



Climate breakdown, just transitions and conflict transformation

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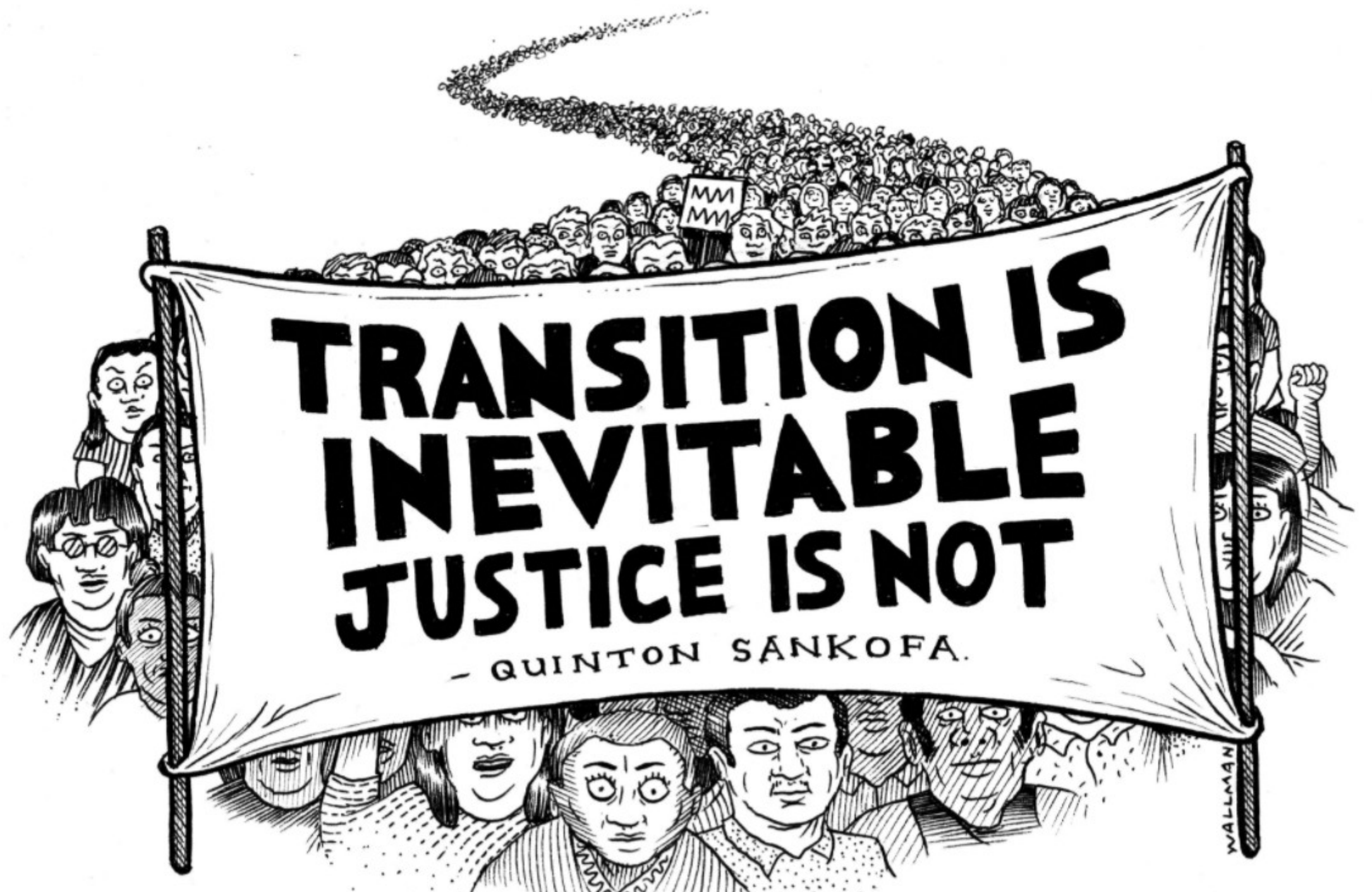
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**TRANSITION IS
INEVITABLE
JUSTICE IS NOT**

- QUINTON SANKOFA.

