GreeSE Papers

Hellenic Observatory Discussion Papers
on Greece and Southeast Europe



Paper No. 166

There is no Plan(et) B: youth activism in the fight against climate change in Cyprus

Eleni Theodorou, Spyros Spyrou and Georgina Christou

LSE THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

December 2021

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY
European Institute
Research at LSE

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY
European Institute
Research at LSE

There is no Plan(et) B: youth activism in the fight against climate change in Cyprus

Eleni Theodorou, Spyros Spyrou, and Georgina Christou

GreeSE Paper No. 166

Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe

All views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Hellenic Observatory or the LSE
© Eleni Theodorou, Spyros Spyrou, and Georgina Christou

LSE THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Contents

1. Introduction **4**

2. Youth activism, social movements, and climate action **5**

3. Methodology **8**

4. Youth for Climate Cyprus: origins, organizational structure, and networking **9**

4.1 Member profile and influences ***12***

5. Young climate activists' conceptualizations of climate change **15**

5.1 Climate justice: climate change as a social justice and intergenerational justice issue ***18***

5.2 Views on climate change and Cyprus ***21***

6. Activism, activities and engagement of Y4C **22**

6.1 Strategies of Y4C ***24***

6.2 The digital presence of Y4C ***26***

7. Conclusion **27**

Bibliography **30**

There is no Plan(et) B: youth activism in the fight against climate change in Cyprus

Eleni Theodorou[1], Spyros Spyrou[2], and Georgina Christou[3]

ABSTRACT

This research paper explores young people's climate action in Cyprus in light of the global mobilization of children and youth and the emergence of the international Fridays for Future movement. The study on which the paper draws explored in particular the emergence and role of 'Youth for Climate Cyprus' in climate action on the island through the use of ethnographic and other qualitative approaches including ethnographic observation, in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions as well as textual analysis of social media posts and local media coverage of youth climate activism. The paper examines the meaning that young activists make of their activism on climate change, the forms their activism takes, and the means through which they organize and mobilize around the cause of climate change including their strategies for gaining legitimacy.

Keywords: Youth climate activism; youth social movements; climate change; climate justice; Cyprus.

Acknowledgements: The study was funded by the A.G. Leventis Foundation and the Hellenic Observatory at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences. The authors would like to thank all those who participated in the project and especially the children and young people from Youth for Climate Cyprus.

[1] Associate Professor in Social Foundations of Education at the Department of Education Sciences, European University Cyprus. Email: e.theodorou@euc.ac.cy

[2] Professor of Anthropology at the European University Cyprus. Email: s.spyrou@euc.ac.cy

[3] Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus. Email: Christou.georgina@ucy.ac.cy

1. Introduction

This research paper presents findings from a qualitative research project aimed to study youth activism on climate change in Cyprus. The study focuses in particular on 'Youth for Climate Cyprus', henceforth Y4C, a self-organized group of young people who operate as a grass-roots movement aimed at creating awareness about climate change in Cypriot society and pressuring the government to address the climate crisis through environmentally-sensitive policies.

Climate change has long been declared by the scientific community as an urgent and pressing problem for humanity with irreversible consequences on people and ecosystems unless significant effort and progress is made to reduce greenhouse emissions and control rising temperatures (IPCC 2014). Because youth will be disproportionately affected by the impact of climate change and in the absence of sufficient political will among national, supranational and corporate institutions to undertake radical action to address the issue, youth have been motivated to join activist groups and fight for change (O' Brien, Selboe and Hayward, 2018).

Though not a new phenomenon, youth activism on climate change is clearly becoming more visible on the global scene. Beginning in August 2018, Greta Thunberg's one-person 'school strike for climate' outside the Swedish parliament every Friday became, within the span of a few months, a global movement mobilizing thousands of children and young people from around the world in the fight for climate justice. The unprecedented response to her initiative is suggestive of young people's receptivity to the call to mobilize and be mobilized around the cause of climate change. Children and young people's participation in social movements can add much to our understanding of their participation more generally in public life (Nolas, 2015), an issue which deserves more scholarly attention.

Our project is informed by literature on children's and youth political participation as well as on youth activism particularly in relation to climate action, as outlined below. Following our review of the relevant literature, in the remaining of the paper we describe the methods applied to explore this issue, followed by a presentation of the

main findings of this exploration. We conclude with a discussion on policy implications, especially for the role of education.

2. Youth activism, social movements, and climate action

The 21st century has seen a growing number of children and young people participating in social movements. Although such participation, and particularly within the movements of the 1960s has been studied extensively (Fominaya, 2019), research on the movements initiated by minor actors, including teenagers, as well as the latter's contribution within larger social movements has been limited (Taft, 2010; Rodgers, 2005). An exception to this involves research on working children's movements (Taft, 2019; Liebel, 2003). Looking however at youth struggles is important as it gives a different perspective on our understanding of the political as youth activists have to grapple with age inequality and with their construction as citizens-in-the-making in ways that adults do not (Gordon, 2009). Due to their status as assumed deficit adults their access to dominant locations for practicing politics or even to which topics to engage with has been limited. This sparked recent research interest on how youth come to become activists in the first place (Kennelly, 2011; Christou, forthcoming), as well as on the spatial and temporal dimensions of activism (Malone, 2002; Valentine, 2004; Börner, Kraftl and Giatti, 2018; Collins, 2020) and children's emotional relation to the issues of their concern (Nolas, Varvantakis and Aruldoss, 2017). Such research moves beyond spectacular forms of activism, with which social movement literature often engages, to explore the everyday ways and spaces in which youth and children practice politics, engage with wider social movement practices such as prefigurative politics and non-hierarchical forms of organization (Andresen and van der Steen, 2016; Dyson and Jeffrey, 2018) and experience processes of becoming political.

Although research in youth's climate activism is not a new field of study, a growing concern to document and analyse this activism on a more regular basis emerged in recent years. This reflects the increasingly growing participation of young people in

climate crisis activism on a global scale, but also the growing sophistication of this movement that currently expands beyond environmental concerns to incorporate wider issues of social justice and inequality (Foran, Grey and Grosse, 2017). Fisher (2016) in particular in his study on the factors that commit youth to climate activism identified the importance of both a concern for nature and for social justice as key for youth's long-term commitment to such activism. Furthermore, studies in this area explored the types of dissent manifested in climate justice activism reflecting a broader move of youth activism from dutiful—as in more institutional—to disruptive and dangerous dissent (O'Brien, Selboe and Hayward, 2018; Collins, 2020) that engages with forms of activism that question and seek to overcome existing power structures. Furthermore, research in youth's climate activism has explored both its everyday manifestations (Walker, 2017; Trott, 2021), that can take the form of consciously altering everyday consumption habits for example, as well as the more direct and collective forms that such participation has undertaken. Although work in the latter area is still quite limited, there is a growing concern with analysing the emotional aspects of such engagement (Ojala, 2012; Kleres and Wettergren, 2017; Nairn, 2019) and reflecting on the long-term effects such activism might have for children and young people (Nissen, Wong and Carlton, 2020). The appearance of the international Fridays for Future movement (FFF) has reignited scholarly interest in youth climate activism (see Bowman 2019, 2020; de Moor et al. 2020; Wahlström et al., 2019).

