

### **5<sup>TH</sup> EDITION OF GREEN ACADEMY:**

# TIPPING POINTS

The word crisis is most central and the common for many of the introductions in the programs that advocate system change. While both environmentalism and political ecology itself have recognised shortcomings of current economic system already in early 1970's, now, few decades later, we face robust manifestations of multiple crisis that unfolds in many more areas of life, penetrating even further in the field of our decisions and power to steer our future. Now, most recent events as emergence of austerity politics, consolidation of economic constitutionalism that goes hand in hand with inclination to authoritarian rule and suspension of democracy indeed present utmost concerning tendencies that are currently challenged only by punctual resistance of social movements accross Europe, still not offering any permanent political alternative. 5<sup>th</sup> edition of Green Academy aims therefore to be one of the places in Europe where streams of scholars, activists, politicians and citizens converge to discuss and frame strategies which can stop race to the bottom fueled by blind and shortsighted ambition for indefinite growth for which price is paid by more and more people, including new generations.

In our program conducted at the European periphery, we aim to explore what are the driving forces that can weaken such destructive and dehumanising agenda, what are the tipping points which need to be reached in order to shake up unsustainable system we are absorbed in. With this ambition, we will therefore engage in conversation with green community, leftist networks and other social movements from different corners of Europe to explore together which ideas contain mobilising impact, appealing narrative and virulent power to stop race to the bottom and decouple our lives from adverse impacts of unsustainable system that creates more inequalites and shrinks room for our political participation.

With three modules addressing degrowth, commons and climate justice both through theoretical concepts and social mobilisations we will aim to develop components of political agenda that can strengthen oppositions to dehumanising hegemonic powers and invite people for bold and emancipatory political actions against democratic suspension. Presence of different networks, actors and communities that more and more easily can recognise need for common and collective action will hopefully be beneficial for our joint efforts.



### **COMMONS**

### Relationship between commons and state(s)

Commons is a concept which was launched into mainstream science and policy by American political scientist Elinor Claire Ostrom who for this received the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in 2009. From the early 1970s with her colleagues she studied hundreds of local communities which successfully governed natural common-pool resources like forests, fisheries and pastures without the interference of both state and market. She showed how instead of government regulation on one side or privatisation of property on the other, number of communities independently succeeded to design their own rules/institutions to self-govern these resources in order not to overuse them. For Ostrom crucial condition that individuals as members of these communities achieve this personal and collective benefit is ability to communicate and sufficient level of trust.

Commons are defined in many ways by various authors but most of them consider it a distinct social practice in governing of resource by community of its users through different institutional arrangements. Three key elements here are: resource, governance regime and community. Even though the concept was used in beginning only for natural resources which refer to traditional land commons from Middle Ages in Europe to contemporary ecological common-pool resources analysed by Ostrom, the concept of commons is now also used for social and non-material resources like knowledge which refer to modern commons, for example digital commons. Element of governance regime points to various rules which are designed by users and which are different from one commons to another but Ostrom believed that all successful commons share some universal principles for design of these rules. Community is another important element as there is no commons without active role of commoners or people who co-produce, re-produce and take care of commons. To what extent are commoners a part of community and what binds them together is still a matter of theoretical and empirical debate.

Commons is first of all a scientific and analytical concept used for empirical research of existing practices, but it is also a policy concept for those who aim to create or enhance commons through institutional design which was also goal of Ostrom. However, commons are lately becoming widely used as political concept by various actors of the Green and Left spectrum who oppose on one side the neoliberal policies of privatisation of various natural and social resources and on the other side criticise etatisation of resources for the benefits of corrupted elites within neoliberal state. This is rather normative use of the commons concept as progressive but then some normative criteria related to resource are often added like fair access, collective control and sustainable use which means that commons is inherently contested concept. Nevertheless, because of its radical democratic appeal that resources should be governed by its users and unifying nature of the concept as it transcends differences between social and environmental struggles, the commons became common ground for various progressive social movements fighting against market fundamentalism and state paternalism.

