, transporting, storing, and disposing of radioactive fuels produce significant quantities of greenhouse gases.99 Finally, other sectors of the U.S. economy are significant sources of greenhouse gases. The transportation sector, for example, currently accounts for about ¼ of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions.100 An equally important and related point is that wholesale conversion to nuclear power is not necessary to global greenhouse gas mitigation efforts. Other approaches that could – in some combination – produce the necessary emissions reductions include reduced vehicle use; more efficient appliances, buildings, and vehicles (e.g. hybrids and fuel-cell vehicles); greater use of wind and other renewable energy sources; better agricultural practices; use of clean coal technologies; and further development and implementation of carbon capture and storage technologies.101 Comparing the costs, benefits, and feasibility of nuclear power and these various other greenhouse gas reduction alternatives is well beyond the scope of this paper; the important point for this discussion is that the “nuclear option” is neither a complete solution to climate change nor a necessary piece of the complete solution. At the end of the day, then, we can dispense quickly with the assertion that we must resort to nuclear power if we are to avert climate catastrophe. That scare tactic at once over-promises (because nuclear power is not a complete solution) and overreaches (because nuclear power is not a necessary piece of the complete solution). Rather, society must focus on the real calculus of the nuclear option and make a measured choice whether significant investment in the sector is both practicable and worthwhile. 3. Scale of the necessary investment in nuclear power

#### Nuclear plants irradiate the marginalized populations that live around them

Smith ’11 [GAR SMITH—Editor Emeritus of Earth Island Journal, a former editor of Common Ground magazine, a Project Censored Award-winning journalist, and co-founder of Environmentalists Against War, Nuclear Roulette, pp. 26-28]

An average 1,000 MW reactor contains approximately 16 billion curies of radioactive material—the equivalent of 10,000 Hiroshima bombs.122 Tritium, krypton, xenon-135, iodine-131 and iodine-129 (with a radioactive half-life of 16 million years) are routinely vented into the air, contaminating downwind rivers, land and residents.Tritium, a radioactive form of hydrogen, is dangerous if inhaled or ingested. It can combine with oxygen to form tritiated water molecules that can be absorbed through pores in the skin, leading to cell damage and an increased chance of cancer.The government considers these reactor releases “permissible” so no attempt is made to monitor or regulate them, even though radiation exposure is known to damage human cells and cause cancer, leukemia, birth defects and genetic mutations. Around the world, nuclear workers, their families and people living near nuclear facilities suffer elevated risks of birth defects, immune system damage and cancer.123 Radiation exposure is a proven cause of prostate and lung cancer.124 And genetic damage imposed by radiation exposure is passed on from one generation to the next. We will never know how many people have died as a result of fallout from atmospheric nuclear bomb tests, the Chernobyl or Fukushima disasters, or the accidents at the British reprocessing facility at Windscale that released radiation worldwide. One Indian researcher has offered the astounding estimate that excess infant deaths attributable to fallout from a series of Windscale accidents in 1971-1989 may have topped 8.7 million.125 In the 1980s, the cancer rate for young people in Michigan’s Monroe County was below the state average. After the Fermi II nuclear plant began operating in 1988, the cancer rate for people under the age of 25 living near the plant rose to more than triple the state average. Although radioactive iodine has been found in the milk of cows grazing downwind from Fermi II, Michigan’s DTE Energy has applied to build a new reactor.While neither the plant operators nor the NRC are required to monitor cancer rates around nuclear reactors,126 Michigan residents living within ten miles of a nuclear power plant are supposed to draw some comfort from that fact that they are now eligible to receive government-issued potassium iodide anti-radiation pills to be taken “in the event of an accident.” 127 The Chernobyl explosion and fire released a cloud of radiation that the US Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory estimates to have exceeded 4.5 billion curies. Other estimates range as high as 9 billion curies.The cloud eventually spread around the world.While the International Atomic Energy Agency claims only 56 people perished as a direct result of Chernobyl’s fallout, a 2010 report by the Belarus National Academy of Sciences attributed an estimated 93,000 deaths and 270,000 cancers to fallout from Chernobyl. Estimates from the Ukrainian National Commission for Radiation Protection set the death toll at 500,000. Chernobyl survivors—and their children—continue to suffer from high rates of leukemia and thyroid cancer.128 European studies found a significant correlation between cesium exposure and prenatal mortality in “downwind” countries seven months after the Chernobyl disaster.129 Some 24 years after the disaster, the journal Ecological Indicators reports that the largest study of wildlife in the Chernobyl “exclusion zone” had found the damage of low-level radiation was not limited to vegetation and insects. Damage to birds, reptiles, amphibians and mammals was described as “overwhelming,” with barn swallows showing tumors on feet, necks and around the eyes.130 In 2009, Germany’s Environment Ministry was forced to pay $550,000 to compensate hunters for wild boars that were deemed too radioactive to consume.The boars had dined on mushrooms contaminated with cesium-137 from Chernobyl. In Germany, the “safe” level for consumption is 600 becquerel-per-kilogram but these boars averaged 7,000 becquerel-per-kilogram.131 Around the world, cancer and leukemia rates in children living within 3.5 miles of nuclear reactors are 53% higher.132 Children are especially vulnerable to harm from radiation and women are twice as susceptible as men. Residents of Harrisburg, the site of the Three Mile Island accident, now suffer from an increased incidence of cancers.133 Across the U.S., children living near nuclear power plants are dying from leukemia.134 While leukemia deaths near newer plants were 9.4% above the U.S. average, they were even higher near older plants (13.9%). Since Entergy’s Vermont Yankee nuclear plant opened in 1972, the rate of cancer deaths in Windham County has risen 5.7 percent above the national average.135

