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### I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Te applaud U.S. President Biden's January 27th Executive Order announcing his intentions to establish a Civilian Climate Corps (CCC). In its ongoing conversations around the YES (Youth Environment Service) program, the Berggruen Institute's Future of Democracy team has developed a set of recommendations for a successful service corps equipped to address the climate emergency, and to assist in post-pandemic economic recovery.

### We recommend that:

Youth should serve as core participants and co-designers;

the CCC should focus on building transnational coalitions; and

the scale of the CCC should be calibrated to the massive scale of the problem that faces us through a jobs program.

Given the magnitude of the climate crisis, each of these elements will be crucial to ensuring meaningful steps toward climate action.









RIGHT: January 2021. U.S. Vice President Kamala Harris and President Joe Biden. Archna Nautiyal / Shutterstock.com

### II. PREFACE

The policy recommendations below emerge from ongoing conversations around YES, a cornerstone of the Berggruen Institute's 2019 reform plan, "Renewing Democracy in the Digital Age." This plan was developed by a broad range of democratic practitioners and reform theorists, and driven by Martin Moore, Director of the Centre for the Study of Media, Communication and Power at King's College London. Throughout 2021, the Berggruen Institute will continue to engage youth, community, and policy stakeholders, host workshops and town halls, and organize deliberative assemblies to promote YES.

YES originated in a pre-COVID-19 context, and initially responded to a set of concerns that are discrete from, but overlap with, the ones we face today. Initially, YES emerged as an effort to address young people's frustrations with the political process, and their lack of opportunity to develop the skill sets necessary to engage in meaningful dialogue with one another in a multicultural, diverse environment. YES aimed to bring them together around a common project focused on national environmental service, a project that could enable the development of those critical skill sets and competencies. YES retains a focus on new forms of democratic participation for youth populations, and will explore possibilities toward that end through governing bodies known as deliberative assemblies or "people's assemblies."





While YES was in development, the pandemic hit, and brought with it a massive economic shock for the current youth population. In the wake of COVID-19's effects, it became clear that YES would need to prominently foreground an economic recovery component, in order to support the current youth population and prevent it from becoming a lost generation. For more information on YES, please see Appendix A: YES (Youth Environment Service). The themes of YES remain a top priority for the Berggruen Institute's Future of Democracy program in 2021.

Following the release of President Biden's "Executive Order On Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad," on January 27th, we have extrapolated the key aims and objectives of YES into a series of recommendations for the proposed Civilian Climate Corps.

### III. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW







We applaud President Biden's January 27th "Executive Order On Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad." Sec. 215 of the order, entitled "Civilian Climate Corps," reads:

In furtherance of the policy set forth in section 214 of this order, the Secretary of the Interior, in collaboration with the Secretary of Agriculture and the heads of other relevant agencies, shall submit a strategy to the Task Force within 90 days of the date of this order for creating a Civilian Climate Corps Initiative, within existing appropriations, to mobilize the next generation of conservation and resilience workers and maximize the creation of accessible training opportunities and good jobs. The initiative shall aim to conserve and restore public lands and waters, bolster community resilience, increase reforestation, increase carbon sequestration in the agricultural sector, protect biodiversity, improve access to recreation, and address the changing climate.

The Civilian Climate Corps (CCC), seemingly directed straight at America's youth, builds on the legacy of President Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps and subsequent national service initiatives like AmeriCorps to provide opportunities for young people to take direct action on climate. The CCC also builds on the work of other states such as California, which has established a Climate Action Corps.

Given the magnitude of the climate crisis, its disproportionate impacts on youth populations, and the delimited timeline for addressing those impacts, we put forth the following recommendations for the CCC:

- 1. As the population most impacted by the effects of the climate emergency as well as by the economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, youth should serve as core participants and co-designers in shaping the structure of the CCC.
- 2. Given the global scope of the climate emergency, the CCC should focus on building transnational coalitions of service corps across the world devoted to executing climate action.
- 3. The scale of the CCC initiative should be calibrated to the massive scale of the problem that faces us, both through unprecedented fiscal investment and through the establishment of new models for national service. To ensure that national service is inclusive and accessible to a diverse pool of participants, the CCC should be structured as a jobs program that pays members of the Corps a living wage.

### IV. CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND: CLIMATE EMERGENCY



xperts, scholars, and policymakers concur that what lies ahead of us is a global climate emergency. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has advised that unless we take radical action before 2030, temperature change cannot be kept below 1.5C.



