

Ethics of quantification

Andrea Saltelli University of Bergen



Webinar series "Responsible modelling in uncertain times: ethics of quantification in action", CEST-INET events @UCL-IIPP, October 20, 2021



www.andreasaltelli.eu

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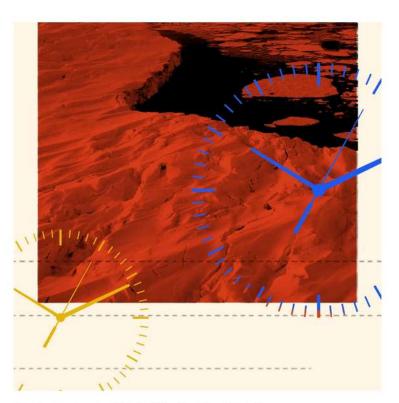


Do we live immersed in fantastic numbers?

'The Most Important Number You've Never Heard Of'

"social cost of carbon:

Sept. 17, 2021

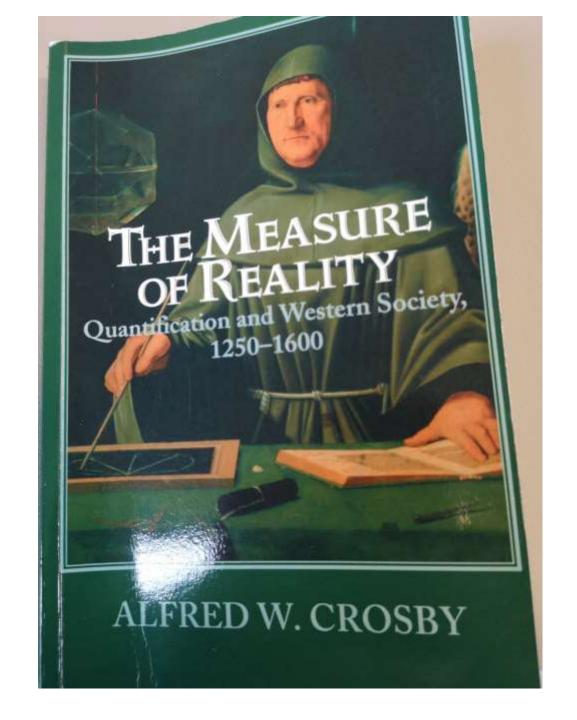


=\$56 a ton on average at a 3 percent discount rate

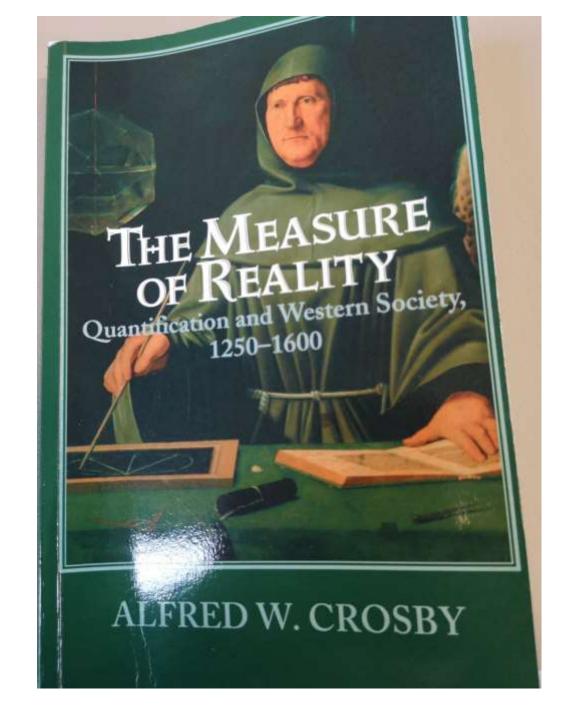
=\$171 a ton on average at a 2 percent discount rate"

The New York Times

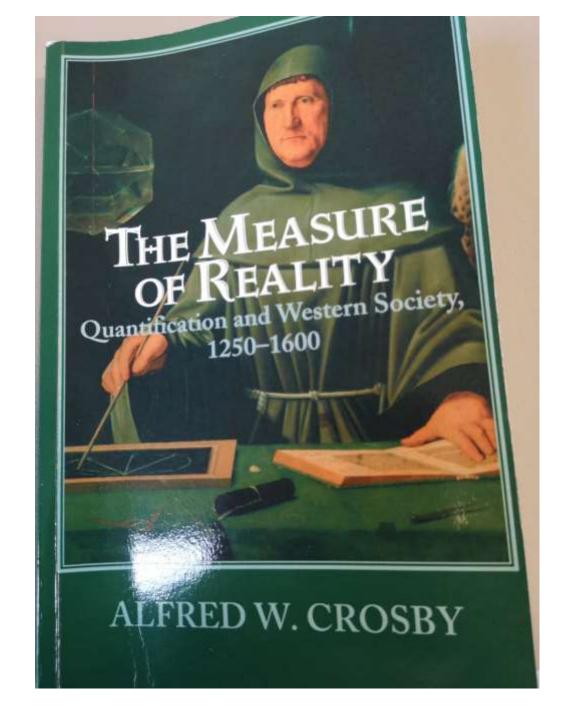
How did we get there?



Were quantification and visualization the engine inside the engine of western success and domination?



Quantification and visualization of space and time gave rise in the XIV century to a true revolution, in music, painting, accounting, cartography, astronomy ···



··· a revolution that in the following two centuries XV-XVI ensured the epochal success of the West and its domination over the rest of the world

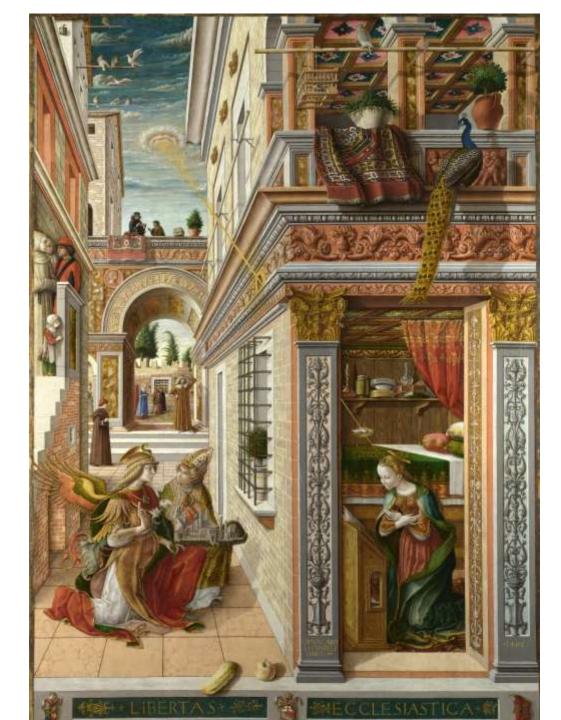
Pieter
Bruegel the
Elder,
Temperance,
1560

Measuring, military technology (math), dispute on a printed bible, learning, accounting, perspective, polyphonic music, the windmill, the watch ...