#### Nuclear siting is targeted at communities of color and causes structural violence

Dixon ’10 Bruce, managing Black Agenda Report editor, “Obama's Georgia Nukes Selectively Penalize Black Communities. Is That Environmental Racism?” March 3, http:~/~/www.georgiagreenparty.org/Issues/NuclearPower/ Obama\_ Props\_Up\_Nukes\_with\_Taxpayer\_backed\_Loan\_Guarantees\_Is\_That\_Environmental\_org/Issues/NuclearPower/%20Obama\_%20Props\_Up\_Nukes\_with\_Taxpayer\_backed\_Loan\_Guarantees\_Is\_That\_Environmental\_Racism

The Savannah River, which flows between the nuclear weapons site on the South Carolina side, and the existing and proposed electric utility reactors on the Georgia side is already a SuperFund site and the 4th most toxic river in the nation, according to the EPA. Until 2003 the federal government funded limited testing of the air, water and wildlife on the South Carolina side adjacent to the weapons plant, but this funding was discontinued during the Bush administration. As far as we know, nobody tests the air, ground water, wildlife or humans living on the Georgia side of the river, or near Georgia Power's existing reactors. But local residents do say there is a cancer epidemic in Waynesboro. “I lost a brother, a cousin, a sister to cancer, and my daddy... My mother had cancer when she died in her old age.” said Claude Howard, assistant pastor at Fairfield Missionary Baptist Church to the Georgia Green Party's Hugh Esco at a public meeting called by Georgia WAND in Waynesboro Monday. Rev. Howard's deceased brother worked at nuclear Plant Vogtle. “I'm here now, concerned about the environment, about nuclear waste from Plant Vogtle by the riverside, about the amount of tritium and whatever other chemical agents are getting in our water supply.” Rev. Howard's family, like many others in Burke County, depend on wells fed by ground water which may have been contaminated by leaks of radioactive tritium from the area's multiple nukes. But Waynesboro, with a population of about 6,000, cannot afford to test the air and water. So far, no help is coming from Burke County or the state of Georgia either. The utility companies who make millions off their existing reactors at Vogtle, and to whom the Obama Administration wants to give $8 billion in free money for more nukes are under little or no obligation to test the air, the ground water, the local environment or the local population. Their only obligations are to their stockholders and the gods of profit. “We're just caught in the middle of it,” declared Annie Laura Stephens, another Waynesboro resident. “We don't have a lot of money for legal (expenses) but we have put out a lot... But they have more money and expertise than we have. All we have is just Jesus.” In truth, Burke County residents do have a little more. They have each other, and neighbors outside the county. Georgia WAND is assisting Burke County residents in mounting legal challenges to the construction permits for the new nukes. If these fail, WAND's Bobbie Paul assured us, they will fight the operating permits in court. Stephens is active in WAND. President Obama notes that these will be the first new U.S. nuclear reactors in decades, but he never says why. In the 70s and 80s the dangers of nuclear reactors and the fraudulent claims the nuclear industry became obvious to the insurance industry, to Wall Street and to the American public. Private sector insurers looked at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl, and saw infinitely large potential liabilities. Wall Street, even without catastrophic accidents and without environmental