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The World Bank projects that by 2050, ecological crises in Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and Southeast Asia will produce 143 million climate migrants. We are already seeing the effects of this across the globe, and delaying in response to climate emergency will result in continued mass displacement that will directly impact the United States. In a recent report, the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) has identified the southeastern United States and Caribbean as the highest-risk sites for "tropical cyclone displacement." CSIS also projects that climate-driven heat waves may produce more deaths than HIV, tuberculosis, and malaria in aggregate. To avert this scenario, the CSIS recommends investment in reducing the drivers of climate emergency, and urges the United States to assume a leadership position among global stakeholders currently addressing the climate crisis.

Failure to act decisively in the face of this crisis will lead to severe disruptions to human society, including region-wide famine and water shortages, dramatic declines in health and wellbeing, economic and social breakdowns, mass climate migrations, and rising threats to international and human security. The predicted loss of life will be greater than in any previous international conflict and will likely accelerate over time.

At the appropriate scale, the Civilian Climate Corps can be a cornerstone of economic recovery and build a force to tackle the climate emergency while cultivating a more resilient nation, community by community.

## V. THE CIVILIAN CLIMATE CORPS (CCC)



The Civilian Climate Corps is not I only a response to the climate emergency, but also a way to address the economic crisis impacting young people, and reengage them in the democratic process. By empowering young people to work together in their communities on the most critical crises that confront their generation through a public service corps or jobs program, we can both transform the environmental landscape and help reforge more cohesive, purpose-driven democratic societies. The CCC thus helps restore young people's faith in democracy, while furthering the path toward economic recovery.

The CCC should aim to:

- Create meaningful impact in addressing the climate emergency.
- Bolster economic recovery by providing jobs and skills training to youth populations.
- Bring open and accountable deliberation back to policymaking.
- Help restore democratic legitimacy.

By scaling the CCC and engaging young people in finding solutions, we can help restore the next generation's faith in America's capacity to solve the world's biggest challenges while re-stitching together the diverse fabric of our nation. For young people, this moment is a challenge. We can use it to renew how we govern and how we live.

CCC programs could encompass a range of service activities, including:

MITIGATION: Continued efforts to reduce carbon in the atmosphere by expanding conversion of the energy grid to renewables, restoring forests, and reducing the acidification of the oceans to enhance carbon capture capacity, implementing regenerative agricultural efforts and even researching new ways of collecting carbon in the atmosphere.

**ADAPTATION:** Improving forest management, restoring wetlands, building infrastructure to manage floods, retrofitting the built environment in preparation for severe weather events.

**CRISIS RESPONSE:** Developing community plans for crisis response in the face of climate related disasters such as floods, fires, and hurricanes.



### VA. YOUTH ENGAGEMENT IN CLIMATE CORPS DESIGN

Youth populations in the United States agree with President Biden about the urgency of climate action. 41% of globally surveyed young people view the climate crisis as the biggest issue facing the world and as the critical challenge that defines their generation. 98% of young people believe governments should take the lead in protecting the environment and tackling the climate crisis. And yet, 59% don't think their voices are being heard on this critical issue. We need youth represented — and *leading* — on the Biden Administration's climate task force at every level, and we need to dramatically ramp up opportunities for them to take climate action in their communities and across the country.

National service programs, like the CCC, can also play an important role in re-stitching together the fabric of the country in this politically and socially divisive time, and empower communities that have been underrepresented in civic and decision-making processes for far too long. Civic engagement and national service have been found to contribute to educational and occupational development and a sense of belonging, and are popular with young people. A survey by Service Year Alliance sampling over 2,300 Americans showed that 44% of young Americans are interested in national service. Young people rank the environment among the primary concerns, second only to homelessness and housing.

Extending meaningful representation to youth in the process of shaping climate action means offering them a seat at the table in designing the CCC. Young climate activists have already proven their capability and commitment in leading the fight against climate change. Zero Hour, a youth-led and founded organization, has expanded across the globe with chapters in every major city since its founding in 2008. Its annual Youth Climate Summits attract over 300 participants from across the United States. Similar organizations like the **Sunrise Movement** and the US Climate Action Network focus on engaging their members through grassroots training and political education and advocacy. These organizations collectively reach 600 chapters of young people across the country. Sunrise Movement Executive Director Varshini Prakash has applauded President Biden's intention to establish the CCC.