Fridays for Future (also invariably referred to as 'Youth for Climate' or 'Youth Strike for Climate') is a global movement of school students who are skipping classes on Fridays to demand that governments take action to address climate change and create the conditions for a more sustainable future through the use of renewable energy. The movement was inspired by 15-year old activist Greta Thunberg who started her 'school strike for climate' outside the Swedish parliament in August 2018. Greta Thunberg's one-person strike developed into an international movement which mobilized millions of students and young people from around the world in unprecedented ways. FFF has organized a series of global strikes during 2019 with the March 15th strike taking place in 134 countries with more than 2 million participants and with the September 20th strike amassing close to 3.5 million participants in 156

countries (www.fridaysforfuture.org/what-we-do/strike-statistics/list-of-countries). As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the movement has mainly switched to a 'digital strike' strategy where activists post photos of themselves holding protest signs on the internet. The first major survey of FFF protests provides a glimpse into the emerging profile of the movement's participants: many young people who attended the protests were first-timers and there is 'a strong female presence, a significant reliance on social media and peer networks, a limited commitment in established environmental organizations, a significant investment in lifestyle politics (especially among school students), but a varying interpretation of how important lifestyle politics are for achieving social change, a hopeful attitude towards the future and a sense that the movement is strong' (Wahlström et al., 2019, p. 18).

The renewed scholarly interest in youth climate activism stemming from these recent developments has been further enhanced by increased scholarly attention to the temporal condition of the future and its impact on the lives of children and young people in the present. Thus, while Childhood Studies as a field has focused primarily on the present as a meaningful temporal condition which highlights children's status as beings (rather than future becomings) and has oriented studies of children and childhood accordingly, Spyrou (2020) has recently argued that the field needs to engage more productively with the future both theoretically and methodologically and to consider the role of children as future-makers. To do so, according to Spyrou (2020, p.6), is to recognize children's legitimate right to craft the future through their activity and activism. A more general concern with the future and its multiple orientations such as anticipation, aspiration, expectation, and hope has emerged in recent decades in an effort to problematize the temporalities of life and rethink how such orientations impact and shape people's lives in the present (see Bryant and Knight, 2019; see also Appadurai, 2013). This emerging theoretical attention to the future has also been met by calls for exploring the ways young climate activists imagine both desirable and undesirable futures (see Bowman 2019, p.302) and enlist futural orientations, such as hope, to motivate their actions (Ojala, 2012), all of which are concerns which have guided our own explorations in this study.

3. Methodology

The research project was designed to explore the phenomenon of youth activism and politics through the case study of 'Youth for Climate Cyprus'. Our main guiding research questions revolved on how young people made sense of their climate activism, the forms of activism they engaged in and how they organized, as well as the networks they drew upon to connect and promote their cause.

To answer these research questions, we employed qualitative research methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2013) including ethnographic observations, textual analysis, focus-group interviews and individual interviews, during the period of January 2020-May 2021. Due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, we had to modify our original design and timeline, so as to be able to navigate the restrictions imposed due to the pandemic as well as the consequences it brought on participants' (and the research team's) personal circumstances. This meant that we not only modified our data collection methods but also our research questions incorporating an emphasis on how the pandemic impacted youth's activism and meaning-making of the climate crisis.

Eighteen young activists (13 girls and 5 boys), ranging from 14 to 22 years of age, who had been identified as having an active role in Y4C participated in our study. Two personal interviews were conducted with ten (10) participants and two focus group interviews with the remaining eight (8), a total of 22 interviews. The first personal interview explored young activists' meanings of participation in the social movement against climate change. During the second personal interview, participants were asked to share photos which captured their understandings of climate change and youth activism on climate change. Using the method of photo-elicitation interviewing, participants were asked to reflect on and discuss issues raised in/by the photos they had either taken themselves or had selected for this purpose (Meo, 2010).

As mentioned, two photo-elicitation focus group interviews were also conducted with youth activists using a set of photos selected by the research team which young activists were asked to comment on and discuss (Lloyd-Evans, 2016). The majority of the personal and focus group interviews were conducted online as a result of social

distancing measures imposed due to the pandemic. Although we conducted some ethnographic observations of events such as protests and assemblies, this was limited as the organization of events requiring physical presence was halted in early 2020 with Y4C moving the bulk of its activities online during the pandemic.

Finally, we conducted textual thematic analysis of the Y4C's posts on their open-to-the-public Facebook Page as well as of news articles appearing in the local press regarding the Group's activities for the period 2019-2020, which covers the establishment of the Y4C and the period under study.

The project received an ethics approval from the Cyprus National Bioethics Committee and all participants provided their consent and/or assent, along with their parents' or guardians' consent where applicable, for their participation in the project activities.

4. Youth for Climate Cyprus: origins, organizational structure, and networking

Y4C was established as an informal activist group early in 2019, largely inspired by the example of the young climate activist Greta Thunberg and the subsequent emergence of the global FFF movement. Nektarios who, at the time, felt a strong urge to engage in climate action in Cyprus, approached Rania, his former classmate who agreed to collaborate with him in setting up a local youth movement. Through the use of social media and their personal connections, they were able to attract a number of young people who wanted to contribute to the cause. None of these initial participants had much knowledge of, or experience with social movement organizing, so they had to start from scratch in learning how to set up a basic structure for the movement that would allow them to pursue their activist goals. The choice of 'Youth for Climate Cyprus' as the Group's name signaled an interest on the part of its founding members to have a movement with a wider agenda around climate activism rather than one linked merely to protests for climate change as names such as 'Fridays for Future' or 'School Strike for Climate' would suggest.

The international protests organized by FFF provided the group with some basic knowledge and understanding on how to operate but as they explained to us, they had to go online, watch YouTube videos and try to learn how to organize and engage in activism on the ground during those initial stages. Despite their limited experience, by March 15 2019, Y4C were able to join the global strike of FFF by organizing their first protest in Cyprus.