testing that might hint at the existence and causes of cancer clusters in local populations, balked at construction costs which often doubled or tripled in the few cases that public outcries allowed construction to proceed at all. The bottom line is that nukes are inherently dangerous and ridiculously expensive. Even when there are are no accidents and no studies to detect local contamination, nuclear plants produce radioactive wastes that remain lethal for tens of thousands of years. With the pyramids less than 5,000 years old, it's hard to take seriously the notion that government and the nuclear industry can safely contain them. There is a general principle of capitalist economics called “externalizing” your costs. When you're Nike and you pay your Vietnamese workforce twenty-five cents an hour, you've profitably “externalized” or shifted your costs onto the families of those workers. When you're a factory owner spewing your waste into the environment for someone else to clean up or suffer from you've “externalized” or transferred a piece of your cost onto the local public in the case, for example, of downstream water pollution, or onto the people in another country entirely as in the case of global climate change. Environmental racism occurs when the powers that be single out poor nonwhite communities to bear the human and environmental costs that make their super profits possible. It's not as though the president and the nuclear industry don't know they've targeted a majority black and very poor community. The presidential announcement last month and his appearances at places like Savannah State University this week are replete with references to jobs, jobs and more jobs, as if the nuclear industry were in the business of creating employment opportunities in places like Burke County GA. The truth is that most of the local jobs at nuke plants occur during construction, and bitter experience tells us that building something in a black community is no guarantee that the construction workers will be black. The only guarantee, if Obama's new nukes are built in Burke County Georgia, is that local black residents will pay a high price in sickness and early deaths from cancer, in their inability to drink from their own wells, fish from their own streams or eat the food from their own gardens. Black Agenda Report asked Hugh Esco, a state committee member of the Georgia Green Party whether this was environmental racism. "It is hard to avoid concluding that racism is at the center when you're confronted with the economic and health statistics endured by those living in sacrifice zones like Shell Bluff. Obama would not be the first black face who has fronted for white supremacy and white privilege, nor would this be the first time he has done so. The president has proven whose side he is on."

## Afro Pesc K

#### Limited deliberative forums like debate which discuss Latin American specific policies prevent elite domination, develops agency, and promotes epistemological equality

Baxter 10 (Jorge, Education Specialist, Department of Education and Culture in the Organization of American States, Former Coordinator of the Inter-American Program on Education for Democratic Values and Practices at the OAS, PHD in International Comparative Education and Policy from University of Maryland College Park, “Towards a Deliberative and Democratic Model of International Cooperation in Education in Latin America”, Inter-American Journal of Education for Democracy, 3(2), 224-254, <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/ried/article/viewFile/1016/1307>, Accessed: 7/30/13)OG