Young climate activists worldwide are actively recognizing that climate change is a complex issue, one that disproportionately impacts communities of color and Indigenous peoples. Young people are strategically centering communities that are most heavily affected in their organizing. The Mock

COP26, a youth-led virtual climate conference, offers a prime example. Among the 330 delegates in attendance, 72% selected represented countries from the Global South, and each delegate from the Global South was eligible for a weighted 1.1 vote. [For additional information about the Mock COP26, please see Appendix B below.]

As scholars and agencies like the World Economic Forum have noted, "communities of colour are disproportionately burdened with health hazards" related to environmental pollutants. Recent polling has shown that youth members of communities of color are also overwhelmingly interested in national service. Notably, 60% of young people of color (aged 18-28) have expressed interest in participating in national service programs, including 69% of African Americans, 58% of Latinx Americans, and 49% of Asian-Americans. Put otherwise, the communities most likely to participate in national service programs like the CCC are also some of the most heavily impacted by climate change. However, the current infrastructures of national service programs like AmeriCorps are not equipped with enough funding and resources to encourage participation from diverse communities, especially low-income ones.



Philadelphia, PA/USA - July 22, 2019. Members of the Sunrise Movement gather at the Philadelphia DNC office. Rachael Warriner/Shutterstock.com

### VB. TRANSNATIONAL COALITION BUILDING



Young people have already demonstrated that they are prepared to take concrete action on climate change. Before the Fridays For Future climate movement started by climate activist Greta Thunberg became the largest transnational movement in history, there was already a robust existing network of global youth-led climate organizing.

The International Student Environmental Coalition (ISEC), for example, unites youth advocates in over 30 countries. While its membership is global in scale, its projects are executed at the local level. To date, the ISEC has executed over 100 community-based climate initiatives. Its "Plant for the Planet" project, which originated in Nigeria, has already garnered the involvement of over 8,000 students in four countries. Moreover, the ISEC's Global Youth Action Map inventories youth-led and youth-engaged climate action worldwide, demonstrating the widespread nature of student coalitional work.

In a similar vein, the Youth Adaptation Network hosted by the Global Center on Adaptation has developed partnerships in over 110 countries to connect youth to the resources needed to make meaningful interventions in the climate crisis. Its 2025 goal includes increasing "youth participation and engagement in decision-making processes at the local, regional, national and international level." To that end, the process of developing the Youth Adaptation Network foregrounded the input, feedback, and co-design of young people from 120 countries.

Taking a cue from these initiatives, youth-led climate action is also a chance to re-establish American leadership at home and abroad. 2021 will be a pivotal year for climate action

and President Biden has called for an international summit on Earth Day, April 22, 2021. In November, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's 26th Conference of Parties (UNFCCC COP26) will meet in Glasgow, Scotland, where the United States and other leading countries have pledged to update their Nationally Determined Contributions for the fight against climate change. In advance of the event, the Pre-COP26 Summit will convene virtual and interactive meetings addressed to young people around the world, including a webinar program titled "Youth4Climate Live Series: Driving Momentum Towards Pre-COP26." The Pre-COP26 Summit will be hosted by the Italian Ministry of Environment, in collaboration with Connect4Climate, World Bank Group, and the Office of Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth. It's important to note that youth already play an important role at the convening through "Young and Future Generations Day," where youth climate leaders from across the world come together to work toward concrete solutions. Notably, in 2019, SustainUS sent its first all-Indigenous youth delegation to COP25, recognizing that Indigenous peoples' contributions to this effort are historically neglected in public discourse on climate change.

Now is the time for action. With young people at the forefront, we can finally make the critical choices needed to secure our common future, both in the United States and abroad.

### VC. SCALE

In its March 2020 report, "Inspired to Serve," the National Commission on Military, National, and Public Service advocated for the need to develop new, innovative paradigms for service. The report urges policymakers to:

Establish new models for national service. Awarding national service fellowships to support individuals participating in a service year at any certified nonprofit organization will significantly expand the universe of opportunities for national service, especially in rural and underserved areas.

