

“Whose future – our future”
The climate and ecological crisis,
and the democratic
transformation of the global
(fossil) society

An introduction

with a double focus: the perspective of the children/young people; and in a global context

David Fopp

Senior Lecturer - Stockholm University

What is it about?

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Analysis: climate crisis, democracy and activism
- 3 The political and economic framework
- 4 A new way of thinking
- 5 How to get there? About activism and the needed transformation

I Introduction

1 The problem

- We are in the middle of a climate and ecological crisis
 - The world is on the way to 3 degrees of warming and 6th mass extinction of species (IPCC 2022)
 - Even with implementation of NDCs, not following Paris agreement
 - 4 degrees difference: last ice age; since 10 000 years holozän constant CO2 and temperature
 - What global warming means: see Wallace-Wells "The uninhabitable earth"
 - Flooding, uninhabitable parts of the world due to heat, ...
 - Social conflicts around resources: water, food, ...
 - "Fossil society": specific structure of our societies (depending on oil, coal, gas; specific structure of companies; politics; jurisdiction; ...)
 - We can change this: correlation between CO2-production through transport, energy production, and so on (Keeling curve: CO2 in the air) and warming; between ways of producing what we eat (animals), of replacing forestst with planted trees (or nothing) - and warming and biodiversity loss
- Therefore: Children and young people are in the streets, school striking for the climate (start in August 2018, Greta Thunberg, Stockholm)
 - They can't vote; they can't change the laws; their future is not represented in the democratic process
 - But it is their future which is at stake
 - And the future of thousands of species
- Conclusion:
 - There is a huge deficit in our democratic systems
 - There is a reason why we are in a crisis and there are ways how to react to that and reorganize our societies

2 The questions

- What does this mean in detail – an analysis of the crisis
- What is our task as grown-ups in relation to the children's future, and how could a multi/inter-generational reaction look like?
- What is needed as a societal transformation towards a sustainable democratic global society?
- Which values and norms should govern this process?

3 The focus

- Double perspective
 - Children and young people, especially the ones which are climate striking
 - Difference between "to take the perspective of the children" and "the children's own perspective" (real participation, citizenship)
 - Children as now suffering (consequences of climate crisis; and anxiety)
 - Global perspective
 - In the sense of linking all peoples perspective together, with historic and economic knowledge about relation between global South and North, and even focusing on the (problematic) history of the power-relations (colonialism etc.): lead to MAPA (most affected people and areas)
 - Not "globalization" in the meaning of "free market"-neoliberalism ideology of just opening borders to markets, but keeping them for privileges etc.
- Leading to main challenge: how to organize democracy linked to the two perspectives
 - Children: participation, representation deficit
 - Global society: how to establish democratic perspective in global scale? (Beyond internationalism and cosmopolitanism)
 - Task: Formulating "substantial" democracy related to children's future and on a global scale
- This lecture presents a transdisciplinary approach linking together highly specialised fields of academic research (climate science, sustainability studies, childhood studies, politics, philosophy, political economics etc)

II The analysis

4 The situation

- Every day new catastrophic facts about the crises of the ecosystems
 - We live in a 1-1.2 degree warmer world compared to pre-industrial levels
 - On the way to 3 degrees; 4 degrees: difference to ice age
 - Huge loss of biodiversity (6th mass extinction) etc: "great acceleration"
 - Amazonas rain forest burning, Australian bush fires, Flooding in Mocambique
 - 9 systemic "tipping points" and "feedback loops": Arctic ice disappears almost during summer, change in gulf stream etc, permafrost, Amazonas rainforest...
 - 18 degree warm at Antarctica in January 2020
 - = cracking "planetary boundaries":
 - concept invented by researchers (Rockström et al.) linking climate change, biodiversity, plastic, nitrogen, ocean acidification etc. into one big picture
 - what does it mean to live in a way which is "sustainable": does not destroy the possibility for the next generations to satisfy their needs (Brundtlandt-definition)

The existential dimension

- These numbers are linked to suffering:
 - Climate change: suffering especially in the global South: flooding, heat, loss of livelihoods, material basis for life and so on – social conflicts, fights for water; not providing enough food globally
 - Biodiversity loss: that we destroy the habitat of hundreds of species so that they are extinct for ever, means suffering for the animals themselves losing their habitat, but also collapse of ecosystems
 - Suffering also in the form of climate and environmental anxiety, grief, especially amongst children; reatdown of intergenerational contract
- These numbers are also linked to love, engagement, caring, commitment, concern
 - Love for nature and the enormous beauty and wealth in it (“earthlings”)
 - Love for other human fellows and concern for their lives
 - Commitment, engagement in activism
- Problem with research which does not take in this existential dimension of the crisis and the reaction to it
 - The scientific world-view as detached from the existential dimension is a part of the problem of the modern Western thinking and its “dialectic of enlightenment” (Adorno, critical theory, posthumanism, humane-ism)