In the context of international¶ education cooperation and international¶ development in Latin America, where¶ there are great asymmetries in power and¶ resources, it seems that this critique could¶ have some validity. However, rather than¶ concluding that deliberation and participation¶ should be reduced, one could conclude (as¶ is argued in this paper) that they should¶ be enhanced and expanded. Those that¶ advocate for a “thicker” democratization in¶ the region would likely advocate for a more¶ substantive approach to deliberation in policy¶ which establishes certain parameters such¶ as “education is an intrinsic human right,”¶ and which would place an emphasis on¶ achieving quality education outcomes¶ for all as the goal. This does not mean that¶ they would not advocate for deliberation but¶ rather would set parameters for deliberation¶ in order to ensure that the outcomes do not¶ lead to “unjust” policy (e.g., a policy that¶ might promote more inequity in education).¶ Those that advocate for a “thinner” approach¶ to democratization would tend to advocate¶ for a procedural approach to deliberation in¶ education policy and would most likely place¶ emphasis on equal opportunity of access¶ to quality education.¶ Instability critique: Education in Latin¶ America suffers from too much instability and¶ is too politicized. Increasing participation and¶ deliberation would only further politicize the¶ situation and polarize those who advocate for¶ educational reform and those who block it.¶ The average term of a minister of education¶ is one-and-a-half years; each time a new¶ minister comes to office, new policies are¶ passed which, according to deliberative¶ democratic theory, would need to be reasoned¶ and debated with citizens. Deliberation in this¶ context would promote even more instability¶ and would lead to further politicization of¶ education reform.¶ Response: Political instability and¶ lack of continuity in policy reform are serious¶ limitations that to some degree are inherent¶ in democratic institutions and processes. The¶ reality is that if any education reform is to¶ succeed in the long term, it needs more than¶ the efforts of governments or international¶ organizations. It needs the sustained support¶ of stakeholders across sectors (public,¶ private, and civil society) and over time. It¶ has been argued that the main problem in¶ basic education in Latin America is the lack¶ of a broad social consensus, recognizing¶ that there is a problem of equity and quality¶ in the provision of education (Schiefelbein,¶ 1997). This lack of broad social consensus¶ is especially challenging where there is, as¶ noted in the critique, a lack of continuity¶ in education reform. Reform in education¶ takes time, sometimes decades. Ensuring¶ continuity in education reform policies is¶ therefore crucial, and this requires public¶ consensus. Deliberative forums convening¶ government, private sector, and civil society¶ groups can contribute to developing this public¶ consensus and to providing more continuity¶ in policy. Deliberative forums combined¶ with collaborative projects can help promote¶ learning, distribute institutional memory,¶ support capacity-building efforts, and bring¶ more resources to bear on the education¶ reform process. Creating a space for citizens¶ to deliberate on the role of education is¶ fundamental for promoting broad social¶ consensus around education reforms. In Latin¶ America, the most innovative and successful¶ reforms have all created multiple and¶ continuous opportunities for diverse groups¶ across the education sector and society to¶ provide input and to have opportunities for¶ meaningful collaborative action. International¶ organizations, leveraging their regional and¶ international position, can contribute by¶ promoting policy dialogue and collaborative¶ actions among ministries and also with key¶ stakeholders across sectors. The challenge¶ is to develop a better understanding of how¶ deliberation can be used to promote more¶ collaborative as opposed to more adversarial¶ and partisan forms of politics. This is perhaps¶ one area which deliberative theorists need to¶ explore more.¶ 5. Power critique: The final critique relates¶ the possibility that increasing deliberation¶ and participation can lead to increased¶ inequality. Fung and Wright (2003) note¶ that deliberation can turn into domination¶ in a context where “participants in these¶ processes usually face each other from¶ unequal positions of power.” Every reform¶ in education creates winners and losers, and¶ very few create “win-win” situations. Those¶ in power would have to submit to the rules of¶ deliberation and relinquish “control” over the¶ various dimensions of democratic decisionmaking.¶ This is naïve and not politically¶ feasible.