Global Constitution

Contributions from the Public – 2

UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

These essays have been compiled and lightly edited by Valeria Cavallin, Georgios Dikaios, Joyeeta Gupta, Sophia Ikpia, Aljoscha Karg, Tanja Letuha, and Nina Waals.

Contents

PREFACE: THE GLOBAL CONSTITUTION RESEARCH PROJECT - OPEN SCIENCE JUSTICE LAB: BOOK OF CONTRIBUTIONS II 5

51. WHAT SHOULD A 21ST CENTURY GLOBAL CONSTITUTION INCLUDE? 6

52. A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION SHOULD INCLUDE A UNIVERSAL CHARTER FOR COOPERATIVES 9

53. RIGHTS OF NATURE AS A FOUNDATION FOR A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 11

54. THE NECESSITY OF SYSTEMS THINKING TO TAKE ACTION: AN EXAMPLE FROM THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT 14

55. HOW A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION CAN SUPPORT THE EMBEDDING OF SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES IN CIRCULAR ECONOMY BUSINESSES 18

56. GLOBAL CONSTITUTION PROJECT: PATH TOWARDS SAVING OUR PLANET AND REIMAGINING SUSTAINABLE SOCIETIES 22

57. HARMONIZING WITH NATURE: A BLUEPRINT FOR GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION IN GOVERNANCE 26

58. A FAIR SHARE FOR ALL IS A MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS 29

59. OVER WETTEN EN WETTEN 32

60. PRINCIPLES FOR A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 35

61. TOWARDS A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE AND SUSTAINABILITY 38

62. CARBON POINTS 42

63. A CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR CLIMATE-RESILIENT HEALTHCARE 43

64. CONSTITUTING THE GLOBE: LEGAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 48

65. GLOBAL CONSTITUTION: INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES AND JUST TRANSITIONS 50

66. ESSAY ON A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 52

67. CREATING NEW INTERNATIONAL COURTS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION COURT 54

68. REDEFINING GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONALISM - ADDRESSING HISTORICAL COLONIAL INEQUALITIES AND INJUSTICE IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE 55

69. GREENING GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONALISM: A NEW PERSPECTIVE THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT AND ECOCIDE 58

70. BEYOND GROWTH TOWARDS A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION: REFRAMING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE AND INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT 60

71. DEVELOPING A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION: INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO GOVERNANCE, ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE, AND SOCIAL EQUITY 63

72. COSMOPOLITAN GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONALISM 65

73. SHARED PRINCIPLES OF GLOBAL COOPERATION 68

74. DECOLONIZING AI GOVERNANCE: ADDRESSING DATA SOVEREIGNTY, ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE, AND ETHICAL CHALLENGES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH WITHIN A GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK 71

75. FROM NATIONAL LAWS TO GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONALISM: NAVIGATING CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN AN INTERCONNECTED WORLD 75

76. PRINCIPLES AND ELEMENTS OF A 21ST CENTURY GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 78

77. THE INFLUENCE OF MARKET ECONOMY ON GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONALISM 81

78. GLOBAL CONSTITUTION PROJECT 83

79. PRINCIPLES FOR THE SUSTAINABLE GOVERNANCE OF SHARED NATURAL RESOURCES 86

80. UNIFIED DOCTRINE TOWARDS OUR ONLY HOME: AN ESSAY FOR A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 88

81. FROM SILENCE TO SYSTEMIC CHANGE 91

82. A CONSTITUTION OF BECOMING: RELATIONAL PRAXIS FOR A PLANETARY OTHERWISE 93

83. INCLUSION OF THE EXCLUDED - A PRINCIPLE FOR A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 96

84. A CONSTITUTION FOR THE ORBITAL COMMONS: PRINCIPLES FOR A SAFE AND JUST FUTURE IN SPACE 99

85. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND PHYSIOTHERAPY AS ONE 103

86. A LISTENING CONSTITUTION 107

87. THE LAST COW 110

88. PROPOSAL ON GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 111

89. TOWARD A 21ST-CENTURY GLOBAL CONSTITUTION: ECO-SOCIAL CONTRACTS AS FOUNDATIONAL COMPASS 113

90. EEN NIEUW ECONOMISCH-FINANCIËEL SYSTEEM MET HET ECOSYSTEEM ALS SOKKEL ALS BASIS VOOR EEN RECHTVAARDIGER WERELDORDE 116

91. GLOBAL CATASTROPHIC RISKS AND DEMOCRATIC RESILIENCE 119

92. A CONSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO GOVERNING ECOLOGICAL FLOWS 123

93. BUILDING A FAIR GLOBAL SYSTEM FOR FOOD AND FARMING 126

94. GLOBAL CONSTITUTION: DECENTRALIZE POWER IN POLITICS AND MAKE POLITICIANS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR POLITICS AFTER THEIR TIME IN POWER 129

95. A CONSTITUTION FOR A MORE-THAN-HUMAN WORLD 132

96. A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION FOR REGENERATION 134

97. ECOSPACE SHARING PROBLEM: MAPPING INTERNATIONAL COMITY IN DESIGNING A GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 136

98. THE CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE: REDUCING INEQUALITY 137

99. 21ST CENTURY GLOBAL CONSTITUTION 139

100. ECONOMIC PLURALISM AS A RIGHT: RETHINKING EDUCATION FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE 141

Preface: Towards a Global Community in Challenging Times: Book of Contributions II

The Global Constitution research project is financed by the National Science Foundation of the Netherlands through the Spinoza Prize to Prof. Joyeeta Gupta for research on global justice issues. This project aims to do research to create a legitimate and constitutional framework.

For this purpose, we have established our Open Science Justice Lab, which invites contributions by the general public on what should be included in a global constitution. These around 500–1000-word essays, poems, cartoons or art works from the public above the age of 10 provide inspiration for what to consider in our research in the Global Constitution research project. This book presents the second set of 50 contributions that we have received from the general public.

While multilateralism and global rule of law are currently under attack, there are manifold reasons why multilateralism needs to be strengthened. Environmental and ecological interdependence is a critical reason for such collaboration. As the Global Community collectively crosses safe and just Earth System Boundaries and ambient air, water, and soil quality standards, we are causing huge damage to each other and to the other species we share this world with. This poses major challenges to the way our legal, economic and technological systems work. These challenges add to the existing socio-economic challenges that the Global Community faces. This book of essays shares the many diverse concerns of the public about how the Global Community is developing and what people want to see in a Global Constitution.

We invite you, the reader, to join us in this endeavour to understand what should be part of a Global Constitution. At times such as these, when the global rule of law appears to be collapsing, it is important for us to dream big and to collectively contribute to ideas and social movements that want a peaceful world with shared wellbeing for all within safe and just Earth System Boundaries and ambient quality standards.

We welcome your ideas, arguments and artwork; we welcome you to become a contributing author of our Global Constitution. We hope you enjoy reading these essays and that they inspire you to think with us in our Open Science Justice Lab.

Joyeeta Gupta

Professor of Climate Justice, Sustainability and Global Constitutionalism

January 2026

51. What should a 21st century Global Constitution include?

Elke van Riel

Since astronauts have been able to take pictures of the Earth as a rather fragile blue-green marble in space, humanity has been able to experience the so-called 'overview effect'. This perspective helps us to recognize that Earth is the only habitable place in the universe for us and that all life on it is interconnected within a single, living planetary system. It is time we began to live in alignment with this understanding.

A Global Constitution could play an essential role in achieving this goal. It should be founded on respect for the entire community of life and the integrity of ecosystems, acknowledging their intrinsic right to exist and remain unharmed. For this reason, Ecocide Law should definitely be a component. It should go without saying that knowingly causing extensive harm or destruction to our shared home must be considered a crime. Ecocide law would act as powerful deterrent and could also be a game changer in mitigating global warming. Since a definition of ecocide already exists[1], it could be seamlessly incorporated in a Global Constitution.

Ecocide laws should embrace a worldview that integrates scientific insights - from (evolutionary) biology, ecology, system thinking, geology and climate science - with the wisdom of diverse cultural traditions, including those of Indigenous peoples, and insights from spiritual leaders such as the Dalai Lama and the Pope.[2] It's crucial that a Global Constitution should not be, nor feel like, a product of Western thought and tradition. Accordingly, it should include perspectives like the African philosophy *Ubuntu, Buen Vivir* - a Latin American concept of harmonious living - and *Gross National Happiness* from Bhutan.[3]

Like these philosophies, it should be rooted in values such as respect for other species and (bio)diversity and the realization that people are not rulers of the natural world but part of it. It should reflect a strong sense of responsibility for and obligation towards future generations. Justice - especially climate justice - must be central, addressing the disproportionate suffering experienced for the Pacific Islands and in countries like Bangladesh, which bear the brunt of climate change, which is largely caused by richer countries.

While the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are multilaterally negotiated and claim universality, they were highly influenced by European modernist ideas, such as the

---

[1] www.stopecocide.earth/legal-definition

[2] Pope Francis has written the ecological papal encyclical Laudato Si' in 2015: www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html

[3] The Sustainable Development Goals viewed through Gross National Happiness, Ubuntu, and Buen Vivir, Dorine van Norren, 2020, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10784-020-09487-3. This article is based on the thesis: *Development as Service; A Happiness, Ubuntu and Buen Vivir interdisciplinary view of the Sustainable Development Goals, Dorine van Norren, 2017. It will be published in four parts at Cambridge scholars.*

notion of the possibility of infinite economic growth, a strong idea of individuality and an anthropocentric worldview that places humans above and apart from nature.

Formulating truly universal values is difficult, but since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[4] are our best collective effort to do this so far, these should be enshrined in a Global Constitution. Especially is the new right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment, recognized by the UN in 2022[5]. But a Global Constitution must go further. It should prioritize a liveable future for all species and ecosystems, not just humans. This means adopting an ecocentric rather than an anthropocentric approach, emphasizing *conviviality*[6]. Rights of nature, such as the rights of rivers to flow freely, without pollution, or ecosystems to flourish, must therefore explicitly be included. Ideally, the Constitution could be inspired by the principles of Earth Law[7] and Earth Jurisprudence, as articulated by Thomas Berry.[8]

A Global Constitution requires bold thinking, imagination and action. So, let's establish a UN Ministry for the Future, as envisioned in Kim Stanley Robinson's novel.[9] The world's leading intellectuals and thinkers - environmental scientists who study planetary boundaries, like Johan Rockström, social scientists with holistic perspectives[10] and authors with a global perspective[11] could be asked for advice. The Elders, a group of global leaders[12], could offer valuable diplomatic expertise for this Ministry. With their focus on peace, justice, human rights and existential threats such as nuclear weapons, they are well-equipped to contribute ideas and guidance.[13]

To ensure the wellbeing and survival of humanity and of ecosystems on the planet, a Global Constitution must contain provisions that safeguard global commons like healthy oceans, boreal woods, biodiversity, clean water, fresh air and fertile soil. Public ownership of vital resources like water should be guaranteed in it. Additionally, and very important, the Constitution must curb the excesses of hyper-capitalism, including regulating tax havens and reducing the influence of powerful industries like fossil fuels, weapons and industrial agriculture on politics.

We are desperately in need of an 'emergency brake' to mitigate further global warming. This means regulations targeting the disproportionately large carbon footprints of the one

---

[4] www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

[5] *UN General Assembly declares access to a clean and healthy environment a universal human right, July 2022, https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/07/1123482*

[6] The harmonious coexistence of humans with (the rest of) nature.

[7] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth_law

[8] Thomas Berry (1914-2009) was a theologian and cultural historian who's famous for his work on deep ecology.

[9] The Ministry of the Future, Kim Stanley Robinson, Orbit Books (2020).

[10] Like Toby Ord, philosopher and senior researcher at Oxford University, who studies the long-term future of humanity and our species' 'existential risks', www.tobyord.com.

[11] Like Andri Snaer Magnason and Amitav Ghosh.

[12] The Elders were founded by Nelson Mandela in 2007, https://theelders.org

[13] https://theelders.org/news/annual-review-2023-global-threats-global-solutions

percent super-rich, whose lifestyles with private jets and super yachts pose an existential threat to all of us. We should also include measures that regulate limitarianism[14].

Furthermore, the Constitution should address emerging threats like artificial intelligence and combat the spread of misinformation, lies and hate speech on social media by mandating stricter platform regulation. It must also regulate or ban weapons of mass destruction, such as biological, chemical and nuclear arms. It has never been clearer that international law is essential - not only to protect us from one another - but also to protect humanity from itself.

[14] The Dutch philosopher Ingrid Robeyns has published an interesting book on this topic: Limitarianism. the case against extreme wealth (2023).

52. A Global Constitution Should Include a Universal Charter for Cooperatives

Ajibola Akanji

Globalization has not just come to be a part of our existence, rather it has come to chart the pace of our existence; hence we face an imperative to think and act in progression that effectively situates the evolution of globalization. Invariably, our legal frameworks must be inclusive and dynamic enough to appreciate the metamorphosis of globalization and its different facets. This is premised on the fact that laws, specifically legislation provide the precepts upon which public and private actions on globalization must derive their validity.

The desirable is a global constitution with chapters on a range of subjects. Currently, a global quasi-constitution does exist in the different international legal instruments; most profound of these is the Universal Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, 1948 (UCHPR). The UCHPR has contributed significantly to the promotion of social and political rights the world over, hence constitutional development particularly in countries of the Global South. However, the UCHPR has been less supportive of economic rights. Perhaps at the time of its enactment, the primary goal was to have a global legal instrument that will support the evolution of political and social rights. Neither the UCHPR nor other international legal, or policy instruments has proved holistic in the face of growing inequalities. Consequently, there is universal suffrage of political and social rights, and constitutions have evolved to wider usage. Nevertheless, there is low premium on economic rights. Thus, the UCHPR and its likes has not mitigated capitalism, a phenomenon that appears to have survived all ages. The triumph of capitalism over competing ideologies has led to an increase in the wealth of the world. However, profiteering from capitalism supports paternalism that reduces proletariat to precariats, and citizens to denizens, hence social beings with less consciousness. The emergent governance structures instil social ecologies that promote deficient distributive systems which breed inequality and hinders sustainable development. Significant portions of these inequalities are compounded by the inadequate solidarities and cohesion among the commons, which snowballs into the sub-optimal utilization of their resources. At the foundation of the foregoing are class struggles for economic resources. Attempts to address the identified problems are historical and diverse.

There were endeavours to reconcile economic, environmental, social and political rights into one; human right(s). Such were the Magna Carta, Charter of the Forest, Owenism, Rochdale Charter, the UCHPR, and cooperative ethics. None of these models of heterodox economics has been able to optimize its potentials due to weak legal status. These feeble legal capacities are products of class conflicts, and consequent domination by the bourgeoisie. What is required is to build on the gains of the UCHPR with an upgrade in other international instruments, and provision of remedial to identified deficiencies in the UCHPR. Works in this regard are not novel as they are captured in some classics across diverse fields with different modes of presentation. For example, the central ideas of

erudite scholarship such as Guy Standings' *Charter for the Commons*, and Elinor Ostroom's *Principles for Managing the Commons*. Among others, these authors successfully espoused group-oriented socio-economic pursuits as represented by the social solidarity economy (SSE) as panacea to economic inequalities. Among the SSE, cooperatives have earned their place as the most organized and effective, hence the most efficient remedy to the identified problem.

However, neither of this erudite scholarship was elaborate on the capability of law, specifically international legal frameworks, as template upon which their ideas may be anchored. Therefore, a gap is identified which a proposed Universal Charter for Cooperatives (UCC) is projected to fill. Accordingly, a review of relevant literature was adopted. Reviewed literature include, the UCHPR, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, literature of on constitutionalism, scholarship of Guy Standing, Elinor Ostroom, and other literature on group solidarities. The objective is to enable commons across the world who have chosen to act in solidarity through the cooperative movement with a top-tier international legal instrument that recognizes their specificities. This is proposed to primarily complement the UCHPR, and reverse inequalities through the enforcement of the most appropriate economic ecologies. This theory has become trite at a time the United Nations recently declared 2025 as the International Year of Cooperatives. The cooperative movement is governed by cooperative ethics, a set of seven principles and six values which are as espoused by the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), through its statement on cooperative identity. According to the ICA, these ethics are vitally important to the appropriate running of cooperatives and shall serve as foundational material for cooperative law. However, ICA is a private international organization whose position does not have binding effects on states, for this reason the substance of cooperative ethics is in practical terms reduced to international commentaries. Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation that states adopt and enforce these ethics as the basis of their cooperative law have not been successful, hence, the adoption of these ethics as a component of human rights cannot take prominence.

In essence, international cooperative law is frail, and even more muted in some countries of the Global South. Thus, the Universal Charter for Cooperatives is prescribed, first as an amendment/addendum to the UCHPR, and secondly a remedial to cooperative law; this is premised on the fact that the UCHPR shall unarguably form an integral part of a global constitution. The alternative is to have the Universal Charter for Cooperatives as a chapter with its own seriatim of provisions in a larger global constitution. Given the foregoing, an intersection of heterodox economics as built around the co-operatives, and a legal framework of the highest tier is conceptualized into a Universal Charter for Cooperatives. The idea is to have in place a *grundnorm* for economic resource optimisation among the commons, and to bridge economic inequalities through a global constitution. For example, one of the envisage gains of a Universal Charter for Cooperatives is the promotion of the sixth cooperative principle *cooperation among cooperatives,* which will enable cooperatives to earn the power to engage effectively in international trade, and open a new frontier in globalization.

53. Rights of Nature as a foundation for a global constitution

Eva Soethout & Joeri Sol

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is arguably the closest document to a global constitution. When adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, the UDHR was meant to enshrine fundamental freedoms of speech and religion, and to extend to all people freedom from fear and want. Since its writing, the latter two freedoms have become under increasing pressure due to the accelerating crises of biodiversity loss and climate change.

Despite Paris-Agreement ambitions or Aichi targets, the world has (so far) failed to effectively address the ecological crises that are threatening both human well-being and nature alike (Richardson et al., 2023). Traditional approaches to environmental protection are insufficient to implement effective and long-term solutions to halt global ecological degradation (Büscher et al., 2017). Therefore, a radical change in how we perceive and protect nature is needed (Pascual et al., 2023). This essay argues that the Rights of Nature (RoN) movement offers such promise. A global constitution that recognizes nature as a legal entity could facilitate more effective nature protection while also ensuring social justice.

This essay proceeds by outlining the origins and core principles of RoN, followed by examples of successful implementation. The essay draws from eight semi-structured interviews with experts on RoN performed by the first author, Soethout, as part of her thesis research. The essay concludes by discussing the challenges of embedding RoN principles in a global constitution and offers suggestions in how to address these issues.

Rights of Nature: Environmental personhood

The RoN movement aims to safeguard intrinsic values of natural entities by granting them legal personhood. Although this concept may appear abstract to some, its origin dates back to 1972, when Chrisopher Stone argued for such rights by appointed guardians of the nature in question (Stone, 1972). Well-known examples of this form of RoN can be found in New Zealand, where the *Te Urewera* forest and *Whanganui River* are acknowledged as legal persons and each is represented by two guardians (New Zealand Parliament, 2017). Another notable RoN example is the recognition of *Pachamama* (i.e., Mother Nature) in the national constitution of Ecuador. Since Ecuador's referendum in 2008, nature has been given explicit rights, such as the right to exist and the right to be restored. In practice, this entails that anyone can bring a case to court in order to protect nature's rights (Tanasescu, 2013).

The above examples illustrate two different approaches on nature's representation in the RoN framework: guardian representation and collective representation. Both representation forms have their (dis)advantages. The guardian representation models potentially suffer from cronyism or a narrow view on 'what nature wants'. On the other hand, the collective representation model suffers from potential free-riding, where any individuals

may feel insufficiently motivated to act on nature's behalf. In addition, individuals may lack the necessary resources, knowledge or opportunities to take adequate action.

The great advantage of RoN over traditional environmental protection strategies is that including environmental personhood goes beyond an anthropocentric world view. For example, the Planetary Boundary framework and the concept of ecosystem services both focus on human-well-being. Conversely, RoN adopts an eco-centric view by acknowledging that nature has intrinsic value that is independent of contribution to human welfare (Burgers, 2022). Moreover, this idea of recognizing RoN closely corresponds to various indigenous perspectives, which often do not recognize the separation between humanity and nature.

Key insights for embedding Rights of Nature in a global constitution

The question is not 'whether' a global constitution should include Rights of Nature but rather 'how'. Based on interviews with experts from different disciplines, we offer the following suggestions: First, RoN not only improves the position of nature, but also strengthens the position of (often marginalized) indigenous communities. Since RoN aligns closely with indigenous values, embedding RoN in a constitution promotes the recognition of these perspectives. As a result, this recognition strengthens social justice and supports just decision-making processes. Second, successful implementation of RoN goes beyond legal adjustments. This implies that RoN requires both broader citizen support and awareness, possibly through education campaigns. For example, the inclusion of *Pachamama* in Ecuador's constitution was accompanied by the right to a good life (*Buen Vivir*). Third, RoN shifts perception of nature away from a purely anthropocentric worldview. Although this shift appears to be less concrete compared to legal or social changes, it is no less important. Recognition of intrinsic and relational values of nature are essential to perceiving nature as more than an instrumental resource and forms the basis for effective RoN implementation.

A frequently expressed concern is whether these newly acquired rights of nature should be accompanied by duties. According to Tanasescu (2022), rights and duties are often seen together, but they do not necessarily have to belong to the same entity. In addition, if a non-human entity is assigned rights, the corresponding duties are the responsibility of the human (Tanasescu, 2022).

The authors see the most potential in a hybrid form of the two archetypical representation models. This hybrid form embeds RoN through an appointed guardian, while also allowing anyone else to argue in courts on nature's behalf. Having an appointed guardian alleviates the lack of responsibility in the collective representation model, while allowing others to argue on nature's behalf enlarges perspectives on what would be best for nature.

Towards a nature inclusive global constitution

Ambitions to formulate a global constitution would best be realized by complementing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with articles that define Rights of Nature. Granting nature legal rights not only protects nature but also facilitates social justice by encouraging inclusive and just decision-making processes. Rights of Nature offer a powerful alternative to the current capitalistic dominated Anthropocene by recognizing nature as an entity with intrinsic value. In short, Rights of Nature is not just a 'new' legal

construct; it is the start of a more sustainable, just and equitable future for both nature and humanity.

References

Burgers, L. (2022). Private Rights of Nature. *Transnational Environmental Law*, *11*(3), 463–474.

Büscher, B., Fletcher, R., Brockington, D., Sandbrook, C., Adams, W.M., Campbell, L., Corson, C., Dressler, W., Duffy, R., Gray, N. and Holmes, G., 2017. Half-Earth or Whole Earth? Radical ideas for conservation, and their implications. *Oryx*, *51*(3), pp.407-410.

New Zealand Parliament (2017). Innovative bill protects Whanganui River with legal personhood. www.parliament.nz. 28 March 2017.

Pascual, U., Balvanera, P., Anderson, C.B., Chaplin-Kramer, R., Christie, M., González-Jiménez, D., Martin, A., Raymond, C.M., Termansen, M., Vatn, A. and Athayde, S., 2023. Diverse values of nature for sustainability. *Nature*, *620*(7975), pp.813-823.

Richardson, K., Steffen, W., Lucht, W., Bendtsen, J., Cornell, S.E., Donges, J.F., Drüke, M., Fetzer, I., Bala, G., Von Bloh, W. and Feulner, G., 2023. Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. *Science advances*, *9*(37), p.eadh2458.

Stone, C. D. (1972). Should Trees Have Standing? Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects. *Southern California Law Review*, *45*, 450–501. https://doi.org/10.2307/1228012

Tanasescu, M. (2013). The rights of nature in Ecuador: the making of an idea. *International Journal of Environmental Studies*, *70*(6), 846–861. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207233.2013.845715

Tanasescu, M. (2022). Chapter II: Rights Meet Nature. In *Understanding the Rights of Nature - A Critical Introduction* (pp. 19–46). https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839454312-003

54. The Necessity of Systems Thinking to Take Action: An Example from the Built Environment

Dr.-Ing. Roland Reitberger

ABSTRACT: The built environment is a highly complex system connected to pressing sustainability challenges, such as global warming, biodiversity loss, and social inequality. Addressing these challenges requires a shift from isolated interventions to a holistic, systems-thinking approach. This essay advocates for embedding Systems Thinking into every sustainability measure, particularly in the built environment but not limited to it. To achieve this, interdisciplinary collaboration, policy integration, and technological advancements are necessary. A Global Constitution should require planners and decision-makers to adopt a systems perspective in every single action they design, thereby guiding global sustainability efforts across sectors.

1. Introduction

The built environment is a major driver of environmental change, accounting for 37% of global carbon emissions (United Nations Environment Programme, 2024). Every year, the accelerated process of urbanization and the expansion of infrastructure contribute to the loss of 265km² of unsealed surfaces in Europe (European Environment Agency, 2024). At the same time, cities – home to more than every second human being worldwide (United Nations - Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019) – face rising temperatures, worsening air pollution, and growing inequality in access to housing and infrastructure. These interconnected crises highlight an undeniable truth: sustainability challenges in the built environment are complex and cannot be solved in isolation. They demand a shift in perspective – one that embraces Systems Thinking.

Systems Thinking is a holistic approach that helps to understand how changes in one sector can create ripple effects across others. For example, addressing climate change isn't only about reducing CO2-emissions. It involves rethinking energy production, urban planning, economic incentives, and social behaviors (Rockström et al., 2023). By considering these interactions, decision-makers can develop solutions that are effective, equitable, and enduring. In a complex world facing urgent sustainability challenges, Systems Thinking is not just beneficial – it is essential. Without it, well-intentioned interventions risk unintended consequences, perpetuating the issues they aim to resolve.

Therefore, this essay advocates for integrating Systems Thinking not only as an overarching concept but as the basis for designing every single intervention for sustainability, especially regarding – but not limited to – the built environment.

2. Systems Thinking for a Truly Sustainable Transformation

From a research perspective, individual measures are not enough to achieve sustainable change in the built environment. Only well-coordinated packages of measures can bring the building sector back into its ecological boundaries (Allacker et al., 2019). However, this involves simultaneously considering many sustainability aspects and sectors. When

faced with such an overwhelming set of requirements, humans tend to focus on individual goals, such as reducing CO2-emissions, improving thermal comfort, or reducing costs (Sharifi, 2020). However, this can lead to less consideration of others, causing an unintended and unnoticed problem-shift into other sectors. Xu et al. give the example that CO2-emissions could increase when climate change adaptation is integrated in isolation from climate change mitigation. They improve flooding risk and urban heat by lowering urban density and increasing green spaces. However, increased traveling distances caused more CO2-emissions in their case study (Xu et al., 2019). Such trade-offs are especially relevant when it comes to social justice, as problems might be shifted to already disadvantaged parts of societies worldwide.

Therefore, a complete understanding of the interactions related to sustainability measures is necessary. Systems Thinking provides a basic principle, but more is necessary. Processes and methods need to be developed that allow a full exploration of system interactions and potential design outcomes. This enables planners and decision-makers to oversee the consequences of their actions in all relevant aspects to avoid unintended trade-offs.

3. Bringing Systems Thinking into Action

Since the Club of Rome developed a global model of worldwide dynamics in 1972 (Meadows et al., 1974), considering such complex relationships in specific actions remains an unsolved challenge. Nevertheless, there is an increasing number of approaches that aim to integrate interactions in various fields relating to the built environment, such as urban planning (Anders, 2016; Datola et al., 2019; Geyer, 2012; Reitberger et al., 2024), energy systems (Laimon et al., 2022; Palm et al., 2022), or mobility (Anderson, 2014; Xu et al., 2019).

Accordingly, approaches exist that make it possible to follow and implement a systemic approach in the built environment. Pushing this further requires stakeholder collaboration and interdisciplinary approaches, bringing together architects, urban planners, policymakers, engineers, and communities to design resilient, efficient, and inclusive spaces. However, there are significant barriers, including the complexity of integrating diverse disciplines, resistance to change from traditional industry practices, and a lack of education on holistic sustainability strategies.

Policy integration is necessary to surmount these challenges and align regulations with long-term sustainability goals. In addition, education and training programs are required to equip professionals with Systems Thinking skills. Technological advancements, including digital modelling, smart infrastructure, and circular construction techniques, help to streamline well-coordinated decision-making. By fostering collaboration and embracing innovation, the built environment and many other sectors can transition towards systemically planned interventions that avoid unintended trade-offs and foster synergies among actions.

4. Conclusion

Based on the complexity of the built environment and the high risk of causing unintended consequences by a lack of Systems Thinking, a Global Constitution should include the need to adopt **Systems Thinking not only as an overarching concept** to

explain the world's dynamics. Rather, **Systems Thinking should be an indispensable component of planning interventions at all scales.**

As this essay showed, this involves especially the built environment but should not be limited to that. Many other sectors face similar challenges of high complexity and unforeseeable consequences. Research has developed systemic approaches that allow the quantification and investigation of such complex relationships. However, more effort is needed to improve processes, methods, and tools that enhance systemic understanding in practice. This needs to be taken to the next step where practitioners are further enabled to derive decisions based on a systems perspective.

References

Allacker, K., Castellani, V., Baldinelli, G., Bianchi, F., Baldassarri, C., & Sala, S. (2019). Energy simulation and LCA for macro-scale analysis of eco-innovations in the housing stock. The International Journal of Life Cycle Assessment, 24(6), 989–1008. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11367-018-1548-3

Anders, S. (2016). Stadt als System: Methode zur ganzheitlichen Analyse von Planungskonzepten [Dissertation, Universität Stuttgart, Stuttgart]. GBV Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund.

Anderson, J. E. (2014). Expanding the use of life-cycle assessment to capture induced impacts in the built environment [Dissertation]. Technische Universität München, München.

Datola, G., Bottero, M., & Angelis, E. de (2019). How Urban Resilience Can Change Cities: A System Dynamics Model Approach, 11622, 108–122. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-24305-0_9

European Environment Agency. (2024). Imperviousness and imperviousness change in Europe. https://www.eea.europa.eu/en/analysis/indicators/imperviousness-and-imperviousness-change-in-europe?activeAccordion=546a7c35-9188-4d23-94ee-005d97c26f2b

Geyer, P. (2012). Systems modelling for sustainable building design. Advanced Engineering Informatics, 26(4), 656–668. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aei.2012.04.005

Laimon, M., Yusaf, T., Mai, T., Goh, S., & Alrefae, W. (2022). A systems thinking approach to address sustainability challenges to the energy sector. International Journal of Thermofluids, 15, 100161. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijft.2022.100161

Meadows, D [Donella], Meadows, D [Dennis], Randers, J., & Behrens, W. (1974). The limits to growth: A report for the club of rome's project on the predicament of mankind (2. ed.). Universe books.

Palm, N., Landerer, M., & Palm, H. (2022). Gaussian Process Regression Based Multi-Objective Bayesian Optimization for Power System Design. Sustainability, 14(19), 12777. https://doi.org/10.3390/su141912777

Reitberger, R., Palm, N., Palm, H., & Lang, W. (2024). Urban systems exploration: A generic process for multi-objective urban planning to support decision making in early design phases. Building and Environment, 254, Article 111360. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.buildenv.2024.111360

Rockström, J., Gupta, J., Qin, D., Lade, S. J., Abrams, J. F., Andersen, L. S., Armstrong McKay, D. I., Bai, X., Bala, G., Bunn, S. E., Ciobanu, D., DeClerck, F., Ebi, K., Gifford, L., Gordon, C., Hasan, S., Kanie, N., Lenton, T. M., Loriani, S., . . . Zhang, X. (2023). Safe and just Earth system boundaries. Nature, 619(7968), 102–111. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-023-06083-8

Sharifi, A. (2020). Trade-offs and conflicts between urban climate change mitigation and adaptation measures: A literature review. Journal of Cleaner Production, 276, 122813. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2020.122813

United Nations - Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2019). World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision.

United Nations Environment Programme. (2024). Global Status Report for Buildings and Construction: Beyond foundations: Mainstreaming sustainable solutions to cut emissions from the buildings sector. United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and Global Alliance for Buildings and Construction (GlobalABC). https://doi.org/10.59117/20.500.11822/45095

Xu, L., Wang, X., Liu, J., He, Y., Tang, J., Nguyen, M., & Cui, S. (2019). Identifying the trade-offs between climate change mitigation and adaptation in urban land use planning: An empirical study in a coastal city. Environment International, 133(Pt B), 105162. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envint.2019.105162

55. How a Global Constitution Can Support the Embedding of Social Justice Principles in Circular Economy Businesses

Fernando C. Lit[1,2,3], Ward de Kok[4], Josephina C.C.M. Huijben[2], Erik Paredis[3], Myriam Cloodt[5], Marcel L.A.M. Bogers[2,6], Bob Walrave[2], and A. Georges L. Romme[2]

[1] Maastricht University, The Netherlands

[2] Eindhoven University of Technology, The Netherlands

[3] Ghent University, Belgium

[4] ZICHT Consultants, The Netherlands

[5] Open Universiteit, The Netherlands

[6] University of California, Berkeley, USA

Many companies have increasingly become criticized for self-serving and exploitative practices that harm the planet.[15] Consider activities that led to desolate mining landscapes, relied on forced labor, or contributed to the crisis of loneliness reinforced by hustle culture. As such, it comes as no surprise that companies face great scrutiny when they try to present themselves as sustainable.[16] Some of them have been called out for *greenwashing* or *social washing*,[17] which essentially means they are accused of exploiting consumers' care for the environment and society to make even greater profit.