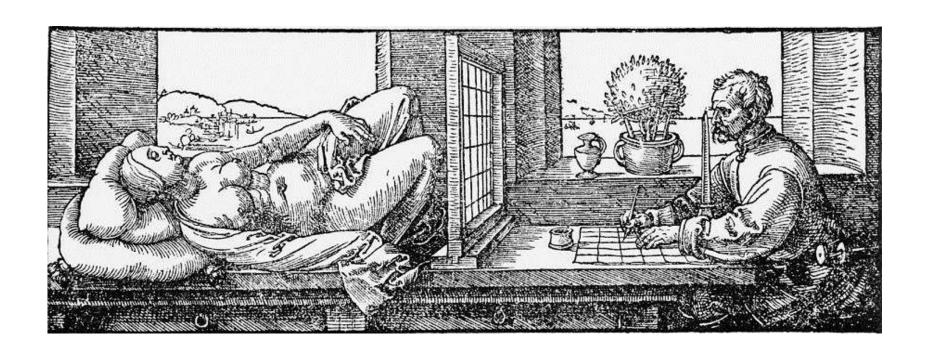




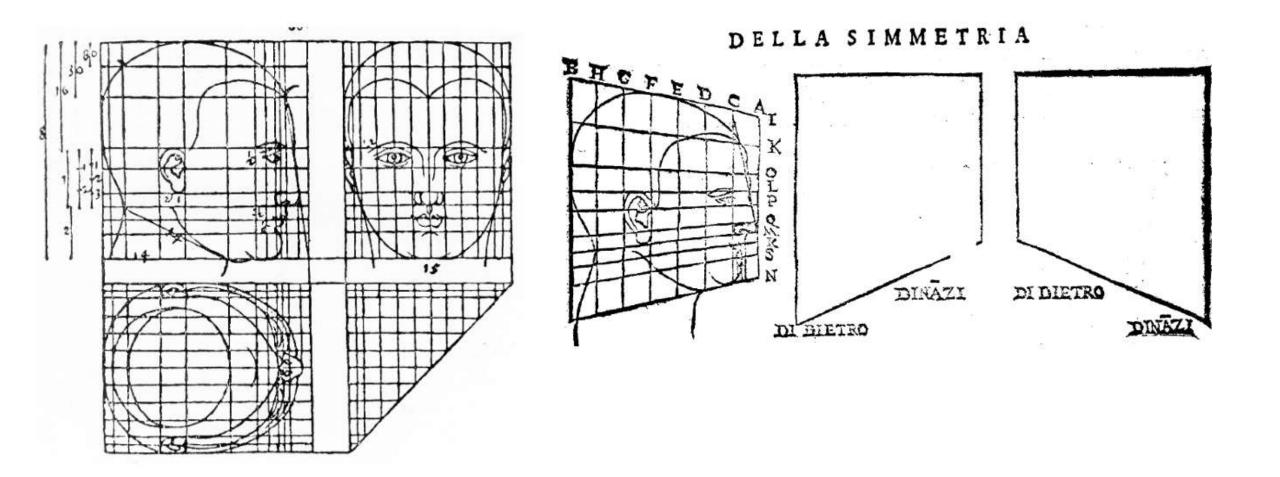
From the abacus to Arabic numerals (Pythagoras vs Boethius)



The Annunciation, Carlo Crivelli (1435, 1495)



Draftsman Drawing a Reclining Nude Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528)



From "De Varietate figurarum" Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528)

Many voices of alarm as to misuse of quantification

Numbers, visible and invisible…

Blurring lines:

"what qualities are specific to rankings, or indicators, or models, or algorithms?"



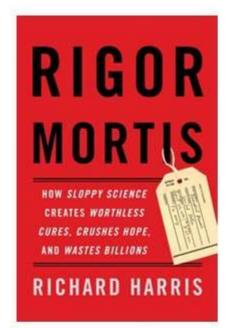
Elizabeth Popp Berman

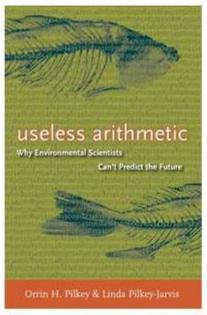
E. Popp Berman and D. Hirschman, The Sociology of

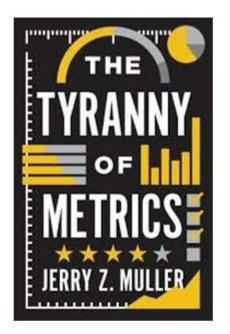
Quantification: Where Are We Now?, Contemp. Sociol., vol. in press, 2017.

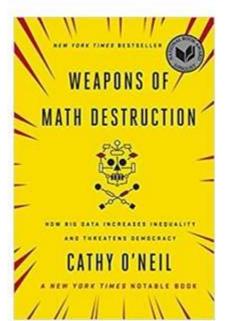
And an explosion of works, from within and without, from many disciplines

Algorithms, models, metrics, statistics...

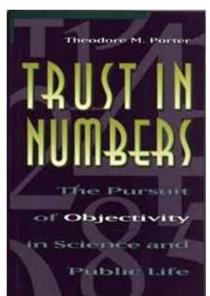






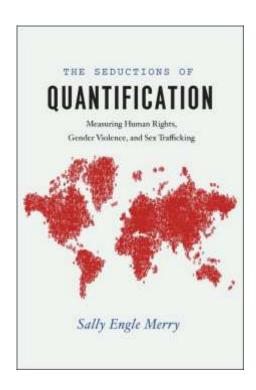


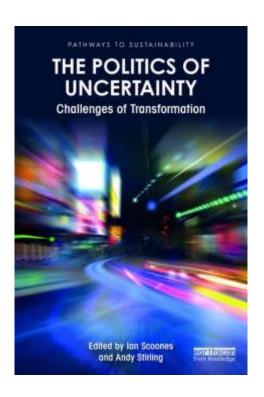


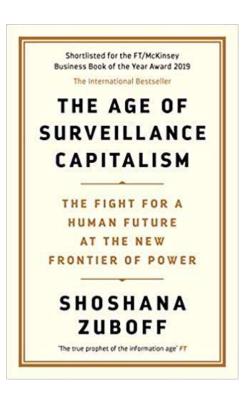


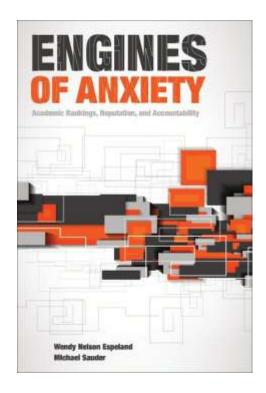


Algorithms, models, metrics, statistics...









Numbers and their 'reactivity' (Espeland and Sauder, 2016)

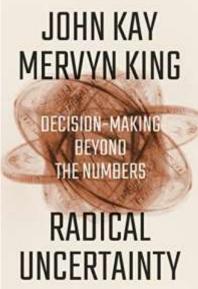
Incumbent numbers affect what society will measure in the future (Merry 2016)

Numbers "create the environment that justifies their assumptions" (O'Neil, 2016)

··· how many of these numbers are plainly bogus? How many of these models?







Blog Admin April 11th, 2012

Bogus modelling discredits evidence based policy
John Kay

My own trajectory



From sensitivity analysis in the 80's to ethics of quantification today



COMMENT - 24 JUNE 2020

Five ways to ensure that models serve society: a manifesto

Pandemic politics highlight how predictions need to be transparent and humble to invite insight, not blame.





Andrea Saltelli 🗹 , Gabriele Bammer , Isabelle Bruno , Erica Charters , Monica Di Fiore , Emmanuel Didier , Wendy Nelson Espeland , John

Kay, Samuele Lo Piano, Deborah Mayo, Roger Pielke Jr, Tommaso Portaluri, Theodore M. Porter, Arnald Puy, Ismael Rafols, Jerome R.

Ravetz, Erik Reinert, Daniel Sarewitz, Philip B. Stark, Andrew Stirling, Jeroen van der Sluijs & Paolo Vineis

3 modellers Lo Piano, Puy, Saltelli

2 experts models and society Pielke, van der Sluijs

3 statisticians Mayo, Stark, Portaluri

2 statactivistes Bruno, Didier

2 economists Kay, Raynert

1 epidemiologist vineis

2 sociologists of quantification

Espeland, Porter

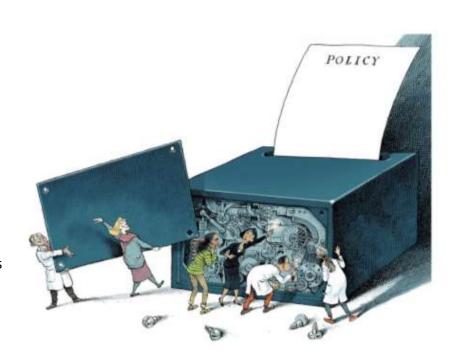
3 STS scholars Bammer, Sarewitz, Stirling

1 philosopher Ravetz

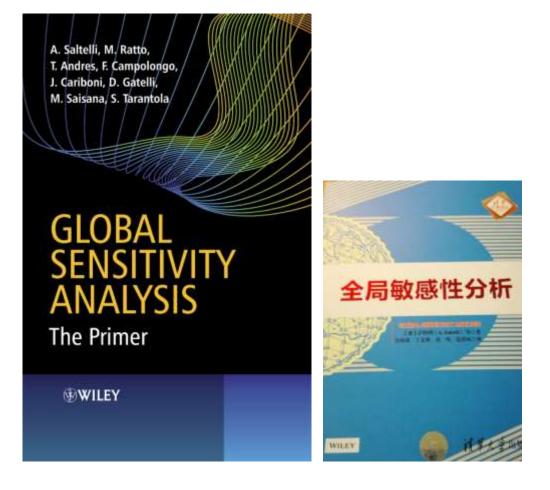
1 historian Charters

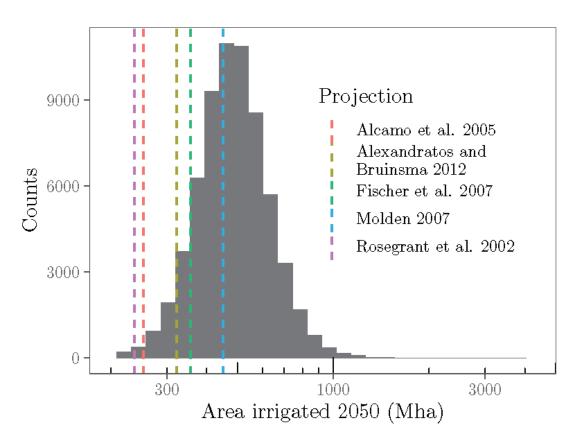
1 political scientists Di Fiore

1 expert RRI - Open Science Rafols



Wrong in many senses, methodological, ...