¶ Response: This is a valid critique¶ worth considering. Structural inequalities¶ and asymmetries of power in governments¶ and international institutions in Latin America¶ have facilitated domination by elites in terms¶ of authority, power, and control in politics.¶ Asymmetries of power in international¶ cooperation in education are also clear,¶ especially when powerful financial (World¶ Bank, IDB, IMF) or political (OAS, UNESCO)¶ organizations engage with local stakeholders¶ and condition policy options with funding¶ or political support. What this paper has¶ argued is relevant again here: that instead of¶ rejecting further democratization in the face¶ of these challenges, including the challenge¶ of elite “domination,” what is needed is more¶ and better democracy, defined in terms of its¶ breadth, depth, range, and control. Finally,¶ dealing with elite domination in international¶ deliberative forums will require conscious and¶ skilled facilitation on the part of international¶ organizations, which themselves are often¶ elitist and hegemonic.¶ Final Thoughts: So What?¶ Perhaps the most critical question¶ that emerges in the argument for increased¶ democratization and deliberation is simply:¶ So what? Does increased democratization and¶ deliberation actually lead to better outcomes¶ in education? More empirical research on this¶ critical question is needed. However, experiments¶ in deliberative democracy in education reform¶ in Brazil through the UNESCO and Ministry of¶ Education Coordinated Action Plan and Porto¶ Alegre‘s Citizen School, and also to some degree¶ at the international level with the OAS pilot¶ experiment in developing a more democratic¶ model of international cooperation from 2001-¶ 2005, have shown that deliberative processes¶ can enhance learning on the part of those¶ participating. Fung and Wright (2003) refer to¶ these experiments in deliberation as “schools¶ of democracy” because participants exercise¶ their capacities of argument, planning, and¶ evaluation. Deliberation promotes joint reflection¶ and consideration of others’ views. Citizens¶ who participate in deliberative forums develop¶ competencies that are important not only for¶ active citizenship (listening, communication,¶ problem-solving, conflict resolution, selfregulation skills) but also crucial for managing¶ change and school reform. Many of the same¶ skills that are developed through citizen¶ deliberation and participation are also essential¶ for transforming school cultures, promoting¶ “learning organizations” (Senge, 2000), fostering¶ communities of reflective practitioners (Schon,¶ 1991) and developing communities of practice¶ (Wenger, 2001). There is evidence from some¶ research that democratic interactions can create¶ knowledge that is more rigorous, precise, and¶ relevant than that produced in authoritarian¶ environments (Jaramillo, 2005). Another¶ important aspect of enhancing deliberative¶ democracy and democratization is that it moves¶ from a focus on individuals and their own¶ preferences towards more collective forms of¶ learning and collaboration.¶ Up to now, international organizations¶ have endorsed a “thin” version of democratization¶ that is content with formal and centralized¶ mechanisms of “representation” and “policy¶ dialogue.” If a new, more deliberative and¶ democratic model of cooperation in education in¶ the region were to emerge, what would it look¶ like?¶ First of all, a more deliberative and¶ democratic model of international cooperation in¶ education would involve more direct and deeper¶ forms of participation from everyday citizens,¶ including teachers, school directors, families,¶ school communities, students, and mesolevel¶ actors such as civil society organizations.¶ This participation would move beyond simple¶ consultation to more authentic forms of joint¶ decision-making and deliberation. The model¶ would involve more accountability on the¶ part of international organizations in terms¶ of transparency, and would require injecting¶ ethical reasoning into policies and programming.¶ In addition, a new more democratic model of¶ international cooperation would expand the¶ range of policy options available to countries¶ through devolution of authority, power, and¶ control, combined with oversight and horizontal¶ accountability mechanisms. A more democratic¶ model of international cooperation would stress¶ valuing, systematizing, and disseminating¶ local knowledge and innovation. Finally,¶ democratization and deliberation in international¶ cooperation in education would lead to enhanced¶ learning and agency on the part of participating¶ countries, groups, and individuals, and thus¶ contribute to better outcomes in terms of quality¶ and equity in education at national and local¶ levels.