Despite these concerns and embedded negative viewpoints, our goal with this essay is to put forward the idea that business can, under specific circumstances, be a force for social and environmental good.[18] The challenge is to do this within a context in which businesses are embedded in a capitalist system that prioritizes economic benefits.[19] Transitioning towards a new system that incorporates environmental and social values is

---

[15] Davies, P., Hernandez, M. P., & Wyatt, T. (2019). Economy versus environment: How corporate actors harm both. *Critical Criminology*, 27(1), 85-99.

[16] Persakis, A., Nikolopoulos, T., Negkakis, I. C., & Pavlopoulos, A. (2025). Greenwashing in marketing: a systematic literature review and bibliometric analysis. *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing*, 1-36.

[17] Locatelli, G., Zagaria, I., Dei, G., & Sainati, T. (2025). Social washing in architecture, engineering, and construction firms. *Journal of Management in Engineering*, 41(1), 04024060.

[18] McPhail, K., Kafouros, M., McKiernan, P., & Cornelius, N. (2024). Reimagining business and management as a force for good. *British Journal of Management*, 35(3), 1099-1112.

[19] O'Brien, T. (2009). Reconsidering the common good in a business context. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85(Suppl 1), 25-37.

complex, involves many stakeholders, and may take decades.[20] However, one way to drive such a transition forward is to develop new, more sustainable businesses.[21]

Today, society faces several grand challenges,[22] such as the depletion of natural resources and overaccumulation of waste. To address such challenges, the *circular economy* (CE)[23] has been put forward, which includes principles such as sharing instead of buying, or designing products to be upgradeable, recyclable, or long-lasting.[24] Applying circular principles to businesses can take us some steps towards less material use, less energy consumption, and less environmental impact. Additionally, reducing output and consumption will be necessary to move away from our present-day linear (over)production and consumption systems towards a more sufficiency-based circular system.[25]

This material- and environment-focused view of the CE is promising but incomplete as it overlooks the fact that resource and waste burdens are often unevenly distributed, fueling geopolitical conflict and social unrest elsewhere. In this respect, blindly *rushing* toward circular models to replace linear ones might cause another dangerous kind of damage: social injustice.[26] For example, instantly eradicating fast fashion could diminish piles of textile waste in the global majority, but it would also take away the only source of livelihood for millions who depend on it. In contrast, a *just transition*[27] to circularity strives to

---

[20] Geels, F. W. (2002). Technological transitions as evolutionary reconfiguration processes: a multi-level perspective and a case-study. *Research policy*, *31*(8-9), 1257-1274.

Geels, F. W. (2011). The multi-level perspective on sustainability transitions: Responses to seven criticisms. *Environmental innovation and societal transitions*, *1*(1), 24-40.

[21] Bidmon, C. M., & Knab, S. F. (2018). The three roles of business models in societal transitions: New linkages between business model and transition research. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 178, 903-916.

Boons, F., & Lüdeke-Freund, F. (2013). Business models for sustainable innovation: state-of-the-art and steps towards a research agenda. *Journal of Cleaner production*, 45, 9-19.

[22] George, G., Howard-Grenville, J., Joshi, A., & Tihanyi, L. (2016). Understanding and tackling societal grand challenges through management research. *Academy of management journal*, 59(6), 1880-1895.

[23] Geissdoerfer, M., Savaget, P., Bocken, N. M., & Hultink, E. J. (2017). The Circular Economy–A new sustainability paradigm?. *Journal of cleaner production*, 143, 757-768.

[24] Bocken, N. M., De Pauw, I., Bakker, C., & Van Der Grinten, B. (2016). Product design and business model strategies for a circular economy. *Journal of industrial and production engineering*, 33(5), 308-320.

[25] Bocken, N. M., Niessen, L., & Short, S. W. (2022). The sufficiency-based circular economy—an analysis of 150 companies. *Frontiers in sustainability*, 3, 899289.

[26] Ashton, W. S., Fratini, C. F., Isenhour, C., & Krueger, R. (2022). Justice, equity, and the circular economy: introduction to the special double issue. *Local Environment*, 27(10-11), 1173-1181.

[27] Newell, P., & Mulvaney, D. (2013). The political economy of the 'just transition'. *The geographical journal*, 179(2), 132-140.

address both the material and social dimensions of the CE. If these "distant"[28] (social) problems are overlooked, the transition to a CE will fail: many 21st century problems and their consequences transcend geographical boundaries.[29]

To remedy this, we call for the integration of social justice principles into CE businesses.[30] In a CE, we can conceive of justice through three tenets: recognition justice, procedural justice, and distributive justice.[31] **Recognition justice** calls for the "full recognition" of the wide range of stakeholders who will be affected by one's actions, even those beyond the obvious.[32] For instance, this means viewing nature, employees, and value chain partners as stakeholders who should be treated with respect and dignity, and to whom value should be given—and not merely extracted from them. Recognition could also mean improving the ability of disadvantaged groups to engage in the CE: tiered pricing, easy do-it-yourself repair kits, and clear labeling on products can all lower barriers to participation.

Meanwhile, **procedural justice** calls for the inclusion of all relevant actors in decision-making processes.[33] This includes meaningful representation—both within and outside businesses, and particularly of less powerful groups—in product development, project reviews, negotiation of labor conditions, and more. Here, employees, users, and customers are not simply passive partakers of a business's circular products and services; rather, they are valued co-creators. Also, transparency in the supply chain pushes businesses to be accountable for more than just profit. Regulations, audits, voluntary standards, and codes of conduct can help businesses avoid child-, forced-, and slave-like labor and other human rights violations from entering their products.

Finally, **distributive justice** calls for the equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens created by a CE business, both financial and socio-economic in nature.[34] Financial redistribution includes passing on cost savings to small-scale partners and customers, guaranteeing fair pay and ethical labor conditions for workers, as well as (re)investing some profit in local communities, grassroots initiatives, and employee training. Non-financial redistribution includes employing disadvantaged groups (e.g., through work

---

[28] This is not to say that only "distant" social problems are of importance when thinking of the CE transition. For example, a CE with a sufficiency focus will be a rescaled economy, probably re-localised, where forms of economic activity will be phased out and replaced by others. This will affect work and workers in a major way and lead to a restructuration of the economy and the workforce.

[29] Beck, U. (1992). Risk society: Towards a new modernity. Translated by Mark Ritter. London: Sage Publications, 2, 53-74.

[30] Geissdoerfer, M., Pieroni, M. P., Pigosso, D. C., & Soufani, K. (2020). Circular business models: A review. *Journal of cleaner production*, 277, 123741.

[31] Kirchherr, J. (2021). Towards circular justice: A proposition. Resources, Conservation and Recycling, 173, 105712.

[32] Lit, F. C. (2025). Toward a Circular Plastics Economy: The Potential and Limits of Circular Business Models. [PhD Thesis, Eindhoven University of Technology / Ghent University]. ISBN: 978-90-386-6252-7. TU/e Repository: https://research.tue.nl/en/publications/toward-a-circular-plastics-economy-the-potential-and-limits-of-ci/

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

insertion or empowerment programs), as well as promoting the *common good* through open-source sharing of tools and knowledge, among other practices.

By including the three tenets of justice for CE business into a Global Constitution, we believe we can lay the foundation for a transition towards a CE that is both environmentally *and* socially just. Under such a Global Constitution, protecting the environment and serving society would no longer be seen as a loss for companies, but instead as a win for their license to operate and for global society as a whole. The Constitution would serve as a vision, or perhaps even redefine the *playing field*, by specifying the boundaries for how a company's constitution (or statutes) can be designed for justice, and how this company can measure and report its performance purely beyond profit (cf. *Economy for the Common Good*[35]). In other words, the Global Constitution provides standards and boundaries for (each National Constitution directing the) "constitutions"[36] of businesses. Creating and sharing such a vision is an essential driver of sustainability transition processes.[37] Guided by a Global Constitution, governmental bodies can remove implementation barriers and promote socially-just CE businesses that care for our collective future.[38]

---

[35] https://www.econgood.org/apply-ecg/common-good-matrix/

[36] In practice, we refer to the "articles of association," "by-laws," "company statutes," "articles of incorporation," and other documents that set the conduct of businesses.

[37] Bidmon, C. M., & Knab, S. F. (2018). The three roles of business models in societal transitions: New linkages between business model and transition research. *Journal of Cleaner Production,* 178, 903-916.

Schot, J., & Geels, F. W. (2013). Strategic niche management and sustainable innovation journeys: theory, findings, research agenda, and policy. *The dynamics of sustainable innovation journeys*, 17-34.

[38] De Kok, W. (2024). Towards a Just Circular Transition: Embedding Social Justice in the Business Models of Circular Startups in the Netherlands. [Master Thesis, Eindhoven University of Technology]. TU/e Repository: https://research.tue.nl/en/studentTheses/towards-a-just-circular-transition/

56. Global Constitution Project: Path Towards Saving Our Planet and Reimagining Sustainable Societies

Pola Zabuska

The Anthropocene is an era where humans break all the planetary and social boundaries in the never-ending quest for profit and extraction of the seemingly "infinite" resources (Angus 2016; Lam and Rousselot 2024, 18; Löwy et al. 2022). At the same time, scholars increasingly raise the problem that the "humans" who destroy the natural habit are coming from the Global North, while the people from the Global South face the immediate consequences of these actions (Sultana 2022; Sultana 2023).

Therefore, I will argue that in order to change the trajectory of the path-dependent capitalist exploitation of natural resources and global and local asymmetries, we need a change of the current system into one that is more equitable, fair, driven by quest of enhancing social wellbeing and increasing protection of environment.

Changing the Ways of Thinking

Firstly, the only way to fight the spiralling climate, but also social crisis concerned with polarization and the decline of social well-being, is to invest and engage in bottom-up mechanisms. This is because through the creation of public awareness of the urgency of the need to act upon climate change, poverty and health issues there is a possibility of creating pressure on elites. Therefore, this suggests that everyone is responsible for becoming aware citizens and putting pressure on the people in power. At the same time, since the elites are the ones who have not only the biggest impact on the environment, through the countless misuse of public resources, but also the biggest power to make changes in the way we live, through the implementation of policies, the burden of responsibility also lies on them (Dablander 2023, 2-3; Young and Thomas-Walters 2024, 2).

Therefore, the biggest challenge in fighting the crisis is not the actual physical transformation of public infrastructure and services, but rather shifting the way people think about climate change, the planet, growth and what constitutes a fair life (O'Brien and Sygna 2013, 6). There is a need to achieve awareness levels that balance the elite and companies' and individual responsibilities, thus shifting the burden of climate change reforms more towards the state and corporate leaders, who have often been "untouched" by this issue, claiming that they follow the public demands.

Changing Global Order

Secondly, we all have the right to live on a safe planet, by which I mean one that is not threatened by climate crisis, nor by conflicts created by authoritarian dictators. However, the current global does not have any respect for international law or planetary boundaries. This geopolitics-driven race of superpowers between the US and China, even

regarding renewables, presents a threat to the stable, peaceful and just global order (Blondeel et al. 2021, 8). Additionally, it makes the non-involved actors feel that they are lagging, thus making them fall into the trap of easy and cheap solutions which are most often not environmentally, nor socially responsible (Vivoda et al. 2024). Consequently, this obsession with competition instead of cooperation only brings benefits for those rich actors, while exploiting the majority who want to have access to basic resources and live a healthy life.

Therefore, state leaders have the responsibility to see the planet as a shared resource that needs to be taken care of and not exploited for the sake of political games. This could be implemented by making international treaties, such as the Paris Agreement, legally enforceable (Kim and Bosselmann 2013, 288). It would require reform of the United Nations as it lacks effectiveness regarding climate change policies, but also sanctions on states in conflict, as well as enforces hierarchy between states (Biermann 2007; Chambers and Green 2005). Therefore, the public needs to create more and more pressure on elites for them to enact those changes.

Applying Degrowth and De-Commodification

Finally, systemic change and growing awareness would facilitate the transition to the degrowth model of living and de-commodification of various goods, such as housing, which right is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948, art. 25). In this way, with more social houses built that would respond to the need of the people, but also co-exist with the environment, the fight with housing and climate crisis could be conducted simultaneously. This example highlights the importance of degrowth as the means to start the ecological transition, because it accounts for social well-being and climate justice (Kallis 2018, 115). At the same time, implementing the degrowth model also addresses the global, regional and local asymmetries, as it addresses the decolonial notions of Global South prosperity, and ends the exploitation at the expense of the growth of the Global North (Hickel 2021, 2- 3).

While there are many sceptical voices regarding de-growth, this is where the previous lessons, especially the one about spreading awareness would serve as a basis for deepening our understanding of why de-growth is necessary and explaining that it would not decrease the quality of our lives (Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020). On the contrary, it would result in enhancing the importance of community ties through the creation of mechanisms of fair and inclusive public services transformation, thus increasing social well-being all around different parts of the globe.

Conclusion

In conclusion, even though the climate change situation is worsening at a tempo faster than predicted, there is still a chance to move from this path towards global collapse to the path where sustainable communities peacefully co-exist with not only nature, but also each other (Dablander 2023, 5). However, this will be only achieved when we change our way of thinking about the climate and social crisis, the urgency to act upon them, but also allow for the marginalized perspective to be heard, thus decolonizing Western epistemologies (Inoue et al. 2023, 4-5). The most important fact to remember is

that we can still change our system, and it is not a matter of financial resources and technological innovations, but the will to do so. We need to act fast, because *the crisis is happening **right now*** (Swyngedouw 2022, 443).

Bibliography

Angus, Ian. 2016. *Facing the Anthropocene: Fossil Capitalism and the Crisis of the Earth System*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Biermann, Frank. 2007. "Reforming Global Environmental Governance: From UNEP towards a World Environment Organization." *Global environmental governance: Perspectives on the current debate*: 103-123.

Blondeel, Mathieu, Michael J Bradshaw, Gavin Bridge, and Caroline Kuzemko. 2021. "The Geopolitics of Energy System Transformation: A Review." *Geography Compass* 15, no. 7: 1-21. doi:10.1111/gec3.12580.

Chambers, W. Bradnee, and Jessica F Green. 2005. *Reforming International Environmental Governance from Institutional Limits to Innovative Solutions*. 1st ed. Tokyo. United Nations University Press.

Dablander, Fabian. 2023. "Understanding and Preventing Climate Breakdown: A Guide for Social and Behavioural Scientists." Manuscript, University of Amsterdam.

Hickel, Jason. 2021. "The Anti-Colonial Politics of Degrowth." *Political Geography* 88: 1-3. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102404.

Inoue, Cristina Yumie Aoki, Thais Lemos Ribeiro, Veronica Korber Gonçalves, Larissa Basso and Paula Franco Moreira. 2023. "Indigenous and Traditional Communities' Ways of Knowing and Being in Planetary Justice." *Environmental Politics*: 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2023.2293437.

Kallis, Giorgos. 2018. *Degrowth*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing.

Kim, Rakhyun E, and Klaus Bosselmann. 2013. "International Environmental Law in the Anthropocene: Towards a Purposive System of Multilateral Environmental Agreements." *Transnational Environmental Law* 2, no. 2: 285–309. doi:10.1017/S2047102513000149.

Lam, Vincent, and Yannick Rousselot. 2024. "Anthropocene, Planetary Boundaries and Tipping Points: Interdisciplinarity and Values in Earth System Science." *European Journal for Philosophy of Science* 14, no. 2: 1-21. doi:10.1007/s13194-024-00579-4.

Löwy, Michael, Bengi Akbulut, Sabrina Fernandes, and Giorgos Kallis. 2022. "For an Ecosocialist Degrowth." *Monthly Review* 73, no. 11. https://monthlyreview.org/2022/04/01/for-an-ecosocialist-degrowth/.

Millward-Hopkins, Joel, Julia K Steinberger, Narasimha D Rao, and Yannick Oswald. 2020. "Providing Decent Living with Minimum Energy: A Global Scenario." *Global Environmental Change* 65: 1-10. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102168.

O'Brien, Karen, and Linda Sygna. 2013. *Responding to Climate Change: The Three Spheres of Transformation*. Proceedings of the Conference Transformation in a Changing Climate.

Sultana, Farhana. 2022. "Critical Climate Justice." *The Geographical Journal* 188: 118–124. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12417.

Sultana, Farhana. 2023. "Whose growth in whose planetary boundaries? Decolonising planetary justice in the Anthropocene." *Geo: Geography and Environment* 10: 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1002/geo2.128.

Swyngedouw Erik. 2022. "The Depoliticized Climate Change Consensus." In *Handbook of Critical Environmental Politics*, edited by Luigi Pellizzoni, Emanuele Leonardi, and Viviana Asara, 443-455. London: Elgar.

United Nations. 1948. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Vivoda, Vlado, Morgan D. Bazilian, Asmaa Khadim, Natalie Ralph, and Ghaleb Krame. 2024. "Lithium Nexus: Energy, Geopolitics, And Socio-Environmental Impacts In Mexico's Sonora Project." *Energy Research & Social Science* 108: 1 -9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103393.

Young, Kevin A., and Laura Thomas-Walters. 2024. "What the Climate Movement's Debate about Disruption Gets Wrong." *Humanit Soc Sci Commun* 11, no. 25: 1-7. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-02507-y.

57. Harmonizing with Nature: A Blueprint for Global Transformation in Governance

Lizzy Zwiers and Erin Tselekis

The Anthropocene demands a radical rethinking of how we conduct business and govern society. In an era marked by ecological crises and social inequalities, traditional, profit-driven business models have revealed their limitations. To address the challenges of the Anthropocene, it is essential to adopt an ecocentric worldview. One that recognizes humanity's interconnectedness with the natural world and emphasizes sustainability, social equity, and ethical governance. By embracing an ecocentric worldview, organizations can become catalysts for global transformation, harmonizing human activities with the rhythms of nature (Callicott, 1989). Freeman's stakeholder approach (1984) reinforces this perspective by advocating for businesses to consider a wider array of stakeholders, including the environment, as integral to their success. Drawing on our articles “Spirituality and Sustainable Business” and “Harmonizing with Nature for Sustainable Business,” this essay explores the foundational principles necessary for creating a transformative framework for global governance, with nature as an active participant in decision-making. This change can be supported by a global constitution.

Current Paradigm: An Anthropocentric Worldview

The prevailing anthropocentric worldview sees nature as a resource to be dominated and exploited for human benefit. Even initiatives and regulations emerging from forums like COP often stem from a mindset that positions humanity as the planet’s saviour. Reinforcing the narrative that we are the ultimate controllers of Earth, rather than participants in its interconnected ecosystems. This perspective has fuelled environmental degradation, biodiversity loss, and social disparities. Metaphors such as “business as a machine” or “conquering nature” illustrate the mechanistic, hierarchical mindset that prioritizes short-term profit over long-term ecological balance.

However, a worldview is not immutable. By shifting from an anthropocentric to an ecocentric framework, businesses and society can redefine success. Ecocentrism, as emphasized by Naess (2003) in his distinction between shallow and deep ecological thinking, acknowledges the intrinsic value of all living beings and ecosystems, emphasizing collaboration and mutual flourishing.

The Power of Worldviews: Metaphors Shape Realities

Worldviews act as lenses through which we interpret and interact with the world. They are shaped by language, metaphors, and stories, which influence how organizations operate and make decisions (Bindlish & Nandram, 2019). For example, the metaphor of the banyan tree offers a compelling alternative to hierarchical structures. With its interconnected roots and branches, the banyan tree symbolizes holistic growth, adaptability, and co-evolutionary existence with other species.

The shift from an anthropocentric to an ecocentric worldview requires not just structural changes but also a transformation in the metaphors and language we use to describe our relationship with the planet. Adopting ecocentric metaphors such as "nature as a stakeholder" or "business as a garden" shifts the focus from exploitation to a stewardship mindset fostering an ethos of care and reciprocity.

Nature as a Stakeholder: Ecocentric Governance Models

Besides the changing worldview, a critical step toward a sustainable future is embedding nature into governance structures. The following governance models illustrate how businesses can integrate ecological considerations. These concepts could also be integrated in global public and private governance models and supported by global legislation on the position of nature.

1. **Nature as Shareholder**: Nature's voice is entrenched in ownership and decision-making, ensuring that its interests are prioritized alongside financial objectives.
2. **Nature as Director**: Organizations appoint dedicated roles, such as a Chief Nature Officer, to advocate for ecological principles within corporate strategies.
3. **Nature as Advisor**: An advisory board or policy framework incorporates ecological insights, guiding businesses toward sustainable practices.
4. **Nature as Inspirator**: Organizations integrate nature into their mission and values, aligning their operations with ecological wisdom and ethical responsibility.

These models provide a blueprint for transitioning from extractive practices to regenerative systems that honor the interconnectedness of all life.

Nature-Inspired Management Principles

To operationalize an ecocentric worldview, organizations can adopt nature-inspired management principles, modeled on the Banyan tree and its cultural meaning:

1. **Holistic Growth**: Foster interconnectedness and collaboration across teams, organisations and the context they operate in. Promoting sustainable growth for all stakeholders.
2. **Ecological Integration**: Align decision-making processes with ecosystem health.
3. **Sustainable Use of Resources**: Prioritize regenerative practices that balance ecological, social, and economic needs.
4. **Cultural and Spiritual Significance**: Incorporate ethical and spiritual values into organizational culture, fostering a sense of meaning and belonging.
5. **Adaptive Management**: Embrace flexibility and responsiveness to navigate the complexities of a changing world.
6. **Collaborative Co-evolution**: Build mutually beneficial relationships with stakeholders, enhancing resilience and innovation.
7. **Community and Resilience**: Strengthen social cohesion and environmental stewardship, creating a foundation for long-term success.

These principles encourage decision making and value creation from the view of interconnectedness on societal and ecological themes. The thinking behind these principles can be helpful to build a base for a global constitution.

Transformational Change Through Spiritual Values

While most transformation approaches and methodologies remain impersonal, often failing to address the inner nature of humans, spirituality resonates on a profound level, touching the core of who we are and inspiring meaningful, lasting change. Spirituality fosters a sense of interconnectedness, encouraging leaders to view their organizations as part of a larger ecological system. As Chapple and Tucker (2000) illustrate through Hinduism's ecological perspectives, spirituality fosters a profound interconnectedness between human actions and the natural world, inspiring more ethical and sustainable choices. The integration of spiritual principles into transformational practices on governance and legislation offers a pathway for deeper transformation. In our articles we describe how the K-model (Knowledge model), developed by Nandram (2022), can be a tool to facilitate this practice. Spirituality can serve as the link between measurable facts, intuition, inspiration, and connection with nature and humanity. Bridging the gap between empirical data and spiritual wisdom, between worldviews, governance models and legislation.

Conclusion

The journey toward an ecocentric future requires leadership, innovative thinking and nature-inspired principles on a fundamental level, such as a global constitution. Integrating ecocentric governance and spiritual practices in organisations can contribute to ecocentric worldviews. All together this can accelerate systemic change on ecological-, societal- and economical shared values in global governance and legislation. In nurturing nature, we nurture humanity, paving the way for a more justifiable, sustainable, and harmonious world.

References

Bindlish, P. K., & Nandram, S. S. (2019). Manifestation of worldview in a metaphor. *International Journal of Business and Globalisation, 23*(3), 464–474.

Callicott, J. B. (1989). *In Defense of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*. State University of New York Press.

Chapple, C. K., & Tucker, M. E. (2000). Hinduism and ecology. *Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University Press*.

Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach.* Pitman Publishing.

Naess, A. (2003). The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement. *Scharff, R. y Val Dusek, Philosophy of technology: The technological condition, Londres, Wiley-Blackwell*, 467-470.

Nandram, S. S. (2022). Spiritualiteit: De discipline voor zakendoen met het onbekende. Nyenrode Business Universiteit.

58. A fair share for All is a matter of human rights

Jan Juffermans

The world's population has grown to more than 8 billion people, many of whom suffer from a level of poverty unworthy of humankind. At the same time, we are plagued by increasing ecological damage that has impressive social consequences, such as damage to our climate, shrinking biodiversity, polluted air and water, acidified oceans, and degraded soils.

Is there a fair and effective solution that could keep our planet safe and sustainable, and also liveable for future generations?

Our Common Future

On the basis of the analyses from the UN report *Our Common Future* (1987, the so-called 'Brundtland report'), I published an article in the Dutch national newspaper *De Volkskrant* in 1989. The crucial message was that rich countries violate human rights by making unfairly large claims on global resources. Since then, the gap grew even bigger, but no one called it a matter of human rights. On the contrary, the Dutch government now still calls for increased consumption in order to continue economic and financial growth. The story is the same in many other European countries and worldwide. The mantra that echoes around the world is: grow, grow, grow!

Liberal Philosophy

The liberal philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) wrote that every individual has the right to maximum freedom to live her or his life. He also formulated the basic rule that claiming unlimited use of nature is not allowed as our planet has finite resources. One is free, he wrote, to profit from nature's interest, but we should ***leave enough of the same quality for others***.

Rights of the Rich

At the time of Locke, colonialism was taking off. Embarking on large ships, our ancestors sailed across the globe to acquire many valuable products at the lowest prices. For those back home, the unfair effects of this 'clever' trade remained unknown for a long while—in Holland we say 'it was too far from our bed'. The era was one in which the rights of the rich became a global phenomenon. Alas, this remains the case today. We still benefit from prices of imported goods from poor countries that are far too low, while causing collateral ecological and social damage. In 1996, a report ('Dutch land Use Abroad') was published showing that the Netherlands imported products from 23 million hectares outside of our borders (our country has only 2 million hectares suitable for agriculture).

Global overshoot

Due to growing Western economies, 20% of the global population is consuming more than 80% of global resources. Hence, not much is left for the other 80% of the

inhabitants of our planet. If the poorer six billion people were to seek a similar level of consumption as the rich have, as advocated every day by advertisements, this would be far too big a load on our Earth. In about 1970, we crossed the 'sustainability barrier' of our planet, and we entered the new phase of global overshoot. At present, in 2024, the overshoot is more than 75%. This large percentage explains the many types of degradation of soil, water (streams, rivers, oceans), and air, as well as overfishing, loss of biodiversity, deforestation, and, of course, damage to our climate.

Ten Apples and Ten Children

In 2024, the question is still simple: how do we share ten apples among ten children? In practice, we allow only two children to just take four apples each. The other eight children have to deal with the problem of sharing the remaining two apples. We show our concern by giving some formal development aid to alleviate cases of emergency and to provide some education and health care. Research shows that we succeed in extracting fortunes from those countries by cunning tax constructions, price manipulation by multinationals, and prices for raw materials and products that are far too low. This goes by the name of 'reversed development aid'. Professor Jan Tinbergen, Nobel Prize laureate in economics, calculated about fifty years ago that the rich countries should invest 3 to 4% of their gross domestic product in the poorer countries to reach a more equitable situation within some 100 years. In practice, the aid was reduced to formally only 0.7%, and many countries even reduced this goal even further, as did the Netherlands. Therefore, we have to conclude that development policies have failed to reach fair global sharing; indeed, it is arguable that we exploit the poorer countries more than ever before.

Human Rights

The aim is to allow maximum freedom to make our own choices in life, on the sole condition that we will ***leave enough of the same quality for others***. Of course, there will be more space for everyone in the future if we succeed in reducing the global population and all footprints that are too large for fair sharing.

Based on my experience to date, I cannot but conclude that most people just turn away from this issue when they learn about the figures of our large Dutch Footprint and the link with human rights. The many good intentions and projects to make this world a better place and the seeming impossibility of any fundamental change make me think about the sober assessment of Leo Tolstoy as recorded in his short poem (below).

Legal actions

We can conclude that the theory of fair sharing is already very clear for many years. So, there is a broad basis for action, and we urgently need to stop further degradation of our planet. We might succeed now with legal actions, like a Global Constitution, based on the present strong international laws on Human Rights, like we have seen with the cases of Uganda and the 'climate ladies' in Switzerland.

I sit on a man's back,
choking him, and making him carry me,
and yet assure myself and others
that I am very sorry for him
and wish to ease his lot
by any means possible,
except getting off his back.
Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910)

59. Over wetten en wetten

Ronald Rovers

Het is toch vreemd, dat we, nu we in de problemen zitten qua stikstof en CO2, onszelf als land moeten vrij kopen, om daar wat aan te doen? Zoals kolencentrales uitkopen en boeren uitkopen...? En dat is nog maar begin.

Overigens zijn CO2 en stikstof niet onze echte problemen. Door daar op te focussen, is dweilen met de kraan open, want het zijn slechts gevolgen, niet de oorzaken. De oorzaak zit in ons ongebreideld consumeren, van producten samengesteld uit energie en materialen. Waardoor we met obesitas zitten, niet alleen in ons lichaam, maar in alles: auto's die groter worden, woningen die groter worden, zolders vol spullen die we niet meer gebruiken, en ga zo maar door. Daar ligt de uitdaging: om dat in balans te brengen met wat de Aarde kan leveren. De Aarde immers is slechts een eiland, waar we niet af kunnen. Qua grondstoffen komt er niets meer bij, en de grondstoffen worden vooral uitgeput. Vooral door bedrijven die we nu moeten uitkopen.

Bij (grond-) wet is van oudsher niets geregeld, met betrekking tot die overconsumptie, de uitputting van bronnen, omdat het destijds nog niet opportuun was. Zonder fossiele brandstoffen liep de samenleving steeds tegen zijn bio-fysische grenzen aan en dat corrigeerde zich vanzelf. Met fossiel is dat geheel uit de hand gelopen. De ontwikkelde instituties, op basis van die oude (grond-)wetten en opvattingen, hebben dat alleen nog maar versterkt.

Zoals ten aanzien van de rechten van de mens, en vervolgens de grondwet, en daarvan afgeleide wetten. Bij de rechten van de mens, gaat het vooral over die mens, waar die allemaal recht op heeft, maar volledig buiten de context van wat fysisch mogelijk is, van wat een beperkt systeem als de Aarde kan leveren. Grote delen van afgeleide en aanverwante wetten borduren daarop verder: ze focussen vooral op de mens zelf en zijn relaties onderling, en hoe die met zoveel mogelijk vrijheden individuele invullingen kan geven aan zijn behoeften en vooral wensen.

Wat ontbreekt in dat lijstje zelf bedachte wetten, is dat er ook een onvrijheid bestaat, die niets te maken heeft met wat mensen onderling afspreken maar een fysisch gegeven is: er zijn limieten aan wat de aarde kan leveren: dat kan dus niet oneindig, dat loopt tegen een grens aan. Die sociaal culturele en institutionele ontwikkelde organisatie is volledig losgekoppeld van de fysische en biologische (on-) mogelijkheden. De mens is vooral bezig met zichzelf. Het gevaar voor de mens is juist dat alles teveel op die mens zelf is gericht en ontwikkeld.

Omdat te herstellen lopen we dus vast, omdat inmiddels alles om die eigen regels en vrijheden draait, met geld en eigendom als voornaamste institutionele verworvenheden om dat te verzekeren. Maar met dat geld en eigendom, met inmiddels alles in eigendom van iemand, zijn de twee grote boosdoeners benoemd, die verandering en koppeling aan de fysische potentie cq wetten in de weg staan. Geld (-swaarde) is niet gekoppeld aan fysische waarde, en werkt dus per definitie in de verkeerde richting: Als we aan duurzame

volhoudbare oplossingen konden verdienen hadden we immers geen problemen.
En om in evenwicht te leven met wat de Aarde kan leveren, moeten we ons, als we afzien van fossiele brandstoffen, baseren op volhoudbare bronnen, hernieuwbare bronnen voor water voedsel, materiaal en energie, ('Vocht, Voedsel,Vezels, en Vermogen') en daarvoor zijn we van land afhankelijk, als voornaamste productiemiddel, vanuit de enige bron die iets toevoegt aan ons eiland: de zon. Maar als alle land in privaat eigendom is, dan is er geen mogelijkheid om dat in te zetten ten behoeve van de mensheid of samenleving als geheel. Sterker nog: als alle land vergeven is, dan is er zelfs voor nieuwgeborenen geen "ruimte" meer....

Een grondwet moet dus starten bij de eerlijke fysische verdeling van land, de 'productie'-ruimte, en met een geldsysteem die dat reflecteert en reguleert.

De huidige grondwet gaat impliciet uit van eigendom, stelt zelfs dat iedereen volkomen vrij is om te beschikken over zijn eigendommen. En dat 'eigendom' alles betreft wat in geldswaarde kan worden uitgedrukt. Terwijl dat geld stelsel dus is ingericht om eigendom te creëren. Dat gaat dus niet werken als we de zaken weer in evenwicht willen brengen. Uitgangspunt moet het besef zijn dat er

1. wetten zijn, niet beïnvloedbaar door de mens, die aangeven of iets *kan* of niet.
2. wetten zijn verzonnen door de mens, die aangeven of iets *mag* of niet (van die mens)

Een nieuwe grondwet zal dus feitelijk uit die twee delen dienen te bestaan: een deel dat de fysische kant regelt en beschermt, en een tweede deel dat de resterende speelruimte voor de mens behelst. Het ene deel beschermt de de lange termijn beschikbaarheid van regenereerbare en dus niet uitputtende grondstoffen, het andere deel regelt de korte termijn ruimte voor allen om zich te ontplooien binnen die fysische grenzen.