Sensitivity analysis permits interesting discoveries ... models producing point estimates are bad

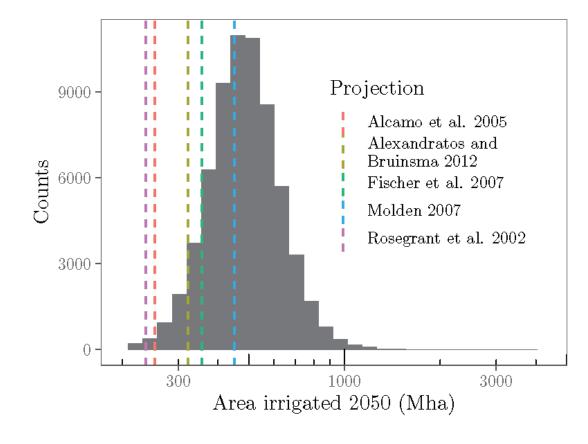
Geophysical Research Letters

Research Letter 🚊 Open Access 🕲 📵

Current Models Underestimate Future Irrigated Areas

A. Puy X, S. Lo Piano, A. Saltelli

First published: 17 April 2020 | https://doi.org/10.1029/2020GL087360 | Citations: 5



Point estmates are not conservative – more irrigated land may be needed that computed by FAO

Handling uncertainty is a delicate task as ...

Model complexity

Global Environmental Change 20 (2010) 298-302



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Global Environmental Change

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/gloenvcha



Sensitivity analysis didn't help. A practitioner's critique of the Stern review

Andrea Saltelli*, Beatrice D'Hombres

Joint Research Centre, Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen, Ispra, Italy

The case of Stern's Review – Technical Annex to postscript



William Nordhaus, University of Yale Nobel 'Economics' 2018



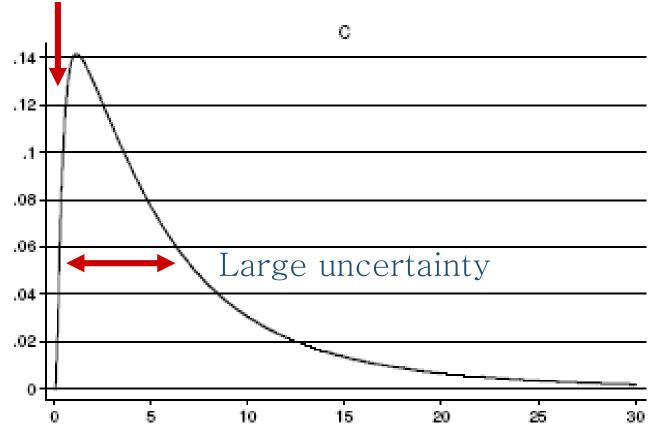
Nicholas Stern, London School of Economics

Stern, N., Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change. UK Government Economic Service, London, www.sternreview.org.uk.

Nordhaus W., Critical Assumptions in the Stern Review on Climate Change, SCIENCE, 317, 201–202, (2007).

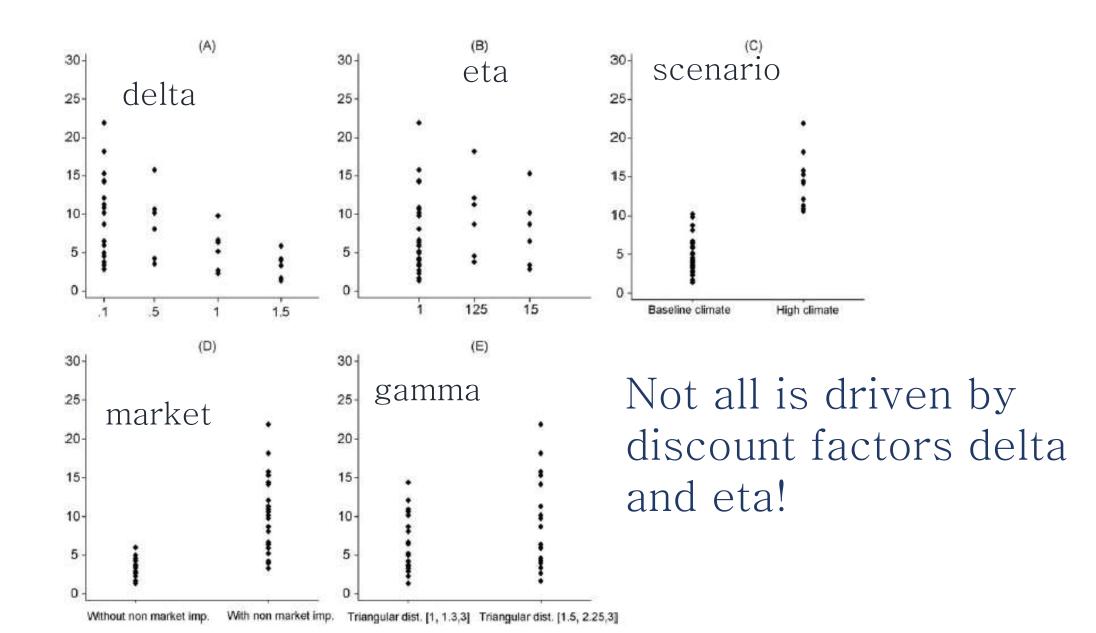
How was it done? A reverse engineering of the analysis





% loss in GDP per capita

Sensitivity analysis here (also by reverse engineering)



Journal of the Royal Statistical Society



J. R. Statist. Soc. A (2013) 176, Part 3, pp. 609–634

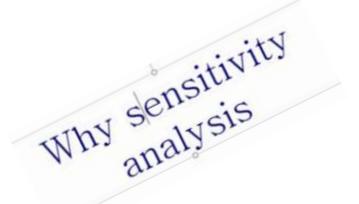
Ratings and rankings: voodoo or science?

Paolo Paruolo

University of Insubria, Varese, Italy

and Michaela Saisana and Andrea Saltelli

European Commission, Ispra, Italy



University rankings such as ARWU and THES are volatile and technically unsound

Journal of the Royal Statistical Society



J. R. Statist. Soc. A (2013) 176, Part 3, pp. 609-634

Ratings and rankings: voodoo or science?