#### The alt’s rejection of the states makes it seem stronger than it actually is. This dooms the alt to reproduce the hierarchal structures we critique.

Guattari and Rolnik, schitzoanalysts, revolutionaries, 1986

[Felix and Suely, Molecular Revolution in Brazil, p. 120-121]

Comment: It's good that you mentioned those homosexuals who worked within the system as lawyers and succeeded in shaking it up. Here, everyone looks down on the institutional part.¶ Guattari: That's silly.¶ Comment: They think that dealing with the institutional side is reformism, that it doesn't change anything. As far as they're concerned, the institutions should be ignored because only one kind of thing is worthwhile, anarchism—which I question deeply. I think it's very naive, as you yourself say, to ignore the state on the basis that "it's useless," or "it oppresses us," and therefore to leave it aside and try to do something totally from outside, as though it might be possible for us to destroy it like that.¶ Suely Rolnik: This malaise in relation to institutions is nothing new; on the contrary, the feeling is particularly strong in our generation which, since the 1960s, has taken institutions as one of its main targets. But it's true that the malaise has been especially pronounced in Brazil over the last few years, and in my view this must have to do with an absolutely objective (and obvious) fact, which is the hardness of the dictatorship to which we were subjected for so long. The rigidity of that regime is embodied in all the country's institutions, in one way or another; in fact, that constituted an important factor for the permanence of the dictatorship in power over so many years.¶ But I think that this antiinstitutional malaise, whatever its cause, doesn't end there: the feeling that the institutions are contaminated territories, and the conclusion that nothing should be invested in them, is often the expression of a defensive role. This kind of sensation is, in my view, the flip side of the fascination with the institution that characterizes the "bureaucratic libido." These two attitudes really satisfy the same need, which is to use the prevailing forms, the instituted, as the sole, exclusive parameter in the organization of oneself and of relations with the other, and thus avoid succumbing to the danger of collapse that might be brought about by any kind of change. Those are two styles of symbiosis with the institution: either "gluey" adhesion and identification (those who adopt this style base their identity on the "instituted"), or else repulsion and counteridentification (those who adopt this style base their identity on negation of the "instituted," as if there were something "outside" the institutions, a supposed "alternative" space to this world).¶ Seen in this light, both "alternativism" and "bureaucratism" restrict themselves to approaching the world from the viewpoint of its forms and representations, from a molar viewpoint; they protect themselves against accessing the molecular plane, where new sensations are being produced and composed and ultimately force the creation of new forms of reality,. They both reflect a blockage of instituting power, an impossibility of surrender to the processes of singularization, a need for conservation of the prevailing forms, a difficulty in gaining access to the molecular plane, where the new is engendered. It's more difficult, to perceive this in the case of "alternativism," because it involves the hallucination of a supposedly parallel world that ¶ emanates the illusion of unfettered autonomy and freedom of creation; and just when we think we've got away from "squareness" we risk succumbing to it again, in a more disguised form. In this respect, I agree with you: the institutions aren't going to be changed by pretending that they don't exist. Nonetheless, it's necessary to add two reserves. In the first place, it's obvious that not every social experimentation qualified by the name of "alternative" is marked by this defensive hallucination of a parallel world. And secondly, x it's self-evident that in order to bear the harshness of an authoritarian regime there is a tendency to make believe that itdoesn't exist, so as not to have to enter into contact with sensations of frustration and powerlessness that go beyond the limit of tolerability (indeed, this is a general reaction before any traumatic experience). And in order to survive, people try in so far as possible to create other territories of life, which are often clandestine.