Y4C does not receive steady funding from any source. Though at some point they set up a GoGetFunding account and raised some money to cover their basic costs such as the printing of posters, in general their financial needs are quite limited. Space for some of their activities is offered for free by the Home for Cooperation, a bi-communal space in the buffer zone in Nicosia, while occasional small contributions from their members help cover immediate costs which may arise in the context of their activities.

Despite discussions and voices within Y4C arguing in favor of the Group becoming an NGO so that they could have more access to funding, the current leadership resisted this possibility preferring to stay away from legal and bureaucratic procedures and to retain the Group's independence from state and government. As Rania (f.)[4] explained:

> it is not necessary to be an organization to care for my future. It is not necessary to receive formal funding or to be formally registered for me to care for what happens in my life and the earth's life and society in general. I am a human being, I am a movement, I demand certain things, I can, I have the right to go out and shout. And we did not do this to become formalized. We are activists, we are a pressure group against the government and its policies.

Though Y4C does not have formal leadership, Nektarios (m.) serves as its general coordinator. Most of Y4C's work is carried out by three working groups: 1) The Literacy Group which is responsible for writing, inter alia, announcements, press releases, letters to the authorities, and articles on climate change and the environment as well as translating materials in Greek, English and Turkish; 2) The Social Media Group which is responsible for all social media communication as well as carrying out the

[4] F. and m. are used to denote the female and male gender of the participants respectively when direct quotes are used in the text.

marketing needs of Y4C; and 3) The Research and Innovation Group which is responsible for all research activities related to climate change and climate action. The latter undertakes particular research projects (e.g., reviewing school curricula with a view to making suggestions for enhancing environmental education) and innovative projects (e.g., upcycling initiatives) aimed at environmental awareness. Though there are about 120 young people who are somehow involved with the working groups, the number who are active is significantly smaller. To attract new members, working groups occasionally offer training opportunities for young people who are interested in joining.

Each of the three aforementioned groups typically has one supervisor who oversees the overall coordination of the group's work and a number of coordinators (typically around three) with which the supervisor works closely to ensure that the work of the group is done. Though supervisors tend to be slightly older in age than the coordinators and the rest of the group members, there is an explicit and clear attempt to downplay hierarchies emphasizing the need for everyone to work together and reach decisions collectively. Before the onset of the pandemic, the working groups organized online or physical meetings, however the COVID-19 pandemic necessitated online meetings to a much greater extent than usual.

Y4C collaborate with, and support a number of other local organizations and projects. They have very close collaboration with *Friends of the Earth* who have been actively supporting their cause since the establishment of Y4C Cyprus in 2019 and *Mothers Rise Up*, a like-minded organization fighting against climate change. Likewise, they support other local projects and initiatives such as the *Agora Project*, *Fashion Revolution*, *Ecopolis Festival* and *Vegan Festival* as well as more environmental organizations such as *Tesura Cyprus* and *Let's Make Cyprus Green*. These local organizations and initiatives offer Y4C opportunities for expanding their activism beyond climate change and potentially expanding their base of support from like-minded young people who are active in other organizations and causes. Despite initial attempts to establish collaborations with Turkish Cypriot environmental organizations, they have not managed to do so, though individual Turkish Cypriots have been members of Y4C and/or have participated in the Group's activities.

On the global scene, Y4C maintain international contacts with other FFF organizations and participate in international conferences like the *Fridays for Future Europe* summit held in 2019 in Lausanne, Switzerland where they participated with a delegation of four members. They also closely follow international developments in youth climate action and align their local protests to the global ones.

4.1 Member profile and influences

Given that Y4C do not have formal membership, it is difficult to estimate how many are actively involved in the Group beyond those who are members of the working groups. From our interviews with some of the active members however we have the impression that beyond a core group who are engaged with the planning and organizing of Y4C's activities, participation varies a great deal by event. We were able to verify this, for example, through our own presence in the protests organized by Y4C where participation varied significantly ranging from around one hundred to several hundred individuals. It is important to note here that participation in protests has greatly depended on the time a protest was organized. Thus, when protests were organized during school hours and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports granted permission for students to participate, participation was significantly higher.

Most of the active members of Y4C are within the 15-25 age range and overwhelmingly female. The Y4C coordinator's estimate is that it is about 80% female and 20% male which is in line with the general tendency for more female participation in FFF protests internationally (Wahlström et al., 2019). Several of them also come from ethnically-mixed families (i.e., having one Cypriot and one non-Cypriot parent).

Most members are either current or former students of private secondary schools and many of them know each other from school or other activities that private school students engage in such as the European Youth Parliament and the Mediterranean Model United Nations. Most also come from Nicosia though they do have an active group from Paphos as well which mainly works online for Y4C. The leadership of Y4C

are quite aware about the limited number of youth from public schools as well as the limited number of participants from other cities beyond Nicosia and are actively trying to encourage more participation along these lines. Turkish Cypriot participation in the movement remains small by a handful of students who attend private schools in the south. In some of the protests organized by Y4C, a few adults participated including some families with very young children. The most visible adult presence in protests was that of *Mothers Rise Up*, a group of mothers, mostly expatriate who are also engaged in climate action, and of some teachers who accompanied students in the protests. By and large however and despite its efforts to be open and welcoming to all generations, Y4C remains a youth movement.

The role of school in the young activists' becoming was quite clear. For those who attended private schools, taking Geography as a course at school provided them with the necessary background information about climate change and inspired their more active involvement in climate action. As Mirto (f.) explained:

> If it wasn't for Geography, I don't know if I would, if I would look into it that early on and if I would be so passionate about it. I think it helped me a lot to understand, like, the better picture, the bigger picture.

Particular teachers also seem to have played a key role in inspiring some of the activists to develop an interest in climate change and subsequently in climate action sometimes in their capacity as Geography teachers, at other times in their capacity as advisers for an environmental club at school. In Pandora's case, for example, it was the Geography teacher who not only helped her understand climate change but also took her together with her classmates to one of the Y4C protests, an experience which played a key role in her activist becoming.