WALLMAN

Communism is Soviet power plus the
electrification of the whole country.

V.Lenin



Lessons from Conflict Management and Transformation

Large evidence base of good (and bad) practice in processes to end ethno-nationalist conflict from around the world

Conflict management – focus on the effects of conflict, ending of violence, threat of violence, securing basic needs and human rights of the population

Conflict transformation – focus on the root causes, which often require structural economic, political and cultural changes and raise issues of justice in a way conflict management does not

But strategically the importance of, at times, exacerbating social conflicts and refusing to engage in 'social dialogue' and 'consensus building' and 'compromise'

Enlarge the Problem...lessons from NI peace process

“when a problem cannot be solved, it needs to be enlarged. [We] need to broaden the agenda and open up more scope for trade-offs and hopefully the inclusion of other issues upon which common ground might be found.”

Peter Robinson, former First Minister from Northern Ireland, 2018

Can also be read as the positive role of agonistic political agitation to ensure justice, democracy, recognition, gender, human rights etc. are not omitted through a technological focus, or top-down strategies of decarbonisation

Negotiation before legislation ? Nothing about us, without us...

Conflict focus on sustainability transitions

Beyond 'politics as zoo-keeping' (Barber, 1984)

Conflict as important as consensus

"while we desire an end to conflict, if we want people to be free we must always allow for the possibility that conflict may appear and to provide an arena where differences can be confronted. The democratic process should supply that arena' (Mouffe, 1998)

Conflict is both inevitable and also (under certain circumstances) healthy and can add to legitimacy of decision making and can help problem solving

Overcomes the depoliticised (and supply side/fuel) focus of 'socio-technical transitions' perspective

Just transitions and agonistic political strategy

“Civil society and grassroots action we believe are and will continue to be central,

This would also include non-violent civil disobedience against carbon power stations and against unconventional or ‘sub-prime’ fossil fuel extraction such as fracking.

It would also include campaigns against the ‘science fiction’-like techno-optimism of carbon capture and sequestration (CCS), or geoengineering proposals for solar radiation management”

(Barry et al, 2015: 16; emphasis added)

LOW CARBON TRANSITIONS AND POST-FOSSIL FUEL
ENERGY TRANSFORMATIONS AS POLITICAL STRUGGLES:
ANALYSING AND OVERCOMING ‘CARBON LOCK-IN’

John Barry, Therese Hume, Geraint Ellis and Robin Curry

“Political action by civil society will be required to accelerate the phased ending of the fossil fuel era” (Healy and Barry, 2017: 456)

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Politicizing energy justice and energy system transitions: Fossil fuel divestment and a “just transition”[☆]



Noel Healy^{a,*}, John Barry^b

How to Blow

Up a



Pipeline



Andreas



Malm

Andreas Malm, *How to Blow Up a Pipeline*, argues against the green/climate movements' dogmatic/principled attachment to non-violence, on the grounds that the planetary crisis is escalating, so too must the tactics of those seeking to defend life.

We need to stop the fossil fuel industry by any means necessary

Violence against inanimate infrastructure as opposed to violence against people?