#### Buen vivir breaks down modern human-nature dichotomies that drive anthropocentrism, racism, and destruction

Vázquez, 12 (Rolando Vázquez, assistant professor of Sociology at University College Roosevelt of Utrecht University, “Towards a Decolonial Critique of Modernity: Buen Vivir, Relationality and the Task of Listening)

Let us listen to the questions that the notion of buen vivir brings about vis-à-vis modern hegemonic knowledge. "The indigenous population of the Andean region .... conceive "sumak kawsay" or "buen vivir" as the participation of human beings in a vital collectivity of cosmic character, that is to say in close relationality, and also armory, with nature" (Cortez, 2009: 1) 34. This account of buen vivir already indicates a different conception of the human, where the human is always in relation with the cosmos and with nature. This relation designates a way of being in the world that does not follow the modern modes of appropriation and representation. To start with, it is not a mode in which the human becomes the center and the locus of explanation of the real. The notion of buen vivir challenges modernity's dichotomy between the human and nature, a dichotomy that has been central to subordinate and objectify nature for the sake of appropriation. 'The Andean and Amazonic “sumak kawsay” is grounded in conceptions that imply a close relation with nature, in contrast with the western traditions that are based in a strict separation between human and non-human realities' (Cortez, 2009: 5). The critique of the separation between the human, nature and the cosmos is an example of how a thought grounded on the notion of relationality brings to question the dichotomic mechanisms of thinking that characterizes modernity. 'Andean philosophy departs ... from the concept of "non-dualism" of reality which is not the same as a metaphysical monism. Reality –the whole of what exists and is imagined– is not conceived as divided in incomparable or even contradictory aspects and spheres: the divine and the humane, the true and false, the heavenly and the earthly, the religious and the profane, the masculine and the feminine, the living and the inert, the eternal and the temporal' (Estermann, 2009: 138). The notion of buen vivir and its philosophical configuration brings to question, on the one hand modernity's anthropocentrism and on the other modernity's dichotomic thinking. The separation between the human and nature (between reason and nature, between civilization and barbarism, etc.) is one of the ruling dichotomies of the modern/colonial order. This dichotomy posits an anthropocentric worldview. It sets the grounds for racial discourses, and production processes of ecological devastation. In the natural sciences this dichotomy drives the encyclopedic enterprise of classifying the totality of the natural world in order to objectify it and bring nature under the anthropocentric control of modernity. The human-nature dichotomy means the imposition of a hierarchy in which rational humanity rules sovereign in its opposition to the natural world. It is a driving dichotomy in the discourses of the Enlightenment and generally of modern western thought. Decolonial understanding needs to engage with a critique of modern dichotomic thinking. It faces the task of bringing into question a series of ruling dichotomies and their hierarchical mode of classification, such as the dichotomies between the human and nature, the subject and the object, male and female. Dichotomic thinking in dialogue with the notion of buen vivir appears not only as a limited form of understanding and representation of the real, but most importantly, it appears in its 3 All translations in the text are mine. 4 The notion of buen vivir can be found in many other philosophies and cosmologies of the peoples and the afro-descendants of the Abya Yala see (Huanacuni Mamani, 2010; Walsh, 2009). 5 coloniality as a functional mechanism to perpetuate the hegemony of modernity and the disavowal of other forms of understanding. The principle of relationality advances from the outside a key philosophical question, namely the question of thinking relationality as prior to the subject, to the object, even ontologically, the challenge of thinking relationality prior to Being (Being as one or Being as difference). It is a question that extends itself from the formation of scientific discourses to their very metaphysical foundations. The notion of difference comes to the fore as being possible only in relation, as non-dichotomic difference, as an always already relational difference. Such a critique, would lead to the negation of the primacy of reason, of the subject, of males, of the human and thus the denial of validity of the major hierarchical formations of modernity. We sense here the possibility of a critical dialogue with for example the theological thinking of Raimon Panikkar and his notion of nonduality, that tells us "Reality is relation" (Panikkar, 2004: 89) "The person is relation" (Panikkar, 2004: 92).