In general, private schools (attended by most of our research participants) were supportive of their students' environmental concerns and initiatives. Some were designated as eco-schools and had active environmental clubs which carried out school-based activities such as recycling and tree-planting or campaigns (e.g., for stopping the sale of plastic bottles and encouraging the use of reusable ones). Moreover, students who attended private secondary schools had opportunities to

participate in established programs such as the 'Mediterranean Model United Nations' and 'Junior Achievements' where they could explore and learn about questions related to the environment including climate change and potentially work towards addressing them. Indeed, for some it was these opportunities which provided the initial spark for their involvement with climate change and their eventual engagement with climate activism. For others, it was their prior involvement with a range of other social issues (e.g., vegetarianism) which motivated their interest in climate change. For yet others, their activism came more gradually and as a result of their long-standing and evolving interest in environmental issues. A number of young climate activists remain involved with other social issues such as LGBTQ activism, bicommunal initiatives, immigrant and refugee support efforts, and gender justice all of which seem to play a role in their social awareness and interest in being active and bringing about social change.

The established relations young activists had with each other have helped a great deal in establishing a core support group for Y4C and its activities and in encouraging others, especially close friends and acquaintances, to join. Yet despite influences from home, school and peers, for many of the young activists we talked to, it was initially Greta Thunberg who provided a strong inspiration for joining Y4C. They were inspired by the fact that Greta was a young person of their age who showed them that they could also become activists and join the struggle against climate change.

In the next section of the paper we explore the meanings which climate activists create as a result of their activism and engagement with climate change. We explore in particular, young climate activists' conceptualizations of climate change, their understandings of climate change as a social justice and intergenerational justice issue, and their views on climate change in Cyprus.

5. Young climate activists' conceptualizations of climate change

Young climate activists described a rather multifaceted and complex picture with regards to the climate crisis, its implications as well as its causes. The analysis they offered of the situation was quite sophisticated both at the level of scientific discourse employed to depict the issue as well as in terms of acknowledging the historical, social, structural and environmental factors contributing to it. Young activists emphasized the anthropogenic factor and how it has operated as a catalyst for climate change to stress the historical nature of the problem as the outcome of a series of human choices and interventions over the years, particularly since the industrial revolution. In fact, the vast majority of young activists attributed climate change to primarily the capitalist system and its material, ideological, and social elements. Young climate activists spoke of the phenomena of overconsumption and overproduction as inherent elements in the capitalist system with a very real material impact on the environment. They see this impact of the workings of the capitalist system in a sharp increase in carbon emissions due to industrial activity (the heavy industry but also the food and livestock industry) and the transportation sector, as well as in other environmentally detrimental practices such as deforestation, land degradation, and fossil fuel extraction. They also stress the fact that capitalism operates not only at the macro level of the economic sphere of activities but also at the micro level of individual lifestyle, making it nearly impossible to undo, contain or clearly attribute responsibility and thereby demand accountability for its consequences:

> *It's really hard to pinpoint* because it's how we all live now. It's not one person. *Everything started from the industrial revolution* before, so many years ago, almost 300 years. But now *it's really hard* because if you say China, it's not just China. If you say America, it's not just America. *It's our lifestyle* now that it's maybe the most important to change. But for sure OK, there are some people and there are some *groups of people* who *are partaking in this a lot more than others*. Say, if you travel 10 times a year, your *emissions*, from the airplane let's say, your *emissions* are *sky high*. No matter how good your life is, let's say, to [inaudible], your house is perfectly *sustainable*, you don't use plastic, you don't

> eat meat, you buy *local produce*, your *carbon emission* is still *sky high*. So *at this point everyone*. (Mirto, f., italics indicate the use of English during the interview[5]).

For young climate activists, the new form of social and economic organization of life which was established following the industrial revolution in the western world, and expanded to the rest of the world with globalization, is both supported by and supports the ideological entrenchment of the valorization of profit, as Pandora (f.) explains below:

> Personally, I feel that socioeconomic factors are the drivers of this human contribution to climate change, because some people, and […] countries of high economic development or emerging countries that are developing at a rapid rate, that they place economic interest over sustainability, because we're talking about sustainability at the end of the day. The Earth gives us a number of resources and these resources are being overexploited. I think the reason why humans are to blame is because first of all, there is this huge mismatch between the rich and the poor, this inequality that exists, because it places a burden on countries of lower economic development to deal with this crisis without having the ability to do so.

In fact 'profit over people' was used as a slogan in the Group's protests to critique a value system imposed by adults which valorizes the maximization of profit at all costs, at the expense of both people (particularly children's future in this case) and the environment, in a never ending cycle of consumption and production, with the complacency of governments and the wider political system, both locally and internationally:

> Overconsumption is a big problem causing climate change indirectly. I mean, it's a direct consequence of overconsumption because we get things we don't need. For instance, even I can go into my room and find half the stuff in my room to be without purpose, they just exist. […]. Because that's how our

[5] The use of italics in direct quotes henceforth indicates the use of English in the original text of the interview as in many interviews participants chose to code-switch between English and Greek.

system is, in such a way that it makes us buy, make unnecessary purchases and not think too much about what we buy (Nektarios, m.).

Hence, young climate activists see a fundamental problem with the way the capitalist system has been set up and operating at all levels of the social life, creating an array of interlinked social problems manifested in phenomena such as migration, poverty, and social inequalities and leading them to call for 'system change' rather than isolated or fragmented actions to deal with them. As Nektarios (m.) explained to us, the climate crisis is spurring global social phenomena such as that of climate migration as environmental migrants or climate refugees are already, or will soon be, forced to abandon their habitual homes due to changes in the environment that threaten their well-being or livelihood. The mass exodus of millions of climate refugees due to climate change will create an array of social and economic problems, and potentially social unrest, which are ultimately attributed to the modus operandi of the economic system of capitalism. Hence, for Nektarios (m.), any efforts to rebrand capitalism as 'green' through promoting more environmentally considerate practices fail to confront the real root of the problem and leave untouched and unaltered the problematics of capitalism's basic tenets.

Along with this macro or structural view of the causes of climate change, young activists were also very vocal with regards to factors operating at the micro level pointing to how capitalism has permeated every facet of the modern way of life to such an extent that it makes it impossible to not address the issue of individual responsibility. Yet, at the same time, they acknowledge the limits of individual action and call for more drastic measures of collective and institutional responsibility in a more systematic and systemic way:

> *It's very hard for me to decide what's more important in the sense of what are things that are need to be acted upon now, what are things that the government needs to deal with, what are things individuals need to deal with. And I think I'm sort of coming to the conclusion that on all aspects of climate change, whether it's something social, political, or something that has to do with the way that our economy works, it needs to happen on all levels, because it's so integrated. […] And even though we do need to have hope and continue*

> *acting, some changes need to start becoming a lot more radical than just on an individual level, because that feels like it's not enough anymore.* (Klelia, f., focus group interview).