However, pure commons are difficult to find within modern societies as there is always some degree of influence by the market and the state. One set of questions arises on what is the relationship between commons and markets but in this module we want to explore on what is the relationship between commons and "the state" on theoretical level and

"states" on empirical level. Even if commons sphere is to be enhanced, the state seems here to stay in near future and will not "wither away" so soon. This begs the question of what to do with the state and if it can be used for support towards commons or at least prevented to hinder the commons. There is a large number of examples where states actively destroyed or enclosed commons but also a growing number of examples where states developed enhancing frameworks for commons to prosper. Also the border between the state and commons is becoming in practice blurrier as there are new experiments with hybrid forms of commons and public governance through state-community partnerships.

Theories of the state differ and there is even debate if there could be a general theory of the state. One has to have a clear understanding of what state is and where the state begins and ends before exploring relationship with the commons. There are also important debates about the nature and role of the state with liberal and Marxist answers to that questions. Critical theory does not see state as a neutral entity but rather as instrument of the upper class although there is a disagreement if there is some autonomy of the state apparatus in serving this class interests. If there are contradictions within capitalist state perhaps there are cracks to be used for transformation of the state. State which would be supportive towards commons or even to transform the state through concept of commons to diffuse its power relations through participation of users in different public services and various mechanisms of social control of the state apparatus by local communities. There is a long history of attempts and failures to do so but perhaps some conclusions can be made to progress forward if any agency is possible. This also invokes the old debate on the Left if one should transform society from "outside of the state" or state power should be first captured to make deep social transformation.

Many on the Green and Left remain sceptical towards the state for achieving systemic changes towards ecological and social justice and would rather decrease its scope or even dismantle it. Looking at the issues like climate change which will further more increase global and local, environmental and social injustice because of unequal distribution of hazards between and within societies, it is difficult to imagine coordination and redistribution needed to address these problems without some role of states. This however cannot be existing states as it is not only markets that failed to solve issues like climate change but it is also states which failed. Commons probably can't replace states but can perhaps provide ideas on how to transform them to replace both old paternalistic state and new public management state so citizens are not clients nor customers but participants.

Exploring the relationship between commons and state(s) should be informative for participants of Green Academy who seek through research, activism or other social engagement to transform both the state and commons towards progressive ends. Objective of the module is also geographical contextualisation in order to see how theories of the commons and theories of the state apply to context of Balkans and wider European semi-periphery including Southern Europe and Central Eastern Europe. To be able to achieve this, participants are invited to steer lecturers towards regional context and participate in debate about applicability of these concepts for their local work. Finally, participants are invited to contribute to empirical part by giving local successful and unsuccessful examples related to relationship between commons and states.



### **CLIMATE JUSTICE**

It was 2014 IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) which unanimously stated that man was the cause of global warming, but that the rise of greenhouse gas emissions has over the decades been dominantly driven by contributions related to economic growth. Ever since 1992, governments of the world have been trying to come up with a global binding agreement on sufficient reduction in greenhouse gas emissions in order to alleviate climate change, together with the measures of adaptation.

Political ecology recognizes that climate change and other ecological problems are inequitably manifested in space, so that the consequences of climate change will be the worst in countries of the global South, which historically the least contributed to the problem. Moreover, climate change and other problems of ecology magnify existing social inequalities; hence they it will be the poorest, powerless and the most vulnerable social groups who will be most affected, although – once again – those groups through their consumption usually contribute the least to the problem. Solutions to climate change problems can be approached either technically, by ignoring historical injustice among countries and social injustice within countries, or based on the concept of climate justice in the distribution of the burden for alleviating climate change and resources for adaptation to it, namely the position advocated by numerous green organisations in Europe and the world. Very often environmental costs of development and social inequality have recently been on the rise, expropriating the natural systems resources from developing nation and future generations. At the same time, inequality in access to benefits of this expropriation is dividing and incapacitating society to change.