The big picture

- What "we" (the richest part of the population) did in last 50 years:
 - 1) Co2 in atmosphere: Keeling curve; absurd amount: burning such vast amounts of oil, coal is almost unimaginable
 - 2) Destruction of habitats, oceans, forests (even in the name of bioenergy; green party in Sweden)
 - 3) Not regenerative agriculture, food system (away from animal-based)
 - **Almost no wild life left: absurd: we destroyed wildlife and put our animals in its place: cows and chickens; planted trees instead of forests**
 - **And these animals (producing methane) are held in inhumane circumstances (Foer)**
 - 4) Not enough renewables; not keeping oil, gas and coal in the ground (Still new exploration)

Done by the richest 10 percent (lifestyle; and political rules): the ones who are historically and now emitting most are the one who suffer least

- Logic of economy (see later): we take everything out of nature, burn it or change it into waste and putting it back into nature (violence; see Kate Raworth "linear way of production" instead of circular)
- Leading to enormous wealth for some people, and to biggest companies in history: "fossil society" with 100 capital societies producing 70 percent of CO2
- The fossil society:
 - with fossil industry itself: Exxon, BP, Shell; car industry; airplanes, military industry etc
 - Banks investing in it (CS, UBS, JP Morgan etc)
 - Jurisdiction allowing it
 - Media and Lobbying not taking distance
 - Politics creating the framework for it
 - Leading to "fossil society": normalizing a highly destructive behaviour, infrastructure, mindset (M.Göpel) and ideology behind it
- Leads to fast warming (warmest 10 years now, 2 degrees warming means 5 to 7 degrees in some places)
 - Arctic ice shield almost gone in summer, ice soup instead. Feedback loop with Albedo effect and tipping point with gulf stream change, oceans are linked
 - Big parts uninhabitable, parts of India, middle east; but also damaging to soil and agriculture all over world; and glaciers gone, water scarcity
 - Leading to social conflicts; more and more conflicts are coming
- Double perspective of children and global dimension:
 - During lifetime of climate striking children: enormous risk of "hell" on earth
 - Global injustice: global South more vulnerable, more loss and damage already happening, while not contributed to global warming and extinction in same way
 - The emissions don't know any borders; nor do the consequences of deforestation

- "Our" societies are governed by philosophical, political and economic principles, values and ideologies which
 - 1) give incentives to crack the planetary boundaries
 - 2) are not fit to care for a human life in dignity for everyone ("needs"): resources and space to live in, food, health, education, equal rights ... - even if there are enough of wealth and resources for all
 - 3) have huge democratic deficits: perspective of children; global context
- Intersectional transformative justice approach: who is responsible and who is suffering? (Oxfam; my medium-text, Fopp 2021)
- We can change this, we know the problem and know what should be done
 - Short term: regulations, transformations of all systemic sectors (see later)
 - Short and middle term: shift of way of thinking, foundation of economy, worldview
 - Risk of techno-fix and "false solutions" (geoenignearing; ...)

5 The reaction by the new movements

- New movements: FridaysForFuture and ExtinctionRebellion (starting 2018; Fopp 2021)
- Led by young people (Greta Thunberg and co.), "everyday" people
- Organized as grassroots movements (not NGOs, no membership, no hierarchy...) with democratic network structures
- Using non-violent direct action and civil disobedience: blocking inner cities; not going to school
- Operating in social media and in face-to-face-gatherings: organizing "vs" mobilizing
- Operating on local, national and global levels
- Addressing the core of the political power: sitting/blocking in front of governments (not only specific sectors of the fossil industry like Ende Gelände, greenpeace and so on)
- Combining 1) clear and determined emergency break-function (blockade, strike) with 2) overall framework of change (follow Paris agreement, social justice, zero emissions within next years: 2025 for XR; 2030 for parts of FFF)
- Linking their protest to science and democratic institution of university/research
- "Science": which kind of scientific community and research? (See "ScientistsForFuture"-statements)
 - IPCC/Climate science
 - Earth system science
 - Economy, sociology
 - Philosophy, social science etc
- Combined with perspective of climate and social justice, equity and inclusiveness/intersectional analysis of injustices