Paolo Paruolo

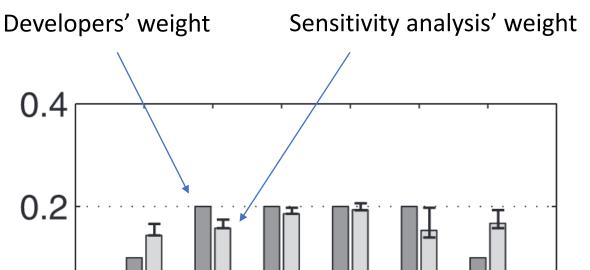
University of Insubria, Varese, Italy

and Michaela Saisana and Andrea Saltelli

European Commission, Ispra, Italy

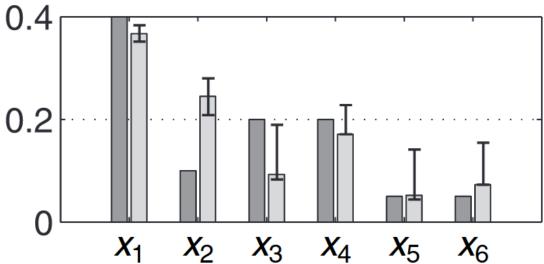






*X*₄

*X*₅



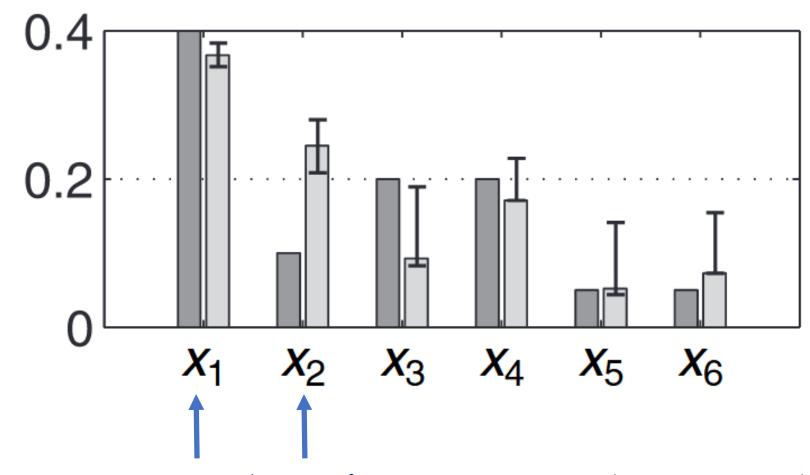
Alumni winning Nobel Prize
Staff winning Nobel Prize
Highly cited researchers
Articles in Nature and Science
Articles in Science and Social
Sciences Citation Index
Academic performance (size adjusted)

*X*₃

*X*₁

*X*₂

2008 THES
Academic review
Recruiter review
Teacher/student ratio
Citations per faculty
International staff
International students



Academic review
Recruiter review
Teacher/student ratio
Citations per faculty
International staff
International students

The two 'soft' variables (reviews) all >> important

From damages of higher education ranking to those of OECD-PISA



Do PISA data justify PISA-based education policy?

Luisa Araujo , Andrea Saltelli , Sylke V. Schnepf 🔻

International Journal of Comparative Education and Development

ISSN: 2396-7404

Article publication date: 13 February 2017

DOWNLOADS

ALTMETRICS





School tables

OECD and Pisa tests are damaging education worldwide - academics

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"the error on the scores provided by the OECD is underestimated" and the ranking of countries questionable. OECD should provide structured sensitivity analysis that takes all the variables into account"

Do PISA data justify PISA-based education policy?

Luisa Araujo , Andrea Saltelli , Sylke V. Schnepf 🔻

International Journal of Comparative Education and Development

ISSN: 2396-7404

Article publication date: 13 February 2017



Most works don't report uncertainty and sensitivity analysis, and when they do …

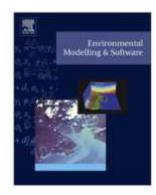
Environmental Modelling & Software 25 (2010) 1508-1517



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Environmental Modelling & Software

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/envsoft



How to avoid a perfunctory sensitivity analysis

Andrea Saltelli*, Paola Annoni

Joint Research Center, Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen, via E.Fermi, 2749, Ispra VA 21027, Italy



Environmental Modelling & Software

LW

Volume 114, April 2019, Pages 29-39

Why so many published sensitivity analyses are false: A systematic review of sensitivity analysis practices

Andrea Saltelli ^{a, b} △ , Ksenia Aleksankina ^c, William Becker ^d, Pamela Fennell ^e, Federico Ferretti ^d, Niels Holst ^f, Sushan Li ^g, Qiongli Wu ^h

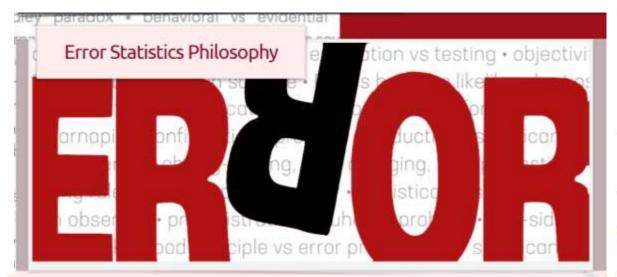
How about statistics?



Comment Open Access Published: 27 August 2019

A short comment on statistical versus mathematical modelling







SIGNIFICANCE

Business

Culture

Politics

Cargo-cult statistics and scientific crisis

Written by Philip B. Stark and Andrea Saltelli on 05 July 2018. Posted in Science



Statistics in the wake of the reproducibility crisis

Statistical wars?



Futures

Volume 91, August 2017, Pages 5-11



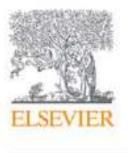


What is science's crisis really about?

Andrea Saltelli a, b A 四, Silvio Funtowicz a

Science's crisis, ethics and metaphysics

Science's crisis and regulation



Futures

Volume 104, December 2018, Pages 85-90



Why science's crisis should not become a political battling ground

Andrea, Saltelli ⊠

Int. J. Foresight and Innovation Policy, Vol. 9, Nos. 2/3/4, 2013

What do I make of your latinorum? Sensitivity auditing of mathematical modelling

Andrea Saltelli Ângela Guimarães Pereira Jeroen P. Van der Sluijs Silvio Funtowicz

When All Models Are Wrong

ANDREA SALTELLI SILVIO FUNTOWICZ



Ângela Guimarães Pereira



Jeroen P. Van der Sluijs



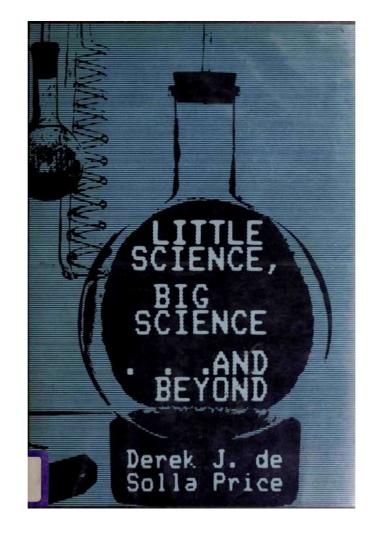
THE RIGHTFUL PLACE OF SCIENCE:

SCIENCE ON THE VERGE

CONTRIBUTORS

Alice Benessia Silvio Funtowicz Mario Giampietro Ângela Guimarães Pereira Jerome R. Ravetz Andrea Saltelli Roger Strand Jeroen P. van der Sluijs

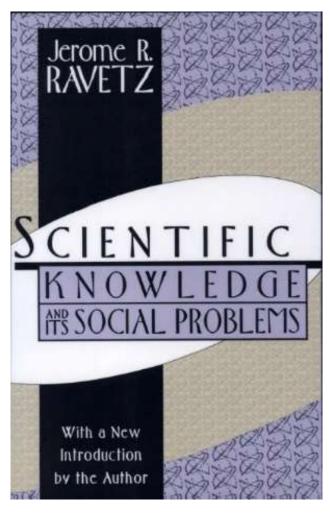






Derek J. de Solla Price

←1963





Jerome R. Ravetz

←1971

A crisis in the quality control of science was predicted

Dangers of mathematization of economics









Wolfgang Drechsler

Erik S. Reinert

Paul Romer

Philip Mirowski

W. Drechsler, "On the possibility of quantitative-mathematical social science, chiefly economics," *J. Econ. Stud.*, vol. 27, no. 4/5, pp. 246–259, 2000.

E. S. Reinert, "Full circle: economics from scholasticism through innovation and back into mathematical scholasticism," *J. Econ. Stud.*, vol. 27, no. 4/5, pp. 364–376, Aug. 2000.

P. Romer, "Mathiness in the Theory of Economic Growth," Am. Econ. Rev., vol. 105, no. 5, pp. 89–93, May 2015.

Mirowski, Philip. 2013. Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown. Verso.



Structural Change and Economic Dynamics



Volume 58, September 2021, Pages 23-34

The opening of Central and Eastern European countries to free trade: A critical assessment

Marta Kuc-Czarnecka ^a △ , Andrea Saltelli ^b ☒, Magdalena Olczyk ^c☒, Erik Reinert ^d☒

- With accession, 'Old' Europe managed a profit at the expense of the new one
- This was caused by trade asymmetries and by deindustrialisation of new member states
- Migration from accession countries became a source of cheap labour

Comparing official narratives with what the data say ...