Some of the lectures and debates we will present illustrate how climate change impacts are fundamentally intertwined with large spectrum of increasing inequalities of wealth, power and resilience. They also unfold us how dominating economic models are marked with unsustainable modes of production and consumption.

In the module on climate justice we will depart from climate science and focus on material and natural basis that is posing limits to growth, followed further with scientific explanations which can improve conditions to decrease inequalities and assist the poorest and most vulnerable. Cases from Latin America will demonstrate us how exctractivism is linked to climate change and what bilance of COP negotiations we can achieve for climate justice. International movement for climate justice and their actions will be presented as transnational struggle that is evidently opposing to short term and growth driven agendas behind negotiations. Last but not least, cases of climate migration will be presented to demonstrate how deeply our lifes are transformed by climate change and how absence of justice is deepening and widening magnitude of the problem. In our discussion we hope that both rich expertise and relevant activist experience of our speakers will find fertile ground in framing demands and strategies that can strengthen this international movement and gain more rooted understanding in activist and epistemic communities.





### **DEGROWTH**

### **Module lecture and workshop**

Degrowth today marks both a social movement and a conceptual framework within which to repoliticize the discussion of desirable development. This discussion is lately oversaturated with the idiom of economism, a focus on the particularly calculated economic outcome of every strategy or normative societal orientation. Economism overshadows vulnerability of nature, aims for permanence, mutual aid and care, and creativity and revolutionary potential of grassroots communities. The degrowth social movement and degrowth theory are two dimensions of an intellectual attempt to reinterpret the fundamentally unsustainable condition of the contemporary global society, in order to break out of the bounds of wicked problems of environmental limits and their morally ignoble accompanying Malthusianism.

Whilst accepting that environmental foundations can't be easily technologically transcended and ignored without consequences for highly interconnected global humanity, and particularly its most vulnerable members, degrowth seeks to construct an alternative imaginary to the hegemonic development based on growth and economism. This imaginary, a conceptual framework for description and explanation of what is happening to the world today, and what we may realistically hope for from the world of tomorrow, is an intellectual instrument for a radical grassroots-supported turn to sustainability, without writing anyone off as maladjusted, overpopulated or underdeveloped.

Degrowth is sincere about exploration of sustainability that is both physically and socially acceptable, a sustainability that provides sufficient food and energy for everyone on the planet, but also a sustainability compatible with a decent human life. As an intellectual current and a social movement, degrowth already gathers a significant intellectual and activist production, elaborating on topics such as the environmental and social limits of the modern economic growth, alternative strategies to modernist development, deepening of democracy at different levels of social organisation, social role of contemporary science and technology, necessity of evolution out of global capitalism, potentials and impacts of institutional innovations such as the universal basic income, solidary economies and alternative currencies. In the specific module on degrowth we will present the foundational thinking behind some of these concepts in order to facilitate their inclusion in and ease of understanding in the plenary sessions of the Green Academy programme.

Inclusion of degrowth as an Academy module connects both to the presence of the 5th International Degrowth Conference 'next-door', in Budapest; and to the connections between degrowth and the transformative potential of the European periphery. Degrowth in itself is a relatively recent theoretical framework, with some novel vocabulary and anti-dogmatic demands from our ingrained conceptualisation of a better future. The imperative of economic growth presents the unquestionable dogma of our era, an axiom in every elaboration of satisfaction of material wants and social needs, supported by experts and laypeople alike.

Degrowth, as a name and concept, deliberately plays on the shock-value of challenging this secular dogma, serves as a missile concept, in order to open up a conversation about what a planet of 9 billion can and should provide for humans and other ecosystems

alike. To facilitate a breakout out of the mould of present dogmatism, degrowth needed to expand the standard vocabulary within which understanding of wellbeing, prosperity, future and development is constructed. The module readings and lecture will cover some of these key concepts with which to expand the discussion of what a strategic choice for the future may bring.