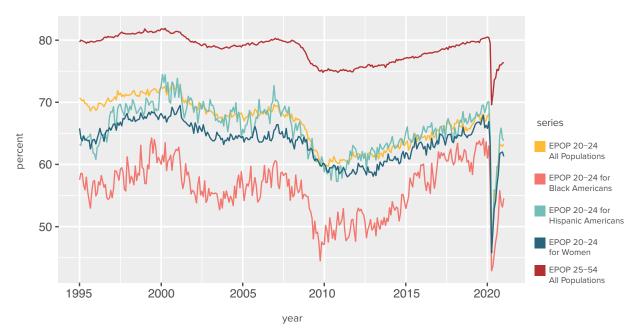
The COVID-19 crisis has disproportionately hit young workers. The unemployment rate for workers 16-24 jumped from 8.4% to 24.4%, while that of workers 25 and older increased from 2.8% to 11.3% in October 2020. This is even more pronounced in minority youth populations whose unemployment rate cratered to almost 30% among Black, Latinx, and Asian and Pacific Islander workers.

While the COVID-19 crisis is temporary, its effects will be longlasting. Shocks to employment can lead to weak labor markets well after the economy has exited recession. Moreover, entry into employment in a weak labor market has consistently been shown to lower lifetime earnings relative to those who

entered labor markets when they are strong. To make things worse, a return to "normal" does not mean that we are back to a healthy environment for young workers. The Employment Population Ratio (EPOP), a measure of the percentage of the population in the labor force for American workers has never reached the levels we have seen in the 1990s. This effect is even more dramatic for young workers. Many economists now think EPOP is a more powerful measure of long term unemployment than the headline (U3) unemployment rate. Unlike the unemployment rate, EPOP gives us an idea of how many individuals are locked out of the labor force instead of just searching for work but not finding it.

EPOP peaked at 81.5% in 2000 before briefly recovering to 80% in 2007, never to recover to that level until the first quarter of 2020. However, EPOP for workers aged 20-24 peaked at 72% in 2000 never to recover to those levels again. While we should expect a lower EPOP in younger age groups due to education, the consistent lows in an age group typically out of school and training relative to the entire decade of the 1990s speaks to a structural problem integrating younger cohorts into the labor force.

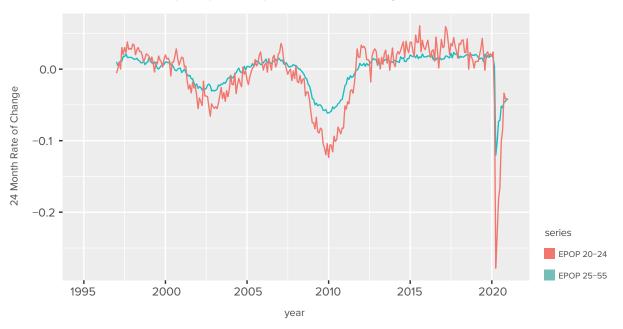
# Employment Population Ratios 1995-2021



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Author's Calculations,

# Rate of Change in EPOPS

Youth labor force participation responds more dramatically to economic shocks.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Author's Calculations.

Thus, the scale of the CCC should take into consideration the fact that the American labor market has not been serving its youth for a very long time. With this in mind, a goal of the CCC should be to both strengthen youth public participation and to be an element of an active labor market policy to on-ramp youth into the labor force that provides participants with the skills for lifelong economic advancement. The CCC may integrate certain countercyclical elements to adjust its size and scope to fluctuations in the labor market. For example, the CCC might have a list of reserve jobs that are activated in response to an economic downturn.

Existing programs have some of these elements. AmeriCorps programs are effective at instilling positive attitudes toward public service. However, they are not designed to be jobs programs and thus are not tailored for mass employment, nor

skill acquisition for high demand industries. The Job Corps, an education and vocational training program administered by the U.S. Department of Labor, on the other hand, has a strong track record of training and delivery of social services. However, it neither emphasizes the connection between career training and service, nor is it actively designed to address large-scale social concerns. Neither of these programs provide living wages beyond the poverty level.

The CCC must look to the model provided by the original CCC of the Roosevelt Administration. Taking a page from history, the CCC should endeavor to address the jobs problem facing American youth. CCC jobs must not only provide a living wage, but also integrate education, both in classroom subjects and the trades into work programs with civic engagement, and offer a pipeline to gainful employment for program alumni.





### VI. PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES FOR YOUTH ENGAGEMENT

Responding to the need for foregrounding young people in a participatory process of collaborative development, the Berggruen Institute has launched two partnerships with major universities on deliberative processes. The goals of these partnerships include engaging youth in dialogues on the design of a public climate corps, encouraging greater civic participation, while bolstering democratic processes and complementing democratic governance. These partnerships aim to ensure that youth perspectives are centrally foregrounded in shaping the future of climate action in the United States.