Structural Change and Economic Dynamics



Volume 58, September 2021, Pages 23-34

The opening of Central and Eastern European countries to free trade: A critical assessment

Marta Kuc-Czarnecka ^a △ , Andrea Saltelli ^b ☒, Magdalena Olczyk ^c☒, Erik Reinert ^d☒

- The Euro has not helped accession countries or the EU Southern periphery
- The EU enlargement has many losers in both the old and the new EU

Comparing official narratives with what the data say ...





WORKING PAPER WP 2021/07

Altered States: Cartesian and Ricardian dreams

Erik S. Reinert

Tallinn University of Technology

UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Monica di Fiore

Institute for Cognitive Sciences and Technologies, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche

Andrea Saltelli

Open Evidence Research, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC)

Jerome R. Ravetz

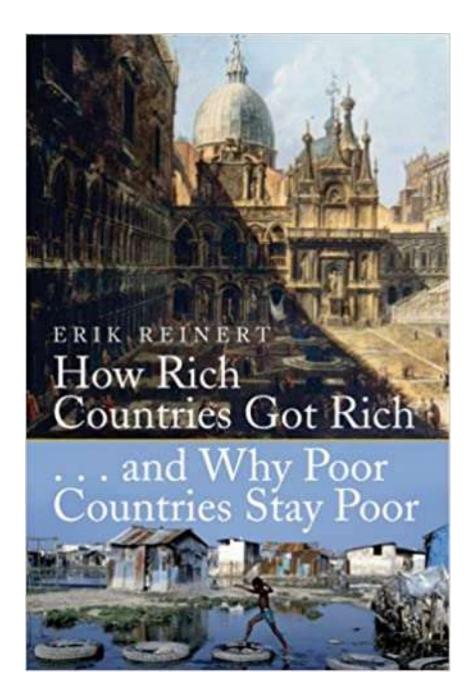
Institute for Science, Innovation and Society, University of Oxford



[14 apr 2021] Webinar: Altered States: Cartesian and Ricardian dreams

Chief Editor / 6 April 2021 / Events







Condorcet's algorithms and Descartes' Geometry: the dream always had a quantification agenda



'Mathématique sociale': We still use today terms such as 'Condorcet method', 'Condorcet winner', 'Condorcet-ranking procedure'

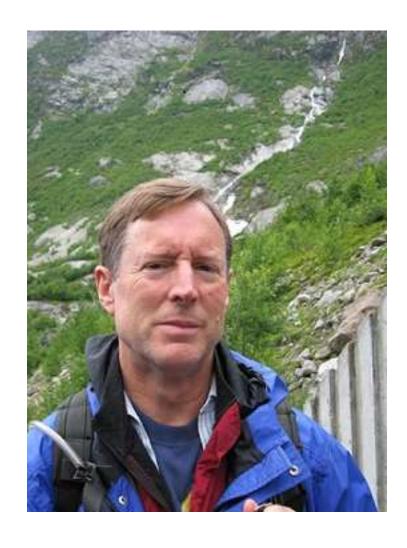


Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794)

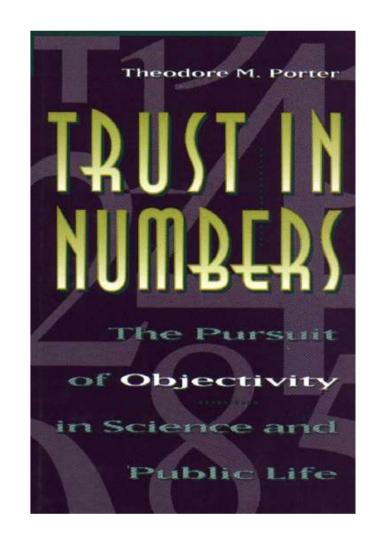
Feldman, J., 2005, Condorcet et la mathematique sociale: enthousiasmes et bemols, Mathematics and Social Sciences, 172(4), 7-41, http://www.ehess.fr/revue-msh/pdf/N172R955.pdf

Munda G. (2007) - Social multi-criteria evaluation, Springer-Verlag, Heidelberg, New York, Economics Series

Numbers and trust



Theodor M. Porter



Theodore M. Porter, Trust in Numbers, The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life, Princeton 1995 Porter's story: Quantification needs judgment which in turn needs trust …without trust quantification becomes mechanical, a system, and 'systems can be played'.

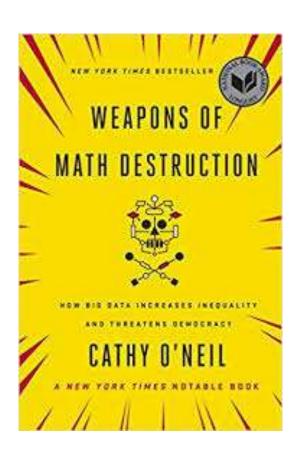




Alarm for Weapons of Math Destruction



Cathy O'Neil

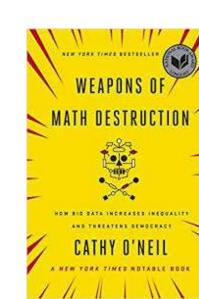


O'Neil, C. (2016). Weapons of math destruction: how big data increases inequality and threatens democracy. Random House Publishing Group.

Opacity (also because of trade secrecy) of algorithms used to decide on recruiting, carriers (including of researchers), prison sentencing, paroling, custody of minors, political campaigns…

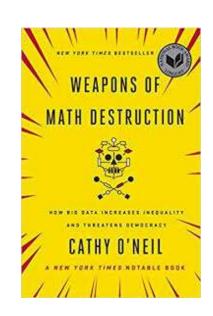
O'Neil, C. (2016). Weapons of math destruction: how big data increases inequality and threatens democracy. Random House Publishing Group.

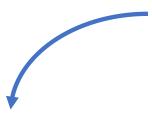
Brauneis, R., & Goodman, E. P. (2018). Algorithmic Transparency for the Smart City. Yale Journal of Law & Technology, 20, 103–176. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3012499

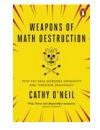


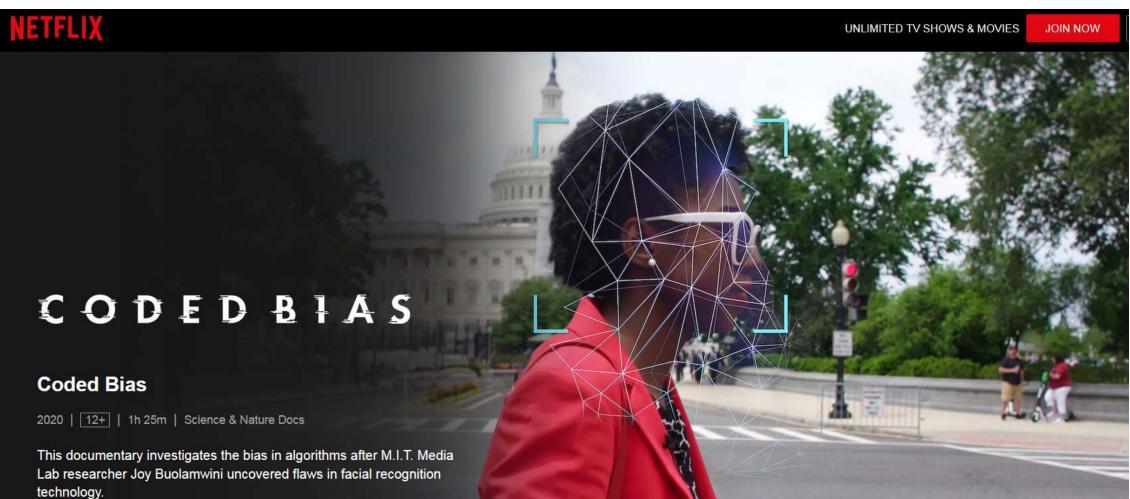
Opacity coupled with opportunity for scale and damage and with non-appealability make them an instrument of oppression & inequality

Cathy O'Neil Google talk https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TQHs8SA1qpk