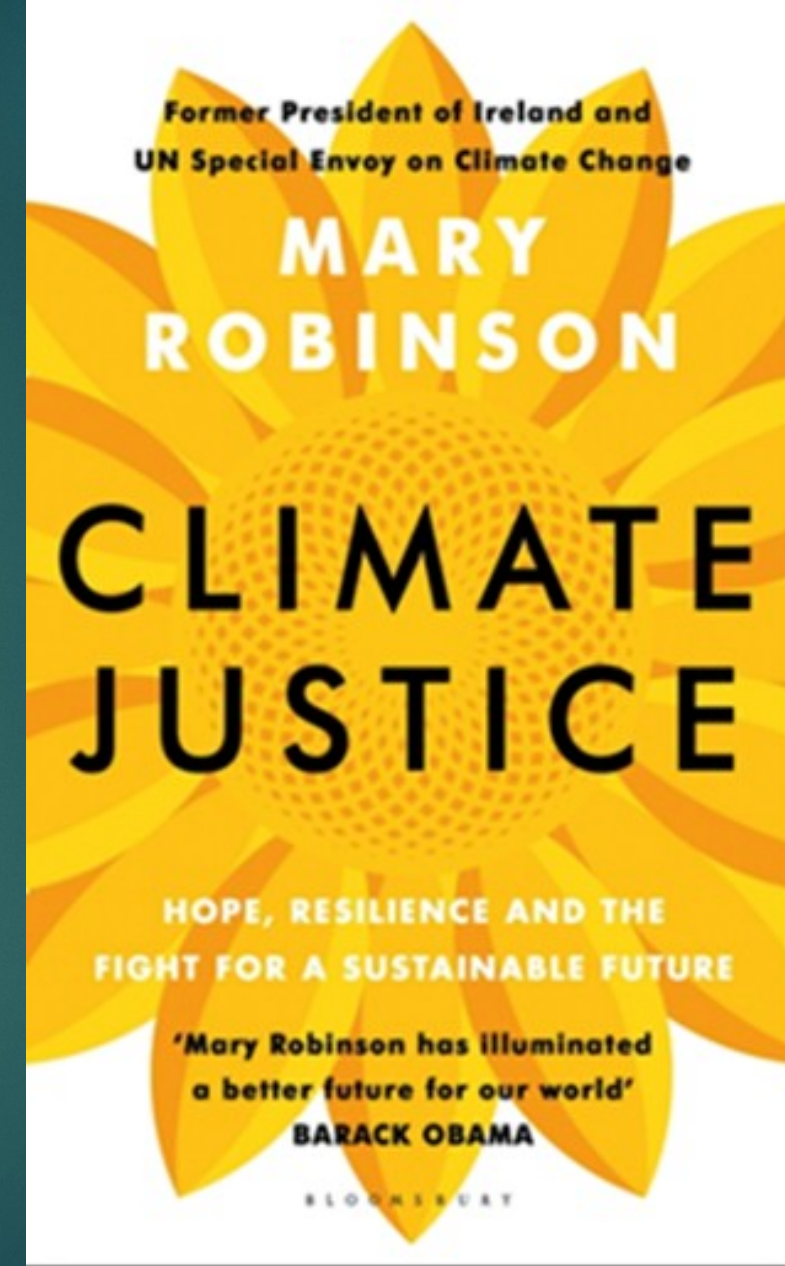
'If the seas are rising, why aren't we?'

“as we make the transition to clean energy, we must remember the millions of fossil fuel workers around the world who spent their lives extracting the fuel that has fed our economies. They too are victims of climate change and deserve to be treated with dignity. Their story as part of the struggle to climate justice”

(Robinson, 2018: 113)

Thank fossil fuel workers and communities for their service rather than demonising them

Part of process of renaming ‘fossil fuels’ ‘fossil resources’ i.e. opening up possible of non-energy uses



Unjust Transitions – *Gilet Jaunes* in France

The Just Transition needs to also focus on consumption and not just production

The yellow vests movement began in November 2018 in response to a programmed rise in carbon taxes, which the government ended up cancelling

Energy/climate transition policies can increase injustice and decrease support

Indicates the possibility for and need for a 'left-green populism'?



Conclusions

Inevitability of social conflict in addressing the planetary emergency;

Lessons to be learnt from conflict management/transformation;

Valuing agonistic, non-violent opposition as healthy and necessary;

Issue is how to politically and strategically mobilise and direct it;

But need to move beyond a 'social dialogue' focus within Just Transition thinking and action to integrate more agonistic (and even antagonistic?) forms of transformative (structural/revolutionary?) action