De fysische kant betreft het gemeenschappelijk eigendom , beheer en bescherming van alle bronnen, en jaarlijks daarvoor een verplichte lands-begroting maakt: de jaarlijkse opgave van maximale beschikbaarheid van bronnen. Noem het de 'Grondplichten" .
Binnen die grenzen kan dan al het andere geregeld worden zoals het handelen en ruilen van grondstoffen, goederen en diensten, "de Grondrechten".

Er ontstaat ook een scheiding van staat en (financiële) economie: De staat houdt zich dus niet meer bezig met een financiële economie, maar met een bindende grondstof economie, en een adequaat waarderingsstelsel daarvoor.

Een minder vergaande variant is, maar ook dat zou je in de grondwet vast moeten leggen en organiseren, dat er een 4e macht wordt geïntroduceerd, naast de drie door Montesquieu benoemde machten: de wetgevende, de uitvoerden en de handhavende macht. Daaraan toegevoegd dient er een 'begrenzende' macht te komen. Een macht die kaders aangeeft, de harde fysische grenzen vastlegt waarbinnen de politiek keuzes kan maken. Iets dat Montesquieu destijds niet kon voorzien, maar vandaag de dag ongetwijfeld zou hebben toegevoegd. En uiteraard, zonder privaat land eigendom, dat blokkeert slechts het handelen.

Tijdens corona ging alle aandacht naar het versterken van het immuunsysteem van de mens om de indringer, het virus, te neutraliseren. Maar in feite was het andersom: de

aarde heeft koorts en het immuun systeem van de Aarde kwam in actie om de indringers te beteugelen, zijnde het virus genaamd de mens. Laat dat een les zijn, om van te leren hoe we in balans met die Aarde kunnen (over-)leven, en daar onze (grond-)wetten en rechten op aanpassen.

60. Principles for a Global Constitution

Adrien Fabre

Objectives: The constitution should be grounded in and help achieve universally agreed objectives, which should appear in the preamble: the UN charter and the Sustainable Development Goals. Furthermore, the constitution should reflect a longer term vision (for 2200): a global citizenship for all (ensuring to all a decent life, civic and political rights); a world without armies (but only globally coordinated police forces); within planetary boundaries, e.g. a climate stabilized with temperature increase well below +2°C; with income per capita converging across countries and inequality at a level approved by the majority.

Subsidiarity: The world level should be competent (only) on issues that are best handled at a world level. This includes: the resolution of conflicts between armed groups or states; the design of the international financial system; the ownership of natural resources, rights to pollute, and intellectual property; the regulation of pandemics and artificial intelligence; (some degree of) taxation and redistribution; the exchange of information to fight fraud and crime.
Subsidiarity court: a new court would resolve litigations concerning the level competent for a given decision and control that the world government respects the world constitution and subsidiarity laws.

Progression: Inertia of institutions and social structures prevents the immediate establishment of an ideal global constitution in all countries. Therefore, the constitution should be flexible enough to allow states to form coalitions of enhanced cooperation on specific topics and devise conditions for states to leave or be excluded from such coalitions. Similarly, the progression towards a federal democratic world should integrate states with different political systems and allow restrictions on the level of integration (e.g. on the type of taxes or the magnitude of public spending that are determined at the world level, or on the fraction of national armies that can be redirected to the global peace-keeping force). Furthermore, progress should build up on existing initiatives, such as:
UN reform: Until new institutions replace existing ones, the Security Council should be composed of representatives from 10 regions (the EU, Anglo-saxon countries, the African Union, the Arab league, China, East Asia, Russia, Latin America, India, other countries) without veto rights and with votes based on a dual majority of regions and the population they represent. Votes at the UN General Assembly on issues for which the world level is competent would become binding. The UN General Assembly would replace the Security Council in the voting process, though members of the Security Council would remain the only ones allowed to table resolutions.
Make Law Not War: Governments should strengthen international law, commit to resolve conflicts through the international court of justice and apply decisions of the international criminal court.
UN Framework Convention on International Tax Cooperation: Governments should

constructively support the new convention and agree to taxes financing transfers from high- to lower-income countries.

Proportional representation: The representation of people should follow the principle of an equal power of decision for each affected citizen. If voting rights are allocated to countries, this principle implies that each country should get a voting right proportional to its adult population. But constituencies need not be defined along geography (or geography alone): constituencies could also be based on groups such as gender, income, religion, profession, or a combination of these. The UN General Assembly would progressively be transformed into a Global Assembly according to this principle.

Delegation: Voters should be allowed to delegate and split their voting rights. For example, any country could choose to delegate its voting right at the UN General Assembly to its population or its parliament: the country's vote would then be split according to referendum, election, or parliamentary vote results. Conversely, a group of states (or voters) could choose to delegate their voting decisions on a specific issue to a given person or organization.

Transparency: The entire decision-making process should be transparent. In particular, world-level government budget, policy notes, and reports, as well as policymakers' agenda and debates should be publicly available.

Citizen participation: Citizens should be actively involved in decision-making through different means:
Global Assembly: The Assembly members would be elected in a single constituency at the global level, with a limited number of lists authorized to compete (say the twelve lists with the highest number of endorsers). Voters would also be allowed to vote for random volunteers: a share of seats corresponding to these voters would then be allocated to volunteers drawn by lot. Countries should align their election dates to the global election; alternatively, the election of the Global Assembly can be staggered and occur at the same date as national elections. In any case, an international election would foster a global public debate and would encourage policymakers and citizens to confront ideas of people from other countries. As a first step, the Global Assembly could have a consultative (rather than decisionary) role. This would allow to build trust for the Assembly and to handle the (very likely) non-participation of certain states.
Societal network: a digital platform would be created that allows citizens and organizations to express their concerns; endorse lists; co-create, propose, and vote on policies (including on their preferred budget). Discussions between policymakers should preferably take place on the societal network.

Executive power: Ministries could include: Peace, Budget, Financial system, Technology, Cooperation, Environment. Each ministry would be collegially directed by five ministers (with equal voting right), elected by the population (or, as a first step, by the Assembly) through the method of single transferable vote. The ministries shall draft and submit legislation proposals corresponding to three different sources: their own proposals, proposals by the Global Assembly, and the most popular proposals on the societal network. The ministries are also responsible for policy enforcement.

Modification of the constitution: For the constitution to be modified, it needs to be approved by a majority of the current assembly as well as of the three previous assemblies.

Pacifism: The global peace-keeping force could only intervene to end or prevent a military conflict, after a proposal by the Peace ministry. It would not be allowed to enforce a global law from another ministry. To help enforcing such laws, only non-military sanctions could be used.

61. Towards a Global Constitution for Climate Justice and Sustainability

Elena Draganov

Despite numerous warnings from scientists and activists over the past two decades, global emissions continue to rise globally, making the 1.5°C target increasingly unattainable.[39] The prevailing economic system, characterized by nations and industries prioritizing their own interests, suggests that a voluntary abandonment of economic growth based on good will from these actors is unrealistic.[40] Therefore, **the role of law** emerges as a crucial mechanism for addressing the climate crisis, as it can compel governments, industries and individuals to adhere to strict regulations or face penalties for non-compliance.[41] A proposed Global Constitution, signed by all nations, could delineate rights and responsibilities while promoting both social and environmental objectives.

A key feature of a Global Constitution must be the **prioritization of vulnerable populations** in climate policies.[42] These individuals not only need to be the focus of policy reforms but should also **actively participate in discussions** regarding the necessary reforms to address their needs. A participatory approach ensures that mitigation efforts are effective and considerate of local contexts, preventing additional harm.

While the constitution should prioritize environmental targets, it must also address broader **social issues** such as poverty and hunger. If the Global South develops along the same lines as the Global North, it will lead to increased global emissions, as the Global North accounts for 92 percent of global emissions.[43] Consequently, any development in the Global South necessitates **sacrifices from the Global North** regarding **consumption** and **production** to achieve collective environmental goals.

The Global Constitution must imply a rethinking of **consumption and individual responsibility**.[44] More specifically, it is necessary to reconsider our contemporary society and the overconsumption that defines our lifestyles, which is at the core of our emissions. To tackle these challenges, countries worldwide must encourage their populations to adopt a **"consumption sobriety"** and to rethink their perceptions of happiness and well-being.[45] It is vital to promote alternative lifestyles that emphasize the importance of **local consumption**, encouraging individuals to **redefine happiness** as reconnecting with nature or spending quality time with loved ones, rather than perpetually acquiring new goods.[46] Towards this goal, policies must encourage local consumption and **sustainable**

---

[39] Rogelj, "A new scenario."
[40] Foster, "The Midas Effect."
[41] Mayer, "Climate change mitigation."
[42] Hisschemöller, "The Relevance of Participatory Approaches."
[43] Hickel, "Quantifying national responsibility."
[44] Guillard, "Towards a Society"
[45] Guillard, "Towards a Society"
[46] Guillard, "Towards a Society"

tourism. Regarding food consumption, supermarkets should be mandated to implement **labelling systems that reflect the emissions** associated with the production of each product, akin to the health ratings ranging from A to D[47]. This initiative would promote individual accountability and offer consumers a clearer understanding of their personal emissions. Moreover, governments and companies should promote **national tourism** rather than encouraging international travel. In line with this approach, **low-cost flight promotions**, such as 'fly anywhere in Europe for under 50 euros', should be prohibited, with nations ensuring that **train travel** is more affordable than flying. A **flight quota**, establishing limits on the number of flights a person can take each year, could also be incorporated.[48] Drawing inspiration from France's example, a **gradual ban on domestic flights** is necessary, alongside developing alternative sustainable transportation methods, which could serve as employment opportunities.[49]

In addition to altering consumption patterns, a Global Constitution should promote **cultural transformation**. This could be implemented in schools, with children being educated to embrace and coexist harmoniously with nature rather than exploit it.[50] Therefore, **environmental education** must be made mandatory for all age groups, focusing on climate change, the importance of a sober lifestyle, and the principles of reusing and recycling.[51] Furthermore, a **fundamental shift in societal values** is essential and this transformation largely contradicts the values and priorities of capitalism. Given the challenges of gaining worldwide support for a transformation to an entirely different system, a Global Constitution should focus on integrating elements of **degrowth** without explicitly labelling them as such. For instance, it could include a **Personal Carbon Allowance** (PCA) or a **carbon tax** that assesses individual footprints, with revenues from it being allocated exclusively to environmental initiatives.[52] These would apply to both individuals and companies to mitigate the negative externalities they generate.

Additionally, the Global Constitution must have measures in **increasing accountability**. Politicians could be legally mandated to advocate for 3 to 5 climate improvements during their term, with penalties imposed in the form of fines for non-compliance. Companies must be held more accountable, particularly through the implementation of a **carbon tax**, as they are significant polluters.[53] Additionally, all companies should be required to engage in a **10-step program** aimed at adopting more sustainable practices. Each country should establish an **auditing body** to randomly evaluate companies' sustainability efforts, imposing fines on those that lack meaningful initiatives or engage in greenwashing their customers.

Regarding **global governance and compliance**, nations should be required to implement a similar initiative. They must demonstrate proof of their commitment to 10 specific actions aimed at achieving sustainability goals. The UN should establish a

---

[47] Kuhne, "Can carbon labels."
[48] Ben-Ari, "Flight quotas outperform".
[49] Mylne, "Where to From Here?."
[50] Varela-Candamio, "The importance of environmental education."
[51] Varela-Candamio, "The importance of environmental education."
[52] Fuso Nerini, "Personal carbon allowances."
[53] Hájek, "Analysis of carbon."

dedicated **assessment department** to evaluate countries' efforts and impose fines for any misconduct. Broadly, if signatories of the Global Constitution fail to meet its provisions, they should incur **fines**, which could be redistributed to compliant nations to bolster environmental and social projects. This objective further underscores the need for countries to recognize the UN as a principal authority in the Global Constitution, accepting a degree of sovereignty reduction in this area for the collective benefit.

In conclusion, the urgency of the climate crisis demands a transformative approach to global governance, symbolized by the establishment of a Global Constitution. This framework must focus on mitigation efforts whilst integrating adaptation strategies, ensuring **resilience for vulnerable populations** while **holding nations and corporations accountable** for their environmental impact. The need for radical changes across various facets of society—ranging from consumption patterns to governance structures—is paramount if we are to alter our trajectory towards a sustainable future. We must collectively recognize that the time for immediate action is now; this crisis cannot be addressed in isolation but requires a united front of individuals, governments, and organizations working in concert. By embracing **shared responsibility** and committing to a constitution that fosters **equitable and sustainable practices**, we can reshape our world to not only meet the challenges of climate change but also cultivate a more just and harmonious existence with our planet.

Bibliography

Ben-Ari, T., Lefort, G., Mariette, J. *et al.* "Flight quotas outperform focused mitigation strategies in reducing the carbon footprint of academic travel". Environmental Research Letters 19 Number 5 (2024). https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/ad30a6.

Foster, J. B., Clark, B. and York, R. "The Midas Effect: A Critique of Climate Change Economics". *Development and Change 40* Issue 6, 1085-1097 (2009). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01613.x.

Fuso Nerini, F., Fawcett, T., Parag, Y. *et al.* "Personal carbon allowances revisited." *Nat Sustain* 4, 1025–1031 (2021). https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-021-00756-w.

Guillard, V. "Towards a Society of Sobriety: Conditions for a Change in Consumer Behavior." *Field Actions Science Reports* Special Issue 23, 36-39 (2021). https://journals.openedition.org/factsreports/6590.

Hájek, M., Zimmermannová, J., Helman, K., *et al.* "Analysis of carbon tax efficiency in energy industries of selected EU countries." *Energy Policy 134* (2019). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2019.110955

Hickel, Jason. "Quantifying national responsibility for climate breakdown: an equality-based attribution approach for carbon dioxide emissions in excess of the planetary boundary". *The Lancet Planetary Health*, Volume 4, Issue 9, e399 - e404.

Hisschemöller, M., Tol, R.S. and Vellinga, P. "The Relevance of Participatory Approaches in Integrated Environmental Assessment". *Integrated Assessment* 2, 57–72 (2001). https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011501219195.

Kuhne, S., Reijnen, E, Laasner Vogt, L. *et al.* "Can carbon labels encourage green food choices?". *Sec. Environmental Psychology 13* (2022). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.902869

Mayer, Benoit. (2023). "Climate change mitigation as an obligation under customary international law". *Yale Journal of International Law, 48(1),* 105-152.

Mylne, L. (2024). "Where to From Here?. In: Re-thinking Travel Writing". *Palgrave Studies in Literary Journalism*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-56188-7_10.

Rogelj, J., Huppmann, D., Krey, V. *et al.* "A new scenario logic for the Paris Agreement long-term temperature goal". *Nature* 573, 357–363 (2019). https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-019-1541-4.

Varela-Candamio, L., Novo-Corti, I., García-Álvarez, M. "The importance of environmental education in the determinants of green behavior: A meta-analysis approach". Journal of Cleaner Production 170, 1565-1578 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2017.09.214.

62. Carbon Points

Antoine Defoort

Every human on the planet gets a yearly carbon points allowance.

Every time anyone buys goods or services, you have to pay carbon points, along with the regular price of the good, which corresponds to the carbon emission of the good. This would be calculated as the VAT is, adding carbon “costs” to each transformation step.

Essentially, it's going to be a parallel worldwide currency that's connected to the global carbon footprint, so that it matches the planet's absorption capacities. (Which is, I believe, around half of what we currently emit.)

As an example, let's say every person has a yearly carbon credit of 10.000 points (CP). Buying 5kg of potatoes would cost you around 10 CP, and buying a plane ticket is worth around 3500 CP.

The carbon points could also be used as a way of redistributing resources by organizing a global carbon points market. This means that people with lighter footprints can sell (for real money) their unused carbon points to people who want to keep using their private jets all year long.

I think the price of carbon points should go up exponentially so that super rich (in real money) people are disincentivized to emit too much carbon dioxide. This means that the first carbon point you want to buy above your allowance is going to cost, for example, 1€, and the next one after that 2€, and the next one 4€, and so forth. So basically, if you only need a few carbon points in addition to your allowance, they won’t cost much, but the more you need the more expensive they become. And the revenue raised through the sale of CP would be redistributed equitably to people with lighter footprints.

63. A Constitutional Framework for Climate-Resilient Healthcare

Srishti Banerjee

Introduction

The rapid acceleration of climate change induced health risks–from heat-related illnesses to the spread of infectious diseases–underscores the urgent need for climate resilient healthcare systems. However, existing healthcare governance models fail to integrate sustainability as a constitutional principle, perpetuating reliance on high emission medical infrastructure and resource intensive pharmaceutical production. This regulatory gap necessitates a constitutional framework for climate resilient healthcare, ensuring that medical infrastructure and pharmaceutical industries and healthcare policies align with environmental sustainability. (Health Care Without Harm, 2019).

A constitutionally enshrined commitment to climate resilient healthcare would mandate:

- Emission reduction targets in health care sector (Eckelman & Sherman, 2020).
- Sustainable hospital infrastructure and pharmaceutical manufacturing regulations (Belkhir & Elmeligi, 2019).
- The legal recognition of environmental determinants in healthcare policies (McMichael, 2020).
- Binding international agreements ensuring that nations comply with healthcare sustainability mandates (UNFCCC, 2015).

This discussion explores key obligations, enforcement mechanisms, global case studies and ethical considerations for an effective constitutional framework for climate-resilient healthcare.

1. The right to climate resilient healthcare as constitutional principle

1.1 Constitutional precedents for sustainable healthcare

While many national constitutions enshrine the right to healthcare, few explicitly link it to environmental sustainability. However, several precedents demonstrate how constitutional law can integrate climate-resilient healthcare systems

- **Ecuador's 2008 Constitution** became the first to grant legal rights to nature, recognizing that human health is intrinsically linked to environmental wellbeing (Boyd, 2012). This model can be expanded to include sustainable healthcare.
- **France's Constitutional Amendment (2021)** formally recognizes ecological preservation as a legal duty, laying the foundation for green public health policies (Pichler et al., 2019).

- **Norway's Green Governance Model** mandates that public institutions including hospitals, minimize environmental harm, reinforcing sustainability as a state obligation (UNDP, 2023).

1.2 Legal Justifications for Enshrining Sustainable Healthcare in Constitutional Law

- Healthcare is a fundamental right: Sustainable healthcare should be constitutionally protected, ensuring access to eco-conscious medical services (ICESCR, 1966).
- Climate stability as a precondition for health: recognizing that climate change is a primary determinant of public health, legal frameworks must mandate environmental responsibility in healthcare governance (McMichael, 2020).
- State obligations to reduce healthcare emissions: constitutional mandates implementing climate-conscious healthcare policies, ensuring compliance with international environmental treaties (WHO, 2023).

2. Constitutional obligations for Low Carbon Healthcare Infrastructure

2.1 **Hospital Sustainability and renewable energy integration:** Hospitals are among the largest institutional consumers of energy, with heating, ventilation, sterilization and 24/7 operations contributing to massive carbon footprints (Pichler et al., 2019).

A climate –resilient constitutional framework should mandate

- Steps towards achieving zero emission hospital infrastructure, requiring hospitals to maximize operations on renewable energy.
- Sustainable building standards, mandating green certifies construction materials and energy efficient designs
- Energy efficient medical equipment procurement, ensuring that hospitals reduce energy consumptions.

Case Study: Denmark's Net Zero Healthcare system

Denmark has integrated climate resilient hospital infrastructure into its national healthcare system, with mandates requiring:

- Solar powered and energy efficient hospitals.
- Strict emission reduction targets for medical supply chains.
- Public investments in green medical technology (Danish Ministry of Health, 2022).

Denmark's model illustrates how legally binding sustainability mandates can drive systemic decarbonisation in healthcare.

2.2 Prioritisation of Low-Carbon Clinical Care Pathways within Constitutional Healthcare Obligations

Within a constitutionally grounded framework for climate-resilient healthcare, priority must be accorded to care pathways that are preventive, resource-efficient, and environmentally sustainable. Rehabilitation-oriented and non-pharmacological health services—particularly those centred on physical activity, functional restoration, and patient self-management—represent inherently low-carbon modes of care delivery, reducing dependence on emission-intensive pharmaceutical and technology-driven interventions (Banerjee, 2024).

From a governance perspective, such care models contribute to reduced hospital admissions, shorter treatment trajectories, and sustained functional independence, thereby lowering cumulative healthcare resource utilisation and associated emissions. Decentralised delivery models, including community-based services and digitally enabled rehabilitation, further align with constitutional obligations to minimise environmental harm by reducing patient travel-related emissions in outpatient care (Holmner et al., 2014).

Climate-resilient health systems must also incorporate adaptive capacity to address climate-related functional decline, occupational heat stress, and disaster-associated morbidity. Rehabilitation services play a critical role in maintaining population mobility and work capacity under such conditions, reinforcing their relevance within constitutional commitments to health protection and environmental stewardship (WHO, 2020). Embedding environmentally informed clinical decision-making within rehabilitation practice supports institutional compliance with sustainability mandates without compromising equity or access.

3. Pharmaceutical Industry accountability in constitution

3.1 Mechanisms For Carbon Neutral Pharmaceuticals

The pharmaceutical sector is among the most carbon intensive industries, yet remains largely unregulated in climate policies (Belkhir & Elmeligi, 2019). A climate- resilient healthcare framework must:

- Ensure carbon disclosure for pharmaceutical companies (Eckelman & Sherman, 2020).
- Enforce regulatory emission caps in drug manufacturing
- Adoption of green chemistry principles

3.2 Circular economy Policies for Medical waste Management

Medical waste–including expired pharmaceuticals, toxic chemicals and single use plastics–is a major contributor to climate and environmental damage (Windfeld & Brooks, 2015). A constitutional healthcare framework must:

- Regulate landfill of hazardous medical waste
- Implementation of take back programs
- Implement Zero waste policies in hospital waste management.

4. International Legal Commitments and Enforcement Mechanisms

4.1 Establishment of a Global Health Treaty:

- Universal carbon reduction targets for healthcare sectors
- A global climate health fund supporting sustainable medical infrastructure in developing nations (UNFCCC, 2015).

4.2 The Role of International Organizations:

International organizations must:

- Integrate healthcare sustainability mandates into international climate agreements.
- Establish a global green healthcare certification to regulate hospital sustainability.
- Provide funding and technical support for low-income nations transitioning to climate-conscious healthcare systems (WHO, 2023).

5. Ethical, Financial and Equity Considerations in Sustainable Healthcare Governance

- Health equity must be prioritized, ensuring that low-income populations do not bear the burden of transitioning to sustainable healthcare.
- Intergenerational justice requires healthcare policies that protect future generations from climate driven health crises.
- Economic feasibility: investing in sustainable healthcare reduces long term costs by preventing climate related health crises.

Conclusion

A constitutional framework for climate resilient healthcare is essential to:

- Ensure universal access to sustainable medical services (ICESCR, 1966).
- Enforce emission reductions in hospitals and pharmaceutical industries (Eckelman & Sherman, 2020).
- Institutionalize circular economy models in medical waste management (Windfeld & Brooks, 2015).
- Establish international legal frameworks for healthcare sustainability (WHO, 2023).

References

Belkhir L, Elmeligi A. Carbon footprint of the global pharmaceutical industry. J Clean Prod. 2019;214:185–194. doi:10.1016/j.jclepro.2018.11.204

Boyd DR. The Environmental Rights Revolution: A Global Study of Constitutions, Human Rights, and the Environment. Vancouver: UBC Press; 2012.

Danish Ministry of Health. Green transition in the healthcare sector: towards a climate-neutral health system in Denmark. Copenhagen: Ministry of Health, Government of Denmark; 2022. Available from: https://www.sum.dk

Eckelman MJ, Sherman JD. Life cycle environmental emissions from U.S. healthcare. PLoS One. 2020;15(7):e0234912. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0234912

Health Care Without Harm. Healthcare's climate footprint: How the health sector contributes to the global climate crisis and opportunities for action. Health Care Without Harm and Arup; 2019. Available from: https://noharm-global.org

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI); 1966. Available from: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights

McCally M. Environment and health: an overview. CMAJ. 2000;163(5):533–535.

Pichler PP, Jaccard IS, Weisz U, Weisz H. International comparison of health care carbon footprints. Environ Res Lett. 2019;14(6):064004. doi:10.1088/1748-9326/ab19e1

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Sustainable healthcare and climate change: policies for a resilient future. UNDP; 2023. Available from: https://www.undp.org

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Paris Agreement. 2015. Available from: https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement

World Health Organization (WHO). Sustainable health policies and climate change adaptation. WHO Technical Report; 2023. Available from: https://www.who.int/publications

Windfeld ES, Brooks MS. Medical waste management: a review. J Environ Manage. 2015;163:98–108. doi:10.1016/j.jenvman.2015.08.013

Banerjee S. Defining the green gap in environmental physiotherapy: challenges, advocacies and solutions. Eur J Physiother. 2024.

Holmner Å, Ebi KL, Lazuardi L, Nilsson M. Carbon footprint of telemedicine solutions—unexplored opportunity for reducing carbon emissions in the healthcare sector. PLoS One. 2014;9(9):e105040. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0105040

World Health Organization (WHO). WHO guidance on climate-resilient and environmentally sustainable health care facilities. Geneva: WHO; 2020.

Disclosure: I acknowledge the use of AI-assisted tools for language refinement and reference management in this work. However, the conceptualization, critical analysis, and idea generation are entirely my own, ensuring originality and intellectual integrity in the content presented.

64. Constituting the Globe: Legal and Historical Foundations for a Global Constitution

Nor Zihan Nurul Majidah

The notion of a global constitution has gained urgency as global challenges—climate change, economic inequality, and migration—demand collective action that transcends national boundaries. It is critical to conceptualize a constitution by balancing the imperative of global governance with respect for national sovereignty. One should focus on historical precedents, legal frameworks, and governance models, aiming to explore how constitutional principles can be applied on a global scale.

A global constitution, drawing on principles of shared sovereignty, environmental justice, and global equity, can provide a sustainable and legitimate framework for addressing transnational challenges without eroding national autonomy. Such a project can: investigate historical examples of supranational governance frameworks, extracting lessons that can inform the development of a global constitution; explore the legal principles and governance structures that a global constitution might adopt, ensuring it balances sovereignty with global accountability; and develop a theoretical model of a global constitution that prioritizes inclusivity, legitimacy, and enforceability across diverse political and cultural contexts.

This project can use a qualitative methodology, focusing on archival research, documented case studies, and legal analysis. Archival Research on the League of Nations and the United Nations, the European Union, the African Union and ASEAN can allow for an in-depth analysis of historical attempts at creating supranational governance. These cases should help identify both the strengths and limitations of previous attempts at shared governance, offering lessons for how a global constitution might be structured to avoid repeating past mistakes.

In addition, it is critical to undertake case studies of the Paris Agreement. As one of the most comprehensive global efforts to address climate change, the Paris Agreement offers a blueprint for how a global constitution could enforce environmental standards across nations. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has a role in enforcing global norms of justice and should provide insights into how a global constitution could address transnational legal accountability while respecting national sovereignty. Global trade agreements such as those governed by the World Trade Organization (WTO) should also be studied for their legal frameworks, offering insights into how global economic governance could be integrated into a constitutional model. These case studies should help identify key principles for creating a global constitution, particularly in areas where global challenges (such as climate change and human rights) require legally enforceable global standards.

A comparative analysis of various national and supranational constitutions can help identify key principles that could be incorporated into a global constitutional framework. Important constitutions for inclusion include the U.S. Constitution and the German Basic

Law for insights into federalism and how sovereignty can be shared across different levels of governance and the EU's legal frameworks, which offer a model of how sovereignty can be pooled while maintaining national autonomy in certain areas. This analysis focus on identifying principles of legitimacy, accountability, and enforceability that are crucial for any constitutional model. It is also important to explore how global norms, such as human rights and environmental protections, can be embedded into a global constitution, ensuring that it serves both global and local interests. All this help develop a constitution that balances national sovereignty with global governance; prioritizes environmental justice and global equity; and is inclusive and legitimate across diverse political and cultural contexts.

This project has the potential to inform future policy discussions on global governance, contributing to the ongoing debate on how best to structure international cooperation in a way that is both sustainable and just.

A global constitution offers a potential solution to the complex and interconnected challenges facing the world today. By building on historical lessons and legal frameworks, this project explore how such a constitution can be both feasible and effective.

65. Global Constitution: Integrating human rights, responsibilities and just transitions

Echtai Marh

In light of the evolving global governance landscape, this essay proposes an interdisciplinary approach to shaping the Global Constitution. Drawing on methods from Prof. Gupta's recent work, this constitution focuses on integrating human rights, responsibilities, and just transitions, particularly emphasizing governance and economic innovation in the Global South.

A critical area of research is the risks and opportunities of stranded assets within the global energy transition. The research should examine how the Global Constitution can incorporate measures to manage these risks, especially in the Global South, to foster innovation in energy transitions. This can be done by analysing case studies of stranded assets and innovative energy practices from select Global South nations. It is also critical to examine the economic implications of these transitions on resource-dependent regions, especially focusing on policy recommendations for managing risk in innovation.

The research blends economics, governance, and environmental studies to propose actionable frameworks for global governance systems that are both innovative and just. The interdisciplinary perspective should ensure that insights from multiple fields contribute to the robustness of the constitution.

The Constitution builds on an interdisciplinary literature review to identify gaps in current governance frameworks and build on them to propose a more integrated Global Constitution. It develops an interdisciplinary tool that could measure how well global governance structures incorporate economic, social, and environmental rights and responsibilities.

The case studies assess the implementation of constitutional principles in both the Global South and the Global North and their impact on energy innovation. This comparative framework should highlight differences and commonalities in governance models. Other case studies from South Africa, Brazil, Syria (Global South), and countries like Germany and the Netherlands (Global North) could enhance the understanding. It is critical to understand how these regions incorporate social R&D and energy transition principles into their governance structures. Comparative analysis can help identify best practices that can be embedded in the Global Constitution, ensuring inclusivity and cooperation between the Global North and South. This should provide a holistic understanding of the global energy transition and governance systems.

Scenario analysis can be a critical tool to understand how global governance and the constitution might evolve in light of climate and economic transitions. These scenarios include equity and sustainability considerations. The project could develop multiple long-term governance scenarios for the Global Constitution, with a focus on energy,

environmental, and economic transitions. These scenarios could be used to model potential global outcomes for resource distribution, human rights, and responsibilities.

Building on the concept of just transitions from Gupta's work, the research prioritizes inclusivity, ensuring that vulnerable populations benefit from global governance innovations. It focusses on how the Global Constitution can actively engage with issues of justice, particularly for those in the Global South. It designs participatory governance models that include marginalized voices, ensuring inclusivity in global decision-making processes. It proposes just transition policies, ensuring that innovations in energy governance are both equitable and sustainable.

This essay aims to contribute to the Global Constitution project by providing a creative, interdisciplinary, and justice-focused framework. Grounded in the risks of stranded assets, informed by interdisciplinary perspectives, and rooted in equitable governance, the essay proposes actionable solutions for inclusive and innovative global governance.

66. Essay on a Global Constitution

Zvikomborero Dahlia Patssika

Social exclusion is experienced by people living in the rural areas characterised by lack of or no participation in decision-making in issues that affect their daily lives. Hence, this Global Constitution includes strategies that put people at the centre of their own development to inform policy change and local governance. This project enables and empowers policy entrepreneurs to continue advocating for policy reforms that bring together global and local (glo-cal) development initiatives to poor and marginalised societies and to be able to create safe spaces for participation amongst citizens and civic organisations in the Global South.

Civic organisations, like many public institutions, play a very pivotal role of informing residents about local and global development. They also play the important role of holding the local and national government(s) accountable to the rule of law and democracy. However, there were also notable barriers and challenges to organising and implementing development strategies at local level which include lack of access to information, lack of equal distribution of resources such as funding for local programs and lack of political will, amongst others. Against this backdrop, it is critical to have knowledge and experience of working at local and national level with stakeholders at multiple levels to develop ideas and guidelines that can inform a Global Constitution.

It is important to re-imagine new technologies in marginalised communities to inform social and economic development. There is social exclusion when it comes to expanding new technology to rural areas or marginalised communities in developing countries, therefore it is key to explore the digital divide across space, culture, gender and hierarchy in development to inform policy change in the Global Constitution. Using the capability approach and a people-centred development approach can help the analysis and be a tool for policy-makers and people in the marginalised communities to address social injustices, for instance unequal access to information technology. The Global Constitution should empower marginalised communities through smart technology. In the context of economic empowerment for instance, smart technology in revolutionising agricultural practices can help build strong livelihoods for those in the rural areas, however it is not easily accessible to everyone based on who controls the means of production and the technology. Furthermore, new and smart technologies not only empower marginalised communities to develop, but also contribute to improved governance, transparency and citizen engagement.

Based on the above, the Global Constitution should promote the advancement of social inclusion through technology at a global level. Inclusive development in policy making and governance through equal access to information and technology are worth exploring and be considered in the Global Constitution as part of the rising literature on digital literacy in social and economic development. According to Chaudhary (2024), upholding digital rights and those who control digital spaces is essential for fostering a more inclusive, just and democratic digital society. There were misinformation and lack of

participation in Covid-19 responses for many people which resulted in lack of accountability, transparency and poor local governance on covid-19 procurement measures as well as information dissemination. If given this opportunity, the Global Constitution should work towards forming a Global Constitution which is inclusive for all by making sure that there is equal distribution of resources and information technology.