The foundational theses of degrowth are that growth is uneconomic and unjust, that it is ecologically unsustainable and that it can't structurally provide enough for everybody anyway. Moreover, growth is likely to be coming to an end as it encounters external and internal limits within this century. Degrowth signifies, first and foremost, an intellectual critique of growth and the associated strategies of emancipation, alleviation of suffering and good life foundationally based on the necessity of growth. It calls for the abolishment of economic growth as the dominant social objective. Beyond that, degrowth also signifies a desired direction, one in which societies will use fewer natural resources and will organize and live differently than today. 'Sharing', 'simplicity', 'conviviality', 'care' and the 'commons' are primary significations of what this society might look like.

But, as we shall see throughout the Academy, degrowth is not the same as negative GDP growth. It is not dedicated to the elucidation of policies focused primarily on such a GDP reduction, as that would be to stay in the thralls to economism nonetheless. Still, a reduction of GDP, as currently counted, is a likely outcome of actions promoted in the name of degrowth. A green, caring and communal economy is likely to secure the good life, but unlikely to lead to measureable economic activity as dominantly defined today increasing at a rate of 2% to 3% per year. Degrowth thinkers then seriously question and research how the inevitable and desirable decrease of GDP can become socially sustainable, given that under capitalism, economies tend to either grow or collapse.

Throughout the module we will cover the conceptual foundations of the degrowth thinking in political ecology, antiutilitarianism and global environmental justice; whilst providing a deeper understanding of societal metabolism, post-development, bioeconomics and emergy. We will also cover the critiques of capitalism and social limits of growth, and elucidate the connections between degrowth and more familiar topics such as unions and job guarantee. Finally, the module will survey the regional connections to degrowth thinking, through the lessons of historical socialism, current semiperipheral position, results of comparative research on attitudes and behaviours of contemporary European populations and the case-studies of some degrowth-practices in Croatia. These topics will in particular equip the participants to take an active role in the Budapest Degrowth conference with its special emphasis on cutting-edge degrowth research findings and regional contextualisation.









# **MLADEN DOMAZET**

Dr Mladen Domazet, graduated in Physics and Philosophy from the University of Oxford and completed a doctorate in Philosophy of Science at the University of Zagreb. His research interest currently focuses on scientific explanation, and degrowth-compatible explanatory frameworks and social attitudes. His publications reflect a diversity of interdisciplinary interests and collaborations, from analysis of Wikipedias as complex networks, through encyclopaedic contributions to Croatian philosophy lexicon and comparative research in educational curricula, to recent research publications on sustainability and degrowth.

# **VEDRAN HORVAT**

Vedran Horvat is sociologist, journalist, author and activist from Croatia. He is managing director of Institute for Political Ecology (IPE) since 2015. He graduted sociology at University of Zagreb and obtained his M.A. degree at European Regional Master for Human Rights and Democratisation. From 2005 to 2015 he worked as country director of German green political foundation, Heinrich Böll Stiftung. Earlier in his career he worked as a journalist for national daily and political newspaper Vjesnik and international media, covering politics, science, society with focus on human rights and environmental protection. He is national correspondent for the Green European Journal and acts as member of the Managing Board in the National Foundation for the Civil Society Development. Since early 2000's he has been regularly publishing, speaking and organising events related to ecological justice issues, environmental rights and climate change.