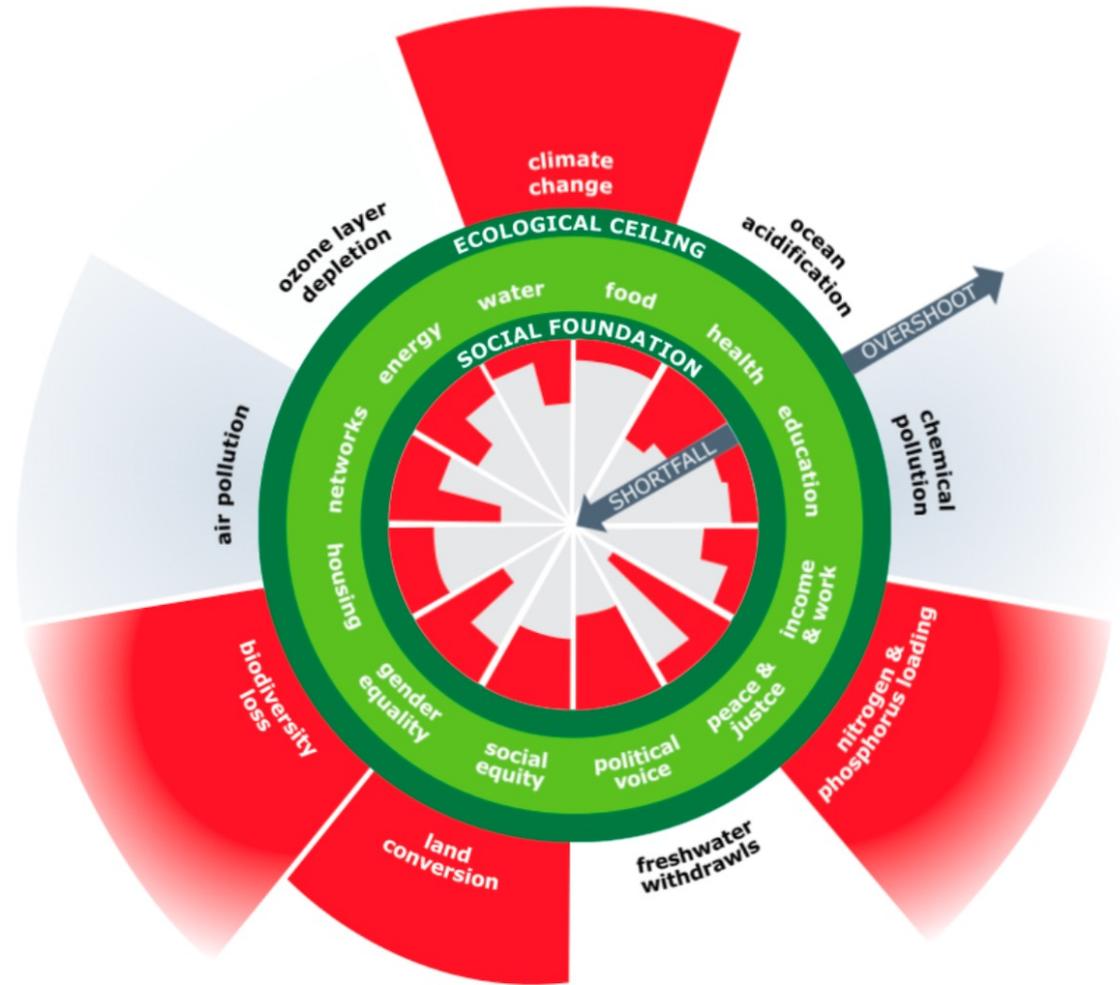
How to ask the main question

- The question resulting from this analysis of the situation:
- How to conceptualize the change and transformation we need?
- What is wrong and what should be done, how?
- Two approaches:
 - From policy to politics: starting with specific demands, for example
 - CO2-tax
 - Regulation of production (transport: car; energy etc)
 - Universal basic income (national and global)
 - = problem: how to integrate? How to guarantee that the most in need are not treated with injustice? (Yellow West-challenge)
 - From analysis of overall problems and the framework of thinking to politics, to policies
 - Systemic thinking: we should start with the framework and foundation and get from there to specific next steps (Raworth, Göpel, ...)
 - Linked to the question: how to change societies; historically: not only through singular policy-demands within same discursive scheme, but through change of discourse itself (Rancières "politics" versus "police"; and Chenoweth analysis of social movements (for womens rights, workers rights, civil rights))