67. Creating New International Courts: A Critical Examination of the International Anti-Corruption Court

Aneetta Peedikayil

A global Constitution needs to examine: What are the driving forces behind the creation of the IACC, and how do these compare with those behind the establishment of other international courts? What role do non-state actors, including NGOs and transnational advocacy networks, play in the creation and shaping of the IACC? How does the concept of legal neo-colonialism apply to the IACC, and what are the decolonial perspectives on its establishment? How do different jurisdictions respond to the idea of an international anti-corruption court, and what lessons can be drawn from these responses for the IACC?

To address these questions, it is critical to develop a multidisciplinary theoretical framework, incorporating insights from international relations, legal studies, and critical theory. The development of a professional field around the IACC should be examined using sociological approaches, particularly Bourdieu's concept of fields and capital. The role of non-state actors should be analysed using theories of transnational advocacy networks. Legal neo-colonialism and decolonial perspectives should be explored through post-colonial theory, while the politicization of international justice should be examined through the lens of international legal realism.

The project should employ a qualitative research methodology, combining document analysis, interviews, and comparative case studies. Document analysis should focus on the founding charters, legal documents, and policy papers related to the IACC and other international courts. Semi-structured interviews should be conducted with key stakeholders, including legal professionals, policymakers, and representatives of non-state actors involved in the creation of the IACC. Comparative case studies should include an analysis of the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and other specialized international tribunals, providing a broader context for understanding the IACC.

The IACC can serve as the primary case study involving a detailed examination of the court's proposed structure, jurisdiction, and legal framework. It should also analyse the political, economic, and social contexts that have led to the proposal for the IACC, including the role of non-state actors in advocating for its creation. The case study should further explore the potential challenges and opportunities the IACC might face in gaining legitimacy and operational effectiveness.

By focusing on the IACC, one can learn how a Global Constitution can be designed and should contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of international justice and the role of legal institutions in addressing transnational issues like corruption. It should offer insights into the role of non-state actors and the influence of professional fields in shaping new legal institutions, contributing to ongoing debates about the legitimacy and efficacy of international courts.

68. Redefining Global Constitutionalism - Addressing Historical Colonial Inequalities and Injustice in Global Governance

Harry David Kiwanta Sembiring

‘Transnational constitutionalism appears to be desirable, at least to the limited extent of being framed so as to come within the sweep of the constitutionalism counterfactual.’ (Rosenfeld, 2014)

The current international legal system, heavily influenced by colonial histories, continues to reflect global power imbalances that marginalize nations in the Global South. These postcolonial structures reinforce unequal access to resources, decision-making power, and the benefits of technological advancement (Anghie, 2005). As the world faces increasingly complex challenges— such as climate change, rapid technological innovation, and widening inequality—the need for a new global constitution that addresses these disparities has become urgent. This constitution must not only decolonize international governance but also be adaptable to emerging technologies, inclusive of marginalized populations, and responsive to the global climate crisis.

Postcolonial scholars argue that the international legal system perpetuates a form of "civilizing mission" through modern institutions and global governance mechanisms, which often prioritize the interests of the Global North (Mutua, 2000). A decolonized global constitution would challenge these hierarchies by giving equitable representation and decision-making power to marginalized communities and Global South nations. Moreover, technological advancements present both opportunities and challenges, necessitating a constitutional framework that is flexible enough to regulate issues such as data privacy, artificial intelligence, and digital inequality (Lessig, 2006).

Additionally, the global climate crisis disproportionately affects poorer nations, exacerbating existing inequalities between the Global North and South. Incorporating climate justice into a new global constitution would ensure that environmental governance prioritizes vulnerable communities and holds powerful states and corporations accountable (Gupta, 2014). Balancing these diverse interests—between North and South, technology and governance, and climate and development—is essential for fostering a just and cooperative international order. Hence, this essay explores the theoretical and practical aspects of creating a global constitution that decolonizes the international system, promotes inclusive governance, and addresses the pressing issues of technology and climate change.

The global Constitution should address the following question: How can decolonization theories and practices be integrated into a global constitutional framework to address historical and ongoing inequalities in the international system? What new legal principles, based on technological adaptability, need to be incorporated into a global constitution to regulate emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence and data privacy? What are

the existing challenges and gaps in private and public international law that hinder the development of a global constitution, and how can these be addressed? How can empirical analysis of national constitutions inform the drafting of a global constitution that balances the interests of the Global North and South?

The Constitution should draw on the theory of rule of law and constitutionalism as the foundational theoretical lens. Constitutionalism, as traditionally conceived, refers to the limitation of power, the protection of fundamental rights, and the provision of legitimate and effective governance structures (Loughlin, 2010). The principle of rule of law, meanwhile, emphasizes equality, fairness, and justice before the law (Raz, 1977). These principles are critical for shaping a decolonized global constitution, where power is distributed equitably across states, regions, and populations. To address the current imbalances in the international system, it is necessary to incorporate post-colonial legal theory, particularly the work of scholars such as Antony Anghie and Makau Mutua, who argue that international law often perpetuates colonial hierarchies (Anghie, 2005). It is necessary to engage with theories of intersectionality and critical legal studies to explore how marginalized voices—whether based on race, gender, or geography—can be centered in the global constitutional process.

Such research should analyse national Constitutions to identify the common and divergent elements that could inform a global constitution. Comparative constitutional analysis (Ginsburg & Dixon, 2011) should be employed to assess constitutions from a representative sample of countries in both the Global North and Global South. This analysis should focus on elements such as the protection of fundamental rights, the distribution of power, environmental commitments, and the governance of technological innovations. The data collection process should include the review of constitutional texts, judicial decisions, and secondary literature on constitutional law and practice. Tools such as the Comparative Constitutions Project (CCP) or Constitute Project (CP) database should assist in the systematic comparison of constitutions. This analysis should provide empirical insights into what has worked at the national level and what could be scaled or adapted for a global framework.

Drawing from the empirical analysis, this project should explore the new legal principles that need to be incorporated into a global constitution. This includes:

- Technological adaptability: Legal scholars like Lessig (2006) emphasize the need for laws that are flexible enough to adapt to rapid technological advancements. The global constitution must address issues such as digital privacy, data sovereignty, and the ethical use of artificial intelligence.
- Climate change and environmental governance: As climate change disproportionately affects the Global South, this research should argue for strong environmental commitments within the global constitution. Scholars such as Gupta (2014) have emphasized the necessity of integrating climate justice into global legal frameworks.
- Inclusion of marginalized communities: The global constitution must ensure that the voices of historically excluded populations—indigenous communities, women, and economically disadvantaged groups—are included in governance structures. This section should build on the work of scholars such as Boaventura

de Sousa Santos (2007), who argue for more inclusive global governance mechanisms.

This project should offer a comprehensive exploration of the theoretical and practical aspects of constructing a global constitution that is decolonized, tech-adaptive, and inclusive of marginalized people. By balancing the interests of the Global North and South and incorporating empirical evidence from national constitutions, this project should provide a robust framework for reimagining global governance in the 21st century.

69. Greening Global Constitutionalism: A New Perspective through the International Criminal Court and Ecocide

Hanqing Xu

As global environmental degradation intensifies and the theory of global constitutionalism continues to evolve, many scholars and policymakers (Kotzé, 2012; May & Daly, 2015; O'Gorman, 2017) have argued for incorporating environmental protection into the framework of global constitutionalism. However, the current global constitutional framework remains primarily focused on the protection of human rights, with relatively little attention given to environmental rights. Existing discussions often attach importance on human rights, democracy, the rule of law, and the separation of powers, which, while undeniably important, have not adequately addressed the need for environmental protection and the recognition of environmental rights as part of global public goods. This oversight has left the current global constitutional system ill-equipped to address the urgent environmental challenges we face today.

This issue is also reflected within the International Criminal Court (ICC), which has been endowed with global legal authority and exercises its jurisdiction to curb the actions of states, making it a key embodiment of global constitutionalism. The ICC has long been criticised for being overly anthropocentric. Its four core crimes—genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the crime of aggression—are all focused on violations of human rights. Although the ICC has stated that it can address cases involving environmental destruction under certain circumstances, such cases are generally prosecuted on the basis of human rights violations rather than recognising the rights of the environment itself. Consequently, scholars have argued that ecocide be established as the fifth core crime under international criminal law, thereby advancing the "greening" of the ICC and international criminal law (Minkova, 2023).

Given the ICC's unique position as an institution that performs legal supervision and restraint on sovereign states at the global level (Zysset, 2023), this research seeks to explore how the inclusion of ecocide within the ICC's jurisdiction could enhance the 'greening' of global constitutionalism. This would not only broaden the scope of global constitutionalism but also integrate the global environmental crisis into its governance framework, ensuring that constitutionalism goes beyond the protection of human rights to encompass the broader rights of ecosystems, thus facilitating the greening of global constitutionalism.

This would require examining: What reforms are necessary within the International Criminal Court (ICC) to effectively address ecocide in alignment with global constitutionalism principles, and what benefits would these reforms bring? How does global constitutionalism inform and shape the ICC's mandate and operational framework in addressing environmental crimes like ecocide? What reforms within the ICC are necessary to align its practices with the principles of global constitutionalism in the context of

ecocide? In what ways can the inclusion of ecocide as an international crime enhance the ICC's role in global constitutionalism and improve environmental governance?

Relevant methods include a systematic literature review to examine and analyse the theoretical development of global constitutional law and international criminal law in relation to environmental protection. This review should explore the evolution of legal frameworks, key theoretical contributions, and the growing recognition of environmental protection within the context of international law.

A case from Ecuador to evaluate how constitutional law shapes criminal law and how criminal law implements constitutional provisions could be relevant. Ecuador, being the first country to introduce environmental rights into its constitution and criminalise ecocide, offers valuable insights into the legal mechanisms adopted for environmental protection. The analysis should assess the impact and effectiveness of these mechanisms in safeguarding the environment.

In doing this, interviews with judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and activists from the ICC and Ecuador are necessary to gain insights into their practices and the challenges they face in handling crimes that harm the environment. These interviews should provide practical perspectives on the implementation of legal protections and the enforcement of environmental laws.

This essay aims to contribute to both legal theory and practice by advancing the 'greening' of global constitutionalism. It should explore how recognising ecocide as a core crime could transform the ICC's role in environmental governance, ensuring the protection of ecosystems as global public goods. This could fundamentally reshape the global constitutional framework, extending beyond human rights to encompass the rights of the environment.

References

Kotzé, L.J., 2012. Arguing global environmental constitutionalism. Transnational Environmental Law, 1(1), pp.199-233.

May, J.R. and Daly, E., 2015. Global environmental constitutionalism. Cambridge University Press.

Minkova, L.G., 2023. The fifth international crime: Reflections on the definition of "Ecocide". Journal of Genocide Research, 25(1), pp.62-83.

O'Gorman, R., 2017. Environmental constitutionalism: a comparative study. Transnational Environmental Law, 6(3), pp.435-462.

Zysset, A., 2023. International crimes through the lens of global constitutionalism. Global Constitutionalism, 12(1), pp.59-79.

70. Beyond Growth towards a Global Constitution: Reframing International Cooperation for Climate Justice and Inclusive Development

Monica Alegre

This project proposes to contribute to the creation of a Global Constitution through an in-depth historical policy analysis informed by a strong theoretical background. This would utilize a critical political economy framework utilizing various perspectives on neoliberalization, ecological and inclusive economics and post-growth, de-growth and beyond-growth approaches which focus on the humanization of the economic. Through an analysis of the intersection of international climate change, human rights and development agreements, the research should examine how global governance structures can integrate ecological boundaries and social foundations into a legal framework. By incorporating de-colonial, anti-racist and feminist perspectives, this project seeks to identify and address the gaps in current international policies on climate justice, economic redistribution, and human development.

Despite frameworks like the Paris Agreement, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and SDGs, international governance continues to promote neoliberal policies that prioritize growth over environmental and social sustainability (Gupta & Vegelin, 2016). This has led to increasing inequality and concentration of wealth (Oxfam, 2024). Political economy perspectives highlight the economic logic and structural inequalities that reinforce these imbalances. Postcolonial critiques reveal how exploitation disproportionately affects the Global South and vulnerable groups. This exemplifies the urgency of transforming our international system to ensure a sustainable and just future.

This project should aim to explore how ecological and social justice principles, rooted in post-growth and de-growth theories, can be integrated into a Global Constitution. It should analyze climate, human rights, and development policies to address gaps and propose a framework for an inclusive, redistributive, and sustainable future. Particularly, it should focus on challenges in private and public international law.

It should investigate frameworks like the Paris Agreement, Declaration of Human Rights and SDGs to assess their integration of social justice and ecological boundaries. It should contextualize Policy Historically: Explore international relations through a strong ontological and epistemological approach utilizing the theoretical foundation of variegated neoliberalization, beyond-growth approaches, postcolonialism, critical theory, and feminist perspectives, assessing their influence on Global South policies. It should identify policy gaps: Analyze gaps in policies addressing social, political, and ecological needs, and emphasize the need for their integration to prioritize well-being without trade-offs. It should examine Constitutional Theory: Assess national constitutions and constitutional theory for insights applicable to a Global Constitution. It should collaborate on the Global Constitution: Work with other researchers on the Global Constitution, focusing on overcoming challenges in private and public international law.

The theoretical foundation should integrate Doughnut Economics by Kate Raworth, Thomas Piketty's work on inequality, and Joseph Stiglitz's critiques of international institutions. Neoliberalism, analyzed through Brenner et. al. (2010) variegated neoliberalization thesis, and post-growth theories from Giorgos Kallis, Tim Jackson and Rutger Hoekstra. Postcolonial scholars like Franz Fanon and Edward Said, and feminist economists Nancy Fraser and Cahndra Mohanty, contribute to the analysis of global inequalities.

The research would follow an ontology of critical realism with a constructivist epistemology. Using the Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) of Bob Jessop (2001) regarding the relationship between the material and ideational as well as structure and agency could be helpful. This ontological background would inform the awareness behind knowledge production and be critical in relation to it. Further, it would provide a stronger theoretical depth within which to understand post-growth and post-colonial theories. With this background, this project would aim to combine Doughnut Economics with a critique of neoliberalism, arguing that current international policies prioritize economic growth at the expense of ecological and social well-being. It should critique how global governance structures perpetuate inequality through market-driven policies. This should be understood within international power dynamics rooted in colonialism which led to uneven development.

In terms of method, it should include Policy Analysis (Systematically review climate, human rights, and development policies like the Paris Agreement and SDGs), Document Analysis (Analyze rhetoric of international organizations like the UN, EU, World Bank and IMF to understand the justification for current climate change, economic policies and development approaches and its variegated impact on different vulnerable groups or regions), and Stakeholder Interviews (Conduct interviews with policymakers and experts in climate justice and human development). It should be open to an addition of quantitative research to complement the analysis, subject to further conversations within the project group.

This Constitution should address gaps in international policies that fail to integrate ecological and social justice; provide a critique of international governance systems with concrete understanding of structural systems that perpetuate inequality, particularly in postcolonial contexts and work towards a Global Constitution based on post-growth theories, with a focus on overcoming challenges in private and public international law. It should propose a Global Constitution that prioritizes ecological sustainability and social equity, addressing inequalities exacerbated by neoliberal policies. Specifically, it should tackle challenges in private and public international law.

References

Arruzza, C., Bhattacharya, T., & Fraser, N. (2019). Feminism for the 99 percent: A Manifesto. Verso. Bou-Habib, P. (2019). Climate justice and historical responsibility. The Journal of Politics, 81(4),1298-1310.

Brenner, N., Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010). Variegated neoliberalization: Geographies, modalities, pathways. Global Networks, 10(2), 182–222. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2009.00277.x

Connell, R. W., & Pearse, R. (2014). Gender in world perspective. John Wiley & Sons. Daly, H. E. (1996). Beyond growth: The economics of sustainable development.

Fanon, F. (1952). Black Skin, White Masks. Penguin Books. Fanon, F. (1961). The Wretched of the Earth. Grove Press.

Gupta, J., & Vegelin, C. (2016). Sustainable development goals and inclusive development. International environmental agreements: Politics, law and economics, 16, 433-448.

Hoekstra, R. (2019). Replacing GDP by 2030: Towards a common language for the well-being and sustainability community.

Jessop, B. (2001). Institutional re(turns) and the strategic – relational approach. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 33(7), 1213–1235. https://doi.org/10.1068/a32183

Kallis, G., Paulson, S., D'Alisa, G., & Demaria, F. (2020). The case for degrowth.

Milanovic, B. (2016). Global inequality: A new approach for the age of globalization. Harvard University Press.

Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. Feminist Review, (30), 61. https://doi.org/10.2307/1395054

Oxfam. (2024). Inequality incorporated: How firms drive income and wealth inequality around the world (Report). Oxfam Novib.https://www.oxfamnovib.nl/Files/rapporten/2024/bp-inequality-inc-150124-eng-embargoed.pdf

Piketty, T. (2015). Putting distribution back at the center of economics: Reflections on capital in the twenty-first century. Journal of Economic Perspectives, 29(1), 67-88.

Raworth, K. (2017). Doughnut economics: Seven ways to think like a 21st century economist.

Said, E. W. (1978). Orientalism. Penguin.

Stiglitz, J. E., & Zandi, M. (2012). The price of inequality: How today's divided society endangers our future.

71. Developing a Global Constitution: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Governance, Environmental Justice, and Social Equity

Dr. Sreepati Das

The current global landscape is confronted with a myriad of challenges spanning climate change, societal inequities, and the regulation of advancing technologies. These complexities underscore the need for pioneering strategies in international law and governance, with a particular emphasis on the conceptualization of a Global Constitution. As a scholar equipped with a comprehensive interdisciplinary foundation in philosophy, international law, and social sciences, I am enthusiastic about the opportunity to write an essay on a Global Constitution at the University of Amsterdam, led by the distinguished Professor Joyeeta Gupta. This exposition articulates my proposed methodology for attaining the project's objectives to show how a Global Constitution can effectively tackle these urgent global dilemmas.

The core aim of the research project should be to make a valuable contribution towards the formulation of a Global Constitution that embraces the following key components:

Environmental Governance: Tackling worldwide environmental obstacles by implementing legal structures that advocate for sustainability and fairness.

Social Justice: Guaranteeing that the tenets of fairness and diversity are fundamental aspects of governance mechanisms.

Regulation of Emerging Technologies: Crafting legal frameworks that can accommodate the swift advancements in technologies like Artificial Intelligence, blockchain, and biotechnology.

It should ask: What elements of existing national constitutions can be synthesized to inform a Global Constitution that prioritizes environmental and social justice? How can interdisciplinary research methods (qualitative and quantitative) be employed to analyze the governance structures surrounding emerging technologies? In what ways can historical philosophical discourses on governance inform contemporary constitutional frameworks?

To explore these research questions, I suggest using a comprehensive methodological approach that combines ancient Indian philosophical texts with modern legal and political theories. The research plan should involve several key components:

1. **Literature Review**: Review existing national constitutions and legal frameworks focusing on environmental governance and social justice principles to identify commonalities and best practices for the Global Constitution. Incorporate insights from thinkers like Immanuel Kant and Indian philosophical traditions to explore ethical considerations in global governance.

2. **Empirical Research**: Use qualitative methods such as interviews with experts and community leaders to understand practical challenges in implementing environmental and social justice principles. Quantitative methods may be used to analyze data on environmental impacts and social inequalities.

3. **Comparative Analysis**: Study governance frameworks in different countries to examine how cultural and political contexts influence the application of constitutional principles, providing insights on creating a universally applicable Global Constitution.

4. **Interdisciplinary Workshops**: Organize workshops with experts from various fields to discuss the theoretical and practical aspects of the Global Constitution, fostering collaboration and innovative ideas.

5. **Case Studies**: Analyze historical and contemporary examples of successful application of ethical principles in global contexts, focusing on current global challenges like climate change, inequality, and conflict resolution.

6. **Public Engagement**: Engage stakeholders in open forums to gather diverse perspectives on the vision for a Global Constitution, ensuring that the final framework reflects a broad range of voices and concerns.

This research should contribute significantly to the field of global governance, environmental law, and the ethics of technological development by proposing a Global Constitution that is both theoretically robust and practically implementable.

72. Cosmopolitan Global Constitutionalism

Anvita Pant

With increased mobility in the past decades, global interconnectivity and transnational issues have taken the centre stage. New challenges have emerged in local and national governance that follow as an outcome of global processes. Some of these challenges are new, such as climate change and the emergence of new technologies. However, some challenges are historic, such as the presence and perpetuation of social inequalities and human rights issues, which have evolved in the face of global interconnectivity. However, current international legal frameworks remain fragmented and insufficient to address such issues.

A Global Constitution offers an innovative solution to address these issues, providing a foundational set of principles to guide global governance and ensure just and inclusive development across all nations. International law and state law clash in their fundamental processes. That is, constitution is considered the supreme law of the state that can be enforced through a state's coercive power; in contrast, international law is non-binding on countries (Kumm, 2009). A reason for international law to be non-directive is that often these laws can impinge on state sovereignty.

Divergent values regarding social, political, and economic rights between international law and state law can propel this clash. Of these values, it is essential that social and human rights are aligned across nations, to achieve an inclusive and just society (Nussbaum, 2011).

Central to this endeavour is the need to balance the values, aspirations, and priorities of both the Global South and Global North. Historically marginalized voices, especially from the Global South, must be represented in shaping global norms, ensuring that issues like environmental justice and human rights reflect diverse global realities. Sen's (2011) idea of "positional objectivity" is crucial in synthesizing the needs of Global South and Global north nations. That is, marginalized groups from the Global South have vastly different perspectives from those in Global north regarding themes of justice and fairness.

For this ambitious project, one should leverage knowledge of democratic systems and mixed methods to arrive at policy-oriented inputs for the Global Constitution. Mixed-method approaches are advantageous in researching novel topics that do not have an established disciplinary corpora of literature. One should utilize a transformative paradigm to synthesize findings across phases and methods. A transformative paradigm emphasises power differences that accompany the diverse needs of global citizens and considers a mixed-method perspective to facilitate social change (Mertens, 2012).

Phase 1 of the Constitution should address the following research question: What are the comparative core values crucial in present-day national constitutions? One should aim to answer this question by using topic modelling for constitutional texts from around the world. Topic modelling is an emerging technique in social sciences that can be utilized

to extract meaning from a large corpora of texts (e.g., Nelson, 2021). While traditional enquiries have used quantitative content analysis, doing so requires a deductive approach with pre-defined categories. In contrast, topic modelling is a useful inductive technique in understanding the context within which human rights values are highlighted in constitutions. The overlap between how these values are written about and how they are enacted in states might differ across Global South and Global north countries (Sen, 2011). However, such an enquiry provides a foundation to identify key values of social justice that ought to be considered in designing a global constitution. Thus, this phase of the project should involve devising a comprehensive global understanding of crucial constitutional values that be considered in the framing of a global constitution.

Phase 2 should address the following research question: What is the meaning and importance of these core values across Global North and Global South constitutions. This can be answered using a qualitative content analysis of the constitutions of two democracies in the Global North and Global South each. A qualitative content analysis should be conducted after synthesizing information from the previous phase to arrive at broad thematic categories of human rights and social justice goals that are crucial for the constitution (Faggiano, 2023). One should consider constitutions of the US and Netherlands from the Global North, and compare and contrast them to the constitutions of Brazil and India in the Global South. Research in this phase should offer insights into how human rights and social justice values are treated and implemented across Global North and Global South nations. Such a perspective should be relevant in highlighting how social justice values take on a meaning that is positionally objective, based on the social location of citizens (Sen, 2011).

In phase 3 one should synthesize the findings from the previous phases in order to arrive at recommendations for the Global constitution. The aim should be to incorporate constitutional directives through a transformative lens to address upcoming human rights challenges in both the Global North and Global South (Mertens, 2012).

In conclusion, one should aim to bridge the divide between diverse constitutional values from the Global North and Global South, ensuring that both positional and universal perspectives are reflected in a Global Constitution. By integrating methods such as topic modelling and content analysis through a transformative paradigm, this project should aim to provide a robust foundation for addressing long-standing global challenges of social justice and equality.

References

Faggiano, M. P. (2023). Content analysis in social research: Study Contexts, Avenues of Research, and Data Communication Strategies. BRILL.

Mertens, D. M. (2012). Transformative mixed methods. American Behavioral Scientist, 56(6), 802–813. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211433797

Nussbaum, M. C. (2011a). Creating capabilities: The human development approach. https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674061200

Nelson, L. K. (2021). Cycles of Conflict, a Century of Continuity: The Impact of Persistent Place-Based Political Logics on Social Movement Strategy. American Journal of Sociology, 127(1), 1– 59.

Sen, A. (2011). The idea of justice. Harvard University Press.

73. Shared Principles of Global Cooperation

Casper Leander Djerf

A global Constitution must focus on How can a Global Constitution ensure greater global justice by establishing shared principles for global cooperation and governance of shared complex problems.

At the core of theoretically justifying a Global Constitution lies the boundary problem, and thus solutions for the boundary problem must be established. This can not only be justified by empirical pragmatic argumentation, like e.g., arguing that climate change needs to be tackled by all states collectively. That need for cooperation is certainly a qualifying aspect, but the project still needs to be justified in terms of the other encompassing legitimacy the constitution has to secure increased justice for all, and the obligations that come thereof. This may be approached by the broadly understood liberal values and ideas to reach a Global Constitutional justice system by removing ascriptive features as a variable as best as possible, such as those presented by Rawls (2001) in *Justice as Fairness*. Once ascriptive features have been removed, it is easier to extend the need to protect all individuals based on the "all affected principle" (Goodin, 2016). Seeing as the empirical examples used to back up that argument should show global interdependencies, the "all affected principle" should likely stand against the "all subjected principle". This also allows for the justification of a constitution that does not necessarily impede the current international system of states. The line of argument does not need to take it so far as to argue for a Global Constitution that constitutes a cosmopolitan world, but can simply argue for the protection of all affected peoples in all states in terms of the key identified features of the constitution.

The inclusion of aspects from pre-existing constitutions be inclusive rather than exclusionary as a starting point. Aspects that are included in some constitutions, whether a written or an uncodified constitution, but not others, should still be included in the initial drafting of the Global Constitution. This, rather than being restricted to collecting aspects that are present in most constitutions. For example, the Swedish Allemansrätten, loosely translated to the The Right of Public Access, is void from most constitutions, but has potential problem-solving power towards some of the global justice that the project hopes to pursue. Thus, its exclusion from most constitutions should not lead to exclusion from the Global Constitution.

This requires a mass content analysis - either representative of regions, or, given enough resources, the majority of constitutions be analysed. Once the chosen cases' constitutions have been analysed, any possible contradictions can be tested towards the just line of logic established in the previous step. Although a part of an already existing constitution is a prerequisite for its inclusion in this stage, its existence is not enough to be kept for the Global Constitution.

Constitutional law and conventions develop and change slowly and is conservative in most given cases. This aspect of the research project is the most interesting, as well as

potentially the most normatively influential. It has the potential of getting to the core of the stated problem of unpredictability of effects at various levels of governance and development, resulting in feedback loops. The main challenge in this part is the balance between aspects of a closed constitutional makeup that may coordinate efforts and enforce action predictably, and an open constitutional makeup that has more possibility for adaptation once future "new elements" affect the world unpredictably.

With that in mind, a model constitution with similar traits as an uncodified constitution, is important, thus making it redundant to write a Global Constitution meant to tackle "new elements" that is set in stone, so to speak. Naturally, the Global Constitution that the project should produce should be a written constitution, but I believe it to be integral to argue a logic of conventions that can be altered to keep pace with new elements. Without a level of plasticity, the Global Constitution should have similar pitfalls of slow developments and lacking possibility of amendments as current written national conventions.

There are three key aspects to the selection procedure of new elements. The first is establishing what "new elements" can be solved with current legal frameworks, but that fall apart as a result of lacking coordination between governments through either bilateral, multilateral, or organisational agreements. These aspects are well-known, influential problems that affect most if not all states such as, e.g., environmental problems and the governance AI. These are complex problems, and it may be that pre-existing legal frameworks referenced in a coordination effort do not suffice in tackling the issue at large. In that case, there needs to be amendments between those legal frameworks and their inclusion into the Global Constitution. The second aspect in the selection procedure is identifying new elements that may not be widely accounted for in existing legal frameworks. Here, the best approach is identifying new elements by way of identifying states that are at a further step of development in that avenue of development - simply put, outliers and norm entrepreneurs. Whether that is transgender rights in Argentina or the previously mentioned right to roam in Sweden, or any other example, these represent potential constitutional rights that would measure up well against the justice qualifications stemming from the used theory of rule of law and constitutionalism. The third aspect is future problems that are not necessarily codified and thus can be borrowed from pre-existing legal frameworks. Whether this is the rights of individuals and groups in relation to space extraction, or sea-level rise, this aspect is best dealt with through secondary research of futurology. The third aspect suffers, however, from the unpredictability of the future and the problems it comes with - thus, it is better to outsource those possible problems to researchers who specialise in future studies.

With the acknowledgement of greater effects of e.g., global climate change on the Global South (Mishra et al., 2023), or Western companies already outsourcing data collection to states with less regulation (Privacy International, 2020), I believe that the constitution does not emphasise equality as much as it emphasises equity in many instances. Equal standards should not suffice in that effort, rather, the Global Constitution should highlight a sense of justice for all- that justice can only be achieved through compensation. If not direct reparations in relations to compensation, then at least a framework that emphasises a legal framework that would allow more exposed states, groups, and

individuals to reach a more level playing field. If equity is not the goal, I strongly believe that a Global Constitution can instead help entrench global inequalities even further.

Bibliograhy

Goodin, R. E. (2007). Enfranchising all affected interests, and its alternatives. Philosophy &Public Affairs, 35(1), 40–68. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2007.00098.x.

Mishra, S. K., Upadhyaya, P., Fasullo, J. T., Keshri, N. P., Salunke, P., Ghosh, A., Sainudeen,A. B., & Kang, I.-S. (2023). A need for action-able climate projections across the Global South. Nature Climate Change, 13(9), 883–886.https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-023-01778-2.

Privacy International. (2020, November 10). Here's how a well-connected security company is quietly building mass biometric databases in West Africa with EU aid funds. Privacy International. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from https://privacyinternational.org/news-analysis/4290/heres-how-well-connected-securitycompany-quietly-building-mass-biometric.

Rawls, J. (2001) Justice as Fairness: A Restatement]JF], E. Kelly (ed.), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

74. Decolonizing AI Governance: Addressing Data Sovereignty, Environmental Justice, and Ethical Challenges in the Global South within a Global Constitutional Framework

Smriti Saraswat

The rapid development and deployment of Artificial Intelligence (AI) offers transformative opportunities for the Global South. However, these technologies also bring complex challenges rooted in neo-colonial dynamics and global inequalities. These issues ranging from data sovereignty to environmental degradation are particularly pronounced in regions with historical legacies of exploitation and uneven access to technological resources. Hence, it is important for a Global Constitution to address these governance challenges, focusing on the creation of frameworks that prioritize justice, equity, and decolonization, especially in countries that have historically been peripheral to technological advancements.

It is important to develop a comprehensive AI governance framework as part of the broader effort to design a Global Constitution, focusing on the following key areas:

1. **Decolonizing AI Governance**: Investigating how countries in the Global South can proactively shape global AI governance, moving beyond the Western-centric models that often dominate these discussions (Birhane, 2020; Quijano, 2000).
2. **Data Sovereignty**: Developing strategies to ensure that data generated in the Global South remains under local control and benefits local populations, rather than being extracted and monetized by foreign entities (Couldry & Mejias, 2019).
3. **Environmental and Economic Impacts**: Exploring how AI development contributes to environmental degradation and economic displacement in developing regions, while proposing sustainable alternatives (Dauvergne, 2020).
4. **Algorithmic Bias and Epistemic Injustice**: Examining how AI systems reproduce and amplify biases, and how global governance frameworks can be designed to reflect a diverse range of knowledge systems (Noble, 2018; Santos, 2015).

Current AI governance structures are predominantly shaped by the Global North, reinforcing existing global inequalities, and introducing new forms of digital colonialism. As Nick Couldry and Ulises Mejias (2019) argue, the phenomenon of data colonialism mirrors historical extractive practices, where data from developing regions is harvested to fuel AI systems that benefit wealthier nations and corporations. This raises significant concerns about data sovereignty and the ethical use of AI in contexts where local populations have limited control over the data generated from their activities.

Building on the work of Abeba Birhane (2020) and Aníbal Quijano (2000), it is critical to explore how AI governance can be decolonized, ensuring that the voices of the Global South are not only heard but are central to the design and implementation of AI policies. The goal is to disrupt the coloniality of power that shapes global governance structures, particularly in the regulation of emerging technologies like AI.

The environmental costs of AI development must also be considered. The extraction of resources for AI hardware, combined with the energy consumption required to power AI systems, poses significant challenges for resource-rich but economically vulnerable regions in the Global South (Dauvergne, 2020). These concerns highlight the need for environmentally just governance frameworks that can mitigate the negative externalities of AI development while still harnessing its potential for innovation and growth.

Additionally, the issues of algorithmic bias and epistemic injustice further complicate AI governance in the Global South. As Safiya Noble (2018) has demonstrated, AI systems often embed the racial, gender, and class biases of their creators, disproportionately harming marginalized communities. By drawing on Boaventura de Sousa Santos' (2015) work on epistemicide, one can examine how global AI governance frameworks can better reflect diverse epistemologies, ensuring that the knowledge systems of indigenous and marginalized communities are respected and protected.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, combining insights from political science, international law, environmental studies, and sociotechnical systems, the research should also conduct case studies from countries such as India, South Africa, or Rwanda to illustrate how AI governance frameworks are currently implemented and where they fall short. These case studies should provide examples of how issues like data sovereignty, environmental degradation, and algorithmic bias manifest in different contexts. These cases are suggestive rather than fixed and allow flexibility in focusing on regions facing similar challenges.