5.1 Climate justice: climate change as a social justice and intergenerational justice issue

This complex reading of the interconnectedness of things, structures, people, and ideas appears to inform many young climate activists' understanding of climate crisis as a social justice issue, rather than merely an environmental one:

> But I can tell you what interests me more even than the natural dimension of climate change is the social dimension. That the most vulnerable groups of the population are those who suffer the worst consequences from climate change [...] Soon it's gonna be too hot to stay out, we'll be staying put in our *air condition*. [...] But you who can't afford to pay the *air condition* [smile] [...] you won't have any other choice but to, excuse me for the expression, slowly-slowly die (Erica, f.).

As the young climate activist describes above, the climate crisis is at its heart a social issue as the less privileged (such as people from a low socioeconomic background, the elderly, or immigrants) will increasingly find themselves incapable of securing the means to deal with its ramifications effectively. The impact of the climate crisis moves beyond the environment to infiltrate every aspect of the human condition (social, political, economic, and cultural), perpetuating and deepening existing social inequalities as some social groups are/will be in a position to manage its effects more successfully than others.

Relatedly, what also becomes important for young activists in discussing climate crisis as a social issue is acknowledging the historical nature of climate change and assigning moral responsibility to the actors who have historically precipitated its emergence. In historicizing the climate crisis, young climate activists acknowledged the historical responsibility of the industrialized western world and the more recent contribution of

the powers of the East, such as China and Russia, and juxtaposed this reality to the burden the less privileged in the South have to bear in being left to deal with its ramifications despite their small contribution to the problem. Unveiling the geographies of (temporal) responsibilities becomes, thus, a primary vehicle for many young activists to reframe the problem as a social justice issue through shedding light upon inequalities that exist in relation to the historical causes of climate change and the ability between North and South to cope with its impact.

In accordance with framing the climate crisis as a social justice issue, linked to dimensions of social class and power, young activists also framed it as an intergenerational justice issue that involves past, present as well as future generations. Mirto (f.) calls out adult indifference and injustice when she says:

> It may not *impact* you 'cause you are gonna die, 'cause you are 70-80 years old, but you have your grandchildren, you have your kids, you have the next generations. And it's this. That *sustainability is*, let's say, *looking into other generations and making sure that you're gonna have what you have* and *we're completely disregarding that*. I mean, I mean *it's such a big problem*, how *unaware* and how *we're not paying attention to anything*. And *we're destroying everything*. *Nature is just the best thing in the world, literally. [smile] And we're just destroying it*. Why? So we may die soon after too?

In their narrations, young activists concurrently positioned themselves discursively both as future-makers burdened with the responsibility to undo or manage a problem which they did not cause for the sake of their generation but also for the generations to come, as well as present-makers who resist deferral of the climate crisis to an abstract and distant future suffering. To unsettle dominant adult-led discourses of complacency which frame climate crisis as irrelevant for the present due to the slow pace of its impact, young activists mobilize the notion of time and temporality to position themselves as (also) present-makers in an effort to challenge ageist ideologies that render them invisible and silent(ced):

> *I don't feel that we are the future because we're also the present and the future.[…] The future seems like a far away concept, it's, it's not yet tangible,*

> *but if you believe you are the present and then you are motivated to take action now and the present it's tangible, it's here now, you can you can impact it. […] We are unwilling to accept the status quo and the situation as it is, […], we want to see some improvements, because we are aware, we are knowledgeable and we understand* (Pandora, f.).

By discursively positioning themselves at the nexus of here-and-after, at the junction of the present and future generations, young activists sought to disrupt ageist practices of exclusion and make claims for the legitimacy of their authentic and equal political participation in the now as actors who endure the realities of the present but also shape the future through their present actions. In framing the climate crisis as an intergenerational justice issue, young activists utilize the notion of temporality of generations to demand a more just distribution of the burden of moral responsibility for action and the sharing of what some participants termed as 'climate change anxiety' among youth (e.g. Melpo, f., focus group interview; Mirto, f.), also referred to in the literature as 'eco-anxiety' (Nissen, Wong and Carlton, 2020, p. 3). The worry of/for the future and the toll it takes on young people's mental health was something several young activists brought up speaking of shouldering an unfair burden (e.g. Mirto, f.)

Adult inaction was attributed to a different set of generational values and priorities. Adults were depicted as prioritizing financial gain whereas young activists as adults-to-be were pictured as of a different moral compass and willing to sacrifice profit or the affordances of a comfortable life for the sake of safeguarding the environment. This juxtaposition of generational values also alludes to feelings of hope young activists admit to having despite the rather bleak image of the present and future they describe. In fact as they purport, it is hope of a better future, and of their ability to claim and forge one, that keeps them going as '*I think with our generation as we become older, we go in positions of power then I'm hoping the situation will be different' (*Eirini, f.).

Young activists also highlighted the need for collective intergenerational action acknowledging the limits of acting alone or in isolation from other generations. Indeed the issue of intergenerational solidarity in the fight for climate was a point of

contention among the Group as its members vacillated between forming a distinct identity as a youth movement and recognizing the necessity for cross-generational collective action.

5.2 Views on climate change and Cyprus

Y4C activists were highly critical about the role of the government in relation to climate change. They argued that the government needs to invest in renewable energy sources and especially in the use of solar panels given the year-round availability of sun on the island, a strategy which makes sense long-term even if it seems more costly in the short-term. The government, they argued, needs to put legislation in place that would help make the transition to Green Energy, offer people alternatives (e.g., public transport), and enforce existing laws and regulations (e.g., in relation to pollution) to effectively address the climate change crisis.

Most of the young climate activists we interviewed argued that the natural gas discovered in Cyprus's exclusive economic (maritime) zone should not be extracted because of the adverse effects it will have on the climate. They were highly critical about the role of political parties which support the exploitation of Cyprus's natural gas resources and protect the interests of fossil fuel companies at the expense of people's well-being. They consider the decision to extract natural gas as outdated for the 21st century and though they do recognize that it will bring money in the short term, they believe that it makes no sense in the long term because it is not a sustainable solution.

More diversity of opinion exists among Y4C when it comes to economic growth. Some consider that investment in Green Energy on the one hand and economic growth on the other can go hand-in-hand and that one does not need to sacrifice economic growth in order to create a more sustainable future. Others, however, take a more radical position and feel that it is crucial to reconsider economic growth all together. As Nektarios (m.) explained, 'if we continue developing the way we are and we simply have renewable energy sources, we are not going to solve the problem.'