6 How to analyze the situation

- Transformation-theories (Maja Göpel, Raworth, Chenoweth):
 - Systemic approach ("fossil society"; mindshift)
 - It is not enough to change some laws, policies ("we need a new way of thinking")
 - Transdisciplinary: economics, philosophy, sociology, ...
 - Linked to social movements approach
- Shift in research: instead of "how providing growth" etc. "where to go"?
 - New central question of economics, sociology etc (against mainstream neoclassic approach which reinforces capitalistic organized market-approach without alternatives)
 - Kate Raworth: Doughnut
 - 1) safe and just space to provide a life in dignity for all
 - 2) within 9 planetary boundaries
 - 3) and providing resources for everyone's "needs"
- Which means: regenerative, distributive, just, ... societies, economies
- 1) Stopping immediately ongoing desstruction of habitats; 2) Building sustainable wealth for all

Kate Rawort



7 Beyond Raworth – my research in democratization of democracies

- Question: In this model ("just and safe space"), what is the "doughnut" made of"
- Specific form of democracy concerning economic, societal structures (values, definition of ownership, relation to nature etc.)
 - Double-structure
 - 1) Seeing through and getting rid of social relations of dominance (individual and structural)
 - Intersectional analysis: gender, ethnicity, class, age, global North/South
 - Common ground of all dimensions: concept of "dominance"
 - 2) "Giving value" (more than recognition, esteem), "taking care of", sharing (in relation to nature and human fellows)
 - For example: Problem of unpaid "care economy" which is "core" economy (education, cooking, health care...), with gender injustices
 - 3) Both aspects together: "Being humane" (from personal attitude to political systems)
 - "Humane-ism"
 - Difference to "humanism" (ethics, anthropology, moral), traditional Western rationalistic project (see critical theory etc.)
 - Uniting ecologism, feminism, post-socialism etc

- This double-structure is "substantial" definition of democracy
 - Complementing "formal" structures: elections; deliberative debates etc.
- And provides framework for the transformational, "democratizing" process (1. beyond dominance; 2. care)
 - Perspective on transformation and goal: what is sustainable society
 - Perspective on process leading to goal (including inner organization of new movements)
 - No eco-dictatorship etc.
 - Challenge for grassroot movements to democratize themselves: creating inclusiveness, global integration, culture of respect and so on

III The specific framework for the transformation resulting from the analysis of the climate crisis

8 The transformation itself

- Hot to get there (to sustainable society)?
 - Which rules?
 - How to get them into place?
 - How to develop the movements?
- Transformation/systemic-theory approach
 - With special focus on double-structure of "humane" global democracy
 - and from the perspective of young people striking

9 The political consequences of the climate science: emission budgets

- Paris agreement, decisive factor: 1.5 degree target
 - Democratic dimension: Paris agreement ("well below 2°") as global legal foundation
 - Scientific dimension:
 - Already 1 degree now is linked to suffering, especially for global South
 - Huge difference between 1.5 and 2 degrees of warming, especially for tipping points and feedback loops (IPCC SR15, October 2018)
 - Correlation between emissions (tons of CO₂) (see Keeling curve, measuring the CO₂-concentration) and global warming: specific predictions since >30 years
- With perspective of the children and global justice perspective in mind: scenario 1 in IPCC SR15
- We can create emission budget for "remaining" 0.5 degree of warming
 - Ca 340 GT CO₂ worldwide and ca 45 GT emission/year: 8 years left with existing emissions
 - Even this is linked to huge risks
 - Many scientists say that we have already produced emissions which will lead to >2 degrees of warming (for example Aerosol-problem: pollution, cooling the system)
 - See also Feedback loops and Tipping points problem

10 Emission budgets versus net-zero-targets

- Why this approach of emission budgets is crucial: absolute numbers
- Alternative approach of "net zero 2050"-targets is misleading
- Or even worse: just legitimating too many emissions which the young people from today have to deal with
- 1) Emission budgets: absolute numbers; only these are relevant
 - "2045" can be linked to 370 MT (ca Swiss/Swedish budget) or to 600 MT or...; it doesn't say anything about the real emissions
- 2) "Net-zero": means that the young people have to capture and store CO₂, somehow
 - Almost all IPCC-scenarios count in "negative emissions" in the future (>2050) (see critique by Schellnhuber) which compensate for too many emissions now – mainly technological ones
 - Huge democratic problem: nobody knows that; confusion when reading IPCC-reports; problems are not technologies in themselves (also linked to problems), but relying on future may-be technology
 - Problem: There is no technology in huge scale which allows the capturing and storing
 - Obviously good with reforestation; "nature-based"-solutions are ok if really rewildering, real forests etc; danger with "Shell"-nature-based solutions as artificially created and "bought" compensation to emissions (see Greenpeace campaign: forests instead of painted trees)
 - Huge justice-problems with offsetting and "reducing" one's emissions abroad (Switzerland for example): not as effective as often said; unjust; we have to reduce the emissions ourselves: from 14 ton/person (Swiss) to 1.5 within very few years
- 3) Global justice: Instead of "net-" we need "real-zero", which means: almost zero emissions; not offsetting; trading away (chapter 6, Paris agreement): the grown-ups in the richer parts of the world need to take responsibility for their own emissions,
 - respecting global justice
 - and the generation of the young