Drawing from the theory of constitutionalism and the rule of law, one should analyze national legal frameworks related to AI governance. The goal is to identify the gaps in existing laws that could be filled by a Global Constitution, particularly in addressing the unique needs of countries in the Global South.

It is very important to plan to engage with local communities, NGOs, civil society organizations, and government agencies to ensure that the governance frameworks proposed are grounded in the lived experiences of those most affected by AI technologies. This participatory approach should help ensure that AI governance is context-sensitive and reflects local needs.

Through this interdisciplinary methodology, one should be able to provide a robust, context-specific analysis of how a Global Constitution could address the governance challenges posed by AI technologies. Such a constitution should decolonize AI Governance by centering the perspectives and needs of the Global South and challenging the Western-centric models that currently shape global AI governance. Drawing on the work of Birhane (2020) and Santos (2015), it should propose alternative frameworks that are more equitable and inclusive. The research should provide actionable recommendations for ensuring data sovereignty in the Global South, addressing the critical issue of data exploitation by foreign entities (Couldry & Mejias, 2019). By examining the

environmental impacts of AI development, this research should propose governance strategies that ensure sustainability and protect vulnerable communities from the negative consequences of resource extraction and energy consumption (Dauvergne, 2020). It should also mitigate algorithmic Bias by ensuring that these technologies do not perpetuate harmful stereotypes or exclude non-Western knowledge systems (Noble, 2018).

I hope this essay helps shape the development of a Global Constitution that addresses the governance challenges posed by AI technologies, while promoting justice, equity, and sustainability in the Global South.

Theories and Frameworks Used:

Decolonial Theory (Aníbal Quijano) challenges the continued influence of colonial power structures in modern governance systems, including AI governance. It calls for dismantling Western-centric models and integrating Global South perspectives into decision-making processes. Quijano's concept of coloniality of power and Birhane's critique of Western AI models form the foundation of this theory in my research. This theory should guide the development of an AI governance framework that addresses historical inequities and promotes the active involvement of the Global South in shaping AI regulations.

Data Colonialism (Nick Couldry) refers to the exploitation of data from the Global South by corporations based in the Global North. It mirrors traditional colonial practices of resource extraction but in the digital realm, where data is harvested and commodified without benefiting the countries of origin. This framework is critical for understanding the data sovereignty challenges faced by the Global South, particularly how data generated within its borders is often controlled and exploited by foreign actors.

Epistemic Injustice (Boaventura de Sousa Santos) involves the exclusion and devaluation of non-Western knowledge systems. Santos' concept of epistemicide highlights how colonial systems of governance suppress alternative ways of knowing, while Fricker's work on epistemic injustice explores the broader implications of knowledge exclusion in global governance. This theory underpins the algorithmic bias and epistemic inclusion components of my research, helping to ensure that AI systems reflect diverse epistemologies and respect the knowledge systems of marginalized communities.

Environmental Justice (Peter Dauvergne) emphasizes the unequal environmental impacts borne by marginalized communities, particularly in the Global South. Dauvergne's work on the sustainability challenges posed by AI technologies, especially in terms of resource extraction and energy use, underscores the need for sustainable governance models that minimize harm to vulnerable populations. This framework is essential for addressing the environmental impacts of AI, ensuring that the development of AI technologies does not come at the expense of the Global South’s environmental well-being.

Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI) (Stilgoe et al.) encourages innovation that aligns with societal values and anticipates the ethical, social, and environmental implications of new technologies. It involves engaging stakeholders in the innovation process to ensure that technological advancements benefit society as a whole. Applying the RRI framework should allow for AI governance that is not only inclusive and ethical but

also responsive to the specific concerns of the Global South, particularly regarding equitable access and sustainable development.

References:

Birhane, A. (2020). Decolonial AI: Decolonial theory as sociotechnical foresight in artificial intelligence. Philosophy and Technology, 33, 661-668.

Couldry, N., & Mejias, U. A. (2019). The Costs of Connection: How Data Colonizes Human Life and Appropriates It for Capitalism. Stanford University Press.

Dauvergne, P. (2020). AI in the Wild: Sustainability in the Age of Artificial Intelligence. MIT Press.

Noble, S. U. (2018). Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism. New York University Press.

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America. Nepantla: Views from South, 1(3), 533-580.

Santos, B. de S. (2015). Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide. Routledge.

75. From National Laws to Global Constitutionalism: Navigating Contentious Issues in an Interconnected World

Xinping Hu

National and local legislation often lacks the scope to address global issues effectively. International law, though intended to manage such challenges, has also shown inadequacies in responding to crises like pandemics, climate change, and humanitarian emergencies.

As technological advancements present both unprecedented opportunities and risks, and as nationalism rises while global responsibility is increasingly overlooked, the concept of a global constitution offers an innovative approach to reimagining governance on a global scale. This essay outlines an approach that combines empirical analysis of existing constitutional frameworks with a focus on designing a flexible, inclusive, and adaptive global constitution.

To develop a foundational understanding of global constitutionalism, drawing from studies in China, U.S., and constitutional law of other countries, and synthesizing historical perspectives with contemporary global governance challenges, one needs to:

- Conduct a comprehensive literature review on global constitutionalism, including: traditional conceptions of balance of power among independent states; liberal internationalism and collective security models; John Rawls' Law of Peoples and contemporary models of international law, global governance networks and global democratization theories.
- Analyze the limitations of the UN Charter and other international governance structures.
- Case study: Examine the ongoing negotiations of the International Health Regulations and the Pandemic Treaty to identify potential challenges and lessons for global constitutional development.

To identify commonalities, differences, and best practices in national constitutions to inform a global constitutional framework, one needs to:

- Conduct a comprehensive content analysis of constitutions from a diverse range of countries, be sure to include underrepresentative countries.
- Use natural language processing and AI-based techniques to detect common themes, unique provisions, and evolving trends.

For instance, principles like democracy, protection of fundamental rights, separation of powers, and the rule of law are present in many constitutions, but their scope and implementation vary. This analysis should also evaluate whether a global constitution exist as a single document or in a more modular form.

Milestone: A detailed comparative analysis that identifies key constitutional elements and their relevance to global governance.

To create a living constitutional framework capable of evolving with technological and environmental changes, one should:

- Conduct desktop research and interviews to assess global perspectives and existing regulatory frameworks on emerging technologies, including cell and gene therapy, medical AI, brain-computer interfaces, and xenotransplantation.
- Identify best practices and potential gaps in regulation, such as the UK's Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority and the first AI treaty signed by EU US and UK.
- Examine current international conflicts over environmental issues as case studies, including the recent discharge of nuclear wastewater from Japan's Fukushima nuclear plant in 2023. In response to the discharge, China adopted trade countermeasures and temporarily banned the import of Japanese aquatic products. The lack of universally recognized international discharge standards in this case illustrates a broader dilemma in addressing global environmental challenges.

This situation can be used as a case study to explore the feasibility of establishing global environmental impact assessments and international regulatory frameworks. Achieving global consensus on such contentious issues may be difficult, but the case of the China-Japan negotiations, which resulted in the establishment of long-term international monitoring under the International Atomic Energy Agency, offers a potential model for global cooperation. Such efforts highlight the importance of creating adaptable frameworks within a global constitution that can address both regional concerns and core global principles.

Milestone: Propose a "Governance Protocol" within the global constitution that establishes principles for addressing transboundary environmental issues and regulating emerging technologies, including mechanisms for rapid assessment and policy adaptation.

To develop mechanisms for managing contentious global issues and differing interpretations of constitutional principles, one should:

- Conduct literature review and interviews to identify the most divisive global issues (e.g., LGBTQ+ rights, abortion).
- Analyze how national constitutions handle contentious issues and explore lessons from regional and local governance.
- Investigate how conservative coalitions have utilized global constitutional analysis to support illiberal arguments, with case studies such as the overturning of Roe v. Wade in the Dobbs decision.

Achieving global consensus may prove challenging, but lessons from state and local governance systems suggest that a lack of consensus not justify the abuse of fundamental rights. A tiered system that distinguishes between core global principles and regionally adaptable provisions may be an effective solution.

Milestone: Design a "Constitutional Interpretation Framework" that allows for regional flexibility while maintaining core global principles.

The concept of a global constitution represents a bold and necessary step toward addressing the complex challenges of our interconnected world. This endeavour not only seeks to navigate the diverse interpretations and contentious issues that arise in global governance but also emphasizes the need for adaptability in the face of rapid technological and environmental changes.

This work is not just about establishing a legal document; it is about reimagining governance in a way that reflects our shared humanity and collective responsibility, paving the way for a more sustainable and just future for all.

76. Principles and Elements of a 21st Century Global Constitution

Andreas Bummel

Introduction

We are living in the age of the early Anthropocene which is characterized by a scale mismatch. On the one hand, human activities have become global, interdependent and affect the entire Earth system, and on the other, political development lags behind. Government functions are still anchored primarily in nominally sovereign nation-states. The key task of a global constitution is to bridge this gap and establish a global polity that enables humanity to manage its common affairs at the planetary scale in a democratic, legitimate, accountable, sustainable and effective way. This is part of a complex process of global state formation that is arguably taking place and has become more fragile with an increase of geopolitical competition in recent times.[54]

Precedence and experience

The development of a global constitution needs to be informed by a comparative assessment of constitutional principles and designs implemented at national and regional levels.[55] Modern nation-states and their development are the product of centuries of theory and practice of constitutionalization. There is ample precedence and experience which continues to accumulate daily.[56] A thorough examination and evaluation of national constitutions and political practices in countries worldwide is required to identify elements that have proven to be viable and to disqualify such that have not. The creation of a global constitution, as an actual political project, should not be used as a laboratory to experiment with untested philosophical, institutional and political concepts. Any element proposed for a global constitution should pass the test whether there is a good precedence to build upon. Otherwise, innovation should only be introduced in careful doses and step by step. A risk of failure needs to be mitigated as best as possible.

Core principles

There are four core principles of constitutionalism that are firmly established: the rule of law, separation of powers, the people as the constituent power and human rights. In methodologies that assess the realization of democratic governance, the main attributes are representation, participation, rights and liberties, and the rule of law.[57] In line with these principles and attributes, many different constitutional choices are possible and

---

[54] See also Leinen, J., & Bummel, A. (2024). A World Parliament: Governance and Democracy in the 21st Century (2nd ed.). Democracy Without Borders.

[55] Regionally in particular the "sui generis" case of the European Union

[56] The constitutional crisis of the United States is drawing special attention at this time

[57] See Skaaning, S.-E., & Hudson, A. (2023). The Global State of Democracy Indices Methodology. Conceptualization and Measurement Framework, Version 7. International IDEA.

indeed implemented across the world. The core of a global constitutional process needs to consist in identifying which of these choices appear to have worked well, which should be picked up, and how exactly within a coherent design. Furthermore, a global constitution must not fall short of the achievements, codifications, and practices already established in international law in these fields while taking into account the deficits and failures of what is known as the Westphalian international system.

Federalism

To bring government closer to the people and balance power, many countries adopted federal constitutions that provide for provinces, regions, or states as constituent parts of the common polity. A global constitution similarly should establish a system of global federalism building on today's nation-states and regional blocs, as appropriate. The principle of subsidiarity should be a guiding force as to how powers and functions are constitutionally attributed across all levels of government: always at the lowest level possible which still enables effective management. While the global constitution should require the global polity's component parts to align with democratic attributes, it otherwise could leave it to them how to design their political systems, giving them the most possible autonomy. Nonetheless, the global constitution would make borders legally and politically permeable as the powers of the global polity would rest on states pooling and transforming their sovereignty at the global scale, at least with regard to the most pressing global issues.

Global citizenship and human rights

National constitutions and political debates often struggle with the question of citizenship or in other words, who is the "We" of a given polity. At the global scale, this is straightforward. The "We" of a global constitution is every human being without exception. Nonetheless, it is crucial to investigate what distinctive rights and responsibilities global citizenship entails and what elements remain in the realm of national citizenship and at the discretion of states. Fundamental human rights would certainly need to be enshrined in and protected by a global constitution, which also needs to provide for legal means to make them enforceable. Otherwise, global, regional and national citizenship would co-exist in ways to be managed by a global constitution. For the lack of robust precedents, caution is advised as to enshrine legal personalities to non-human entities at the level of constitutional law.

Representation and participation

The principle of separation of powers, to be observed in almost all national constitutions, means that institutionally, governments rest on three branches: the legislative, executive and judicial branch. A global constitution needs to set up and regulate the functioning of such branches at the global scale.

Regarding the legislature, which is responsible for deliberating on and enacting binding global law and to a large degree covers the attribute of representation, a bicameral design will best match a system of federalism. On the one hand, a chamber of global representatives elected by global citizens would be called upon to represent the common interest of humanity as a whole. On the other, a chamber composed of state representatives would make sure that the interests of the global polity's component parts are taken into account.

Nearly 80 countries worldwide have a bicameral legislature which provides for many insights to build upon with regard to the exact design and relationship of these chambers. The example of the EU is also an important model, with regulations and directives being the legal legislative output and a system of qualified majority decision-making.

With regard to the attribute of participation, citizens' initiatives and advisory citizens' assemblies can enhance citizens engagement, allowing ordinary people to propose and deliberate on global policies. In this field, too, there is a growing field of experience.

The executive branch

The executive branch could be organized as a World Commission, a cabinet-style government composed of department heads overseeing key global policy areas led by a chief commissioner elected by and accountable to the legislature. This commission would replace the fragmented governance and bureaucracy of existing intergovernmental institutions, consolidating areas like trade, environmental policy, or global taxation in distinctive departments.

Security could be overseen by a Joint Security Committee, replacing the UN Security Council. This body, composed of representatives from both legislative chambers, would authorize peacekeeping missions and security interventions under the rule of law while the Commission would be tasked with implementation.

The judicial branch

The global constitution needs to set up a coherent system which provides for effective and clear relationships and hierarchies between legal norms and adjudications. Global law, in principle, would need to have precedence over regional and national law. For each legal fields there need to be a global apex court responsible for authoritative interpretation of law and its enforcement. Regarding overseeing the legislative and executive branches as well as disputes over the interpretation and implementation of the constitution, there must be a global constitutional court. Of course, the global judiciary must be independent but itself accountable at the same time. Balancing this is a delicate task as national experience shows.

77. The Influence of Market Economy on Global Constitutionalism

Zubaida Sahadou Toure

A global Constitution requires exploring the intricate relationship between the global market economy and the development of a Global Constitution, particularly in the context of governance structures, social justice, and the regulation of emerging technologies. The project offers a unique opportunity to investigate how market forces influence the evolution of global governance frameworks, including environmental protection, public and private international law, and the rule of law. By examining these interactions, the research should seek to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on how to shape a Global Constitution that addresses the complexities of modern economic realities, while promoting equity and sustainability.

The central objective of the project should be to investigate how the global market economy impacts the design and implementation of governance structures, especially in the context of environmental, technological, and social justice challenges. Specifically, the research should explore the following questions: How does the global market economy influence the development of constitutional frameworks at both national and global levels? In what ways do market dynamics shape policy approaches to environmental governance, particularly in light of global environmental crises such as climate change? How do the market economy and private sector actors affect the governance of emerging technologies, including AI, biotechnology, and blockchain, within a constitutional framework? What role does the interaction between public and private international law play in balancing economic growth with global justice and sustainability?

This research should build on a multidisciplinary theoretical framework that combines insights from constitutionalism, political economy, and global governance theories. At the core of this framework should be an exploration of how economic power and market dynamics shape institutional development and governance frameworks. The research should draw on theories of constitutionalism to understand how legal frameworks are established and adapted to govern not only states but also global economic actors. This should include an analysis of how the rule of law can be redefined to accommodate the transnational nature of market economies, where private corporations often wield influence comparable to that of states.

The market economy, as the dominant global economic system, plays a critical role in shaping governance structures. By incorporating political economy theories, the research should explore how capitalist market systems have both positive and negative influences on the development of constitutional principles, including social justice and environmental protection.

Emerging technologies, particularly AI, biotechnology, and blockchain, present unique governance challenges. These technologies often operate beyond traditional national boundaries, necessitating global governance approaches. The research should explore

how market forces interact with these technologies and what role a Global Constitution could play in establishing regulatory frameworks.

The research should employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate the impact of the market economy on the development of governance structures and constitutional frameworks. The methodology should be structured around three key components: Comparative Constitutional Analysis, Case Studies of Market Influence, Stakeholder Engagement and Open Science.

The research is expected to make several key contributions to the field of global governance, constitutionalism, and political economy:

- **A New Theoretical Understanding of Market-Economy Constitutionalism**: By examining the influence of market dynamics on constitutional frameworks, the research should offer new theoretical insights into how economic forces shape governance structures at both national and global levels. This should contribute to academic discourse on the intersection of economic power and legal frameworks.
- **Policy Implications for Governing Emerging Technologies**: The research should provide policy recommendations on how to govern emerging technologies, including AI and biotechnology, within the context of a Global Constitution. It should examine how market incentives can be balanced with the need for regulatory frameworks that prioritize public good and ethical considerations.
- **Practical Insights for Global Governance**: The project should generate empirical data through case studies and stakeholder engagement, offering practical insights into how global governance structures can be reformed to better regulate market forces and promote social justice. This should include recommendations for how international law can better address the challenges posed by transnational corporations and economic globalization.

One possible innovative aspect of this project should be its interdisciplinary approach, combining constitutional law, political economy, and governance of emerging technologies. By drawing from multiple fields, the research should offer a holistic view of how market forces interact with governance structures. Additionally, the use of open science methods, including stakeholder engagement in drafting the Global Constitution, represents a creative way to incorporate diverse perspectives into the research. This participatory approach should not only enrich the academic findings but also ensure that the research has practical relevance and global impact.

78. Global Constitution Project

Marian Aniban

What I find to be a good starting point in preparing to write a Global Constitution is discussing how we can arrive at a common understanding of the words we use. Laws and constitutions are governed by words. But even with dictionaries and dedicated sections related to operational definitions, we still have various interpretations of the same rules. For example, how is it possible that those responsible for crimes against humanity can still evade justice? Or what does it mean to exact justice? Is it by the death of one or many, forgiveness of self or others, or something else? Arriving at a common understanding of concepts is important because it is the foundation needed for successfully and sustainably enforcing (localizing, educating, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating, etc.) any type of rule.

Another point of discussion is the use of resources required to create and enforce a Global Constitution. From my experience in implementing international policies at the national level, when a new international agreement is published, it does not mean it is instantly enforced by the target groups. It often takes up to five years for this new information to reach the target audience. We also know that awareness does not necessarily lead to behaviour change, and there is a constant need to repeat trainings, policy consultations, and workshops to ensure awareness, understanding, and fruitful implementation of a policy. The entire process—from involving target groups to rolling out policies—can take more than five years to implement. Furthermore, the more complicated the concepts are, the more resources are needed to localize such policies.

The concept of Time is helpful in discussing the essential elements needed in a Global Constitution. I choose Time because it is a concept widely understood by many. Compared to other concepts such as justice, inclusion, peace and reconciliation, freedom, etc., nothing is lost in translation when Time is interpreted across different formats, cultures, and languages. The mechanics of Time also does not require many resources to be implemented properly. In fact, we do not need experts nor formal education to learn how to navigate Time and its derivatives (day, month, year), as children are trained by immediate family members.

No one is above the dynamics of Time. Enforcing Time across the globe is an integral part of our daily living and operations. The Y2K scare exemplifies the possible massive disruptions and dangers when Time is not properly enforced in our systems. Therefore, we take the use of Time in our systems seriously and act on risks with utmost care and concern because of the disastrous implications if not addressed.

Breaking down the components of Time can show us the essential elements of universal concepts that are easily enforced. These can glean insights into what can comprise a Global Constitution:

- Time is not just a human experience. Time is a universal experience because it is part of the natural order of earth, of nature's rhythms and cycles. It has been a part of the wisdom of our ancestors, and the memories of all life on earth. Therefore, time (night and day) is not just a human experience.
- Time follows a cycle. Time moves forward, but all of life that experiences Time also encounters a start and return (end) as time progresses. The earth's year, for example, is a depiction of the duration of the earth's completed rotation around the sun.
- No one is above the law of Time. Even so, we all have time. We have our own versions of time and yet we also share it and experience it simultaneously.
- Time needs to be conserved. Considering the above points, because we are aware of the end of the cycle of our lives (death), we conserve our use of time according to our priorities.
- We benefit from learning about Time. Everyone benefits from cultivating their relationship with Time. We develop routines, guides, and systems using time. We track or learn from our distant/recent past to glean insights about the future. I believe that our concept of Time is still evolving as other fields emerge such as Deep Time, Longtermism, futuristic thinking, among others.

These insights should guide the writing of a Global Constitution that explores and describes the universal patterns and orders that govern all life on earth, not just humans. It may benefit us to write a Global Constitution of Time, Water, Nature, and Earth as a starting point of the project and learn from the process. Before we can arrive at a universal concept of justice and inclusion, it is important to learn from our ancestors—water, forest, and earth—on what they have done in the past billions of years to enable a thriving creation and natural intelligence. Water can give us insights on how we flow with motion; we can learn from the forest's "wood wide web" on how to create communities; and we can question the borders we make when we see how planetary systems move around the sun. This also means shifting the paradigm from human- to nature- centric thinking (putting nature back to humanity). It becomes easier to evaluate actions when we ask the question, what would nature do? or are we going against nature?

A Global Constitution that follows our universal and natural orders should inherently be designed in a simple and intuitive format, reflecting the simplicity of nature's design. Like the elements of Time, the design may also include sections about cycles and conservation.

Methods can include the rule of law and constitutionalism, a nature-centric being as an approach to prevent and mitigate any entity being above the law/constitution, and collectively answering: What are the specific objectives of a Global Constitution? How is the Global Constitution different from existing narratives, especially international treaties, agreements, and targets set by state members of the United Nations? Who owns the process of writing a Global Constitution? Who benefits from the creation of a Global Constitution and how are they involved in the process of creating a narrative that should affect them? Empirical evidence of components of national constitution, Comparative analysis between different states, types of governance, and ancient and modern systems, Empirical evidence of national constitutional elements that thrived and sustained and

benefited the common good, Analysis of new elements in a Global Constitution, Analysis of emerging fields/patterns related to the basic rights of nature, degrowth, regeneration, quantum physics, and cosmology, Analysis of emerging technologies (AI, blockchain, biotechnology, space travel) and policies governing them, Open Science, letter to scientists based on pre-requisites of a Global Constitution (universal language for linguists; shared units, systems, and models for designers, social scientists, engineers, mathematicians, economists; shared narratives—artists, psychologists), Open letter to refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons on a Global Constitution for movements.

79. Principles for the Sustainable Governance of Shared Natural Resources

Nadia Sanchez Castillo-Winckels

The governance of shared natural resources presents a significant challenge in international law. The interdependence of global ecosystems requires cooperation among states, yet state sovereignty remains a fundamental principle of international relations. As human activities increasingly affect transboundary and global commons resources, international law needs to reconcile national autonomy with collective environmental stewardship. This contribution to the Global Constitution Project explores key governance challenges and the role of international law principles in fostering sustainable and inclusive governance of natural resources that are shared by two or more states, including those in areas beyond national jurisdiction.

Governance Challenges

A central issue in shared resource governance is balancing permanent sovereignty over natural resources (PSNR) with the need for equitable use and conservation. The exercise of PSNR can discourage cooperation and weaken environmental protections. For instance, transboundary watercourses highlight tensions between sovereignty and collective water resource management, as states may resist external influence over water rights. Reconciling sovereignty with the equitable use and conservation of shared resources remains a key governance challenge.

Another challenge lies in defining the common interests of states sharing resources. The principles of community of interests and common concern of humankind offer potential solutions but remain underdeveloped in legal research and practice. In transboundary water governance, community of interests promotes collective management based on the interconnected nature of river basins. Common concern of humankind applies to global challenges such as climate change and biodiversity conservation, emphasizing collective responsibility beyond state boundaries. However, the legal conceptualization of common interests and concerns, including the legal consequences of recognizing issues as matters of common interest or concern, remains unclear.

The inclusion of non-state actors is also a challenge. The role of non-state actors in shared resource governance is often limited, despite their significant contributions to environmental stewardship. For instance, in international climate negotiations, observer organizations face barriers to meaningful participation, with meetings frequently closed to civil society. Similarly, governance mechanisms for the ocean commons, such as regional fisheries management organizations (RFMOs) and the International Seabed Authority (ISA), restrict NGO engagement. This lack of inclusivity undermines transparency, accountability, and legitimacy in global environmental decision-making.

Principles for the Sustainable Governance of Shared Resources

Regarding the exercise of state sovereignty, a distinction between sovereignty over exclusive resources, i.e. the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources (PSNR) and the type of sovereignty exercised over shared natural resources (SSNR) could facilitate better governance. PSNR grants states exclusive control over natural resources within their boundaries, while SSNR applies to shared resources, requiring cooperation among states. PSNR was established for political and economic self-determination, whereas SSNR focuses on equitable benefit-sharing and environmental protection. Unlike PSNR, which includes the right to freely dispose of resources, SSNR imposes a duty to cooperate. These distinctions make PSNR and SSNR conceptually and legally distinct. SSNR acknowledges that states must cooperate when managing resources that cross national borders or exist in areas beyond national jurisdiction. This differentiation clarifies that while states retain sovereignty, their rights are conditioned by obligations to equitably and sustainably manage shared resources. Recognizing SSNR as a distinct legal framework would shift the focus from territorial control to collective stewardship, improving governance outcomes.

In addition, the principle of community of interests has evolved in transboundary water law to promote basin-wide cooperation and ecosystem protection. Treaties incorporating this principle emphasize riparian solidarity, cooperation, and the harmonization of national laws. Additionally, an emerging trend recognizes the rights of riparian populations, ensuring their participation in decision-making. Similarly, the principle of common concern of humankind has gained recognition in treaties addressing climate change and biodiversity conservation, highlighting the need for international cooperation to tackle global environmental challenges. Together, these principles support the sustainable governance of shared natural resources by balancing state sovereignty with environmental interdependence, thereby strengthening collective governance efforts for both transboundary and global resources.

Finally, the principle of public participation is essential for ensuring inclusive and accountable governance. International human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, recognize the right to participate in public affairs, which extends to environmental decision-making. Enhanced participation mechanisms would improve transparency and responsiveness in institutions governing shared resources, such as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the International Seabed Authority (ISA). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDG 16 on strong institutions, reinforce the importance of inclusive decision-making. By integrating SDG principles into shared resource governance, international bodies can become more effective, transparent, and participatory.

Conclusion

The governance of shared natural resources requires a nuanced approach that balances state sovereignty with the realities of environmental interdependence. The principles of sovereignty (as exercised over shared natural resources), community of interests, common concern of humankind, public participation, and sustainable development offer a cohesive framework for addressing governance challenges. By interpreting these principles in an integrated manner, international law can provide clearer guidance for equitable and sustainable management of shared resources.

80. Unified Doctrine Towards our Only Home: An Essay for a Global Constitution

Patrick Ryan Bello

As the new century dawned with the advancement of technology—bringing about benefits to humanity as plentiful as harm—disparities exponentially widened. Prosperous nations became more efficient in exploiting developing countries for their materials and workforce. The latter are left weakened to protect themselves and forced to rely on the former that exacerbated disparities. Innovations and breakthroughs take longer time to reach areas needing these the most. Facing countless progressing global issues, cooperation between nations is long overdue.

The mantra *"Planet, People and Peace first. Progress second. Profit none."* should be iterative in a new 21st global constitution. It should highlight decisions made by humans—regardless of affiliation or allegiance, residency or citizenship—impact our common home as we are coexisting with fauna, flora and microbiota. We have a unified duty to the current and future generations to preserve the world and its beauties and bounties. There should be emphases that our collective survival as one humanity heavily depends on global cooperation which is deeply aligned with the national interest of each sovereign country. The constitution should serve as a reminder that ultimate power lies in the hands of the people and not authorities or affluents.

The constitution should adopt many existing universal principles and policies such as social justice[58] and the encompassing human rights and freedoms[59] with insistence on meaningful participation of citizens in decision-making processes;[60] right to a balanced and healthful ecology;[61] and transparency, anti-corruption and accountability.[62] The constitution should urge movements to generate post-capitalist economies veering away from Business-As-Usual models which propagate disparities, exploitations, and degradations.

Meaningful participation includes the right to self-determination of marginalized communities and free prior and informed consent of Indigenous peoples.[63] Nations should have measures to combat undue influence or coercion. Communities should not be

---

[58] See page 5 of E/RES/2024/6 (2024) for the prerequisites of social justice, what it implies and what sectors it encompasses

[59] See United Nations (1948) for the 30 articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

[60] See United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2018) for their recommendations

[61] See item 180 of E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994/9 (1994) for the definition

[62] See G.A. Res. S-32/1 (2021) for measures and commitments the UN General Assembly identified

[63] See art. II sec. A. and art. III of A/HRC/39/62 (2018) for self-determination and FPIC, respectively

dictated on what to do, rather, they should be guided to identify the problems they are facing, be educated on what they can do to help resolve issues and be leading their sustainable development. The promotion of meaningful participation of citizens—as experts of their lived experiences offering fresher perspectives at the grassroots—lays the foundation for more comprehensive transdisciplinary actions and fosters more consolidated whole-of-society interventions. The question "*Development for whom according to whom?"* should reverberate throughout the constitution.

A balanced ecology can sustain not only current populations but also succeeding generations. With anthropogenic activities leading to land degradation, the human coping capacity to adapt and be resilient to worsening climate conditions or further environmental degradation is highly diminished and such activities lead to increased loss to ecological services (IPBES, 2021).

A healthful ecology leads to healthy animals and humans, and vice-versa. The one health approach[64] should be integrated in global, national and local policies. Local government units (LGUs) should coordinate closer to national ministries of agriculture, science and technology, and of health to have better evidence-based policies, and that these ministries advocate for the current global scientific consensus even if these are contrary to the political will of national leaders while maximizing the meaningful participation of stakeholders.

Biosafety and biosecurity are vital disciplines towards one health. An example of having these disciplines in mind will not cause the release or introduction of invasive alien species that harm balanced and healthful ecology in reforestation efforts or quelling pathogens. Multilateral organizations with no allegiance to specific countries or regions should be established to spearhead, evaluate and perform research and storage of BSL-3 and BSL-4 organisms[65] to mitigate risks associated with sabotage or espionage and their accidental or intentional release to wildlife and populations. The limitation of engagement in medicine, vaccine or health products research, manufacturing and shipping to government offices and transnational organizations should also be explored.

Treatises on the disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons should be strengthened. Treatises to ban any transnational, national or local armed conflict using other weapons, equipment or vehicles for warfare should be explored, entered into force, and strictly implemented. Such treatises can permit more budget or funds to be allocated to social programs and divert manpower from military armed forces and military engineering into other roles or industries.

Transparency should be integrated in local, national and transnational processes for easier scrutiny by offices in charge of checks-and-balances. A transnational body with enforceable rulings to combat corruption should be established. World leaders should be held accountable for implementing any decisions contrary to global peace, justice, and

---

[64] See WHO (2023) for the definition developed by the One Health High-Level Expert Panel

[65] We may be guided by Meechan, P. J., & Potts, J. (2020) for the biosafety level classifications

development. Transnational bodies like the International Criminal Court should be strengthened to dispense justice in uncooperative nations.

A paradigm shift in economic systems should be explored and promoted. Profit-driven planned obsolescence should be combated in order to not waste resources and labor. Humanity should learn to embrace long bouts of technological stagnancy in order to avoid accelerating planetary collapse. Consumer-end laptops or desktop components keeping up with unnecessarily increasing computing and graphical power generate tremendous electronic waste which would have been better used to other industries.

Technologies, knowledge, equipment, and practices should be shared between nations to streamline the discovery, development and application of technologies.[66] Patents for life-saving technologies and practices should be collectively owned by humanity. The hoarding of sustainable technology and inventions is contrary to our collective development and survival. If each community has the capacity to be self-reliant and self-sustainable for long-term durations, we will have more resilient populations.[67]

Other areas post-capitalist economic models could include just transition of workers to other companies or industries through training and security of employment—including skills or jobs associated with artificial intelligence and automation; limit cap on ownership of stocks or shares in companies; disbandment of board of directors or vertical hierarchies for industries that provide basic necessities (food, health, housing, etc…); no ownership of land for investment or financial purposes; stricter classifications of luxurious goods or indulgent services to be prohibited; and lessening of work hours which can lead to increased job openings and employment.

[66] Although the context of Article X of G. A. Res 2826(XXVI) revolves around the biological field, the generalization to all important discoveries and technologies, including in social sciences, can be explored

[67] Although the context of EC/68/SC/CRP.4 (2017) revolves around displacements of populations, the linkage between ‘resilience’ and ‘self-reliance’ in terms of community development could still be explored

81. From Silence to Systemic Change

Anonymous

When I was four years old, my world was interrupted by a scream. My mother was in pain. My father was furious. Her fault? She hadn't added the right amount of sugar to his tea.

In that moment, I didn't just hear violence; I lived it. I ran, I cried, I pleaded. I fought to save her, to seek help from neighbours, the hospital, even the police. But each institution–family, society, state–turned their eyes away. They failed her. They failed me. The systems meant to protect became the very structures that justified silence, blame, and inaction.