#### A. STANFORD DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY **PRACTICUM**

In partnership with Stanford University, the Berggruen Institute will host the largest national deliberative event carried out by young people in the United States. This virtual event, "Shaping our Future," is designed to deepen youth engagement with an understanding of public policy choices related to youth leadership in climate action. Research suggests that deliberative polling also impacts the participants - reducing partisanship, increasing understanding of alternative perspectives and deepening engagement in the political process.

While conventional polling structures provide only schematic insight into participants' policy preferences, the "deliberative polling" model developed by Stanford professor James Fishkin offers a new and constructive way to use public opinion. Deliberative polling proceeds as follows:

A random, representative sample is first polled on the targeted issues. After this baseline poll, members of the sample are invited to gather at a single place for a weekend in order to discuss the issues. Carefully balanced briefing materials are sent to the participants and are also made publicly available. The participants engage in dialogue with competing experts and political leaders based on questions they develop in small group discussions with trained moderators. Parts of the deliberative events are often broadcast on television, either live or in taped and edited form and/or through social media and other mediums. After the deliberations, the sample is again asked the original questions. The resulting changes in opinion represent the conclusions the public would reach, if people had the opportunity to become more informed and more engaged by the issues.

In this way, deliberative polling moves far beyond furnishing a series of data points: it also models a participatory, democratic process of engagement, and provides an opportunity for participants to hear perspectives across differences of politics, geography, socio-economic background, race and ethnicity, religion, and lived experience.

## **B. ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT (pTA)**

Through a partnership with Arizona State University (ASU), the Berggruen Institute will explore how to further develop and hone the specific contours of a CCC, with particular focus on enabling the co-design of the program by youth. Through ASU's pTA process, the Institute aims to establish youth populations' perceptions of and response to the Executive Order regarding the CCC, and to offer data attesting to their degree of support for the CCC, and the likelihood of the CCC influencing their levels of civic engagement.

The pTA process was developed by ASU professor Mahmud Farooque in collaboration with the Expert and Citizen Assessment of Science and Technology (ECAST) network. Its originators describe it as "a reflexive method for advancing the public role in science policy decision-making":

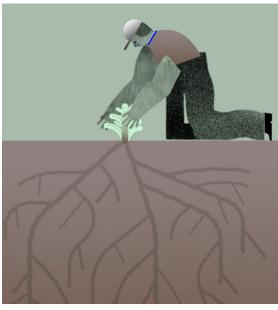
The current ECAST pTA method includes three participatory phases: 1) Problem Framing; 2) ECAST Citizen Deliberation; and 3) Results and Integration. Proving adaptable and replicable, the method has generated outputs for decision-making on a variety of science and technology issues and at governance scales ranging from the local to the national and international. ECAST's distributed network model has also promoted independence, continuity, and sustainability through changing sociopolitical contexts. In this paper, we detail the current state of the ECAST pTA method; share mini case studies to illustrate circumstances that prompted new method innovations; and offer a vision for further developing and integrating pTA into democratic science policy decision-making.

Across its partnerships with Stanford University and ASU, the Berggruen Institute will develop a framework for ensuring that youth take the role of key drivers in shaping the contours of a civilian climate corps.

# APPENDIX A: YES (YOUTH ENVIRONMENT SERVICE)

The following is adapted from an appendix published in the Berggruen Institute's "Renewing Democracy in the Digital Age" report.





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Youth Environment Service (YES) would provide opportunities for young people to work together across differences to protect the planet from climate catastrophe while furthering their democratic leadership, job skills, and capacity for common purpose.

YES addresses three primary objectives that demand our attention in the immediate future:

### **ENVIRONMENTAL GOALS:**

to slow climate change and reverse mass extinctions.

**ECONOMIC GOALS:** 

to develop job skills, particularly for youth populations disproportionately impacted by the economic effects of COVID-19, and to advance sustainable development, particularly in areas that were left behind in the last era of globalization. Service programs have been shown to have significant long-term positive economic effects.

**SOCIAL GOALS:** 

to promote the democratic integration of youth from diverse communities to achieve a common cause. The aim is to build solidarity, which working towards a common cause helps to achieve.