# **TOMISLAV TOMAŠEVIĆ**

Tomislav Tomasevic works as Program Director of the newly established Institute for Political Ecology which is a think-tank that aims to connect environmental and social justice through research and advocacy. Tomislav has BA and MA in political science from the University of Zagreb and MPhil in environment, society and development from the University of Cambridge. He was involved in youth, environmental and urban movements in Croatia and Balkans for the past 15 years. Among other roles Tomislav was the executive president of Croatian Youth Network, executive president of Friends of the Earth Croatia and one of the leaders of the Right to the City urban movement in Zagreb. He was also active in global youth movement for sustainable development and was Youth Advisor for Europe to the United Nations Environment Programme



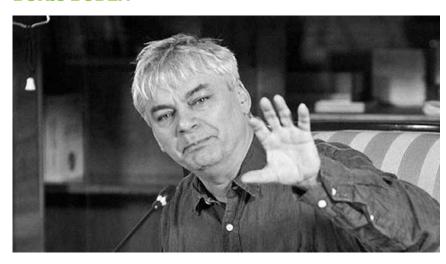




### **OPENING DISCUSSION**

**TIPPING POINTS: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN AND WHO?** 

# **BORIS BUDEN**



Boris Buden is a writer and cultural critic based in Berlin. In the 1990s he worked as editor in the magazine Arkzin in Zagreb. Buden teaches cultural theory at Faculty of Art and Design, Bauhaus-University Weimar. Among his recent books is Zone des Übergangs: Vom Ende des Postkommunismus (Zone of Transition: On the End of Post-communism), Suhrkamp 2009

### **OPENING DISCUSSION**

**TIPPING POINTS: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN AND WHO?** 

# **LORENZO MARSILI**



Lorenzo Marsili is one of the initiators of DiEM25 and the co-founder of European Alternatives. He is the host of nomadic talkshow Talk Real and was the initiator of the European Initiative for Media Pluralism, an international ECI campaign demanding better protection for media freedom. A long-time student of China, he initiated a multi-year cultural exchange programme between China, Brazil and Europe, Transnational Dialogues. He has previously worked in publishing and was founding editor of Naked Punch magazine. He has degrees in philosophy, sociology, and Chinese studies from the University of London, and is an active writer, commentator and public speaker. He tweets @l\_marsili.

### **OPENING DISCUSSION**

### **TIPPING POINTS: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN AND WHO?**

# **MARIJA BARTL**



Marija is assistant professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Amsterdam and a senior researcher in the project 'The Architecture of Post-National Rulemaking'. She wrote her PhD thesis 'Legitimacy and European Private Law' at the European University Institute in Florence. In July 2015, Marija was awarded a personal research grant VENI by the Dutch Grant Authority (NWO) for her project titled 'BRINGING DEMOCRACY TO MARKETS: TTIP AND THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE IN POSTNATIONAL GOVERNANCE'. In this project, Marija addresses the relation between democracy and market integration on the background of the current trade negotiations between the EU and the US.

### **OPENING DISCUSSION**

### **TIPPING POINTS: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN AND WHO?**

# **DEJAN JOVIĆ**



Dejan Jović is Professor of International Relations and Head of Department of IR and Security Studies at Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb. He is author of "Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away" (Purdue University Press, 2009) and editor of several other books on theories of international relations. He is Editor-in-Chief of Croatian Political Science Review. He is currently also Visiting Professor at University of Belgrade. Professor Jović's main area of expertise is Yugoslavia and post-Yugoslav states. He received his PhD at London School of Economics, and worked as Lecturer at University of Stirling (Scotland, UK) before returning to Zagreb in 2010. Professor Jović was Chief Political Analyst and Advisor to President of Croatia in 2010-2014.





### **OPENING DISCUSSION**

### **TIPPING POINTS: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN AND WHO?**

# **CARLOS DELCLOS**



Carlos Delclós is a sociologist and activist. He received his PhD in sociology from Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, and his research interests include social stratification, urban studies, migration, demography, and social change. His work has appeared in media outlets such as Cadena SER, Radio Nacional de España, ElDiario.es, and openDemocracy. Delclós collaborates with the Health Inequalities Research Group at Pompeu Fabra University and is an editor at Roar Magazine.