But despite their critiques and their readiness to contribute towards addressing the climate crisis, our research participants, felt that the government and official bodies do not take them seriously enough because of their young age. Moreover, they complained that neither politicians nor journalists take them seriously which is reflective of the larger society's stance towards climate activists in Cyprus. At a more general level, they were particularly concerned about the lack of awareness as well as the indifference and passivity about climate change that people in Cyprus exhibit given the rising temperatures and levels of dust, the decline in rainfall and the impact on the local landscape which are all currently visible and insisted that the government needs to put in place legislation to address this problem more effectively.

Below we explore how Y4C's perceptions of activism impact the work they do, the activities they organize and participate in, and their overall activism as a group.

6. Activism, activities and engagement of Y4C

During their involvement with Y4C, participants' perceptions of activism often evolved depending on the trajectory that each found themselves on. Few members were already engaged with forms of activism in other areas before joining Y4C, therefore after joining they were more ready to be involved in what other participants termed as radical forms of action such as civil disobedience or even street demonstrations. Overall, the main common perception of activism that participants shared is that it is a collective effort. Although for adults joining social movements this might be a given, for youth just starting to be involved in movement action this is not something they took for granted:

> Activism does not work with a single person. If you want to bring results, I consider it very important to work as a team, and we should work together with many people so that we can put pressure because Youth is also a pressure group besides simply being an activist group (Rania, f.).

Many members suggested that the fact that what they perceived as individual or everyday activism could be undertaken on a more collective scale was something that Greta Thunberg through her protesting made intelligible for them. Although many recognized actions such as recycling and veganism as forms of activism, the possibility to consider acting for climate justice on a collective scale was made realizable by Thunberg and the momentum she was able to mobilize through her climate strikes.

As mentioned above, Rania, along with Nektarios (m.), was one of the initiators of Y4C. They decided to call for the first youth protest on climate justice in Cyprus after becoming aware of the call for a global mobilization initiated by the FFF movement. Therefore the idea of street protesting came, and felt as a legitimate form of activism for these youth, through the global youth movement for climate justice that was gaining visibility at the time. Overall, due to the absence of a social movement tradition in Cyprus and the relative lack of non-institutional forms of politics, street protesting felt as something new that needed to be legitimized in some form by these youth. Both these initiators of the movement described activism as 'getting out of one's comfort zone', as becoming in other words exposed, visible to the public eye. These perceptions of activism as exposure tie nicely with street protesting that was one of the main mobilizing repertoires of the group in order to voice their demands in the public sphere but also recruit more followers.

Street activism was seen by many members of Y4C as the quintessential form of activism. However, perhaps because of the above-mentioned lack of social movement tradition, as well as dominant perceptions that children are or should be apolitical/innocent beings, many youth participants felt more comfortable undertaking a more 'behind-the-scenes' activist role. They felt that their role was much more about disseminating information and raising-awareness on climate change, rather than advocacy either on the street level or through policy channels:

> For sure it's the protests, for sure it's the seminars and the bigger acts but for me is also…when striking conversation with someone that disagrees with you. To listen to them and let them talk but also to say your own opinion and make them think. For me…I consider this activism. That you can be active about how you feel and to actually have scientific fact behind it (Mirto, f.).

This type of mentality about activism led to the formation of the research group as part of Y4C where youth were active in gathering scientific data on climate justice and distributing them to the public through a number of channels like social media or by transforming them into policy recommendations that along with other organizations they handed to policy-makers when they had the rare opportunity. Representatives of Y4C also visited schools to raise awareness on climate justice issues. This mentality further led to everyday forms of activism by trying to raise awareness through daily conversations with peers or even parents.

Finally, Y4C's social movement repertoire involved satire and artistic forms of activism such as role-playing. This was also done in order to draw the attention of the media, but also of the passers-by, and elicit a more emotional response from the crowd. In one particular protest, youth were dressed as politicians attaching fake money on their clothes while carrying a replica of the earth to illustrate how governments implement profit-over-people policies. In another, named as 'silent protest', they wrapped a cloth with the words 'help me' around their mouth and acted dead by laying in front of the Ministry of Agriculture to symbolize the extinction of various species at the same time as symbolizing the silencing and censorship of young activists within the Cypriot context.

In the next section we explore in more detail the strategies Y4C use for gaining legitimacy as a social movement.

6.1 Strategies of Y4C

As indicated above, Y4C are associated with the wider FFF movement. This fact, as participants commented, gave legitimacy to the group in the eyes of the media and the wider society. The group attempted to enhance and sustain this legitimacy by organizing protests particularly on the dates when there was a global call for action. This gave more publicity to their actions while simultaneously made it harder for the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport and Youth to refuse permitting school absence for the students who would join the protests, a fact that enhanced more massive student participation at protests. Furthermore, many young activists commented that Thunberg and her activism and exposure legitimized their presence in policy sessions

and sort of opened doors for them to be relatively taken into account in political matters on climate issues. At other times, however, Thunberg's publicity seemed to have worked counterproductively to Cypriot youth's attempt to get media exposure as local news agencies would focus on her and the larger European demonstrations rather than the local activists.

Gaining legitimacy as a movement and more supporters was a constant battle for Y4C, given also the entrenched ageism within Cypriot society, which they tried to handle in a number of ways. One of the most important strategies of the group was to remain 'politically neutral', as they commented. They explicitly stated they did not want affiliations with any political party, while at their demonstrations they had forbidden the use of flags or symbols associated to particular ideological positions or parties. This was on the one hand done in order to gain more followers within the youth constituency which is generally wary of political parties as corrupted and interest-oriented. It was also done as a tool against ageism within Cypriot society that perceives children's non-institutional action as necessarily incited by larger political forces. Furthermore, it was done as a strategy for maintaining the media's attention on their demands regarding climate change, and not side-tracking to their particular political affiliations. This neutrality discourse that came from the group was also associated with a focus on science as the only side on which Y4C was affiliated with. Science and scientific results are viewed by Y4C as neutral and not as the product of particular ideological affiliations.

Moreover, in order to have more followers, more positive media exposure and overall approval by a wider part of society, Y4C refrained from what were perceived as more 'aggressive' forms of activism, such as direct action or civil disobedience, and maintained a strategy interestingly phrased by one participant as 'not to try to poke the bear too much' and by another as 'gentle activism'. This type of strategy ties nicely with the perception that many youth within Y4C maintained in regards to their activism as more awareness-raising oriented and mediating between science and the general public. There were, however, voices within Y4C that eventually grew weary of this more conservative approach, as they termed it, and attempted occasionally

individual actions of civil disobedience while seeking associations with other, more radical environmental groups.