#### The human-nature dualism is the root of white supremacy

Wise 6 Tim, Wise has provided anti-racism training to teachers nationwide, and has conducted trainings with physicians and medical industry professionals on how to combat racial inequities in health care. He has also trained corporate, government, entertainment, military and law enforcement officials on methods for dismantling racism in their institutions, and has served as a consultant for plaintiff’s attorneys in federal discrimination cases in New York and Washington State. LIP Magazine, 5-23, www.lipmagazine.org

Marimba Ani, in her classic work Yurugu: An African Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior, and Charles Ephraim, in The Pathology of Eurocentrism, (among others), have argued persuasively that competitive systems of economics did not simply develop naturally, as if by some Marxian edict of logical progression. Rather, they grew principally out of the dualistic mindset so common to European cultural thought and systems, stemming from Platonic and Aristotelian ethics. The splitting off of reason from emotion, now to be seen as conflicting human characteristics, or the splitting of nature from humanity, whereby the latter is seen as in need of controlling the former, and other such dyads, led to the creation of market systems, as well as racism and patriarchy. Ani explains that Plato laid the groundwork of “an elaborate trap:” “Once the person was artificially split into conflicting faculties or tendencies, it made sense to think in terms of one faculty ‘winning’ or controlling the other(s). And here begins a pattern that runs with frighteningly predictable consistency throughout European thought…The mind is trained from birth to think in terms of dichotomies or ‘splits,’ (which) become irreconcilable, antagonistic opposites…one is considered ‘good,’ positive, superior; the other is considered ‘bad,’ negative, inferior. And unlike the Eastern conception of the Yin and the Yang, or the African principle of ‘twinness,’ these contrasting terms are not conceived as complementary and necessary parts of a whole. They are, instead, conflicting and ‘threatening’ to one another…it is this dichotomized perception of reality on which the controlling presence (imperialistic behavior) depends.” To clarify: I am not saying that racism, in modern terms, preceded capitalism or patriarchy. Rather, I am suggesting that a particular way of viewing reality and the world — a dominant cultural paradigm, or what scholars call cosmology — emanating from Europe, having first taken root in ancient Greece and Rome, is what made the class system (ultimately capitalism), the gender system (patriarchy) and the race system (white supremacy) inevitable. All three are essentially European. What began as a system of cultural imperialism, and Christian religious imperialism, later became racialized, with the creation of the concept of the white race.

#### Buen Vivir in combination with state action creates a new form of state

Fileccia, Caravaggio, Conte ’13 (Costanza M. Fileccia, Nicola Caravaggio, Elena Conte, , “Buen Vivir: Sumak Kawsay and reality”, [http://www.eaepeparis2013.com/papers/Full\_Paper\_Elena-Conte.pdf)//RM](http://www.eaepeparis2013.com/papers/Full_Paper_Elena-Conte.pdf%29//RM)

The introduction of Buen Vivir in the Ecuadorian Constitution is a clear intention to create a new ¶ concept of State, which bases its foundations on its ancient history hence Sumak Kawsay, where ¶ there’s harmony between mankind and nature and between each individual. Firstly, the recognition ¶ of Pachamama and his role of Mother accompanied by rights of nature, a way to subtract it to the market’s power which would make all marketable and to re-establish a direct and real contact with nature, indeed market economy “fragments and breaks humans’ relations with nature” (Dávalos, ¶ 2008). Secondly, the recognition and the participation of minorities and indigenous peoples creating an intercultural and plurinational State19 which establishes the basis for territories and political cultural autonomy for indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian and montuvios 20¶ (Consejo National de ¶ Planificatíon, 2009; S.A. Radcliffe, 2012).21¶ ¶ To summarise, the understanding of the social life that emerges from the Sumak Kawsay, would recall a very different prospective of life, where, first of all, no primacy is due to human needs and where the individual’s need would be much less important than the “Living Well” within the ¶ community as a whole, conceived in “relational” rather than individualistic terms (Deneulim, 2012, ¶ edited by S. Monni and M. Pallottino, 2013). A relation among mankind and nature at the same ¶ time as there is no real distinction between nature and human societies, they are all a unique part of ¶