### **OPENING DISCUSSION**

### TIPPING POINTS: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN AND WHO?

# **GALA PIN**



Gala is a Councillor of the City of Barcelona, district of Ciutat Vella, for Barcelona en Comú, and Councillor of Participation and Districts. A philosopher, she has worked for the third sector and is a specialist in digital communications. Gala has been an activist for open software and network freedom, and the implementation of techno political practices and digital democracy. She was a member in the 15M movement in Barcelona for rights to the city and rights to housing, and the anti-evictions struggle through the PAH platform (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca). She has been active in the local movements of La Barceloneta neighborhood participating in the recovery of the cooperative memory, the defense of a citizen port, and the movement against predatory tourism.

### Tipping points, what, where, when and who?

This initial debate will try to provide broader context for the overall program of the Academy and focus on variety of disruptive manifestations and disintegrative processes across Europe from increasing right wing populism and rise of authoritarian rule to top down economic constitutionalism through arrangements like TTIP and CETA. While these manifestations often occur as disconnected, at deeper levels they are driven by same or similar driving forces that weaken transformative potential of societies to develop more sustainable and equal scenarios beneficial for all. Speakers will aim to identify both actors and situations that might offer an opportunity to counter these tendencies at local, national or European level within the next few years.



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\_09:30 REGISTRATION

\_10:00 PROGRAM PRESENTATION BY ORGANIZERS

\_11:00 BREAK

\_11:30 / MODULE A - COMMONS

IOHN CLARKE

WELFARE STATE AND THE COMMONS:

CONFLICTS AND CONTRADICTIONS

MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE

BRANNON ANDERSEN,

CLIMATE CHANGE BETWEEN NATURE AND SOCIETY

MODUL C - DEGROWTH

JOAN MARTINEZ ALIER,

POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND DEGROWTH

\_13:00 LUNCH BREAK

\_14:00 - 17:00 BREAK

\_17:00 MODULE A - COMMONS

ABLO/SOLON.

LOGIC OF THE STATE POWER: EXAMPLE OF BOLIVIA

MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE

LUČKA KAJFEŽ BOGATAJ,

CLIMATE SCIENCE AND WHAT IT CAN DO FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE?

MODULE C - DEGROWTH

UL/RICH BRAND, SOCIAL LIMITS OF GROWTH

JOINT PHOTO

\_18:30 DINNER

\_20:00 EVENING DISCUSSION

NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES

PARTICIPATING:

GIOVANNI ALLEGRETI, RENATA AVILA, GORAN JERAS

ROBERT PASICKO, HILLARY WAINWRIGHT

### **MODULE A - COMMONS**

### **HEORY OF THE STATE**

# **JOHN CLARKE**



John Clarke is an Emeritus Professor at the UK's Open University, where he worked for over 35 years before retiring. He undertook postgraduate work at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1970s before teaching and researching around a range of topics including welfare states, citizenship, public service reform and the impacts of managerialism and consumerism. He has recently been working on the politics and policies of Austerity. His most recent publications include: Making Policy Move: Towards a politics of translation and assemblage (with Dave Bainton, Noémi Lendvai and Paul Stubbs; Policy Press, 2015) and Disputing Citizenship (with Kathy Coll, Evelina Dagnino and Catherine Neveu, Policy Press, 2014).

# Contesting the Social? Reimagining Welfare and the Commons

Recently there have been discussions about rethinking social protection or social welfare as part of the commons (Mestrum, 2015; Wiiliams, 2015). I want to contribute to these discussions by looking again at welfare states and considering the political implications of viewing them as conflictual, contradictory and conjunctural formations.

Welfare has historically been the outcome of contending social forces, including demands from a variety of social movements, and it has been both progressive and compromised as a result. States have similarly been both a means of enacting social protection and progress and a machinery of disciplinary power. Such contradictions, and the politics that they embody, suggest both possibilities and problems for attempts to rethink welfare as part of the commons.