Finally, Y4C followed a strategy of localization of their actions in order to promote relatability with what they were doing, that is to make the issues they were promoting more relatable to the Cypriot public. This was achieved by having slogans in the Greek Cypriot dialect that felt much more familiar and intimate than mainland Greek, but also by having these slogans address local issues relating to climate change such as gas extraction in the Mediterranean.

In the next section, we explore in more detail, Y4C's online presence and strategies for internal communication as well as communication with the wider public.

6.2 The digital presence of Y4C

Social media played a significant role in the overall organization and activities of Y4C. Their role has been two-fold in the sense that they have been used both for the internal organization of the group, as well as for disseminating the Group's activities, demands and awareness-raising material. The latter was mainly the responsibility of a Social Media Workgroup (see above). Social media were also important for contributing to members' own awareness on climate justice issues. Facebook Messenger has been used substantially for internal organization of actions where groups of both active members and more extended associates to the group were created. Instagram, on the other hand, constituted a primary form of dissemination of activities and awareness-raising material with a particular youth target, as it was perceived as a platform primarily used by young people. Given the latter perception, a lot of educational material was shared through Instagram, while Facebook was often used for disseminating more specific material on climate change that might interest a more adult and educated public. Facebook was also used more for creating events given that it had more suitable features for this purpose. You Tube was mostly used for the group's own educational purposes as were the Facebook pages of various FFF movements. Therefore, different social media applications were used in a strategic

manner, depending on their communicative features, but also depending on the age groups using each application.

Opinions among group participants varied as to the effect of their social media presence. Overall, there was the opinion that this became much more professional over time, and constituted the space where they presented a more 'formal self' in juxtaposition with protests where the presence of youth was perceived as more informal in character. However, there were opinions among a minority of members that their social media presence lacked seriousness and this was mostly related to the sharing of different memes besides research articles for example. It was also associated with a frustration and/or disappointment that some members felt in terms of not reaching out to adults and 'to the people that are in charge'. It seems that the horizontal nature of social media dissemination that mostly reached out to peers was seen to a certain extent as sidelining the bottom-up change that some youth were hoping to achieve.

Social media played a key role also during the lockdown period where Y4C were forced to move the entirety of their activism online. During this time, Y4C developed antagonistic framings that they shared through their social media outlets to fight the hegemonic presentations of the pandemic as an unprecedented crisis. Young activists effectively used the language of climate justice in this case to connect the two conditions and show the continuity between the two crises, as well as present the pandemic as an opportunity for creating more sustainably equitable futures.

7. Conclusion

Young climate activists in our study held quite clear and complex understandings of the magnitude of the climate crisis and the scale of its impact which fueled their engagement in climate activism. Resisting adult conceptions of climate change as an issue of the distant future and working against ageist structures and perceptions which they saw as delimiting their political participation, young people in our study

rallied around a common cause through collective action. Inspired by the acts of Greta Thunberg which brought upon the realization that they can indeed make a difference, young members of Y4C engaged in a variety of strategies and means to pursue their activism and subvert adult-led exclusionary, ageist, and dismissive ideologies on climate change and youth political participation.

Young climate activists in our study saw capitalism and its ideological tenets of profit maximization and overconsumption as among the main drivers of the anthropogenic climate change. Many called for systemic change that would allow for the crafting of different possibilities for the future, positioning themselves at once both as future-makers and present-makers who wish to be taken seriously. Drawing on futural orientations for many young activists meant reframing the problem of climate crisis as a social justice issue that affects the less privileged who are left to bear the bulk of its consequences as well as an intergenerational justice issue as young people are destined to deal with the ramifications of present and past generations' choices.

Looking at how youth mobilize and self-organize in forms of collective action as well as examining their own understandings of environmental activism allows for a more nuanced appreciation of youth politicization and mobilization as well as the variegated forms of resistance youth can engage in to subvert adult-imposed relationships of power. Engaging with the question of youth climate activism reveals the frictions and tensions of everyday youth politics as much as it does the structural inequalities youth face in their struggle for equal social and political participation. It further begs attention to the ways in which anxieties, concerns but also visions of the youth can be allowed to be heard and voiced on equal grounds as a matter of intergenerational justice which both demands and offers alternative readings of the past, present and future. As such it befalls on the state to not only provide avenues for, but also to safeguard and ensure youth's authentic participation in its various institutions.

Public education especially, but also informal and non-formal forms of education, have a particularly vital role to play not only in promoting the cause of climate justice, as young climate activists in our study purported, but also in cultivating those skills and dispositions necessary for effective democratic deliberation (Fienberg, 2012) and active citizenship. Justice oriented citizenship education (Westheimer and

Kahne, 2004) becomes crucial for planting the seeds for engaging youth with the political in ways in which democracy is sustained, as well as hopefully allowed to grow, as questions of legitimacy, inequalities and right(s) to the future are brought forth through and by youth's activism.

Bibliography

Appadurai, A., (2013). *The future as cultural fact: Essays on the global condition.* London: Verso.

Andresen, K. and van der Steen, B., (2016). A European youth revolt: European perspectives on youth protest and social movements since the 1980s. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Börner, S., Kraftl, P. and Giatti, L.L., (2020). Blurring the '–ism' in youth climate crisis activism: Everyday agency and practices of marginalized youth in the Brazilian periphery. *Children's Geographies*, https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2020.1818057.

Bowman, B., (2020). 'They don't quite understand the importance of what we're doing today': The young people's climate strikes as subaltern activism. Sustainable Earth 3:16 https://doi.org/10.1186/s42055-020-00038-x

Bowman, B., (2019). Imagining future worlds alongside young climate activists: A new framework for research. *Fennia*, 197(2), 295–305. https://doi.org/10.11143/fennia.85151

Bryant, R. & Knight, D., (2019). The anthropology of the future. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Christou, G., (forthcoming). 'Agitative pauses, intentional moorings: Stasis as resistance. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.*

Creswell, W. J. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions.* Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Collins, R., (2020). Great games and keeping it cool: New political, social and cultural geographies of young people's environmental activism. *Children's Geographies*. DOI: 10.1080/14733285.2020.1853677.

Dyson, J. and Jeffrey, C., (2018). Everyday prefiguration: Youth social action in north India. *Transactions,* 43(4): 573-585. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12245.

Feinberg, W. (2012). The idea of a public education. *Review of Research in Education*, 36(1), 1-22

Fisher, SR., (2016). Life trajectories of youth committing to climate activism. *Environmental Education Research*, 22(2), 229-247. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2015.1007337.