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A Katz / Shutterstock.com

YES programs could encompass a range of service activities, from building flood resistance to installing solar panels and conducting basic research. Participants would choose to spend their year engaging in one of a variety of environmental initiatives that could include:

- 1. Restoring wetlands, waterways, and seas through recovery projects.
- 2. Implementing regenerative agricultural efforts.
- 3. Converting the energy grid to renewable energy and smart alternatives.
- 4. Supporting climate adaption projects for vulnerable communities who are already suffering the effects of climate change and ecological disaster.
- 5. Conducting technological and scientific research to develop methods for trapping carbon, reducing emissions, and enhancing environmental innovation.
- 6. Participating in policy drafting, analysis, and advocacy aimed at increasing environmental protections.

YES would offer opportunities for every young person between 18- and 25-years-old to complete one year of compensated environmental service in a public service corps. Each service would be developed nationally but could seek to address national or international environmental problems. National governments could manage programs directly or in conjunction with international institutions and civil society.

Programs would be locally-driven to respond to the needs, decisions, and processes of local communities.

Specific program choices could be made through new forms of governing bodies known as deliberative assemblies or "people's assemblies." These assemblies serve as an alternative method of aggregating and deliberating popular interests from the electoral process. Preliminary studies have shown that such fora can be more effective at reaching agreement on contentious policies.

YES also offers an opportunity to contribute to addressing racial injustice. The climate crisis has exacerbated the challenges faced by people of color and other marginalized communities, as they are more likely to lack access to fundamental environmental and health rights such as clean air, clean water, and nutritious food. They are also more likely to live in areas vulnerable to climate hazards and threatened with toxic waste. Women, youth, and the elderly are also disproportionately affected by climate change. Indeed, worldwide women make up 80% of those displaced by climate change.

## APPENDIX B: CASE STUDY: MOCK COP26

When the 2020 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26) was postponed amid the COVID-19 pandemic, students from Teach the Future and Fridays for Future International recruited a heterogeneous group of young people interested in moving COP26 online; thus creating Mock COP26. In a departure from its namesake, this conference would center a diverse group of young people and their demands for the future.

From the start, the young organizers determined that their Mock COP would emphasize those most directly suffering the effects of climate change. The event heavily foregrounded the Global South, including countries in Latin America, South Asia, Africa, and Oceania. To effectively represent these regions, the delegate application process encouraged more participation from the "Most Affected People and Areas," or MAPA. In total, 330 delegates from ages 11 to 30 attended from 140 countries, reflective of international participation at official COPs. However, 72% of the delegates were from the Global South. During the six regional caucus events leading up to Mock COP, delegates reviewed and voted on policies to focus on at the main event. Each delegate from the Global South was eligible for a weighted 1.1 vote.

The organizers of Mock COP recognized that smaller, less wealthy countries in the Global South are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change, yet are represented poorly in comparison to the Global North at events like COP. A delegate's speech from Liberia explains why members of the Global South deserve quality advocacy:

"We that are from the Global South have been left behind in access to information, technology, space, and financial support. Based on the lack of information on climate change, many are not aware about this crisis yet they are the ones mostly affected."

After the two-week virtual conference, the delegates collaborated with scientists and ClientEarth, an environmental law charity, to produce a treaty that summed up their demands. The official demands were grouped into five overarching themes, listed in the Mock Cop Declaration:

- 1. Climate Justice
- 2. Climate Education
- 3. Climate Resilient Livelihoods
- 4. Physical and Mental Health
- 5. Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)

If we hope to secure the participation of young people in climate action initiatives, the policies and principles undergirding those initiatives must address their collectively articulated focus. In that vein, the CCC should address each of the five focal points listed above.

In the wake of the event and publication of the treaty, Mock COP continues to support its 330 delegates through political engagement in their home countries. Currently, their goal is to get the treaty implemented by as many governments as possible. Progress has been made on that front, as three delegates from Mock COP have already met senior officials and ministers from their governments. Along with receiving international media coverage from Time, the BBC, and CNN, Mock COP was also recognized by the United Nations. Alok Sharma, the President of COP26, stated that the event will show "the appetite that exists across the world for governments and organizations to take ambitious climate action."

As the case study of the Mock COP demonstrates, when young people take control of the climate movement, they prioritize the input and involvement of vulnerable communities. To take a cue from their activities, the CCC must center those who have the most at stake in both the process of shaping the program, and in the program's aims and objectives.

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