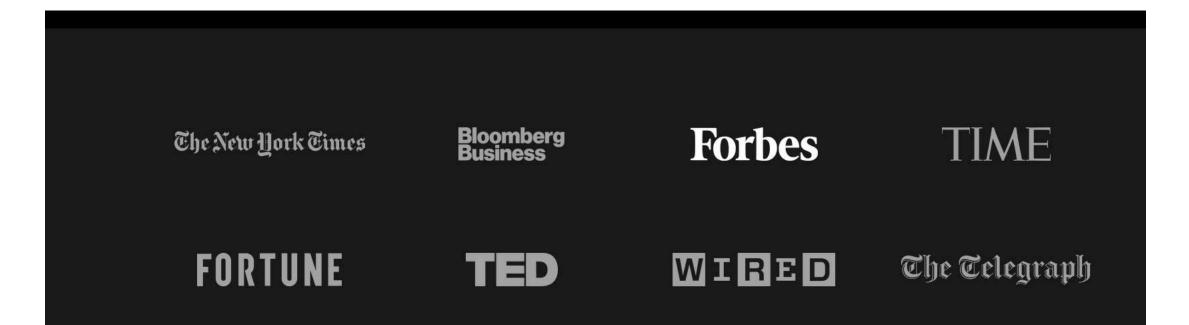


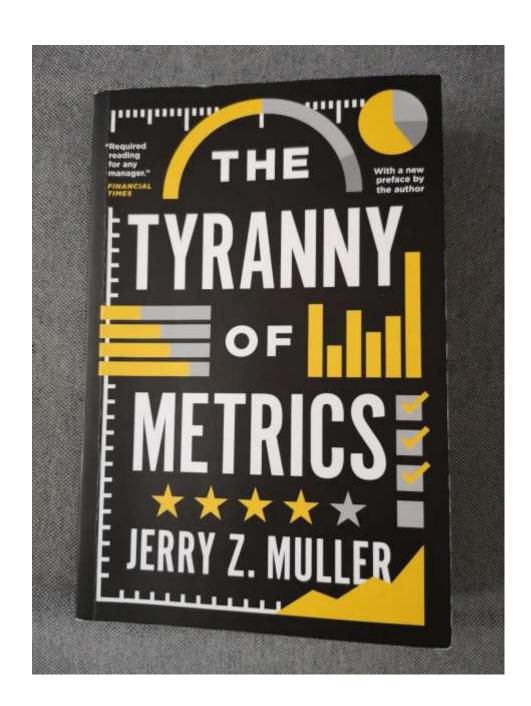
RACIAL JUSTICE REQUIRES ALGORITHMIC JUSTICE. SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT.



Algorithmic Justice League

https://www.ajl.org/





J. Z. Muller, The tyranny of metrics. Princeton University Press, 2018.



Charles Goodhart

p. 44 "Any ... measures necessarily involve a loss of information ... [and distorts behavior]" (Porter, 1995)

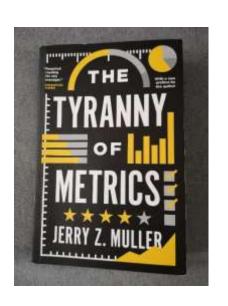
"When a measure becomes a target, it ceases to be a good measure."

Also known as Campbell's law (1976); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goodhart%27s_law

Metric fixation, or the irresistible pressure to measure performance

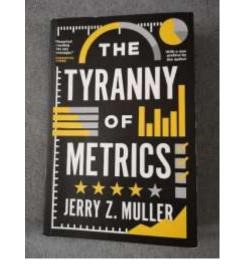
Gaming of metrics (recall Goodhart law)

A wealth of case studies from education to war to medicine to foreign aid..



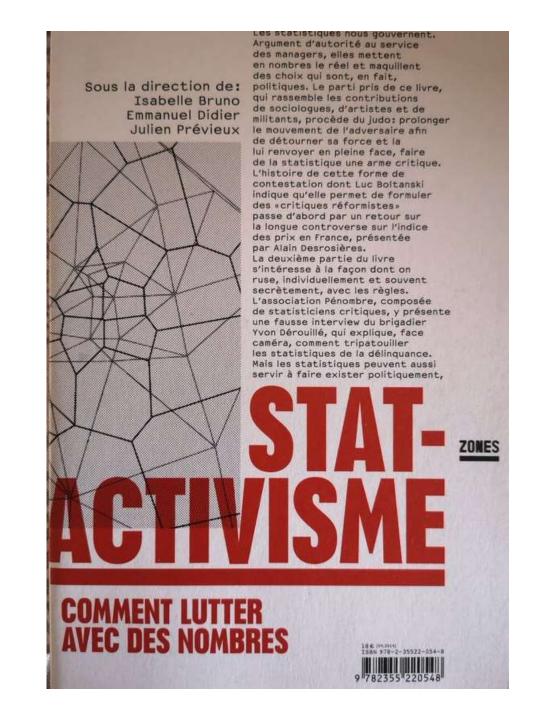
A concluding remark of Muller

Considering all of the above keep in mind at every step that "the best use of metrics may be not to use it at all"

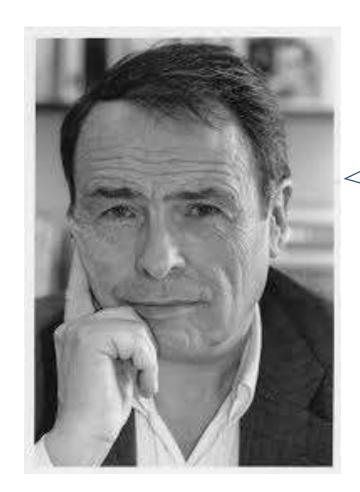


Do we need a movement of resistance?

I. Bruno, E. Didier, and J. Prévieux, Statactivisme. Comment lutter avec des nombres. Paris: Zones, La Découverte, 2014

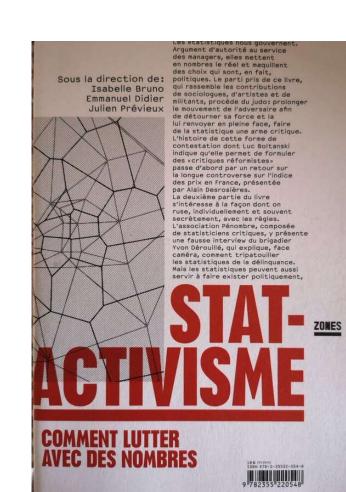


1. Deconstruct existing metrics, including using irony (Pierre Bourdieu, *Les héritiers*).



La sociologie, ça doit être rigolo

(Sociology must be fun)



2. Gaming metrics (statistical judo) – use Goodhart's law to your advantage – or make the ruse public.

Police statistics in NY

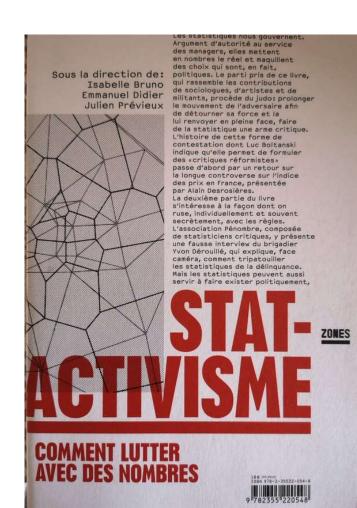


3. Bring to the surface what is hidden / unsaid/ excluded – new social classes, marginalization, minorities:

• 'Creative class' or 'precarious intellectuals'?



- 4. Measure something different.
- Suicides at France Telecom;
- BIP 40, a new French measure of poverty/inequality



Important:

"Quantification should not be abandoned to the advantage of exalting qualities, singularities, and the incommensurable. Such an abandon would be a tactical error"

> Sous la direction de: politiques. Le parti pris de ce livre, Isabelle Bruno qui rassemble les contributions

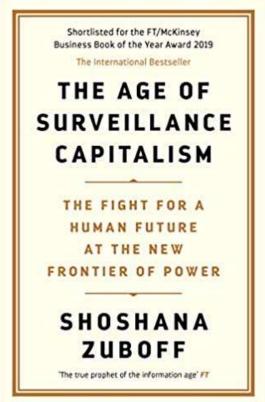
Emmanuel Didier militants, procède du judo: prolonger Julien Prévieux le mouvement de l'adversaire afin