Foran, J., Gray, S. and Grosse, C., 2017. ‘‘Not yet the end of the world’: Political cultures of opposition and creation in the global youth climate justice movement. *Interface: A journal for and about social movements.* 9(2), 353-379.

Fridays for Future Website. Available at: www.fridaysforfuture.org/what-we-do/strike-statistics/list-of-countries. Accessed: 26th May 2021).

Gordon, HR., (2009). We fight to win: Inequality and the politics of youth activism. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPPC). 2014. Climate change 2014 synthesis report: Summary for policy makers. URL: http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/syr/AR5_SYR_FINAL_SPM.pdf

Kennelly, J., (2011). Citizen youth: Culture, activism and agency in a neoliberal era. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kleres, J. and Wettergren, A., (2017). Fear, hope, anger and guilt in climate activism. *Social Movement Studies*. 16(5), 507-519. doi: 10.1080/14742837.2017.1344546.

Liebel, M. (2003). Working children as social subjects: The contribution of working children’s organizations to social transformations. *Childhood*. 10(3), 265-285. https://doi.org/10.1177/09075682030103002.

Lloyd-Evans, S. (2016). Focus groups, community engagement, and researching with young people. In R. Evans & L. Holt (eds.), *Methodological Approaches, Geographies of Children and Young People*, 2, DOI 10.1007/978-981-4585-89-7_16-1

Malone, K. (2002). Street life: Youth, culture and competing uses of public space. *Environment and Urbanization.* 14(2), 157-168. https://doi.org/10.1177/095624780201400213.

Meo, A. I. (2010). Picturing students' habitus: The advantages and limitations of photo-elicitation interviewing in a qualitative study in the city of Buenos Aires. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 9(2), 149-171.

de Moor, J., Uba, K., Wahlström, M., Wennerhag, M. and De Vydt, M. (Eds.) (2020). Protest for a future II: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 20-27 September, 2019, in 19 cities around the world. Retrieved from: [URL] https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1397070/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Nairn, K. (2019). Learning from young people engaged in climate activism: The potential of collectivizing despair and hope. *Young.* 27(5), 435-450. https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308818817603.

Nolas, S.M. (2015). Children's participation, childhood publics and social change: A review. *Children and Society* 29(2), 157-167.

Nolas, S-M., Varvantakis, C., and Aruldoss, V., (2017). Political activism across the life course. *Contemporary Social Science*. 12(1-2), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2017.1336566.

Nissen, S., Wong, J.H.K. and Carlton, S. (2020). Children's and young people's climate crisis activism –a perspective on long-term effects. *Children's Geographies.* https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2020.1812535.

O'Brien, K., E. Selboe, and B.M. Hayward., (2018). Exploring youth activism on climate change: Dutiful, disruptive and dangerous dissent. *Ecology and Society*. 23(3), 42. https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-10287-230342.

Ojala, M., (2012). Regulating worry, promoting hope: How do children, adolescents, and young adults cope with climate change? *International Journal of Environmental & Science Education*. 7(4), 537-561.

Rodgers, D. M., (2005). Children as social movement participants. In: DK Kinney and KB Rosier eds. Sociological Studies of Children and Youth, Volume 11.Emerald Group Publishing Limited. Pp. 239-259.

Spyrou, S., (2020). Editorial: Children as future-makers. *Childhood*. 27(1), 3–7.

Taft, J. K., (2010). *Rebel girls: Youth activism and social change across the Americas*. New York; London: New York University Press.

Taft, J., (2019). *The kids are in charge: Activism and power in Peru's movement of working children*. New York University Press, New York.

Trott, C.D., (2021). What difference does it make? Exploring the transformative potential of everyday climate crisis activism by children and youth.' *Children's Geographies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2020.1870663.

Valentine, G., (2004). Public space and the culture of childhood. London; New York: Routledge.

Wahlström, M., Kocyba, P., De Vydt, M., and de Moor, J., (Eds.) (2019). Protest for a future: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European cities. Retrieved from: [URL] https://protestinstitut.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/20190709_Protest-for-a-future_GCS-Descriptive-Report.pdf

Walker, C., (2017). Embodying 'the next generation': Children's everyday environmental activism in India and England. *Contemporary Social Science*. 12 (1-2), 13-26. https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2017.1325922.

Westheimer, J., and Kahne, J. (2004). What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(2), 237–269

Previous Papers in this Series

165. **Raphael Ntentas,** Quantifying Political Populism and Examining the Link with Economic Insecurity: evidence from Greece, November 2021

164. **Pantelis Kammas, Argyris Sakalis, Vassilis Sarantides,** Pudding, Plague and Education: trade and human capital formation in an agrarian economy, October 2021

163. **Fotios Fitsilis and Stelios Stavridis,** The Hellenic Parliament's use of digital media in its response to the 2019 Turkey-Libya Memorandum of Understanding on maritime boundaries in the Mediterranean Sea: a preliminary assessment, September 2021

162. **Chrysoula Papalexatou**, The Evolution of Bank–State Ties under Economic Adjustment Programmes: the case of Greece, August 2021

161. **Ioanna Katsounari, Phivos Phylactou and Helena Heracleous,** No Lost Generation: refugee children education in Cyprus, July 2021

160. **Maria Karadima and Helen Louri,** Determinants of Non-Performing Loans in Greece: the intricate role of fiscal expansion, June 2021

159. **Gikas A. Hardouvelis,** Financial Crisis and Non-performing Exposures in Greece, May 2021

158. **George Alogoskoufis,** Historical Cycles of the Economy of Modern Greece from 1821 to the Present, April 2021

157. **Vassilis Arapoglou, Nikos Karadimitriou, Thomas Maloutas and John Sayas**, Multiple Deprivation in Athens: a legacy of persisting and deepening spatial division, March 2021

156. **Georgios Gatopoulos, Alexandros Louka, Ioannis Polycarpou and Nikolaos Vettas,** Evaluating the Impact of Labour Market Reforms in Greece during 2010-2018**,** February 2021

155. **Athanasios Kolliopoulos,** Reforming the Greek Financial System: a decade of failure, January 2021

154. **Konstantinos Dellis,** Knowledge Diffusion and Financial Development Thresholds, December 2020

153. **Charalambos Tsekeris, Nicolas Demertzis, Apostolos Linardis, Katerina Iliou, Dimitra Kondyli, Amalia Frangiskou and Olga Papaliou,** Investigating the Internet in Greece: findings from the World Internet Project, November 2020