- With these two aspects (global justice and children's perspective): how to share the global IPCC budget of 340 GT-budget?
- Applying the fundamental democratic principles of justice and equity, mentioned in Paris agreement and Kyoto protocol: legally binding contracts
 - This means for countries like Sweden, Germany and Switzerland: reducing their emissions by over 12 % per year from now on
 - Which leads to near zero emission societies in near future (rather 12 than 30 years)
 - Include shipping, flying; and consumption-related emissions (these are not included in the official statistics which means: a Swiss or Swedish citizen is responsible for around 10-14 ton, not 6 ton per year; should be 1.5 year)
- What means "justice"?
 - The richer countries should stop the emissions faster than the poorer (Schellnhuber: the global society should be near zero around 2040, which means for Western countries: many years before)
 - pay a "fair share" to the poorer countries,
 - as well as contributing to the "loss and damage" already done through a green fund which is not structured in a way so that especially western companies make profit

- This makes it possible to create global, national, regional and individual emission budgets (drastic consequences which lead to sustainable, healthier societies and give direction for common transformative project)
- All "Green New Deal"-plans should be linked to this kind of democratic just emission budgets (the EU "Green deal" is not)
- The NDCs (EU, Swiss, etc) are not in line with these budgets (Switzerland has 50 percent reduction target to 2030 compared to 1990, allowing emission-cuts abroad; EU is discussing 55 percent target; both are not at all on the way even to these false "net-zero" targets; see "statement" by ScientistsForFuture)
- Danger of future COP-meetings: "net-zero 2050" pledges instead of real emission budgets; "nature-based"-solution which are not natural; negative emission technology and geoengineering instead of reductions; no fair share- and loss-and-damage-funding through real green funds

11 Transforming all sectors

- This approach has systemic consequences for a democratic transformation of all sectors
 - Housing: Tree/cement; heating
 - Transport: public; electric; almost no flights
 - Agriculture: regenerative; plant-based diet
 - Energy: immediate global ban of building of new fossil infrastructure; building renewable
 - Economy, finance, etc (see later): being sustainable themselves; not investing in fossil industry
 - Swiss Climate Strike movement has sketched a possible transformation ("Climate Action Plan") for canton of Waadt; and Switzerland
- This drastic transformation needs democratic foundation
 - "Citizen assemblies" and debates to guarantee participation (UK and France govts with an attempt to create climate assemblies on national level)
 - Getting rid of existing structures of dominance in the societies (gender, class, ethnicity...)
 - Systemic approach; not changing hundred policies
 - Dilemma for "ScientistsForFuture": example of CO2-tax of 180 Euro/ton which is justified for next generations, but not just to the poorer part of society; one solution: universal basic income
 - Timeframe: operating via regulations and new standards

12 Keep the fossil fuels in the ground and taking down fossil infrastructure and financing

- This approach (emission budgets and stopping the emissions) is not enough
- There is a dramatic problem: the global fossil society has already planned, through the existing fossil infrastructure-projects, for the extraction of far too many tons of fossil fuels producing emissions which change the planet for the generation of the young people in a disastrous way
- Which correlates to emissions double as high as the global budget, see UNEP Production Gap report
- If we dig out the known and found oil, gas and coal, it is impossible to keep the temperature even near or below 2 degrees
- So we need a second, complementary approach. We have to keep the fossil fuels in the ground and taking down the fossil infrastructure and its financing
- Solution must be global and immediate (in respect to children's future)

- How to organize a global democratic transformation of the fossil industry and infrastructure?
- There is an analogy: the nuclear non-proliferation treaty
- Researchers developed a global fossil fuel non-proliferation treaty
 - see www.fossilfuel treaty.org and Newell et al 2018.
- Stopping all planing, financing and building of new fossil infrastructure
- Taking the existing infrastrcuture down with the principles of equity and justice and
- Building a renewable energy system instead (Jacobson group in Stanford 2019; Teske et al 2018)
- What is needed: to make this global "treaty" happen; and the global common public buidling of a renewable energy system including grid

13 The deeper challenge: the fossil society

- Understanding the underlying challenge
- We need to understand the structure and logic of the fossil society, and compare it with a possible global democratic society (with the principles sketched above)
- Why is it so difficult to stop the ongoing destruction of our living planet?