Growing up in Pakistan, I learned early that injustice often hides in plain sight. I learned that kindness is mistaken for weakness, that truth-telling invites isolation, and that being poor, female, or different can mean being invisible in the eyes of society. I watched as my mother was forced to apologize for surviving, and I too was punished; not with bruises, but with rejection, mockery, and exclusion in classrooms and communities that couldn't accommodate someone like me.

But I also learned something more powerful: **I may not control my environment, but I can control my response.** I chose not to be bitter. I chose to rise; not because I was told to, but because I had to. And every time the system failed me, I became more convinced that what we lack is not kindness in individuals, but justice in the frameworks we live under.

This is why I believe deeply in the vision of a *Global Constitution*; a framework that transcends national borders and cultural bias to uphold one simple truth: **every life matters equally.** This constitution must protect those who are voiceless, who are hurt behind closed doors, who are dismissed because of where they come from or how much they have. It must ensure that the Earth's resources; its wealth, safety, education, and opportunity; are not gate kept by privilege but are shared as a common right.

A Global Constitution should be more than an ideal. It should be a system of accountability where countries are held responsible for upholding human dignity. It should recognize that global challenges–climate change, violence, poverty–cannot be solved by market systems or fragmented policies. These require a collective soul, a shared promise that no child shall grow up thinking fear is normal.

I write this not just from memory but from transformation. I am now a student of sustainability related studies at a university in the Netherlands, and a person who carries both scars and dreams with equal pride. I once doubted whether someone like me would

be accepted into global spaces, but today, I stand as proof that **those on the margins carry visions the center cannot see**.

A better world is not only possible; it is necessary. And it begins with a constitution that values **every voice**, especially the ones who were never given a microphone.

Let us write this together, for those who never had the chance.

82. A Constitution of Becoming: Relational Praxis for a Planetary Otherwise

Joost van Wijchen

In a world shaped by extraction, possession, and enclosure, we no longer have the luxury of neutrality. What we value, how we relate, and the stories we tell are constitutional acts. They shape not only governance but being. What is needed now is beyond agreement, but responsibility. A turning toward each other–and toward the more-than-human –in the recognition that freedom does begin in the spaces we co-create with each other across difference. Like a delta–moving across sediments of history and struggle–this constitution is not a fixed text, but a living praxis. One that resists finality, embraces plurality, and insists that transformation is already underway, through us, with us, and often in spite of us.

If we are to speak of a global constitution, we must begin by acknowledging the sedimented logics that have shaped the present. Not to blame, but to understand what we are entangled with, and what might yet be re-formed. Across centuries, systems of enclosure, possession, and extraction have become common sense woven into how we value, how we govern, and how we imagine ourselves in relation to the world. But underneath and alongside these dominant flows, other currents have always moved: practices of reciprocity, mutual aid, resistance, and relational responsibility. These do not fit easily within the frameworks of capital, nor do they require institutional permission. They grow from the ground, the commons, the kitchen table, the collective struggle, the quiet acts of care that persist even when unnoticed.

To speak of care, then, is not to set it in opposition to capital, but to attune to another logic, another rhythm, that has always been present but rarely centred. Care here is sentiment, nor strategy. It is a way of being *with*, of responding to what is fragile, of holding tension without resolution. It is a constitutional force, not in the legal sense, but in the sense of *world-making*.

What matters is not only what we do, but how we come to matter and through which stories. The stories we use to tell stories, as Haraway reminds us, shape the fields of possibility we inherit and resist. If we are to speak of a global constitution, we must ask: what are the *narrative-material conditions* through which governance, belonging, and care are imagined? What epistemic and affective inheritances are being carried forward, and which have been left aside?

In a planetary moment of ecological unravelling and epistemic pluralization, perhaps what we need is a living practice of storying otherwise; a way of composing worlds where conflict does not demand erasure, and where ethical imagination replaces control. Voices across time–from Camus' rebel to Freire's pedagogue of the oppressed, to Braidotti's nomadic subject–have already been crafting counter-narratives that refuse closure.

These are acts of constitutional resistance. Camus teaches us to revolt not as refusal of life, but as an embrace of its limits and strangeness. Freire insists that the oppressed are not to be saved but engaged with as co-authors of reality. Haraway stays with the trouble not by simplifying, but by composting meanings, holding together broken stories with care. And Arendt reminds us that responsibility begins where certainty ends in action without guarantees.

To constitutionalize care, relationality, or planetary justice is to *live them as if they matter*, and to reshape institutions–and ourselves–in their image. The task is to multiply narratives, to let difference breathe, to craft governance structures that are porous enough to learn, and strong enough to protect life in all its forms.

To move toward a constitution of becoming is to stay in movement, to remain accountable, a mode of living that resists sedimentation, that refuses the illusion of autonomy, and that accepts the discomfort of being formed and reformed in relation to others. In this sense, constitutional thought must start with orientation: with the way we turn toward or away from others. Sara Ahmed teaches us that orientations shape what comes into view, what is reachable, and what remains out of frame. A just constitution, then, is one that attends to who and what is consistently out of frame. It is the creation of conditions where *reorientation is possible*. Where those historically disoriented by systems–racialized, colonized, disabled, displaced, or more-than-human–are not simply included, but allowed to recompose the terms of relation.

Nomadic and affective subjectivity shifts the constitutional imagination from *who governs* to *how we become together*. Governance, in this view, is a matter of *relational attunement*. It is a practice of listening to tensions without resolving them, of recognizing that identities, roles, and agencies are always in flux. And that such flux is not a threat to order, but its deepest possibility.

To govern otherwise is to live with the friction of difference, the pain of misrecognition, and the promise of shared becoming. It is to stay faithful to the world, even as it breaks and reforms, and to take responsibility not only for action, but for *the orientations that make action possible*.

To speak of a global constitution is a way of composing life otherwise, *with others*, *in tension*, *through care*. It knows that structure can be both wound and shelter. That systems can harm and still be re-shaped from within. That language itself, even as it confines, can be stretched toward resonance.

Camus offers us the rebel as one who says *no* while affirming life. The rebel sees injustice and responds with fidelity to a shared world, however fractured. Shklar reminds us that injustice is not only what is done, but what is *ignored*. Her call to attend to passive injustice is also a call to stay alert to what is made invisible in our systems, our stories, and our silence.

So too, then, a constitution of becoming must not only say what shall be protected — but ask who has been forgotten, who has been disoriented, what lifeways have been excluded from the very idea of what counts. It must create spaces for reorientation, for movement-with, for *ethical diffraction*; not the flattening of difference, but its composition.

We may not arrive. But that does not mean we are lost. Like the river delta, this constitutional imagination is shaped by the stories it carries, stories of rupture and care, of error and responsibility, of rebellion and tenderness. It branches, sediments, reforms. It does not promise stability. It offers *possibility*.

And so, we begin again, not with certainty, but with attention. Not with solutions, but with response-ability. With care as orientation. With revolt as fidelity. With justice not as arrival, but as a continuous weaving of the world otherwise.

Supporting and Influencing Sources

Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer phenomenology: Orientations, objects, others*. Duke University Press.

Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition*. University of Chicago Press.

Barad, K. (2007). *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. Duke University Press.

Braidotti, R. (2013). *The posthuman*. Polity Press.

Braidotti, R. (2019). *Posthuman knowledge*. Polity Press.

Camus, A. (1951). *The rebel: An essay on man in revolt* (A. Bower, Trans.). Vintage.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. Bergman Ramos, Trans.). Continuum.

Graeber, D., & Wengrow, D. (2021). *The dawn of everything: A new history of humanity*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Haraway, D. J. (2016). *Staying with the trouble: Making kin in the Chthulucene*. Duke University Press.

Makine, A. (2013). *Brief loves that live forever* (G. Burnham, Trans.). Graywolf Press. (Original work published 2011)

Maric, F., & Nicholls, D. A. (2022). Environmental physiotherapy and the case for multispecies justice in planetary health. *Physiotherapy Theory and Practice, 38*(13), 2295–2306. https://doi.org/10.1080/09593985.2021.1964659

Nicholls, D. A., & Gibson, B. E. (2022). *Physiotherapy otherwise: Critical, alternative and emerging discourses in physiotherapy*. Elsevier.

Rosa, H. (2019). *Resonance: A sociology of our relationship to the world* (J. C. Wagner, Trans.). Polity Press.

Shklar, J. N. (1990). *The faces of injustice*. Yale University Press.

Solnit, R. (2004). *Hope in the dark: Untold histories, wild possibilities*. Nation Books.

Solnit, R. (2005). *A field guide to getting lost*. Viking.

83. Inclusion of the Excluded - A Principle for a Global Constitution

Guilherme Medeiros Reboucas

The world stage is a stage that is only ever shared by a few. Many can only watch from the sidelines, and again others have yet to be acknowledged by the world.

For a Global Constitution to be legitimate and just, it must structurally protect those historically excluded from political power, cultural recognition, and social rights. Without this foundation, global governance will replicate the injustices of colonial and national orders it seeks to improve.

Genocide runs silently through our veins. Silent like the languages we forgot and silent like the history that was never taught. It is widely recognized that over 90% of Indigenous peoples in the Americas died within generations after contact, and as of today their languages make up the majority of the world's endangered languages. Globally, Indigenous peoples represent roughly 6% of the population, and yet protect 80% of the world's remaining biodiversity, while also being politically marginalized in nearly every state.

This essay advocates for the radical inclusion of the excluded. A global constitution stands firmly against ethnostates, the notion of race, and acknowledges no superiority among people groups. The post-colonial world order still privileges the epistemologies, governance systems, and borders created during European imperial expansion. This results in the ongoing political marginalization of Indigenous and non-Western communities. I won't name every excluded group in this arguably white supremist world order. But I would like to start with an example of the exclusion of so-called "native", "Indigenous" or "First Nations" people.

"Native", "Indigenous" or "First Nations" societies have been fighting for recognition of their humanity and culture ever since meeting colonialists and yet we still have a long way to go. Till this day people get referred to as Indian or the word 'Indigenous' creates an image of perceived "savagery" in people's minds. There are people who have been so excluded from conversation, most people are unaware of what they call themselves. Instead of being referred to by their self-chosen names we still use generalised essentialist terms. A global constitutional framework must counter this legacy.

Assimilation doesn't have to be a prerequisite for conversation, rights, or recognition of dignity. True inclusivity doesn't require an individual to leave their being at home, when leaving the house. Neither does inclusion require one to alter one's ways of speech and put on an act submitting to ethnonational expectation.

Forced assimilation and the selective appreciation of heritage makes people feel incomplete. If humans are the total sum of their being but are now forced to give up upon a part of their being, they won't be a "100%". And the lower the sum, the more severe the identity crisis. Psychological studies consistently show that suppressing one's identity

leads to increased mental health struggles, internalized shame, and disrupted community bonds. Inclusion is therefore not only a moral principle but a public health imperative.

This logic applies to all aspects of our identity, including sexual orientation, neurodivergence, cultural expression, etc. Therefore, we need to continuously advocate for the inclusion of the excluded and have this principle as a core principle of a Global Constitution.

What does it mean to include the excluded?

1. Fulfilling this principle means to preserve and rescue collective human history and to hear the perspectives that have been excluded from one sided history books. A Global Constitution recognizes diversity and Vielfalt of stories as enriching for the human experience.

2. Fulfilling this principle means to enable representative leadership, allowing for diversity in leadership may it be in gender, ethnicity, ability or background. A Global Constitution aims at facilitating decision making that reflects everyone's needs.

3. Fulfilling this principle means to ensure everyone has access to education, healthcare and protection. A Global Constitution is steadfast in the belief that individuals thrive in dignity and security.

4. Fulfilling this principle means to implement inclusive design, cities, technologies and services should consider disability access, language diversity and cultural differences. A Global Constitution aspires to take down barriers for participation within society.

5. Fulfilling this principle means to use respectful language, recognizing preference of terms and abandoning terms that were designed to classify something or someone as lesser. A Global Constitution is aware that words shape reality and advocates for mindfulness of how we speak about others.

6. Fulfilling this principle means to show realistic, complex portrayals of different groups instead of stereotypes. A Global Constitution gives voice to the silenced and creates room for them to express themselves.

7. Fulfilling this principle means to address biases and prejudices by teaching empathy and history. A Global Constitution acknowledges that understanding different experiences, cultures, and inequalities helps dismantling prejudice.

8. Fulfilling this principle means to grant everyone access to the basic amenities that fits their needs. A Global Constitution understands that only when people's needs are met can they live fulfilling lives and self-actualize.

With all this said, inclusion cannot remain only an ethical intention, it has to be operationalized through concrete constitutional mechanisms. Therefore, a Global Constitution must guarantee representation for Indigenous and marginalized groups in global assemblies. It must implement global language protection rights and make cultural impact assessments before international decisions. In addition, there must be a global council for marginalized peoples with veto or advisory powers. And finally, a legal prohibition of ethnonational discrimination at the global level to establish a universal safeguard against exclusionary state policies.

In conclusion, the inclusion of all–but in particular the excluded–is essential for a Global Constitution. Adopting this as a core principle of a Global Constitution will ensure that all voices are heard, guarantee that no one is excluded and that everybody has agency. I believe inclusion can enrich all our lives. If exclusion is structurally embedded, peace will always be fragile. But when a constitution guarantees dignity, cultural survival, and political power to all peoples, it builds a foundation for lasting global stability.

There will never be peace,
if the excluded have to fight for their lives.
There will never be peace,
if there is no protection for our people, land and hives.

In this world,
We want peace.
In this world,
We want suffering to cease.

Therefore we should aim,
not at the exploitation of this world.
We should aim,
for health and happiness to unfold.

The future is only as bright as our hearts
And we are all important parts.

84. A Constitution for the Orbital Commons: Principles for a Safe and Just Future in Space

Sin Seung Yun

Introduction

The Outer Space Treaty of 1967 is a relic of the Cold War, drafted before humanity even set foot on the moon and when only a handful of state actors had access to space. Half a century later, Earth's orbit has transformed from an unknown frontier into a complex ecosystem, congested with tens of thousands of satellites and dominated by competing, privately-led mega-constellations. The existing legal framework is fundamentally impotent in the face of this rapidly changing technological and political reality. This failure of governance has precipitated three converging crises: Ecological Collapse, driven by the proliferation of space debris; Geopolitical Weaponisation, accelerated by the blurring line between civilian and military assets; and Socio-economic Colonisation, fuelled by the monopolisation of global data flows by a few private entities.

As Joyeeta Gupta argues, the failure of existing global institutions to address planetary inequality and ecological disaster demands a new constitutional approach. Nowhere is this failure more apparent or urgent than in the domain of Earth's orbit. This essay therefore argues for the establishment of A Global Constitution for the Orbital Commons, grounded in the principles of Earth System Justice. Such a constitution must discard the obsolete view of space as a monolithic domain. Instead, it must establish specific and differentiated regulations that reflect the distinct characteristics and crises of each orbital layer: the congested Low Earth Orbit (LEO), the critical infrastructure hub of Medium Earth Orbit (MEO), and the finite resource of Geostationary Orbit (GEO). This essay will first establish the core principles underpinning this constitution before applying them to each orbit, proposing specific articles designed to foster a sustainable and just order in space.

Theoretical foundation of the Constitution

To address the multifaceted crisis outlined above, a constitution for space cannot be a mere list of prohibitions. It must be founded on a coherent set of core principles that redefine humanity's relationship with this critical domain. These principles provide the philosophical and legal bedrock upon which specific, orbit-by-orbit regulations can be built.

Principle 1: The Orbit as a Planetary Common

First, the constitution must legally redefine Earth’s orbit not as an empty void to be exploited, but as a finite and fragile planetary common. The scientific framework of Planetary Boundaries, which identifies a "safe operating space for humanity," provides a clear model for this approach (Rockström et al., 2009). The exponential growth of space debris is pushing the orbital environment toward its own critical boundary, risking a cascading systems collapse known as the Kessler Syndrome. This dangerous overshoot

represents a classic Tragedy of the Commons (Hardin, 1968), where uncoordinated, self-interested actions degrade a shared resource, potentially rendering it unusable for all. Therefore, a constitutional principle grounded in Earth System Justice (Gupta et al., 2023) is essential, recognising the orbit as a common heritage that must be actively preserved for future generations and ensuring equitable access for all nations, not just those who arrive first.

Principle 2: Preventive Peace

Second, beyond its ecological fragility, the constitution must confront the accelerating militarisation of space through a principle of Preventive Peace. The war in Ukraine, where commercial satellite systems became integral to military operations, illustrates a collective "sleepwalk" into a new reality. This is a state of technological somnambulism (Winner, 1983), where the line between civilian and military infrastructure is erased without conscious societal debate about the consequences. Instead of reacting to conflicts after they erupt in space, the principle of Preventive Peace (Pistoletto, 2023) demands proactive measures to prevent the domain from becoming a battlefield in the first place. This translates into a pragmatic and unambiguous constitutional ban on the placement and use of weapons in Earth's orbit, securing it as a domain dedicated to peaceful purposes.

Principle 3: Universal Digital Rights

Finally, a 21st-century constitution must recognise that control of orbital infrastructure is now synonymous with control over global information flows, demanding the enshrinement of Universal Digital Rights. The centralisation of mega-constellations under a few corporate or state actors creates the ultimate architecture for Surveillance Capitalism (Zuboff, 2019). This dynamic mirrors historical colonial exploitation, creating a new Data Colonialism (Couldry & Mejias, 2019) where the personal data of billions is the extracted resource. Left unchecked, this system could entrench a form of techno feudalism (Varoufakis, 2023), where a handful of unaccountable entities control the digital infrastructure upon which global society depends. To counter this, the constitution must guarantee universal rights to digital access, data privacy, and freedom from algorithmic manipulation, ensuring the orbital commons empowers all of humanity rather than a new class of digital overlords.

Constitutional Articles for the Orbital Commons

The principles of this Constitution shall be given force and effect through the following articles, which are tailored to the distinct legal and physical characteristics of each orbital domain.

Section 1: Governance of Low Earth Orbit (LEO)

Article 1: Orbital Sustainability

All entities, public or private, launching payloads into Low Earth Orbit shall submit a technically feasible and financially bonded End-of-Life Deorbit Plan prior to launch approval. A mandatory levy on all commercial launch services shall be collected and allocated to a global Orbital Preservation Fund for the purpose of active debris removal.

Article 2: Network Neutrality and Access

Operators of global satellite internet constellations are hereby designated as transnational public utilities. They shall adhere to a strict policy of political neutrality. The discriminatory denial of service to any population for political or commercial reasons is prohibited.

Article 3: Equitable Benefit-Sharing

A fixed percentage of gross revenue generated from all commercial LEO-based services shall be contributed to a Global Digital Divide Fund. Said fund shall be administered by an independent body to support infrastructure development and digital literacy in underserved regions.

Section 2: Governance of Medium and Geostationary Orbits (MEO & GEO)

Article 4: Protection of Global Critical Infrastructure

Global Navigation Satellite Systems (GNSS) and their associated operating frequencies are hereby designated as Global Critical Infrastructure. Any act intended to deliberately jam, disable, or physically destroy these systems shall be considered a violation of global law and an act of aggression against all nations.

Article 5: Fair Allocation of Finite Resources

The allocation and management of Geostationary Orbit (GEO) slots shall be entrusted to an independent International Orbital Resources Agency. Slots shall be licensed for fixed, renewable terms to prevent permanent monopolies. A mandatory portion of slots shall be reserved for joint missions by developing nations and for international scientific consortia dedicated to the public good.

Conclusion

The ecological degradation, geopolitical weaponisation, and socio-economic monopolisation of Earth's orbit are not separate challenge. They are the interconnected symptoms of a singular, critical failure: a 20th- century governance model collapsing under the weight of contemporary challenges. By establishing foundational principles—treating the orbit as a planetary common, committing to preventive peace, and guaranteeing universal digital rights—and translating them into specific, enforceable articles for each orbital layer, we can create a framework that is both visionary and pragmatic.

Bibliography

Couldry, N., & Mejias, U. A. (2019). The Costs of Connection: How Data is Colonizing Human Life and Appropriating It for Capitalism.

Gupta, J., Liverman, D., Prodani, K., Aldunce, P., Bai, X., Broadgate, W., Ciobanu, D., Gifford, L.,Gordon, C., Hurlbert, M., Inoue, C. Y. A., Jacobson, L., Kanie, N., Lade, S. J., Lenton, T. M., Obura, D., Okereke, C., Otto, I. M., Pereira, L., … Verburg, P. H. (2023). Earth system justice needed to identify and live within Earth system boundaries. Nature Sustainability, 1–9.

Hardin, G. (1968). The Tragedy of the Commons. Science, 162(3859), 1243–1248.

Pistoletto, M. (2023). La Pace Preventiva. In F. D'Amico & P. Naldini (Eds.), Catalogue for Michelangelo Pistoletto. La Pace Preventiva. Milano, Palazzo Reale, 23 March - 4 June, 2023.

Rockström, J., Steffen, W., Noone, K., Persson, A., Chapin, F. S., Lambin, E. F., Lenton, T. M., Scheffer, M., Folke, C., Schellnhuber, H. J., Nykvist, B., de Wit, C. A., Hughes, T., van der Leeuw, S., Rodhe, H., Sörlin, S., Snyder, P. K., Costanza, R., Svedin, U., Falkenmark, M., & Foley, J. A. (2009). A safe operating space for humanity. Nature, 461, 472–475.

Varoufakis, Y. (2023). Technofeudalism: What Killed Capitalism. Melville House.

Winner, L. (1983). Technologies as forms of life. In Epistemology, methodology, and the social sciences (pp. 249-263).

Zuboff, S. (2019). The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power. PublicAffairs.

85. Sustainable development and Physiotherapy as one

Dr. Kalpana Zutshi & Devanshi Bhardwaj

Sustainable development, as defined by the UN, is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It's about balancing environmental, social, and economic needs to ensure a thriving planet for all. Physiotherapy is a perfect example of this as it involves treatment using environmentally friendly elements, economically friendly and contributes to the social betterment of society. It is a development in the medical field without causing any harm to environment.

Pollution is a leading cause of morbidity and mortality, and was associated with an estimated 9 million premature deaths globally in 2015, or 16% of all deaths. Most environmentally mediated deaths are linked to air pollution, with many health experts believing climate change is the leading public health issue of the 21st century. Major disruptions to food production, water supplies, and coastal liveability are predicted unless significant action is taken to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Ironically, modern health care is a major contributor to pollution that adversely affects human health. It is estimated that the health sectors of the United States, Australia, England, and Canada emit a combined 748 million metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalents annually. If the health sectors of these countries were an independent nation, they would rank seventh in the world for GHG emissions.

The Role of Physiotherapy in Sustainable Development

1. Health Promotion and Disease Prevention: Physiotherapists play a crucial role in preventing lifestyle-related conditions such as obesity, cardiovascular diseases, and musculoskeletal disorders through physical activity, ergonomic education, and community health programs. This proactive approach reduces the burden on healthcare systems and aligns with **SDG 3:** Good Health and Well-being.
2. Reducing Healthcare Costs and Resources: Effective physiotherapy interventions often reduce the need for surgeries, long-term medication, and hospital stays. This conserves healthcare resources and reduces environmental waste, supporting **SDG 12:** Responsible Consumption and Production.
3. Inclusive and Equitable Care: Physiotherapy services can be tailored to reach marginalized groups, such as the elderly, people with disabilities, and rural populations. This promotes equity in health access, aligning with **SDG 10:** Reduced Inequalities and **SDG 11:** Sustainable Cities and Communities.

Sustainability Within Physiotherapy Practice

1. Environmentally Conscious Clinics: Physiotherapists can adopt eco-friendly practices such as using digital records, energy-efficient equipment, and minimal disposables. These contribute to reducing the carbon footprint of health services, in line with **SDG 13**: Climate Action.

2. Telehealth and Virtual Rehabilitation: Tele-physiotherapy reduces the need for travel, especially in remote or underserved areas. This not only increases accessibility but also lowers emissions, integrating technology with sustainability goals.
3. Education and Research: Educating future physiotherapists about sustainability principles ensures a lasting impact. Research into sustainable rehabilitation methods and cost-effective care helps evolve the profession while meeting global needs.

All this is because of large amount of medical waste production during any medical treatment. It can be reduced by using alternative method for treatment like increasing use of physiotherapy in treatment process and focusing on increasing physical health.

In last few days, The India Meteorological Department (IMD) issued a heatwave warning for Delhi NCR as rising temperature is a dangerous sign and can affect the health of residents significantly.

There are three key ways in which ecosystem services are relevant to the role of physiotherapists:

1. To improve patient care
2. To advocate for and/or develop public health strategies to enhance population health through
   ecosystem conservation and ecological restoration
3. To promote and enhance sustainable physiotherapy practice that reduces the burden of healthcare
   provision on global resources.

Some physiotherapy interventions may integrate the environment, and therefore encourage both physiotherapists and patients to value the environment, and sustainable behaviours. Physiotherapy interventions may integrate green or blue space exposure or nature play while others may also have planetary health co benefits, including active transport, participation in gardening, restoration, and conservation activities as meaningful, therapeutic activities; activities that physiotherapists themselves may also engage in.

Health professionals can contribute to ecosystem health and therefore human health through sustainable practice. ‘Green’ dentistry, pharmacy and surgery have all been promoted, and ‘green’ physiotherapy should follow.

Lifestyle conditions include ischemic heart disease, smoking-related conditions, hypertension and stroke, obesity, diabetes, and cancer. Epidemiological data combined with evidence supporting the effectiveness of noninvasive interventions related to physical therapy to address these priorities (e.g., health education and exercise) are highly consistent with the promotion of health and wellness and the ICF. Given their commitment to exploiting effective noninvasive interventions, physical therapists are in a preeminent position to focus on prevention of these disabling and lethal conditions in every client or patient, their cure in some cases, as well as their management.

Thus, a compelling argument can be made that clinical competencies in 21st century physical therapy need to include assessment of smoking and smoking cessation (or at

least its initiation), basic nutritional assessment and counseling, recommendations for physical activity and exercise, stress assessment and basic stress reduction recommendations, and sleep assessment and basic sleep hygiene recommendations. The physical therapist can then make an informed clinical judgment regarding whether a client or patient needs to be referred to another professional related to one or more of these specialty areas.

Evidence-based physical therapy practiced within the context of epidemiological indicators (i.e., evidence-informed practice) maximally empowers clinicians to promote lifelong health in every person and in turn, the health of communities. This vision of physical therapy's leading role in health promotion and health care in the 21st century holds the promise of reducing the need for invasive health interventions (drugs and surgery).

Conclusion:

Physiotherapy is a vital component of medical field for sustainable development. By integrating environmentally and socially responsible practices, physiotherapists can lead by example, promoting health while protecting the planet. As the world moves toward achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, the physiotherapy profession must continue to adapt and innovate to ensure a healthier, more equitable, and sustainable future.

Reference

- Sustainable healthcare and physiotherapy by K Zutshi ,A Fatima - Int J Healthc Educ Med Informatics, 2022 - academia.edu
- Goals of Physiotherapy Practice and Education Aligned With Goals of Sustainable Development by K Zutshi, J Munjal, C Chhabra - researchgate.net
- "Pollution is a leading cause of morbidity and mortality, and was associated with an estimated 9 million premature deaths globally in 2015 or 16% of all deaths.Most environmentally mediated deaths are linked to air pollution, with many health experts believing climate change is the leading public health issue of the 21st century. Major disruptions to food production, water supplies, and coastal livability are predicted unless significant action is taken to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Ironically, modern health care is a major contributor to pollution that adversely affects human health. It is estimated that the health sectors of the United States, Australia, England, and Canada emit a combined 748 million metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalents annually. If the health sectors of these countries were an independent nation, they would rank seventh in the world for GHG emissions."- Reducing Pollution From the Health Care Industry Jodi D. Sherman, MD1,2; Andrea MacNeill, MD, FRCSC3; Cassandra Thiel, PhD4,5
- "Survey on medical student for opinion on climate change effects on health.In total, 1424 eligible respondents submitted the survey, representing 12.1% of all Canadian medical students. Most students believed climate change is an important determinant of health (88.0%) that will affect their future patients' health (89.6%) and that teaching on climate change should be formally incorporated into medical curricula (85.6%)."-Climate change and health in medical school curricula: A national survey of medical students' experiences, attitudes and

interests Sasha Létourneau ,Aishwarya Roshan ,George T. Kitching ,Julia Robson ,Celia Walker ,Chenchen Xu ,Daniel Jubas-Malz, Edward Xie

- "There are three key ways in which ecosystem services are relevant to the role of physiotherapists:" -Physiotherapy and ecosystem services: improving the health of our patients, the population, and the environment by Jessica Stanhopea, Filip Maricb,Paul Rothmorea and Philip Weinsteinc.
- "Lifestyle conditions include ischemic heart disease, smoking-related conditions, hypertension and stroke, obesity, diabetes, and cancer. Epidemiological data combined with evidence supporting the effectiveness of noninvasive interventions related to physical therapy to address these priorities (e.g., health education and exercise) are highly consistent with the promotion of health and wellness and the ICF. This vision of physical therapy's leading role in health promotion and health care in the 21st century holds the promise of reducing the need for invasive health interventions (drugs and surgery)". - Physical therapy in the 21st century (Part I): toward practice informed by epidemiology and the crisis of lifestyle conditions by Elizabeth Dean - Physiotherapy theory and practice 25 (5-6), 330-353, 2009

86. A listening Constitution

Hetty ten Holt

I never read legal texts with pleasure and always with great suspicion. They are usually contracts and insurance policies, which I always go through carefully before signing them, which unfortunately does not prevent me from getting into trouble anyway. For instance, when the car rental company had given my fully paid rental car to someone else because, through no fault of my own, I showed up at the location a few hours late. According to the terms and conditions, this was simply allowed.

One of the most special contracts I ever signed was my marriage contract. I had long been against marriage, which I considered to be a patriarchal institution that oppresses women. But when I quit my job in 2010 and reflected on what I found most important in life, I wanted to become family to my partner. I wanted us to be more than two individuals co-owning a house and a lot of stuff.

When I sought legal advice about this from the 'Notaristelefoon' (a Dutch notary helpline), they strongly advised against marriage. A will would be wiser, they said. But when I think of a will, I think of dying, whereas I wanted to share my life.

So I ended up getting married after all. Reading through the marriage certificate beforehand, I stumbled over Article 1:81 of the Dutch Civil Code: "Spouses owe each other loyalty, help, and assistance. They are obliged to provide each other with what is necessary." When I read this with my usual legal suspicion, alarm bells went off. What am I committing myself to with this contract? What exactly does 'necessary' mean? And who determines that?

At the same time, loyalty, help, and assistance are values I do consider important in a relationship (though I would probably choose different words). They are basic values that many people are looking for and seem to be more about human needs than legal duties. Of the entire code, Article 1:81, for me, comes closest to capturing the essence of marriage, and yet it is precisely this that is the least elaborated on.

Where a rental car contract is written out in great detail, a marriage contract remains remarkably vague. Does legal language perhaps fall short when it comes to emotions?

According to lawyer Dr Charilaos Nikolaidis, law is inextricably linked to emotions. According to him, this becomes most obvious in the case of fundamental human rights: these are not just legal or moral constructs, but they stem from shared human emotions. Rights can only be truly universal and inclusive, he argues, if they also leave room for this personal, emotional layer:

"(...) the personal, emotional, facet [of rights] (...) prompts us to celebrate, communicate, debate and re-imagine the nature and content of human rights — within and beyond the courtroom — in a more empathetic and inclusive manner, with reference to the emotions that underpin them."

Nikolaidis, who is a poet as well as a lawyer, argues that art and poetry can help make the emotional layer of law visible and palpable. He sees legal practice as a form of literary work and even calls a lawyer “a writer engaging in a literary activity”. He also points out the inevitable differences: whereas legal language tries to be as precise, predictable, and clear as possible, poetry actually embraces ambiguity, emotion, and imagination. Yet both are needed; he sees poetic language as a necessary complement to legal language.

Nikolaidis uses the metaphor of a tree for human rights: emotions are the roots, moral intuition is the trunk, and legal procedures and outcomes are the branches and fruits. What if we thought of a global constitution in the same way?

I found an inspiring example of the use of poetic language in a legal context, at the *Embassy of the North Sea*; a collective dedicated to giving the North Sea a political, cultural, and legal voice in decision-making. In their project *In conversation with the North Sea* by writer and biologist Arita Baaijens, participants were invited to write letters, dialogues, and poems with and on behalf of the sea, through writing assignments, workshops, and AI-driven experiments.

Choosing poetic rather than businesslike legal language created space for empathy, imagination, and new perspectives. The letters and poems showed that poetry not only stretches the imagination, but also really invites people to listen differently. Even the most sceptical participants were touched by unexpected phrases (“the ocean kisses your loneliness”), which resonate on a different level than rational arguments.

The project shows that poetic or ‘rewilded’ language helps to break open existing thought patterns, truly listen and focus on relationships.

I believe poetic language is also important when creating a global constitution that not only includes the branches and fruits of Nikolaidis' tree, but also the trunk and roots. A constitution that makes room for universal human needs like respect, love, protection, and freedom. A constitution, moreover, that listens first and only then speaks.

What if we were to draft our global constitution in the very field the 13th-century Sufi poet Rumi evokes:

“Out beyond ideas of wrongdoing and rightdoing, there is a field. I’ll meet you there.”