Argument d'autorité au service des managers, elles mettent en nombres le réel et maquillent des choix qui sont, en fait,

de sociologues, d'artistes et de

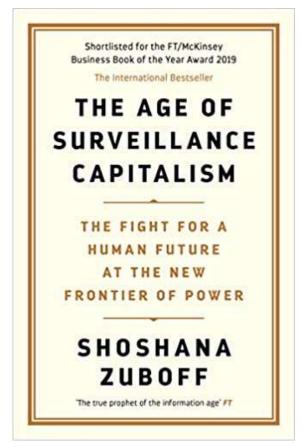
de détourner sa force et la lui renvoyer en pleine face, faire de la statistique une arme critique. L'histoire de cette forme de contestation dont Luc Boltanski indique qu'elle permet de formuler des «critiques réformistes» passe d'abord par un retour sur la longue controverse sur l'indice des prix en France, présentée par Alain Desrosières. La deuxième partie du livre s'intéresse à la façon dont on ruse, individuellement et souvent secrètement, avec les règles. L'association Pénombre, composée de statisticiens critiques, y présente une fausse interview du brigadier Yvon Dérouillé, qui explique, face caméra, comment tripatouiller les statistiques de la délinquance. Mais les statistiques peuvent auss

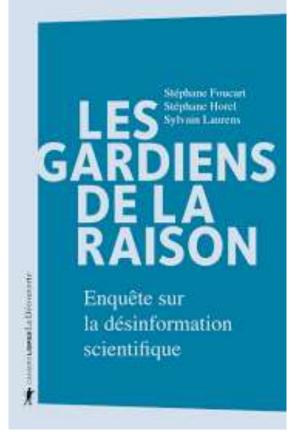




A project of domination of consumers and voters is made possible by artificial intelligence, big data & cognitive psychology

Inequality, power asymmetries and the world of surveillance capitalism





Chapters 11 & 12 Chapter 10

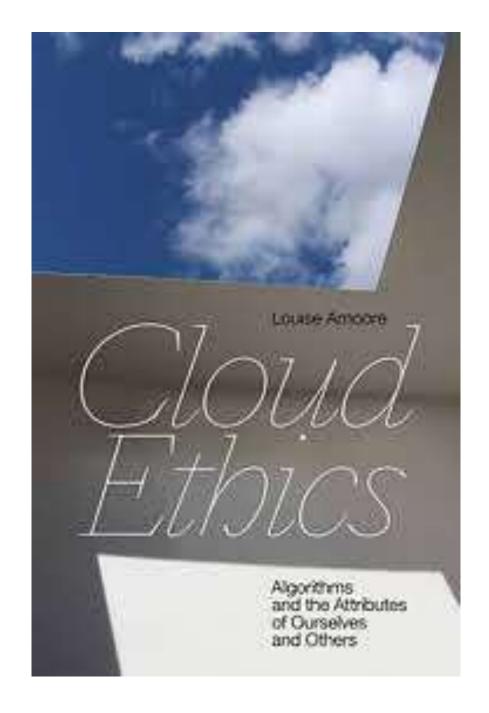
Instrumentarian power

Néorationalism d'importation

La trollisation de l'espace public

Cognitive psychology and evolutionary psychology

A project of domination?



Making algorithms 'good' or 'transparent' is beyond the point.
Algorithms create new norms of good or bad

Algorithm =
ethicopolitical
arrangement of
values, assumptions,
and propositions about
the world



Louise Amoore

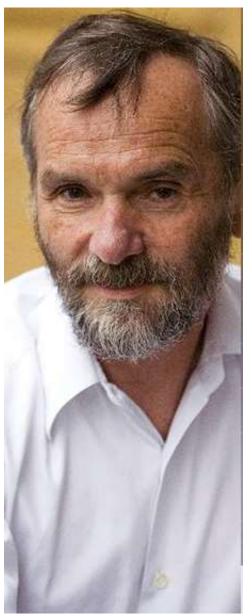


LSE Research Online

Nick Couldry and Ulises Mejias Data colonialism: rethinking big data's relation to the contemporary subject

Couldry, Nick and Mejias, Ulises (2018) Data colonialism: rethinking big data's relation to the contemporary subject. Television and New Media, vol. 20, 4: pp. 336-349.

Alain Supiot



An indictment of the Total Market and the normative uses of economic quantification

https://www.college-defrance.fr/site/en-alainsupiot/Governance-by-Numbers-Introduction.htm

Alain Supiot

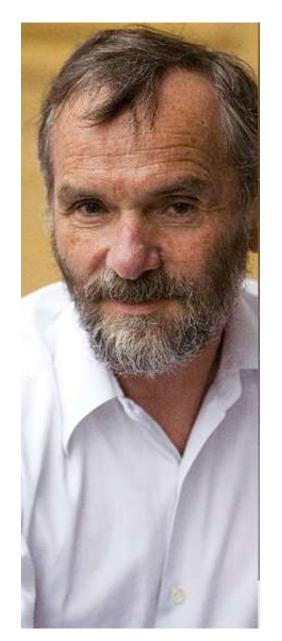
La Gouvernance par les nombres

Cours au Collège de France 2012-2014





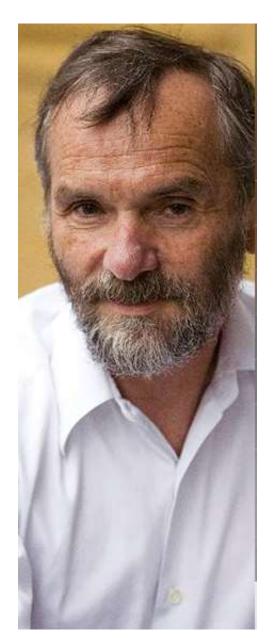
Alain Supiot



we have entered the era of the cybernetic imaginary, which revives the West's age-old dream of grounding social harmony in calculations.

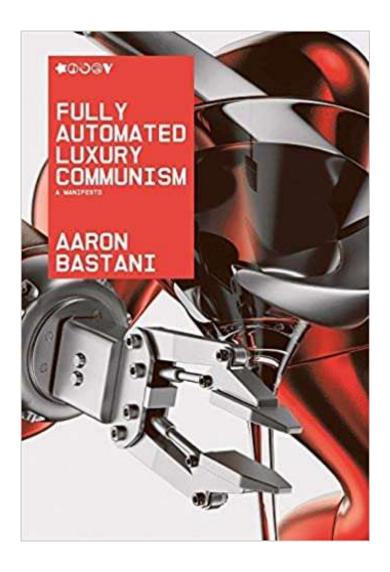
Repudiating the goal of governing by just laws, this new discourse advocates in its stead the attainment of measurable objectives efficiently

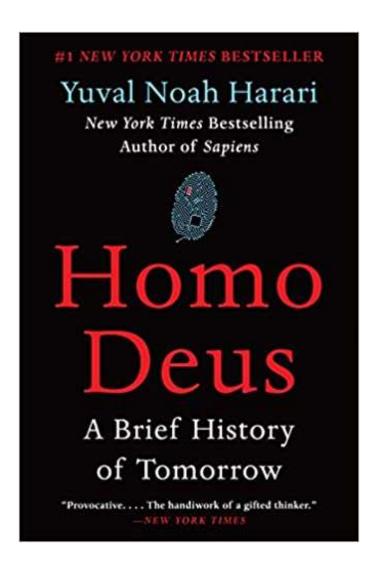
Alain Supiot

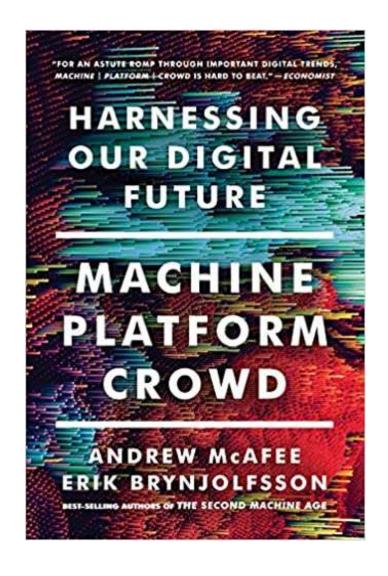


··· This leaves no option open to populations or countries than to ride roughshod over social legislation, and pledge allegiance to those stronger than they are

And yet …which is the prevailing sociotechnical imaginary?







Good news!

"Often, immersion in the facts makes value disagreements feel much less relevant" (C. Sunstein)



Cass Sunstein, winner of the 2018 Holberg Prize



Mind the assumptions

Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

Mind the hubris

Complexity can be the enemy of relevance



Mind the framing

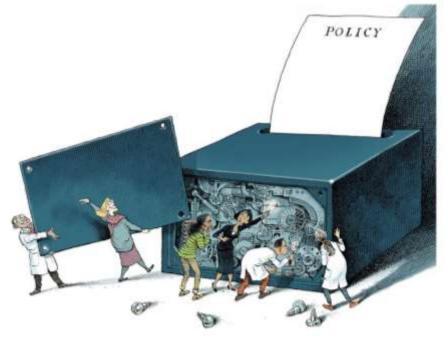
Match purpose and context



Quantification can backfire.