The backbone of the fossil society

- We can make a difference between components and processes
 - Basic components:
 - Searching for new fossil fuels
 - Extraction
 - Storage
 - Transport (pipelines etc)
 - Raffinadaries
 - Creating products (diesel, plastic etc)
 - Selling/buying
 - Consumption
 - Making profit
 - Emissions
 - This is a dynamic system: when one component is stopped/increased, this influences the others

Basic processes linked to all components:

- Legal processes
- Financial processes
 - Public: Pension funds; universities; cities, states (possible divestment)
 - Private (100 capital companies produce 70 % of all emissions)
- Ideological processes (lobbying; giving social licence/legitimacy etc.)
- Political processes (governing all other processes; including: accepting enormous wealth accumulation for a few)
- To change the fossil society means to change these processes and to stop the components of being built, used, legalized and financed

14 First summary: what is needed to create democratic global sustainable society

- 1) Emission budgets (instead of "net-zero 2050 targets")
 - global, national, regional, individual;
 - Climate Action plans by governments which break down systemic sectors according to budgets
 - Focus even on landuse and forestry (rewilding; keeping old forests etc.)
- 2) A "global fossil fuel non-proliferation treaty"
 - which builds back the fossil infrastructure and keeps the oil, gas and coal in the ground;
 - stopping all new financing and building back the existing infrastructure
- 3) Building a renewable energy system, public financed including financing "loss and damage"
- A) Following the principles of equity and (social, historic, climate) justice
- B) And enabling democracy in its double-structure of
 - 1) getting rid of structure of dominance (gender, class, ethnicity, global South/North),
 - 2) enabling relations of taking care and giving value (especially to the "core" economy)

15 How to get there – first sketch

- These 3 pillars and 2 principles are already implicit in the demands and the substance of the new climate movements (FFF, XR)
- What is needed by the generation of the grown-ups/multi-generational approach:
 - building one common global political movement (for "one people on one planet")
 - linking the non-violent grassroots movements of FridaysForFuture and ExtinctionRebellion to the rest of civil society, so that everybody can stand behind them, and stand up with them
 - not longer accepting the rules created by the logic of the fossil society, reaching for global substantial democratic goals with perspective of children in mind
 - for immediate change which guarantees life in dignity for the young generation

IV New ways of thinking around the concept
"democratization of the society"

16 Philosophical foundation

- At this point, mainstream philosophy (even critical theory) says:
 - Definition of fundamental principles and values are result (ever changing) of deliberative process within democracy (Habermas, Mouffe); ongoing debate about what freedom, justice and equality means
 - My PhD: yes, but there are "boundaries" like the planetary boundaries, or alienation and "being in contact" as aspects of establishing spaces of integrity and dignity (from neurophysiology to developmental psychology to political philosophy)
 - Interdependency of four spaces: bodily (health etc), intersubjective, social (school, working place etc) and political
 - Compass: creation of social spaces where we dont have to cut off the contact to ourselves and others and nature (having ideas and feelings)
 - Which means: going beyond relations of dominance in relation to ourselves, each other and nature towards relations of recognition, sharing/caring, allowing real freedom and equality
 - From micro-activity (developmental psychology: attachment theory; Winnicott- third space) to macro-activity of economic and ideological systems (violence and suffering linked to oppression)

- This is relevant for the design of the just transformation (problem with certain forms of "Green New Deal")
 - ScientistForFuture dilemma with designing isolated policies
 - Doesn't change anything in relation to existing structures of dominance
 - So, we need a holistic, systemic view on politics, using this transformation away from fossil society to implement basic democratic principles
 - Task for ScientistsForFuture: design systemic holistic approach within all sectors and linking sectors, especially to economic principles and financial sector (and doing the same within universities; see below "on education")
 - Seeing through structures of dominance: "democratic relation" of meeting as equals is not really quantitative phenomenon; it is either – or not
 - School class (really establishing groups of equals)
 - Working place
 - Gender power structures
 - Structures of ownership
 - Linked to giving value to the valuable

- Leading to democratic understanding of the concept of integrity and "value"
- New concept of "space" and "material of integrity" as compass. We can repair it or destroy it in everyday life, but even through the institutional framework of our economies
- New way of thinking: how to link and understand concepts of integrity – freedom – ownership and their relation
- Not: integrity as freedom as owning as possibility to dominate (Locke versus intuitive understanding by young people: "who owns forest...")
- Instead: integrity linked to "space and material" of integrity (see other lectures www.davidfopp.com)
- Mirrored by possible new foundation of UN charta
 - After WWII: focus on territorial integrity of nations and peace
 - Leading to definition of global international relations as protecting rights of domination over own territory; nothing about future generations and nature
 - We have new situation: government can burn down Amazonas; or burn up coal; or build oil-field in sea
 - New contract: we are one people on one planet. Interdependent on each others lives and the living planet (as the common history of dominance shows)