This line is a free, widely quoted paraphrase inspired by Rumi's mystical verses. Rumi is not referring here to a world without distinction or values, but rather to a place of encounter that precedes judgement. His field is thus not a neutral no man's land, but an invitation to allow ourselves to truly listen, without immediate judgement.

If we establish a global constitution in that field, perhaps it will create space for true encounter, curiosity, and listening beyond one's own point of view. Not to abolish right and wrong, but to meet in the field where dialogue can begin.

Bibliography

Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 1, Artikel 81.

Nikolaidis, Charilaos. “The poetry of rights” Law and Humanities 16:2 (2022), p. 289–310

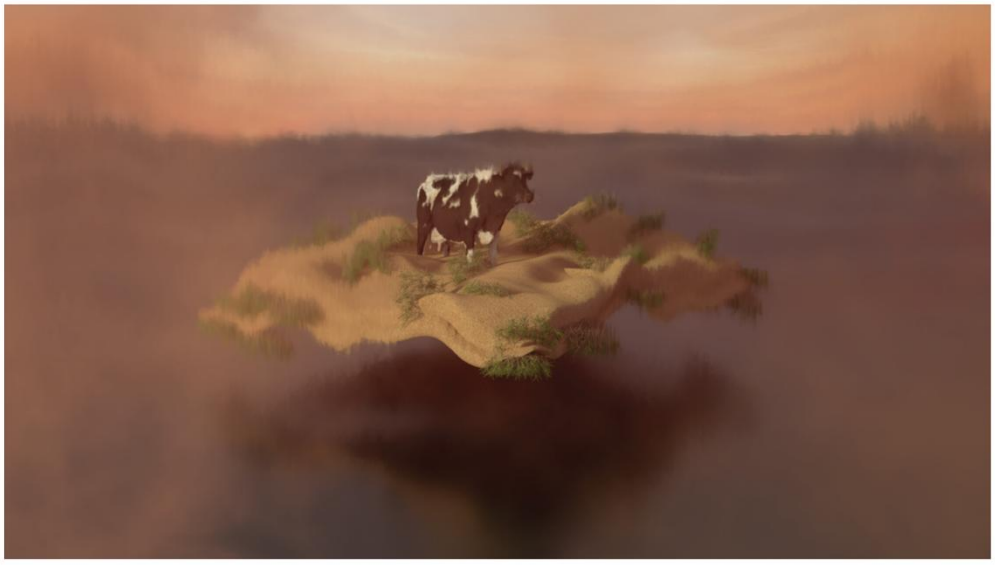
Ambassade van de Noordzee. https://www.ambassadevandenoordzee.nl/

Baaijens, Arita. “Taal voor de toekomst. In gesprek met de Noordzee. Projectverslag 2021”

Rumi, “A Great Wagon” In: The Essential Rumi, translated by Coleman Barks, Penguin, 1997, p. 36.

87. The last cow

Shirin Hejazi



88. Proposal on Global Constitution

Sofia Dimouli

This essay will focus on interdisciplinary research in different fields (areas), focusing on designing a Global Constitution in the Anthropocene, by analysing new elements that need to be included and addressed, such as global environmental issues, governance of new technologies, challenges in private and public international law and open science.

The reason this is important is because it aims to promote social well-being and environmental prosperity within an equitable world.

What is a constitution? Why do we need a global constitution, and which parameters should be included?

1. In the first part of the study, the idea of what a constitution is and why we should aim for a global constitution will be analysed. The main focus on why a global agreement has to be reached should be because of the political, social and technological changes making it necessary to accelerate the improvement and protection of the environment. The questions that should be analysed comprise the main elements around the world that should be taken into consideration in order to establish a global constitution and which local and regional authorities together with communities/cities and eventually the governments should be involved in order to decide and establish a global agreement. Finally, an analysis of which key players should be included for a transition towards a carbon neutral energy system to be established will be carried out.

2. Economics and climate: how capitalism is affecting the environment. Is capitalism good for the environment? Light should be shed on the different economic systems of countries and how/if capitalism may have affected the environment. Through the rise of capitalism and new modes of production, which Marx describes, “comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt” capitalism may be viewed by some as being the main cause of global warming and effectively the climate crisis. Therefore, some claim that, in order to save the earth and future generations, this system should be removed.

3. The never-ending accumulation (of goods) may be the prime motor of the capitalistic system, as the less-developed countries face the effects of the climate crisis. Furthermore, one can argue that the stronger capitalism grows, the more resources are consumed. However, analysis shows that in non-capitalist countries, environmental degradation has been a far more serious problem than capitalist countries and that, at the early stage of a country’s economic growth, a high level of environmental degradation is observed, while, after a critical point of such growth, a gradual decline in environmental degradation is reported. Finally, it has been reported that the correlation between economic growth and increasing resource consumption is becoming ever weaker in the age of dematerialization.

Collecting and analysing numerous data from the USA, Andrew McFee showed that of 72 raw materials, only six have yet to reach their consumption maximum. Although the US economy has grown strongly in recent years, consumption of many commodities is actually in decline. The results of all these studies point in the same direction: capitalism is not the problem; it is the solution – both economically and environmentally.

Blockchain

4. How can new technologies–especially blockchain–promote environmental protection and social well-being? It can be difficult to track if environmental promises are being kept and the real impact of environmental treaties. With the blockchain technology, enough incentives for governments or corporations can be provided to keep their promises. Since blockchain technology cannot be easily manipulated, both fraud and manipulation of data will be (significantly reduced if not) eliminated in this area, as data entered into public blockchain cannot be manipulated and stays there forever. In this way, such technology would not only provide transparency but would also discourage corporations and governments from stepping back on their environmental promises. Moreover, in this way fraud can be prevented if data is being kept in store.

Carbon Tax

5. Since carbon footprint is not included in the price of goods, incentives should be given to customers and companies to sell environmentally friendly products. Blockchain can track carbon footprint and determine the amount of carbon tax. If a product with a large carbon footprint is more expensive to buy, this will discourage consumers from buying products that are more environmentally friendly and encourage companies to restructure their supply chains, to meet demand for such products. Further on, a more human rights-based approach on production can be adopted; on one side this will encourage the manufacturing process to be more transparent, on the other side it will discourage any environmentally unfriendly practices. In this way, responsibility will shift so as to also involve the citizens, providing them with the tools to control and giving them the power to shift things in the right direction, by adjusting the balance between consumerism and the environment.

Stages of how to start and implement the Constitution in practice

6. In practice, a pilot project should commence. Initially, this involves a selective number of countries. These countries and the obstacles/questions raised could help to think how this ambitious and innovative project could be realised.

7. Another question is how to set general standards without intervening in the national sovereignty of states and the different agendas they may follow, making the implementation legitimate and involving the people (citizens) in making it a social treaty. Attention should be paid to the fact that there are different forms of governance and countries that do not have any constitution.

8. A solution could be roadmaps, where strategies are mapped involving all relevant stakeholders, suck as citizens, energy companies, aggregators, distribution network operators in the creation and implementation of these strategies, to ensure that the choices made are acceptable to the citizens of the communities concerned and a change towards a more sustainable behaviour is reached.

89. Toward a 21st-Century Global Constitution: Eco-Social Contracts as Foundational Compass

Patrick Huntjens

In the face of accelerating climate disruption, biodiversity and ecosystem collapse, widening inequality, and eroding democratic legitimacy, calls for a Global Constitution are gaining traction. Such a constitution would not merely be a legal document but a normative compass for governing human societies in an interconnected world. As the crises of our time converge, they reveal a deeper problem: the prevailing social contract between citizens and states, societies and nature, is broken.

This essay proposes that any serious effort to develop a 21st-century Global Constitution must be grounded in the principles of eco-social contracts. Rooted in justice, care, and regeneration, eco-social contracts offer a coherent ethical and practical foundation for planetary governance fit for our era.

From polycrisis to purpose

The 21st century is marked by a polycrisis: a convergence of systemic failures that threaten both human well-being and planetary stability. The dominant logic underpinning global institutions has prioritized extraction, perpetual growth, and human-centered control. While this model enabled material progress for some, it has generated ecological overshoot, entrenched inequality, and fractured public and democratic trust.

In contrast, **eco-social contracts** represent a transformative response. As articulated in the book *Eco-Social Contracts for Sustainable and Just Futures* (Huntjens et al. 2025), these contracts are collective agreements across levels of governance, rooted in shared values of sustainability, equity, and justice. They draw from diverse knowledge systems, from Indigenous cosmologies and feminist and care-based economics to regenerative development and post-growth thought, to redefine how we relate to each other, institutions, and the natural world.

Core principles for a Global Constitution

A 21st-century Global Constitution informed by eco-social values would not impose a uniform governance model. Instead, it would enshrine foundational principles that safeguard both planetary integrity and human dignity. These principles include:

- **Ecological stewardship**: Recognizing nature not as a resource to be exploited but as a living system with rights, requiring restoration, protection, and respect.
- **Intergenerational justice**: Embedding legal standing for future generations and long-term planetary health as a constitutional imperative.
- **Care and reciprocity**: Reorienting public policy and economic activity around care—for each other, for non-human life, and for the commons.

- **Democratic participation**: Ensuring inclusive, deliberative, and co-creative forms of governance that center marginalized voices and plural knowledge systems.
- **Pluralism and contextuality**: Respecting diverse pathways and expressions of these principles across cultures and geographies, while upholding shared global values.

Not theory alone: Lessons from practice

Eco-social contracts are not abstract ideals. They are already being practiced in communities across the world. Comparative case studies from the Global South and North show how local initiatives are advancing agroecology, community energy transitions, Indigenous land rights, and climate justice. While these efforts differ in form, they share common ethics: relationality, equity, and regeneration. These bottom-up innovations show the feasibility and legitimacy of eco-social contract principles. A Global Constitution, rather than overriding these efforts, should create the enabling environment for them to grow, connect, and inform broader systemic change.

Institutional implications

Translating eco-social contract principles into a global constitutional framework would require several key institutional innovations:

- **Rights of nature** embedded in international law, ensuring that ecosystems are granted legal recognition.
- **Transboundary citizens' assemblies** to deliberate on global challenges and contribute to collective decision-making beyond national boundaries.
- **A global pact for economic justice** that redefines prosperity beyond GDP, embedding rights-based approaches to redistribution, sustainability, and well-being.
- **Adaptive governance systems** that embrace uncertainty, support experimentation, and empower local communities within globally agreed ethical boundaries.

This approach respects national sovereignty while promoting a polycentric governance system. It distributes responsibilities across multiple levels and allows for context-specific solutions while upholding shared principles.

Rethinking the purpose of governance

Perhaps the most profound contribution of the eco-social contracts vision is its redefinition of what governance is for. In a world facing ecological and social tipping points, governance should do more than manage risk. It should enable human and planetary flourishing. This means shifting from control to co-creation, from exploitation to regeneration, and from narrow self-interest to global solidarity.

A 21st-century constitution should not merely organize power. It should offer guidance for deep transformation. This includes moral and institutional commitments to:

- Letting go of outdated systems that no longer serve life.
- Supporting the emergence of new cultures, economies, and institutions based on dignity, care, and ecological health.

- Strengthening civic imagination and agency to co-create just and sustainable futures.

Conclusion: A compass, not a blueprint

The search for a Global Constitution is not just a legal task. It is a civilizational turning point. At its heart lies a moral question: how should we live together in an interconnected, interdependent world?

Eco-social contracts offer a timely and grounded response. They bridge ethics and institutions, imagination and action, and local practice with global frameworks. They do not offer a one-size-fits-all model. Instead, they provide a living compass for guiding collective action toward regenerative, inclusive, and justice-centered futures.

As the Global Constitution Project moves forward, we urge it to draw inspiration from eco-social contracts. Let this new planetary pact be guided by values already taking root in communities worldwide, centering care, justice, reciprocity, pluralism, and stewardship. These are not just principles for good governance. They are essential for the survival and flourishing of life on Earth.

Note: This essay is based on: Huntjedimoulisns, P., Mohamed, N., Hujo, K., Desai, M. (2025, in press). **Eco-Social Contracts for Sustainable and Just Futures – Mobilising Collective Power to Deal with the 21st Century Polycrisis.** *Edited Open Access Volume published by Springer Nature, October 2025. Please find the book cover below.*

90. Een nieuw economisch-financiëel systeem met het ecosysteem als sokkel als basis voor een rechtvaardiger wereldorde

André Bequé

Het model dat tot politieke en economische onrechtvaardigheid heeft geleid

Economen en politici durven tegenwoordig niet meer uitpakken met het kringloop-model van P. Samuelson omdat ze de gebreken ervan niet meer kunnen ontkennen maar toch worden de korte mantra's die eruit afgeleid zijn nog zonder blikken of blo-zen bovengehaald.

Bij de nieuwste 'Nobelprijzen' Economie die zijn toegekend werd als argumentatie ter verantwoording vermeld:

- Groei is een gevolg van individuele beslissingen die betrekking hebben op conflicterende belangen
- Overheden moeten vangnetten voorzien bij innovaties
- Er is klimaatadaptatie nodig

Het zijn onderzoeksresultaten die beloond worden … omdat ze de vinger leggen op sommige gebreken en lacunes in het model dat Paul Samuelson in 1948 heeft uit-gebracht.

In dat model dat economisten en de meeste politici nog steeds hanteren om hun prioriteiten te verdedigen is het vergeefs zoeken naar het hoofdstuk betreffende ecologie ondanks de (niet geslaagde) paar projecten ('Rethinking Economics' 2014 en 'Doughnut Economics' 2017) die in het vorige decennium opgezet zijn om het economisch-maatschappelijk model dichter bij de werkelijkheid te laten aansluiten. Toch had – in 1982 in de UK – Hazel Henderson in haar 'Layer Cake' met de 'Mother Nature'-laag de ecologische sokkel al bij het model betrokken. Daarna was het wach-ten tot 2017 op 'Doughnut Economics' van Kate Raworth die het nog vigerende mo-del inbedde in het ecologisch systeem.

Daarnaast hadden Hazel Henderson – met de 'Love Economy'-laag – en Kate Raworth - met 'THE HOUSEHOLD, which is core' aandacht voor de essentiële rol van de gezinshuishoudingen maar het bracht hen niet tot het inzicht dat gezinnen net als private / not-for-profit ondernemingen en overheidsinstellingen varianten zijn van economische entiteiten zijn die én produceren én consumeren.

In geen van beide gevallen werd het beeld van de realiteit niet uitgewerkt in een slui-tend systeem van stromen die de realiteit volledig, herkenbaar en toegankelijk weer-geven; wat essentieel is om het voor alle burgers begrijpelijk te maken. Er zitten ook nog enkele andere lacunes en vertekeningen in het kringloopmodel van Samuelson die de noodzakelijke uitbreiding en verbetering van zijn model verhinderd hebben terwijl die toch gelijktijdig dienden te worden aangepakt.

Ik heb de tijd genomen om die struikelstenen stapsgewijs één voor één aan te pak-ken om zo tot een model te komen dat volledig, herkenbaar en toegankelijk is en vertrekt vanuit het ecosysteem met een schema met een heel lage drempel. Daardoor wordt basis overzicht en algemeen inzicht in economie toegankelijk voor het brede publiek en een kennisgebied dat zonder meer onderdeel moet uitmaken van 'burgerschapsvorming'. Politici kunnen alles wat met leefmilieu, natuur en ruimte-lijke planning te maken heeft niet meer afdoen als bijkomstig bij hun maatschappe-lijke opdracht en verantwoordelijkheid.

Ik heb mijn uitgewerkt model in beperkte oplage laten drukken (70 A4 Blz.) zodat ik het op identieke wijze aan personen kan voorleggen die focussen op uiteenlopende aspecten van het maatschappelijke bestel. Het stromenmodel is 'Economische Realiteit Systeem' genoemd en bevat zowel (meerdere) macro-economische sche-ma's als één micro-economisch schema.

Ik wil dat model graag komen voorleggen en toelichten. Bij het verdedigen van standpunten en voorstellen in een politieke context is het ontzettend belangrijk om naar een realiteitsgetrouw model van het maatschappelijke bestel te kunnen verwijzen. In haar boek 'Doughnut Economics' citeert Kate Raworth trouwens (p. 20) Samuelson die stelt (in aangepaste vertaling) 'Het eerste wat op een blanco lei (= geheugen) ge-schreven / getekend wordt laat een onuitwisbare indruk na'.

Het model dat het ecosysteem als sokkel heeft

Het economisch-maatschappelijke model dat ik heb uitgewerkt plaatst de door de mensheid ontworpen en toegepaste gelaagde systemen op de onmisbare sokkel van het ecosysteem. Een samenlevingsmodel kan slechts in stand worden gehouden als de onderliggende lagen, in hun weliswaar evoluerende vorm, in stand worden ge-houden; te beginnen met het ecosysteem onderaan en eindigend bij het geldsysteem bovenaan.

Het model is Economische Realiteit Systeem (ERS) genoemd en beschrijft het maatschappelijke bestel op basis van de/alle stromen van goederen, diensten en geld. Het ERS werkt niet op basis van producenten en consumenten: gezinnen, private bedrijven, not-for-profit bedrijven en overheden worden als totale groep de 'economi- sche entiteiten' genoemd: al die entiteiten produceren, consumeren en investeren of iets meer abstract zelfstandig beslissende cellen gekenmerkt door input, productie en output.

Het sturen naar een duurzame en rechtvaardige samenleving kan worden bereikt doordat al die economisch entiteiten, binnen de macht die ze als actors in het systeem bezitten, ethisch handelen ten opzichte van alle 'stakeholders': werknemers, leve-ranciers, afnemers, financiers en overheden. Marktwerking – indien ze alsnog de veronderstelde regelende functie werkelijk kan waarmaken – is maar één van de vele manieren waarop macht kan worden uitgeoefend.

Het ERS wordt geformuleerd aan de hand van 10 schema's: 3 + 6 + 1. Overheen alle schema's wordt consistent een kleurenlegende gebruikt waarnaar in de teksten wordt verwezen zodat het model erg toegankelijk is.

3 inleidende schema's die een overzicht geven van het maatschappelijke systeem. Dit deel wordt Economische Realiteit Model (ERM) genoemd.

ERM-0	Het maatschappelijk bestel: door de mensheid ontwikkelde systemen op de achtergrond van het ecosysteem.
ERM-1A	De gelaagdheid van het maatschappelijke systeem.
ERM-1B	Economische entiteiten in een regio: voorstelling en te onderscheiden groepen van economisch entiteiten zoals ze gangbaar worden genoemd.

6 macro-economische input-output (IO-x) schema's die de stromen weergeven zoals ze omwille van hun aard moeten worden onderscheiden.

IO-0	Stromen van niet-(geld)ruil van goederen en diensten binnen en tussen gezinnen.
IO-1A	Goederen- en dienstenstromen met ruil tegen geld;
IO-1B	Goederen- en dienstenstromen + ecologische stromen + stromen zonder geldruil binnen en tussen gezinnen.
IO-2	Betaalstromen: betalingen en belastingen
IO-3	Transferstromen (geld)
IO-4	Geld- en Kapitaalstromen

1 micro-economisch schema (UOM)

UOM	Stromen in het Universeel OndernemingsModel dat geldig en bruikbaar is voor elke economische entiteit.

Het ERS gebruikt 6 input-output schema's om de macro-economie weer te geven om twee redenen: zo kunnen de goederen- en dienstenstromen enerzijds en de verschil-lende soorten geldstromen anderzijds duidelijk uit elkaar worden gehouden; maar doordat ze elkaar blad na blad opvolgen valt het gemakkelijk om ze in het hoofd te combineren. Van IO-1A tot IO-4 vertonen ze bovendien een erg gelijkaardige structuur waarbij overheid, gezinnen en privé ondernemingen onder elkaar voorkomen met gezinnen centraal in de schema's wat ook overeenkomt met hun centrale positie in het inleidende schema ERM-0. Het zegt zonder woorden dat de economie er is voor de gezinnen / de mensheid en niet omgekeerd.

De verschillende soorten stromen komen in het UOM stromenschema ook weer aan bod wat duidelijk maakt dat de macro-economie de som is van alle micro-economische entiteiten. Omdat het UOM de kleurenlegende deelt kan het verband met de IO-schema's vlot 1 op 1 worden gelegd.

91. Global Catastrophic Risks and Democratic Resilience

Florian Ulrich Jehn

Humanity stands at a unique juncture. For the first time, we possess both the capability to destroy ourselves and the knowledge to prevent such destruction. Our interconnected civilization faces catastrophic risks that transcend national boundaries, ranging from nuclear war to supervolcanic eruptions, yet we lack adequate global governance mechanisms to address them. A 21st-century Global Constitution must establish frameworks for managing these existential threats while building societal resilience through democratic participation and reduced inequality.

Global catastrophic risks threaten widespread human mortality or severe reduction in well-being worldwide (Ord, 2020). Three important ones are: climate change, nuclear war, and large volcanic eruptions. Climate change represents an accelerating threat with cascading effects across food systems and conflict (Kemp et al., 2022). Nuclear war remains humanity's most immediate self-inflicted existential threat, potentially triggering nuclear winter and global food system collapse (Xia et al., 2022). Supervolcanic eruptions, while beyond human control, are statistically certain to occur eventually and could similarly devastate agriculture by reducing global temperature (Cassidy & Mani, 2022).

These risks share critical characteristics: they trigger cascading failures, cause irreversible damage, and overwhelm existing response mechanisms (Stauffer et al., 2023). Moreover, they can interact, like climate stress increasing conflict probability, while both undermine our capacity to respond to natural catastrophes.

Despite scientific consensus, global governance remains inadequate. UN documents reveal stark imbalances: nuclear war dominates discussions while equally severe threats like supervolcanic eruptions receive minimal attention (Boyd & Wilson, 2020). This reflects structural limitations in governing global risks.

Current international frameworks evolved to manage state relations, not species-level threats. No existing institution has the mandate or authority to implement comprehensive risk assessments and preparedness measures on a global level.

A Global Constitution must establish new principles for managing global catastrophic risks:

Mandatory global risk assessment. Just as many democratic nations conduct national risk assessments, with Switzerland and the UK leading in coverage, we need institutionalized, transparent global assessments. These must be public, regularly updated, and include both preventable and inevitable risks. Transparency enables identification of blind spots and accountability.

Precautionary governance structures. Establish dedicated bodies for each major threat plus an overarching coordination body. These require authority to act before crises materialize. If action is only taken after the hazard has materialized it is too late.

Protection of future generations. Decisions about nuclear arsenals, climate policy, and technology will determine humanity's fate. This justifies constraints on present actions posing global catastrophic risks.

Institutional mechanisms alone are insufficient. Evidence demonstrates that democratic societies with lower inequality are more resilient to catastrophes, protect their population better and rarely wage war against each other (Lin, 2015; Peregrine, 2021; Reiter, 2017), while high inequality undermines social cohesion and enables elite capture of governance institutions (Blanton et al., 2020).

Historical analysis reveals societies with greater participation consistently recover better from shocks. When examining responses to climate disruptions like the Late Antique Little Ice Age, participatory governance emerges as the strongest predictor of resilience (Allen et al., 2022). Contemporary evidence reinforces this: democratic states with high state capacity suffered fewer COVID-19 deaths (Omberg & Tabarrok, 2022).

The World Economic Forum identifies inequality as a central risk multiplier (World Economic Forum, 2025). It creates a vicious cycle: inequality weakens resilience while catastrophes exacerbate inequalities. Breaking this requires strong guardrails linking risk governance to democratic participation and distributive justice.

The constitution should mandate:

Universal preparedness requirements. All nations must develop public contingency plans for catastrophic scenarios including food system disruption and infrastructure collapse. Plans must address both national and global coordination.

Investment in resilience research. Dedicated funding for understanding risk interactions, developing resilient food systems that could be rapidly scaled following agricultural collapse (García Martínez et al., 2025), and improving early warning systems.

Democratic oversight. Risk governance must include representative participation. Citizens' assemblies on climate consistently recommend stricter measures than governments implement (Lage et al., 2023), suggesting democratic deliberation produces more prudent risk management.

Inequality reduction targets. Establish maximum acceptable inequality levels with required redistributive mechanisms. This concerns survival, not just fairness. Unequal societies lack the cohesion to coordinate existential threat responses.

We do not know when catastrophe will strike. Supervolcanic eruptions could occur next year or next millennium. Nuclear war could begin tomorrow or be prevented through diplomacy. Climate tipping points may be nearer or farther than models suggest. This

uncertainty implies both urgency and opportunity. Urgency because delay increases risk, opportunity because we can still build resilience.

A 21st-century Global Constitution must recognize humanity's greatest threats are now global and existential. It must establish governance matching these risks' scale while building resilience through democratic participation and reduced inequality. The choice is whether to act deliberately and democratically, or wait until catastrophe forces our hand. History shows societies can transform when facing existential challenges. The question is whether global civilization possesses the wisdom to transform before crisis rather than after collapse.

References

Allen, K., Reide, F., Gouramanis, C., Keenan, B., Stoffel, M., Hu, A., & Ionita, M. (2022). Coupled insights from palaeoenvironmental, historical and archaeological archives to support social-ecological resilience and the Sustainable Development Goals. Environmental Research Letters, 17. https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/ac6967

Blanton, R. E., Feinman, G. M., Kowalewski, S. A., & Fargher, L. F. (2020). Moral Collapse and State Failure: A View From the Past. Frontiers in Political Science, 2. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2020.568704

Boyd, M., & Wilson, N. (2020). Existential Risks to Humanity Should Concern International Policymakers and More Could Be Done in Considering Them at the International Governance Level. Risk Analysis, 40(11), 2303–2312. https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.13566

Cassidy, M., & Mani, L. (2022). Huge volcanic eruptions: Time to prepare. Nature, 608(7923), 469–471. https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-022-02177-x

García Martínez, J. B., Behr, J., Pearce, J., & Denkenberger, D. (2025). Resilient foods for preventing global famine: A review of food supply interventions for global catastrophic food shocks including nuclear winter and infrastructure collapse. Critical Reviews in Food Science and Nutrition, 0(0), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/10408398.2024.2431207

Kemp, L., Xu, C., Depledge, J., Ebi, K. L., Gibbins, G., Kohler, T. A., Rockström, J., Scheffer, M., Schellnhuber, H. J., Steffen, W., & Lenton, T. M. (2022). Climate Endgame: Exploring catastrophic climate change scenarios. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 119(34), e2108146119. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2108146119

Lage, J., Thema, J., Zell-Ziegler, C., Best, B., Cordroch, L., & Wiese, F. (2023). Citizens call for sufficiency and regulation—A comparison of European citizen assemblies and National Energy and Climate Plans. Energy Research & Social Science, 104, 103254. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103254

Lin, T.-H. (2015). Governing Natural Disasters: State Capacity, Democracy, and Human Vulnerability. Social Forces, 93(3), 1267–1300.

Omberg, R. T., & Tabarrok, A. (2022). Is it possible to prepare for a pandemic? Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 38(4), 851–875. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grac035

Ord, T. (2020). The Precipice: Existential Risk and the Future of Humanity. Hachette Books, 480 pp.

Peregrine, P. N. (2021). Social resilience to nuclear winter: Lessons from the Late Antique Little Ice Age. Global Security: Health, Science and Policy, 6(1), 57–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/23779497.2021.1963808

Reiter, D. (2017). Is Democracy a Cause of Peace? In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.287

Stauffer, M., Kirsch-Wood, J., Stevance, A.-S., Mani, L., Sundaram, L., Dryhurst, S., & Seifert, K. (2023). Hazards with Escalation Potential Governing the Drivers of Global and Existential Catastrophes. United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction.

World Economic Forum. (2025). The Global Risks Report 2025.

Xia, L., Robock, A., Scherrer, K., Harrison, C. S., Bodirsky, B. L., Weindl, I., Jägermeyr, J., Bardeen, C. G., Toon, O. B., & Heneghan, R. (2022). Global food insecurity and famine from reduced crop, marine fishery and livestock production due to climate disruption from nuclear war soot injection. Nature Food, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1038/s43016-022-00573-0

92. A constitutional approach to governing ecological flows

Helena Varkkey

Pollution often transcends borders, yet existing governance mechanisms remain largely confined within them. I propose that pathways to a new global constitution should include principles that respond to ecological realities rather than political boundaries.

My area of study focuses on the governance of transboundary haze in Southeast Asia and the challenges therein. In Southeast Asia, transboundary haze refers to smoke from agricultural and forest fires that impacts the society, economy, and environment of neighbouring jurisdictions. Most of these fires are human-made, caused by land clearing for new crop cycles or by draining and drying peatlands to establish commercial plantations. Following natural ecological system flows, the smoke travels across the region according to regional weather and wind patterns, ignoring political borders. The most notable ecological system that dictates the flow of haze in Southeast Asia is the El Niño Southern Oscillation, which brings dry weather and makes fires more likely and harder to extinguish.

For more than four decades, Southeast Asian states have struggled to govern transboundary haze pollution because state action remains bound and constrained by sovereignty. Coordinating effective haze mitigation proves difficult as laws, regulations, and national interests differ. Despite the direct and severe impact of smoke from Country A on Country B, the latter cannot intervene to address the fires at their source. It is limited to mitigating impacts within its own borders, such as instituting school or work closures and issuing public health advisories.

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, has facilitated regional-level cooperation on transboundary haze since the 1980s. However, as an organisation grounded in non-interference and consensus-building rather than rules-based or confrontational approaches, ASEAN has achieved limited progress in coordinating action on transboundary haze. This demonstrates the limits of regional cooperation when state sovereignty prevails. While the Second Roadmap for ASEAN Cooperation on Transboundary Haze Pollution Control outlines specific strategies for a "Haze-Free ASEAN" by 2030, these strategies remain constrained by national jurisdictions and depend on the political will of individual states, whether they are the source or recipient of the haze.

The concept of "violent atmospheres" highlights that pollution is not only an environmental issue but also a matter of inequality and power. Atmospheric pollution like haze embodies not just biophysical and chemical matter, but also the volatile mix of political-economic ruptures across borders and scales. In the case of Southeast Asia's haze, entrenched patron-client networks—sometimes spanning borders and encompassing influential commercial players and state actors—enable the persistence of haze and undermine efforts at conventional governance. As a result, the peoples of Southeast

Asia suffer from a "slow violence" that manifests in long-term health impacts and diminished well-being.

Similar patterns of jurisdictional mismatch exist in other areas of ecological rupture, such as ocean pollution and the transboundary flow of chemicals and waste. Therefore, a new global constitution must establish governance structures for transboundary pollution based on ecological systems rather than national borders, requiring a fundamental move away from traditional jurisdiction-based approaches. This flow-based governance framework could integrate and operationalise several established international principles that currently lack cohesive enforcement.

Such a global constitutional framework could build upon recognised universal concepts like the Right to Clean Air, which affirms that breathing clean air is a fundamental human right essential to public health, environmental justice, and a healthy environment. This aligns with the United Nations Human Rights Council and General Assembly's recognition of the human right to a clean, healthy, and sustainable environment. Constitutional recognition would transform this right from an aspirational concept into an enforceable legal standard applicable across ecological systems.

Building upon this rights-based foundation, the framework could further incorporate established international law concepts like "common concern of humankind", which acknowledges problems affecting all of humanity that require global cooperation because unilateral action is insufficient. This concept is already recognised in instruments such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity. While principles like the Polluter Pays Principle (requiring polluters to bear prevention, control, and cleanup costs) and the Precautionary Principle (enabling precautionary measures against potential serious harm without awaiting full scientific certainty) are well-established in international law, their enforcement remains inconsistent due to jurisdictional fragmentation. A constitutional approach would weave these disparate principles into a coherent, binding tapestry of ecological governance.

Constitutionalising these principles globally could provide binding authority and coherence currently absent from jurisdiction-based governance. They could establish robust precedents through enforceable obligations and shared accountability mechanisms toward global standards unconstrained by state sovereignty. Critically, such universal rights-based approaches would ensure that transboundary governance addresses environmental justice and holds powerful actors—states and corporations alike—accountable for harm to vulnerable populations. Most importantly, it would elevate scientific knowledge to at least equal standing with politics, if not above it. This constitutional framework would thus operationalise flow-based governance by creating mandatory cooperation mechanisms aligned with atmospheric and ecological realities rather than political boundaries.

As a practical starting point for improved governance of transboundary haze and other atmospheric pollution, such flow-based approaches could justify the immediate standardisation of Air Quality Standards and monitoring mechanisms across jurisdictions, things that ASEAN has not yet been able to achieve even after four decades of effort. Yet, technical solutions alone are insufficient without the foundational legal authority to enforce

them across borders. However, such pragmatic standardisation paves the way for the more profound constitutional shift required.

Ultimately, only by constitutionally embedding ecological reality above political sovereignty can we hope to govern the transnational flows that define our interconnected planetary future. This constitutional shift would finally align our governance structures with the fundamental truth that atmospheric systems recognise neither borders nor the political constraints that have perpetuated their violent impacts on human health and dignity.

93. Building a Fair Global System for Food and Farming

Kokou Romaric Posset

Food is not a privilege—it is a right. Yet across the globe, millions go hungry while others waste. Despite unprecedented technological advances and resources, 733 million people face hunger every day, nearly one in ten are undernourished, and almost a third of the global population experiences moderate to severe food insecurity (Kofi Annan Foundation, 2025). Climate change, conflict, and inequality are major drivers of food system disruption, leaving millions without access to nutrition, land, or agricultural support (United Nations Security Council, 2024). These crises do not respect borders, but our responses remain fragmented. A global constitution for food justice is urgently needed: one that guarantees access to food, protects farmers, and holds governments and corporations accountable.