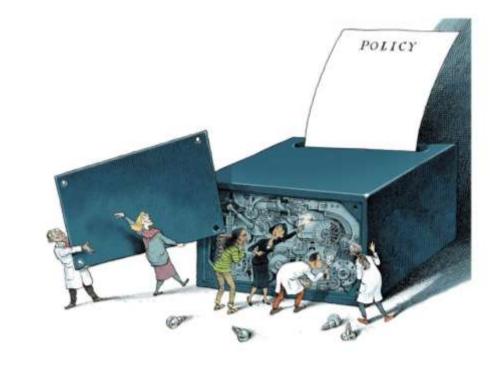
Mind the unknowns

Acknowledge ignorance



Mind the framing

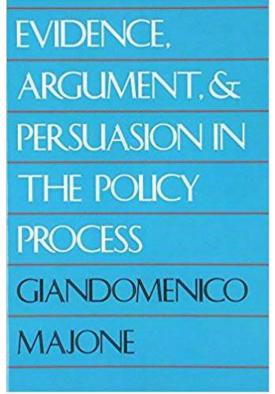
Match purpose and context

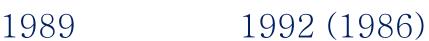


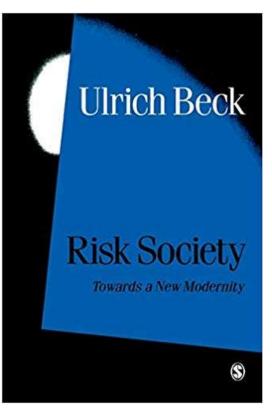
··· models will reflect the interests, disciplinary orientations and biases of the developers···

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

From Ulrich Beck to Giandomenico Majone: the technique is never neutral









Ulrich Beck (1944 - 2015)



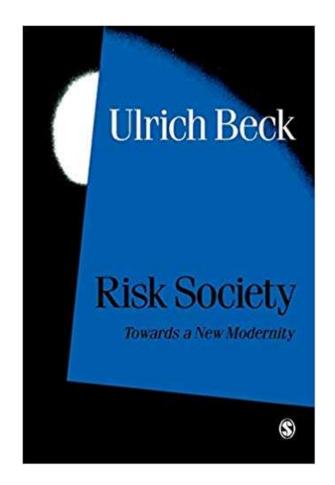
Environmental Science & Policy Volume 106, April 2020, Pages 87-98



The technique is never neutral. How methodological choices condition the generation of narratives for sustainability

Andrea Saltelli ^{a, b} ○ ☑, Lorenzo Benini ^c, Silvio Funtowicz ^a, Mario Giampietro ^{d, e}, Matthias Kaiser ^a, Erik Reinert a, f, Jeroen P. van der Sluijs a, g, h

"It is not uncommon for political programs to be decided in advance simply by the choice of what expert representatives are included in the circle of advisers."



1992 (1986)



Ulrich Beck (1944 –2015)

The technique is never neutral. How methodological choices condition the generation of narratives for sustainability



Andrea Saltelli a, b A M, Lorenzo Benini c, Silvio Funtowicz a, Mario Giampietro d, e, Matthias Kaiser a, Erik Reinert a, f, Jeroen P. van der Sluijs a, g, h

Combine more lenses, including Post-normal science (PNS), Bioeconomics, and Non-Ricardian economics

Why ethics of duantification or or is needed now is needed now

Andrea Saltelli

Open Evidence Research, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain

Antonio Andreoni

UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose; South African Research Chair in Industrial Development, University of Johannesburg, South

Wolfgang Drechsler

Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia; UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose; Davis Center at Harvard University, United States

Jayati Ghosh

University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States;

UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Rainer Kattel

UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Ingrid H. Kvangraven

Department of Politics, University of York

Ismael Rafols

Centre for Science and Technology Studies, Leiden University, the Netherlands

Erik S. Reinert

Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia; UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Andy Stirling

Science Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex

Ting Xu

School of Law at the University of Essex



WORKING PAPER WP 2021/05



··· our world is structured by numbers, visible and invisible, where truth is conveyed and reality constructed

Numbers are seductive, performative, confer to their masters' epistemic power and legitimacy

Governing the modern state, or even contesting it, without numbers is impossible

Numbers are the prevalent means to express value in our societies ... Access & production of numbers reflect and reinforce power imbalances



Numbers capture our attention; they illuminate the part of reality which is being numerified, and fatally push those parts into the background which come without the clothing of ...

··· numbers are so deeply entrenched in our existence that we barely reflect on them critically them anymore — too close to us, they have become part of the very lens through which we attend to and comprehend the world.



Scope for harm from 'wrong numbers' e.g. in:

- Medical research
- Higher education
- Governance of science
- Finance
- Numbers from international organizations
 - Food and Agriculture Organization
 - The World Bank
 - OECD
 - _ ...
- _ ...



'Trendy' methods may also harm

- Randomized control trials) may be misused to suggest more general conclusions that may not be valid
- Sophisticated statistical/econometric techniques that can be designed in ways that promote particular policy conclusions reflecting researchers' biases



nature

COMMENT 21 March 2018

A global observatory for gene editing

Sheila Jasanoff and J. Benjamin Hurlbut call for an international network of scholars and organizations to support a new kind of conversation.

Sheila Jasanoff 2 & J. Benjamin Hurlbut 2

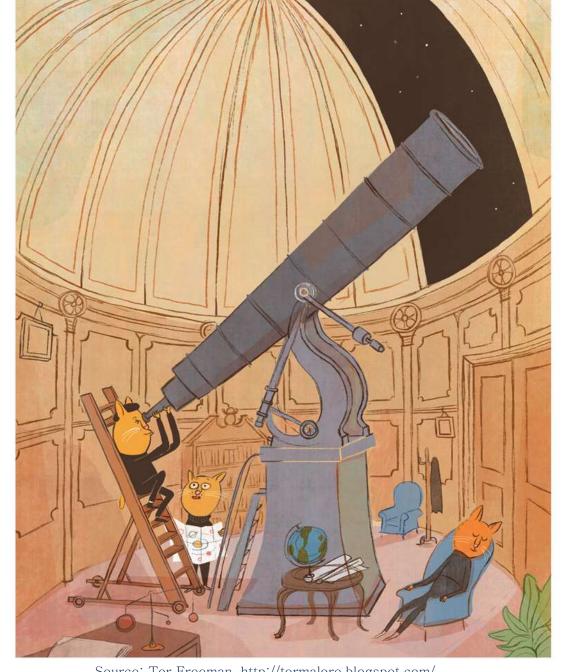


Illustration by Marina Muun

... the potential of numbers to inflict harm is on par or superior to those of biotechnologies



··· then how about an observatory for visible and invisible numbers?

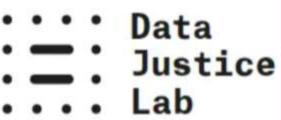


Source: Tor Freeman, http://tormalore.blogspot.com/

Existing initiatives looking at quantification









Radical Statistics Group

Using statistics to support progressive social change









THE ALGORITHMIC JUSTICE LEAGUE



Home | Press Releases | It's just the tip of the...

It's just the tip of the iceberg: Civil society organisations call for an overhaul of the World Bank following the Doing Business Report scandal

12 October 2021

By Julia Ravenscroft

Winning is not impossible; taking on the 'centres of calculations'

Latour's Centres of Calculation

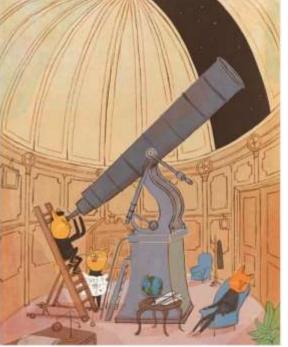
"Inside the centres ···mobilisation of the largest number of elements ··· tallies, totals, graphs, tables, lists"

→ "A better number is possible" (statactivistes)

"... people inside the centres are busy building elements with such properties that when you hold the final elements you also, in some way, hold the others, building, in effect, centres inside the centres."

→ dismantle centres inside the centres or/and create new centres





The End



@andreasaltelli