Example of this new way of thinking/politics: Care economy as core economy – what is seen as value

- Example: Care economy is "core" economy (education, health care, ...): especially in relation to children and multi/inter-generational (see virus-crisis)
- Gender: typical female work
- Unpaid
- No pensions
- No "value", but often creating sustainable value (no emissions; but social relations etc)
- Changing this structure of reinforcing structures of dominance (gender, class) and not giving value to the valuable

Example: Education

- Back to the doughnut
 - Raworth: compassion, sharing, regenerative, distributive by design
 - Göpel: needs, well-being
 - Me: reinforcing and repairing double-structure of democracy ("material of integrity")
- Education:
 - Renewing all curricula, from first class to university, all courses (economy, teachers training, architecture, history, etc)
 - Starting with facts about emission budgets, fair shares and planetary boundaries/needs as framework (global, national, local)
 - Aiming to see through and get rid of relations of dominance
 - Changing teaching methods, pedagogy: treating students as human beings with social interaction (democratic groups) in class room, imagination and needs (not competing individuals, treated as heads, reinforcing cultural capital)
 - Living up to democracy-task of all universities: going out into society and helping with the transformation

V How to get there?

17 The framework

- Untill now:
 - Framework by climate and earth science (emission budgets, renewables etc.)
 - Framework by problems of the logic of fossil infrastructure/society
 - Leads to emission budgets and transformation of all systemic sectors by Action Plan, global treaty and renewable energy system
- Introducing democracy in this transformation away from fossil society
 - How to give children place in this transformation (participation, representation, ...)
 - Within double framework of:
 - Getting rid of (intersectional) structures of dominance (gender/patriarchy, ethnicity/racism, class/exploation etc; global south/north)
 - Giving value to the valuable and taking care of each other and nature
 - New way of thinking: Humane-ism, inspired by feminism, postcolonialism, postsocialism etc: leads to different conception of the relation between concepts of ownership, integrity and freedom

18 The movement – activism for a global democracy from the childrens perspective

- How to get there?
- How to get these new rules into place?
- How to stand up for the three demands and two principles?

- Challenge: This transformation will be changing the life of richer parts of global society, and richest 10 percent much more; see slide on fossil society (link between politics, finance, fossil industry, ...): systemic transformation which is directed to all aspects of modern societies
- Some forms of traditional activism worked: divestment; indigenous fight against exploitation, but this is not enough
- Core of the new rebellious movements (FFF/XR):
 - Directed to the core of societies, parliaments, law making (not only specific parts of fossil societies, banks, oil industry etc.)
 - Focused disruption: not accepting inaction by politics; using civil disobedience, non violent direct action; instead of all 198 democratizing methods by Gene Sharp
- My analysis: Need of a broader unified movement of movements so that everyone everywhere can stand up for this transformation now

19 Legitimacy of civil disobedience

- Antigone: "agrapta nomima", unwritten law of being humane
- Is about the children's future, and a life in dignity for all on a living planet
- They are not represented in democracy today
- Democracy always "paradox" of formal part (procedures, elections, deliberative process) and substantial part (guaranteeing human rights, dignity): so if the laws don't live up to substantial democracy, there is a legitimacy to stand up in civil disobedience (is against the law but no crime)
- There is a time problem: only ten years to transform richer societies; is not reasonable to wait four years to next elections; and elections in themselves are not guarantee for substantial democracy
- My approach: That is why global democracy with children's perspective leads to movement where civil society should unite together with children's movements, stands up for new rules, and uses civil disobedience and linking it to ongoing united movement with one political framework
- This movement have to
 - 1) stop the fossil society: Norway 50 years of exploiting oil field; Brasil destroying Amazonas; Germany coal to 2030; Swiss banks financing it; and so on; and always starting home: near real zero around 2030 and paying fair share to green fund
 - 2) While building up a humane way of living together in a sustainable way

20 Democratization of movements

- The need for democratization with double-structure is not only directed to society, but also to movements themselves
- "Decentralization" (and "holocracy") is problematic concept; can reinforce already existing structures of dominance within movements
- Democracy in grassroots movements means: democratic leadership linking everybody together and building a core (values, compass, social structure); and encouraging everyone to become active ("decentralized") in relation to this core – at the same time
- Implementing double-structure of democratizing:
 - Always working with relations and structures of dominance (gender, ethnicity, class, ...) within the movements to get beyond them
 - And giving value to the valuable

21 "One people on one planet"