Global institutions such as the FAO and WTO continue to reflect outdated power structures that often disadvantage smallholder farmers in the Global South. While these farmers produce a significant share of the world's food, they remain marginalized in global trade negotiations and policy-making. According to the FAO, although participation in global agrifood markets by countries in the South has increased, trade policies and global value chains still favor industrialized nations, reinforcing structural inequalities (FAO, 2022).

The Kofi Annan Commission on Food Security has called for urgent reform of global food governance, arguing that the current system is failing to meet the scale and complexity of today's food crises. The Commission emphasizes that inclusive governance—centered on local voices and regional leadership—is essential to building resilient and equitable food systems (Kofi Annan Foundation, 2025).

Sub-Saharan Africa contributes richly to global agricultural diversity, with a wide range of indigenous crops and farming systems that support both local diets and global biodiversity (Bjornlund et al., 2022). Yet despite this richness, the region suffers disproportionately from food insecurity. According to the FAO (2023), over two-thirds of the population in Central, Eastern, and Western Africa face moderate or severe food insecurity, driven by climate shocks, economic instability, and systemic neglect. Climate change is intensifying these challenges. Floods, droughts, and soil degradation are displacing farmers and destroying harvests across the continent. In South Sudan alone, over 927,000 people were affected by flooding in 2025, with widespread damage to croplands and infrastructure (UNOCHA, 2025).

Environmental degradation—driven by extractive farming, land grabs, and monoculture—is eroding food sovereignty across the globe. According to the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food), land access for small-scale producers is under unprecedented pressure, with transnational land deals displacing Indigenous communities and consolidating farmland into the hands of a few (IPES-Food,

2024). These practices not only undermine local food systems but also accelerate biodiversity loss and soil exhaustion.

Malnutrition remains one of the most devastating and widespread threats to human health. According to the World Health Organization, nearly half of all deaths among children under five are linked to undernutrition, particularly in low- and middle-income countries (WHO, 2024). Poor diets—whether due to lack of access, affordability, or education—affect children in rural Africa, urban slums in Latin America, and low-income families in wealthy nations alike. The Global Nutrition Report confirms that malnutrition is a universal problem, cutting across geography, wealth, and age (GNR, 2021). The Global Panel on Agriculture and Food Systems for Nutrition warns that without coordinated global action, food insecurity and diet-related diseases will continue to rise, especially in fragile contexts (GloPan, 2020). Their policy brief calls for urgent realignment of food systems to prioritize nutrition, resilience, and equity.

Education is a cornerstone of food justice. Yet millions of children around the world attend school hungry—or are kept out of classrooms entirely due to poverty and malnutrition. UNESCO's Ready to Learn and Thrive report highlights that school feeding programs not only improve nutrition and health outcomes but also boost attendance and learning, especially in regions with high food insecurity (UNESCO, 2023). UNICEF and the World Food Programme have documented how integrated school nutrition initiatives in countries like South Sudan and Malawi help break cycles of hunger and exclusion (UNICEF& WFP, 2025).

This is not a plea for aid—it is a demand for dignity. A global constitution for food justice is not an abstract ideal; it is a practical necessity. It would protect the hungry from neglect, empower farmers against exploitation, and guarantee that no child, no community, and no region is excluded from the right to nourishment. From the flooded fields of South Sudan to the urban food deserts of Latin America, the struggle is shared—and so must be the solution.

I speak not only from experience but in solidarity with all those whose voices have been silenced by broken systems. Food is not just sustenance—it is power, culture, and survival. Justice must feed it. And the world must rise to the challenge of making that justice real, for everyone.

References

Bjornlund, V., Bjornlund, H., & van Rooyen, A. (2022). Why food insecurity persists in sub-Saharan Africa. Food Security, 14(4), 845–864. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-022-01256-1

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (2022). Agricultural trade in the Global South – An overview of trends in performance, vulnerabilities, and policy frameworks. https://doi.org/10.4060/cb9120en

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (2023). Africa – Regional overview of food security and nutrition. https://openknowledge.fao.org/bitstreams/052b1978-0f1f-4db9-8a1d-49bd5b4a19ce/download

Global Nutrition Report. (2021). The state of global nutrition. Development Initiatives. https://globalnutritionreport.org

Global Panel on Agriculture and Food Systems for Nutrition. (2020). Strengthening food systems in fragile contexts (Policy Brief No. 15). https://www.glopan.org/resources/strengthening-food-systems-in-fragile-contexts

International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food). (2024). Land squeeze: What is driving unprecedented pressures on global farmland and what can be done to achieve equitable access to land? https://ipes-food.org/reports

Kofi Annan Foundation. (2025). Reimagining global governance for food security. Geneva, Switzerland. https://www.kofiannanfoundation.org

United Nations. (2024). Climate action can help fight hunger, avoid conflicts, official tells Security Council. https://press.un.org/en/2024/sc15589.doc.htm

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), & World Food Programme (WFP). (2023). Ready to learn and thrive: School health and nutrition around the world. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000385009

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) & World Food Programme (WFP). (2025). Accelerating progress for school-age children and adolescents in Eastern and Southern Africa: A UNICEF–WFP collaboration. UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office; World Food Programme (WFP) Regional Bureau for Eastern Africa (RBEA); World Food Programme (WFP) Regional Bureau for Southern Africa (RBSA). https://www.unicef.org/esa/reports/accelerating-progress

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA). (2025). South Sudan flooding situation flash update No. 7. https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/south-sudan/south-sudan-flooding-situation-flash-update-no-7-17-october-2025

World Health Organization. (2024). The state of food security and nutrition in the world 2024. https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/the-state-of-food-security-and-nutrition-in-the-world-2024

94. Global Constitution: Decentralize Power in Politics and Make Politicians accountable for their Politics after their Time in Power

Leonie Disse

Fluctuation in Power and how it affects Politics

2016 – Paris Agreement with 196 parties, including the USA

2020 – withdrawal of the USA from the Paris Agreement (Trump administration)

2021 – rejoining of the USA to the Paris Agreement (Biden administration)

2025 – withdrawal of the USA from the Paris Agreement (Trump administration) (United States and the Paris Agreement)

Because the US has the tool of Executive Orders, such fluctuation can easily happen there. But even beyond the US context, the way decision-making in politics worldwide is dominated by people in power makes taking sustainable and future-oriented solutions very difficult. On top of that, it decreases the trust of people in democratic power systems.

Historically, a lot of countries have developed a democratic government, as it brings multiple key benefits. It is more flexible to crises (Which Form of Government Is Best?), it gives power to the people, free speech can thrive, promotes equality and prevents the abuse of power (The importance of democracy). Nevertheless, a lot of democracies are in danger of dying from the inside as politicians have more authoritarian tendencies and slowly change the system from the inside, as it has already happened in several countries (How Democracies Die - American Academy in Berlin). This often goes hand in hand with the more fascist and extreme rhetoric politicians nowadays use to neglect climate change (Frontiers | Eco-fascism: an oxymoron? Far-right nationalism, history, and the climate emergency).

This indirectly leads to a weakness of democracy or power systems in general. The decisions politicians take and the laws they make are only partly because of good intentions to really change something, but mostly to please voters. In a legislative period of four years, I could often witness that in the first two years, the aim for change led the conversation in parliament, but shortly after a polemic discussion arose, big promises were made, but without real depth. This leads to short-term decision-making, where voters can see a direct effect on (e.g. tax cutting), but no future-oriented decisions which could lead to a more sustainable society (e.g. investing in renewable energy).

In my eyes, one of the key reasons for this is the concentration of power in a few people. Contributing to this is the power of misleading the discussion through misinformation and fake news.

In a Global Constitution, I would like to see politicians taking more sustainable decisions, because the way of their impact is not only limited to their time in power, but also afterwards, and the way in which power is distributed doesn't give them the possibility to make unsustainable outcomes.

Making Politics More Sustainable

Almost all effects of decisions a politician can take for a more sustainable and environmentally friendly future won't be seen in his/her legislative period, and maybe not even during his/her life. So, why should a politician take such a decision if it doesn't contribute to his/her political capital? I would like to see a different way of validating law and decision-making to make it more sustainable and future-oriented.

In general, a restructuring of the way democracy works could be a great step forward. Giving so much power to one single person is dangerous and can lead to the aforementioned dynamics. I think it could be helpful to design a concept which includes more direct democracy and to define topics which must go through a public process. Another way to consider more voices in a decision-making process is to have citizens' assemblies (Citizens' assembly - Wikipedia), where people selected by a lottery make laws after consulting experts and having internal discussions. These experts could be chosen by the people of the assembly, so that they aren't biased by any political direction. This would take pressure away from the politicians' shoulders, and long-term decisions would be taken by the people.

In a Global Constitution, specific topics should be mentioned where the decision-making process must go through a participatory process. Those topics could be everything related to Climate Change (emission reduction, etc.), education, infrastructure, conservation of biodiversity and more.

How to charge/acknowledge Politicians after their Time in Power

But still, politicians will be needed and will make bad decisions for society and the environment. So, how can we make them accountable after their time in power and also acknowledge good decisions, which can lead to political motivation?

We could think of two different ways which could complement each other as well. Firstly, we need a true separation of powers and have judges who aren't selected by politicians, but by the people, or who follow a specific program to become neutral to political voices. The nomination of a judge could be split between several units: one by the former judges in power, one by direct democracy from the people, and one by a democratic vote from the parliament. Furthermore, they must be reelected every couple of years, so their work will be validated by the named parties. So, these judges don't have to follow a political line and are freer to work with the law and the right for the people and the environment, so they are also freer to charge people in power or who were formerly in power.

On top of that, a validation system for political decisions could be implemented, so that the broad society can better understand what impacts certain political decisions have, so they can adapt their voting behavior. That means that every new law or other decision taken in parliament/ by the president needs a translation, so people can get an insight into what is being talked about. These schemes should be prepared by the politicians and

double-checked by experts, journalists and lawyers, so they don't follow the tone of a specific party. In that way, you could directly see the impact it has on economics, climate change, education, biodiversity, equality and many more. That could also be a way to make politics more accessible to the public and to strengthen democracy.

For all these ideas, it is crucial to have honest communication and to fight fake news and misinformation. A lot of democracies are in this fight right now because of the lack of trust from the people in politics in general.

95. A constitution for a more-than-human world

Katinka Quintelier

I dream of a flourishing world. In a flourishing world, living beings thrive or increase in well-being while suffering is reduced. To bring our dreams alive we are invited to think about a constitution. That means that you and I, and all of us, are invited to think about a constitution. This is the essence of the Global Constitution Project: that we share our perspectives on meeting today's challenges in realizing our dreams

While I am writing about this constitution, the process feels wrong. I feel that it is not I, or even you and I, who should think and write about a constitution. Instead, *we* should draw a constitution, and we are more than you and I. Let us therefore imagine that we will be drawing up a constitution, and first reflect on this question: who are 'we'?

To find out who we are, I return to the dream of a flourishing world. In this world, I only flourish if *we* flourish. From the moment you or I are born, we need the care of other people to help us stay alive. Babies, quite simply, die when they are left to take care of themselves. Granted, we grow out of this state. But we do not grow out of our predicament. As soon as we leave the house where others care for us, we need to build our own shelters to stay warm and dry. And this we can also hardly do alone. When we are sick, a bit older, injured, or carrying our own babies, we need a caring hand. What is more, our food, before and after we are weaned, comes from other living beings. We need plants, fungi, and animals to stay alive, and let's add some seaweed, lichens, and bacteria to spice things up. To make this growing, elaborate maze of living beings flourish, we also need viruses, sun, soil, and water. We are a network of living and non-living beings who, together, make a flourishing world. To make sure that our shared wellbeing is supported, I think that we, the maze of living and non-living beings, should draw up a constitution for a flourishing world.

When we are drawing a constitution, I would express the importance of care, because it is too often overlooked. Care is essential for a flourishing world. In 1990, Fisher and Tronto wrote the book *Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring*, where they described care as an activity that "includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our world so that we can live in it as well as possible." This aligns with the dream of a flourishing world. Our world, furthermore, "includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web". Our constitution should thus care for a complex life-sustaining web. For me, the clearest argument for the importance of care has been that we need each other's care to survive as individuals and as a species. As individuals, we all start out as babies and remain vulnerable throughout. When we eat, love, fall sick or ride a bike we need others' care to keep our life on track. Yet, all too often, people forget they are being cared for. Adam Smith surely did, when he declared that self-interest resulted in societal benefits. Yes, the butcher sold him meat out of self-interest. But Adam Smith did not live on raw meat and unwashed vegetables. Instead, he relied on the care of his mother, who cooked for him so that he had time for writing *The Wealth of Nations* and praising the butcher's motives.

Not only did he forget his mother's serving hand, he also overlooked the soil where his food was growing, and where water was circulating. And so, we also tend to forget what we receive from the skin of the earth, and that it, too, needs our care. I therefore propose to put care in the constitution for a flourishing world.

When we are drawing a constitution, what other voices will we listen to? What do they express? I am immensely curious and expect unexpected proposals. Would something like the Universal Declaration of Living Rights emerge in a more inclusive constitution? We want freedom from arrest, but perhaps we should include freedom from displacement; we want freedom to voice, but isn't the freedom to love more under threat? I am curious, and look forward to extending rights beyond human beings, in a constitution for more-than-human beings. Above all, I look forward to this process becoming a conversation.

96. A Global Constitution for regeneration

Roos Janssen

I dream of a world where everything we do helps to heal people and the planet. Where our choices, our work and our systems naturally move toward care. A society that is awake and aware. One that understands we have caused damage and that it is our responsibility to repair it.

A global constitution can give this dream direction. It sets boundaries that protect the commons: the air, the water and the soil that belong to everyone. We decide how much we can take and where we must stop. For example, deep sea mining should not happen. We already have enough. Growth for a few that harms the rest must end.

There must also be enforcement. Rules mean nothing if no one enforces them. We cannot stay silent when people are oppressed or when nature is destroyed. We must act, not only speak. This constitution must protect the vulnerable and shift from equality to equity so that everyone receives what they need to live with dignity.

We must also define limits. Limitarianism teaches us that there should be both a minimum and a maximum. Everyone deserves enough, and no one should take more than their share. Decisions must include all voices, especially those most affected. When leaders or companies harm people or the planet, there must be real consequences.

This constitution is built on regeneration, healing and fairness. It redefines progress as care and restoration, not extraction and profit. It replaces corruption with transparency and puts long-term wellbeing above short-term gain. Power is shared locally and globally.

Main rules for a global constitution

1. Healing first. Every decision must support the healing of people and the planet.

2. Protect the commons. Air, water, soil and ecosystems belong to all and must not be destroyed or owned.

3. Set limits. Define what is enough and what is too much. No more endless accumulation.

4. Deep democracy. Those affected by decisions have a voice in making them.

5. Enforcement. Global systems must protect human rights and hold the powerful accountable.

6. Equity before equality. Fairness means giving people what they need.

7. Regenerative economy. Growth means healing, not extraction.

8. Transparency. Leaders are responsible for long-term wellbeing, not profit.

9. Local power. Communities have a real say in their future.

10. Celebrate progress together. When we heal part of the world, we come together to share that success and renew our commitment.

If I have one wish for this world is that we set regenerative pathways that are enforced properly.

97. Ecospace Sharing Problem: Mapping International Comity in Designing a Global Constitution

Samuel Matsiko

I am a lawyer and researcher with expertise in international law, transnational criminal justice and human rights. From my over 10 years of experience working on research projects with academia and international organisations, I suggest that this project should focus on how the comity of nations or international comity can contribute to a systemic solution in designing a global constitution. In reviewing the literature there is an ecospace-sharing problem.1 Professor Joyeeta Gupta's 2014 inaugural lecture “Sharing Our Ecospace” argues that the ecospace sharing problem is a systemic problem requiring systemic, not symptomatic solutions, within which level-related, fragmented governance and instruments can be applied.2 She advocates for systemic solutions that focus on the entire system.

In this context, the Constitution should map the perils and promises of international comity in designing a global constitution that is systemic-centric. It should build a conceptual framework on ecospace sharing and international comity, construct a dataset and subject this dataset to peer review. The data set should focus mainly on jurisdictions in the Global South and systemic regulatory international instruments.

98. The Categorical Imperative: Reducing Inequality

S. Mansoob Murshed

As we enter the second quarter of the new millennium, the world as a whole is faced with a number of existential challenges. Among them is the global breakdown or fraying of social cohesion. This process has been accompanied by a rise in authoritarianism, plutocracy and the breakdown of earlier social contracts promising development and the protection of the vulnerable and impoverished. Labour saving technical progress and the rhetoric of globalization has given rise to a plutocracy replacing the post-war social democratic and developments contract that particularly governed the 'golden' age of capitalism during the Bretton Woods era of 1945-73 are plausible explanations This breakdown is bound to cause tensions and unrest which manifests itself in myriad forms. An important driver in this process is rising and accelerating inequality, including inequality in income and wealth, but also inter-generational aspirations for improvement. Hunger, homelessness, precarious employment and child poverty are but a few of the numerous manifestations of this dystopic phenomenon. We are currently living through a time when current generations often expect future generations to be poorer and more disadvantaged than themselves in terms of income, wealth and opportunity, at least in the traditionally affluent nations of the world.

The median voter hypothesis suggested that the median voter's preferences prevail in a democracy. And, the median voter may vote for redistributive policies. Our present era, however, can be characterized by the steady loss of median voter power. The rise in inequality world-wide has meant that the average or mean income is rising faster than median income. There has been a considerable shift in political clout away from the median voter to the policies that suit the super-rich, who compel the formulation of national policies to further the interests of the owners of internationally mobile capital and work skills. This manifests itself, chiefly, in the nation state feeling compelled to follow policies of fiscal austerity and wage compression, lest national participation in the globalized economy is jeopardized. This also frays the domestic social contract and leads to the diminution of social protection. By contrast during the era of more limited globalization prior to the 1980s, the interests of the rich and the median income group did not necessarily conflict; it was an era of increasing social protection, the provision of public services like education and health, employment rights, declining inequality and consensual democracy. The recent phenomenon of hyper-globalization, defined to occur when the costs of further globalization in terms of the increased inequality outweigh economic benefits, produces a democratic deficit and a backlash in the form of populist politics.

In the Western world there has been a shift in the demand for labour, away from middle level clerical occupations towards greater demand for the highly skilled and low-paid service sector jobs. These trends are being repeated elsewhere in the world and points to a hollowing out of the middle classes. A healthy manufacturing sector was central to the emergence of 20th century social democracy, and its concomitant, the welfare state. These have been rolled back and aided by the decline of domestic manufacturing and

hyper-globalization. Manufacturing has, as a result of hyper-globalization, mainly relocated to China and East Asia; this has contributed to the hollowing out of the middle classes, disadvantages production workers and fuels the rise of populism and autocracy. There are developments suggesting a retreat from globalization at least in the rhetoric of populists including Donald Trump and his European counterparts.

The growth in inequality is justified by emphasizing meritocracy: the rich deserve their just deserts because they have been more hard working and enterprising. This has led to changes in attitudes towards inequality, from one where it was regarded to be an accident of birth or attributable to social class, to one where poverty or low income is the individual's fault. These attitudes did exist in the past but nowadays have become even more salient. The important point to bear in mind is that in our present labour markets small differences in talent command disproportionately huge earnings differentials; whereas the same differences in compensation were less significant in the recent past.

There are two types of inequality, which are arguably central to producing internal conflict. Both produce horizontal inequality and/or relative deprivation. The first type refers to the durable inequalities), and these are the inequalities bred by the unequal distribution of economic assets (not necessarily current income), education and health status. These inequalities are both notoriously difficult to redress, and even then, affirmative action takes a long period to bear fruit. The second type refers to inequality of opportunity, which pertains to discrimination. Certain groups may be systematically disadvantaged in terms of employment or educational opportunities because of their racial or ethnic characteristics, despite being otherwise as well qualified as members of other groups.

It has been suggested that reducing horizontal inequalities is central to lowering the risk of civil war; however, the reduction of horizontal inequality without lowering overall, inter-personal or vertical, inequality will increase inequality within groups. This is because inequality can be decomposed into the sum of between group and within group inequalities. If we were to reduce one component, while holding the sum total constant (total vertical inequality), the other component in the sum (within group inequality) must necessarily rise. Hence, conflict risk reducing policies cannot focus solely on horizontal inequality, vertical inequality must also be lowered for a truly positive peace. Thus, for example in the Western world while male-female earnings differentials have diminished, inequalities in earnings among women may have risen.

Historically, wars and revolutions have been the forces that lower inequality. There is little doubt that in the 20th century, the two world wars and the socialist revolutions beginning with the Russian revolution of 1917 engendered a decline in inequality and a decline in the wealth to national income ratio in capitalist economies by making redistributive policies, state intervention and the welfare state a necessity for the systemic survival in the Western capitalist economies during the golden age of capitalism. Yet the march of history in the past two centuries is one of declining inequality, chief among which was the high rate of social mobility in the three decades of social democracy following the Second World War, and the gradual expansion of the property-owning middle classes. A return to some form of this earlier dispensation is the only hope for mankind.

99. 21st Century Global Constitution

Thelma Arko

Introduction

A 21st-century global constitution must critically examine the underlying power dynamics and neocolonial tendencies embedded in international governance frameworks especially those shaping climate action and strategies. Current frameworks perpetuate injustices by shifting the economic, social, and environmental burdens of climate action onto vulnerable nations and communities in the Global South.

For instance, mechanisms like Article 6 of the Paris Agreement function less as tools for equitable climate cooperation and more as instruments that offload responsibility from historical polluters to those least responsible. This is exacerbating existing vulnerabilities and undermining efforts to build resilience among communities disproportionately affected by climate change.

Similarly, international energy partnerships promote as necessary for decarbonization and energy security are deeply polarized. The Global South is relegated to roles of extraction and cheap production, bearing the brunt of environmental and social costs from innovations like hydrogen, while the Global North positions itself as a provider of high-value technology, financing, and market access.

A 21st century global constitution responsive to the urgent challenges of equity, sustainability, and justice in the Anthropocene must prioritize the decolonization of global climate governance and integrate social and ecological accounting into dominant market-based solutions.

Part I: Foundational Principles and Values

This constitution is grounded in principles that address the systemic failures in current climate governance. The following values should form its ethical foundation:

1. **Climate Justice and Historical Responsibility**

Current frameworks strategically displace climate responsibilities from the Global North to the Global South. The principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities has been inverted, placing the mitigation burden on those least responsible for the crisis.

Constitutional Mandate: Reframe climate finance as a matter of justice, not charity. Prioritize direct, non-market-based financial transfers for adaptation, mitigation, and reparations, rather than voluntary or speculative mechanisms.

2. **The Rights of Nature**

The prevailing capitalist/market-based solutions promote "commodification" and "financialization" of nature, reducing complex socio-ecological systems to "natural capital". This transforms forests and their natural resource potential into mere carbon sinks and

monetized carbon credits, being speculated and bargained in financial markets, while depriving their host their source of livelihood and existence.

Constitutional Mandate: Beyond the rights to land, the rights of nature to indigenous communities should be duly acknowledged and respected. Climate action should not warrant transferring these rights to the hands of the same corporate that are destroying the climate.

3. **Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Community Control**

Current climate governance systematically undermines the sovereignty of Global South nations, enabling state capture where governments are reduced to facilitators for foreign investors. Indigenous communities are dispossessed of ancestral lands through legal manipulation that rebrands them as "illegal settlers" and "encroachers".

Constitutional Mandate: The constitution must enshrine the principle of community sovereignty over natural resources, including an absolute right to Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) with genuine veto power over projects affecting their territories. It should support national assertions of resource sovereignty, such as those by Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Tanzania to retain a majority of carbon market revenues.

4. **Epistemic Justice and the Recognition of Indigenous Knowledge**

Despite the recognition of the value of indigenous knowledge in efforts to conserve nature and protect biodiversity, Indigenous and local knowledge systems continue to be devalued, dismissed as unscientific and actively suppressed. Traditional practices are vilified as drivers of deforestation to justify external interventions, while evidence shows Indigenous-managed lands have lower deforestation rates.

Constitutional Mandate: The constitution must recognize Indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge systems as legitimate and essential forms of environmental stewardship. It must protect these knowledge systems from appropriation and ensure their central role in shaping climate policy and action.

By enshrining the principles of historical responsibility, the rights of nature, community sovereignty, and epistemic justice, a 21st century global constitution would constitute the ethical foundation for a truly sustainable, equitable, and just planetary future.

100. Economic Pluralism as a Right: Rethinking Education for a Sustainable Future

Rob Lubberink

"Why is it that children are taught to understand multiple religions, but are seldom introduced to diverse schools of economic thought?"

Introduction

Children are introduced to religion through their family, community, and school. While they may practice a religion and its traditions, they do become familiar with other beliefs. Most schools make their students aware of the diversity of faiths in the world. We don't offer the same experience with regards to economics. In Global North societies, students only learn neoclassical economics (de Muijnck & Tieleman, 2024; Fauser & Kaskel, 2016; The Members of the PEPS-Economie Students' Association, 2014). In fact, prime minister Margaret Thatcher even stated that there is no alternative for liberal capitalism (Bateman, 2002). This lack of alternatives in economics could not have been further from reality as there are many alternatives developed in history and new ones are being developed. Yet, the taken for granted norms and assumptions in neoclassical economics continue to shape our lives, policies, and societies (Bateman, 2002) and its drive for continuous growth in GDP threatens the very planet that sustains us (Kallis et al., 2025).

I stand with those before me, and champion the right of children to explore diverse economic paradigms. Just as schools introduce multiple religions to broaden understanding and foster respect for different worldviews, they should also embrace economic pluralism. Exposing students to a range of economic ideas should not only be for those majoring in it. It is essential for cultivating informed citizens who can challenge assumptions, envision alternatives, and shape economies that lead to a more inclusive and sustainable global society.

The dominance of neoclassical economics

Neoclassical economics remains the predominant economic school of thought that is being taught to students (de Muijnck & Tieleman, 2024). It is structured around the idea of the homo economicus, and underpins theories such as consumer choice, theory of the firm, and welfare theorems (Urbina & Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019). The taken for granted assumptions behind the homo economicus–that individuals are self-interested and rational utility-maximizers–are challenged by alternative economic schools of thought (Urbina & Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019). Despite these critiques, neoclassical economics continues to dominate our curricula and continues its echoes in our lecture halls.

The economic theories have a profound impact on the way we understand and organize our economies, resulting a self-fulfilling prophecy (Bateman, 2002). The claim that people are rational decision makers optimizing utility (Urbina & Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019) also informs the theory of the firm. They are assumed to be profit maximizing organizations (Friedman, n.d.) competing in open markets (Ostrom, 2010). Moreover, it rests on the questionable belief that markets innovate (Mazzucato, 2024) and efficiently allocate resources (Slattery et al., 2013). Consequently, neoclassical economics considers endless growth of the GPD as the North Star of neoliberal capitalism (Kallis et al., 2025). These assumptions promote the false idea of an economy that can grow endlessly and that this growth is necessary for welfare.

Alternative economic schools of thought–behavioral, institutional, feminist, political and ecological–demonstrate that these assumptions actually do not hold (Urbina & Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019). Recent publications actually show that perpetual growth is incompatible with our planetary boundaries and does not actually prevent falling short on the social foundation (Kallis et al., 2025). Therefore, neoclassical economics school and neoliberal capitalism need to make space to pluralism, allowing alternative economic ideas to shape resilient and sustainable futures.

The Case for Economic Pluralism

Students in Paris campaigned for diversification of textbook economics in June 2000. They have sparked a chain-reaction of like-minded student movements, and ultimately the international student initiative for pluralism in economics (ISIPE) (Schweitzer-Krah & Engartner, 2019). Economic pluralism fosters students' critical judgment by enabling them to engage in multiple perspectives (Schweitzer-Krah & Engartner, 2019).

There are a variety of economic schools of thought that have emerged alongside neoclassical economics, such as behavioral, institutional, feminist, ecological, and political economics. Additionally, new approaches are emerging that synthesize these schools of thought (e.g., Doughnut economics) or that draw on Indigenous knowledge and belief systems that shape local economies.

In communities guided by the principles of Ubuntu, local economies stand in sharp contrast to Western individualism (West, 2014), as they are rooted in principles of solidarity and care. Elinor Ostrom's work showed that communities can manage shared resources successfully without intervention by the state or the market. Moreover, economic behavior of individuals is highly context-dependent (Ostrom, 2010), which actually violates the principle of universality on which the idea of the homo economicus is built (Urbina & Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019). Similarly, Buen Vivir, or Sumak Kawsay in Kichwa, is an Andean-Amazonian approach that informs a fulfilled life based on principles of reciprocity and solidarity with more-than-human forms of life (Richter, 2025).

Each of these economic ideas offer valuable insights while coming with their limitations, and they are growing a rich soil of economic ideas for pluralism. A fertile ground for students to develop critical judgment and the ability to shape their future.

Concluding statement

After the student movements since the 1990's, a wide variety of economic schools of emerged alongside neoclassical economics. Yet, neoclassical economics continues to

dominate (de Muijnck & Tieleman, 2024; Reinke, 2023) while alternatives remain to be marginalized and dismissed for their scientific validity (Gräbner & Strunk, 2020). As Bateman states: “Economists are both interpreting the world around them and shaping that world. And as economists’ ideas shape the world, the changes in the world will feed back into their understanding and shape new ideas” (Bateman, 2002, p. 308).

In the face of the current polycrisis (Lawrence et al., 2024) we must embrace critical thinking and engage in multiple perspectives (Schulz et al., 2024) to develop economic ideas that shape the world we want – one that respects the ecological limits of our planet. Therefore, economic pluralism should be recognized as a fundamental right for every student, ensuring access to diverse paradigms in their education. After all, we are all economists now (Raworth, 2018).

Reference list:

Bateman, B. W. (2002). There are Many Alternatives: Margaret Thatcher in the History of Economic Thought. Journal of the History of Economic Thought, 24(3), 307–311. https://doi.org/10.1080/104277102200004758

de Muijnck, & Tieleman. (2024). Dutch Economics Education Review 2024 (foreword by James J. Heckman). https://www.economicseducation.org/dutch-economics-education-review-2024

Fauser, & Kaskel. (2016). Pluralism in economics teaching in Germany–evidence from a new dataset. .

Friedman, M. (n.d.). The Social Responsibility of Business Is to Increase Its Profits. In Corporate Ethics and Corporate Governance (pp. 173–178). Springer Berlin Heidelberg. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-70818-6_14

Gräbner, C., & Strunk, B. (2020). Pluralism in economics: its critiques and their lessons. Journal of Economic Methodology, 27(4), 311–329. https://doi.org/10.1080/1350178X.2020.1824076

Kallis, G., Hickel, J., O’Neill, D. W., Jackson, T., Victor, P. A., Raworth, K., Schor, J. B., Steinberger, J. K., & Ürge-Vorsatz, D. (2025). Post-growth: the science of wellbeing within planetary boundaries. The Lancet Planetary Health, 9(1), e62–e78. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(24)00310-3

Lawrence, M., Homer-Dixon, T., Janzwood, S., Rockström, J., Renn, O., & Donges, J. F. (2024). Global polycrisis: the causal mechanisms of crisis entanglement. Global Sustainability, 7, e6. https://doi.org/10.1017/sus.2024.1

Mazzucato, M. (2024). The inclusive entrepreneurial state: collective wealth creation and distribution. Oxford Open Economics, 3(Supplement_1), i1031–i1039. https://doi.org/10.1093/ooec/odad101

Ostrom, E. (2010). Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems. Transnational Corporations Review, 2(2), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1080/19186444.2010.11658229

Raworth, K. (2018). Doughnut Economics : Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st-Century Economist. Cornerstone.

Reinke, R. (2023). Power structures in economics and society: Some remarks on the future of non-mainstream economics. Journal of Philosophical Economics, Volume XVI(Symposium: Is there a future...). https://doi.org/10.46298/jpe.11130

Richter, K. (2025). Cosmological limits to growth, affective abundance, and Rights of Nature: Insights from Buen Vivir/sumak kawsay for the cultural politics of degrowth. Ecological Economics, 228, 108442. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2024.108442

Schulz, J., Hötte, K., & Mayerhoffer, D. M. (2024). Pluralist economics in an era of polycrisis. Review of Evolutionary Political Economy, 5(2), 201–218. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43253-024-00128-y

Schweitzer-Krah, E., & Engartner, T. (2019). Students' perception of the pluralism debate in economics: Evidence from a quantitative survey among German universities. International Review of Economics Education, 30, 100144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.iree.2018.07.003

Slattery, D., Nellis, J., Josifidis, K., & Losonc, A. (2013). Neoclassical economics: science or neoliberal ideology? European Journal of Economics and Economic Policies: Intervention, 10(3), 313–326. https://doi.org/10.4337/ejeep.2013.03.06

The Members of the PEPS-Economie Students' Association. (2014). The case for pluralism: what French undergraduate economics teaching is all about and how it can be improved. International Journal of Pluralism and Economics Education, 5(4), 385. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJPEE.2014.068320

Urbina, D. A., & Ruiz-Villaverde, A. (2019). A Critical Review of Homo Economicus from Five Approaches. The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 78(1), 63–93. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajes.12258

West, A. (2014). Ubuntu and Business Ethics: Problems, Perspectives and Prospects. Journal of Business Ethics, 121(1), 47–61. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-013-1669-3