- What means "global democracy" and "inter-generationality" in relation to the movement/change which is needed?
 - FFF and XR operate already globally
 - Problem with punctual disruption (big strikes; rebellions) and then nothing happens or greenwashing
 - Problem with going back to marches, petitions, blocking banks etc (Gene Sharpe)
- Instead: real inter-generational global cooperation by FFF and all civil society (see COP25 in Madrid): including NGOs (greenpeace, Oxfam, Amnesty, and all small ones), climate justice movements, grassroots movements around the world stopping the fossil industry, social justice movements; but even: churches, universities, unions (ITUC etc), and so on.
- New political common global movement, with continuity and common goal, so that everybody can stand up and stand behind a shared goal.
- Middle level:
 - not as political party or very specific green new deal (one becomes one small part of existing discourse)
 - not as general demand of Paris agreement and 1.5/IPCC
 - but as middle ground political movement
- Guaranteeing continuity; making greenwashing visible ("net zero 2050..."); giving everyone a voice
- United behind three pillars and two principles (see above)
- Using civil disobedience (school strike, blocking inner cities), not only marches, demonstrations, petitions... and new ways of creating continuity: WeekForFuture with 8 million activists in streets in September 2019 as a starting point for a new platform

Looking forward

- To answer to the crises with the double criterium of the childrens perspective in a global context, the grown-up world could react by taking responsibility and creating a movement founded in interdisciplinary science
- with 3 pillars
 - Global emission budgets which we break up with justice, taking fair shares
 - Climate Action Plans by countries and regions/cities getting to real zero within ten years
 - Sector by sector: democratic and just transformation (standards, regulations) taking care of workers in fossil industry and stopping backbone of fossil society
 - Informed by citizen assemblies and other democratic forms where children and young people play a cenral role (participation, representation)
 - Global treaty to keep the fossils in the ground, banning all investments in and building of new fossil infrastructure, immediatly building back the existing one
 - Global renewable energy system and grid, financed by fair share via green fund
- and 2 principles guiding this "humane" transformation
 - Justice (social, historic, climate in a global realm) and equity/fairness
 - Double-structure of democratization: getting rid of (intersectional) structures of dominance and giving value to the valuable
- and by 1 new global movement as "one people on one planet". This can be done by everyone in accordance to the legally binding Paris agreement and the UN-declaration of human rights
- The community of scientists have a special responsibility in guiding this transition
- Not only the perspective of the children, but they themselves must now be included in this transformation, closing the huge democratic deficit
- This can be done by including everyone and everywhere, to do justice to the global justice perspective of the crisis, following the childrens global perspective

- Thank you!
- davidfopp@outlook.com
- www.davidfopp.com

Literature

- Anderson, Kevin (2019): “Climate’s holy trinity”, Oxford Lecture. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BZFvc-ZOa8>
- Equity-principle: <http://civilsocietyreview.org>
- Fopp, David; Axelsson, Isabelle; Tille Loukina (2021): *Gemeinsam in die Zukunft*. Transcript, Blefeld
- Fossil fuel non-proliferation treaty: www.fossilfuel treaty.org
- UNEP Gap-report (2019): <https://www.unenvironment.org/resources/emissions-gap-report-2019>
- Göpel, Maja (2016): *The great mindshift*. Springer, Berlin
- Hart, Roger (1992): “Children’s participation. From tokenism to citizenship”. https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/childrens_participation.pdf
- Hornborg, Alf (2016): *Global magic*. Palgrave Macmillan, London
- Jacobson et al. (2019): “Impacts of Green New Deal Energy Plans on Grid Stability, Costs, Jobs, Health, and Climate in 143 Countries”, in “One Earth 1”, s. 449–463
- Newell, Peter & Simms, Andrew (2019): *Towards a fossil fuel non-proliferation treaty*, *Climate Policy*, DOI: 10.1080/14693062.2019.163675
- Rahmstorf, Stefan & Schnellhuber, Hans Joachim (9 Aufl. 2019): *Der Klimawandel*. Beck
- Raworth, Kate (2018): *Doughnut economics*. Random House
- Rockström, Johan (2020): <https://sverigesradio.se/avsnitt/1425542>
- Steffen, Will (2019): „All you need to know about climate change“, lecture, https://klimatstudenterna.se/klimatstudentpodden/?fbclid=IwAR380aD8vJ1D9pzE7M8IWEBwgMaYm1mZdV2TZptmO00q_RTJ40HGY-YURhI
- Teske, Sven et al (2019): *Achieving the Paris Climate Agreement Goals*, Springer
- Thunberg, Greta (2019): *No one is too small to make a difference*. Penguin
- Wallace-Wells, David (2019): *The uninhabitable earth*. Penguin, London/New York