I will pose some questions about these possibilities and problems: Can welfare be reimagined beyond its disciplinary constraints? Can states be re-inscribed as progressive forces? These challenges to political imagination are crucial to any move to transform the 'social commons'. In that process, what 'social' do we seek to create?





### **MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE**

### **CLIMATE CHANGE BETWEEN NATURE AND SOCIETY**

# **BRANNON ANDERSEN**



Prof. Brannon Andersen is professor and chair of Earth and Environmental Sciences and affiliate faculty member of the Shi Institute for Sustainability at Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina, as well as an adjunct professor in the School of the Environment at Clemson University in Clemson, South Carolina. Prof. Andersen's scholarly work focuses on understanding the nature of the human relationship with planet Earth, from perspectives of both environmental transformation and achieving sustainability. He holds degrees in geology from Texas A&M University (B.S.), Miami University in Ohio (M.S.), and Syracuse University in New York (Ph.D.). He has held the Henry and Ellen Townes Chair of Science at Furman University (1998-2000), was named a South Carolina Independent Colleges and Universities Teacher of Excellence (2008), a Howard Hughes Medical Institute Distinguished Undergraduate Research Mentor (2010), and an Academic Council Member of the Institute of Political Ecology, Zagreg, Croatia (2015). For the 2014/2015 academic year, he was a Fulbright Scholar and Visiting Professor in the Dept. of Ecology, Agronomy, and Aquaculture at the University of Zadar, Croatia. He is co-author of over 25 journal articles/book chapters and over 110 abstracts, and has been awarded over \$2.3 million dollars in external grants.

### **MODUL C - DEGROWTH**

### **POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND DEGROWTH**

# **JOAN MARTINEZ ALIER**



Joan Martinez-Alier, emeritus professor Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador. Senior researcher at ICTA-UAB, where he directs the EnvJustice Project (2016-21) funded by an ERC Advanced Grant, and is co-director of the EJAtlas (www. ejatlas.org). Member of the collective Research & Degrowth. Founding member and past president of the International Society for Ecological Economics. Editor of the journal Ecología Política since 1990. Author of Ecological Economics: Energy, Environment and Society (1987) and The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation (2002). Co-editor of the textbook Ecological Economics from the Ground Up (2012) and the Handbook of Ecological Economics (2015).





### **MODULE A - COMMONS**

### **LOGIC OF THE STATE POWER: EXAMPLE OF BOLIVIA**

# **PABLO SOLON**



Pablo Solón is a social activist, an analyst and a researcher on the issues of systemic alternatives, climate change, water, the rights of Mother Earth, trade agreements and integration processes.

Pablo Solón served as Ambassador of the Plurinational State of Bolivia to the United Nations from January 2009 to June 2011. As Ambassador to the UN, Solón spearheaded successful resolutions on the Human Right to Water, International Mother Earth Day and Harmony with Nature. He was the chief negotiator for Climate Change of Bolivia and helped organize the World People's Conference on Climate Change and Mother Earth Rights in 2010.

Between 2002 and 2008 he was Ambassador for issues concerning Integration and Trade. He was Secretary Pro Tempore of UNASUR [Union of South American Nations] during Bolivia's Pro Temporary presidency (December 2006 – May 2008).

He was the Executive Director of Focus on the Global South in Asia and currently is the Executive Director of Fundacion Solon, an institution was created to preserve and promote the artwork and thoughts of his father, Walter Solón Romero, a renowned Bolivian muralist and social artist.

### Logic of The State Power: Example of Bolivia

What has happened with the process of change in Bolivia? Why has a government that began with proclaiming the need to overcome export-oriented extractivism and respecting nature has ended up reinforcing extractivism and left the rights of mother earth to pure rhetoric?

Progressive movements and leaders wanted to take state power structures to transform society and state power itself. But State power is not a space that can be reshaped according to the will of those that capture power.

Contemporary state power structures have their own logic, their own dynamic that transcend its origins from left or right wing forces. Power as capital is a process that requires constant expansion to reproduce itself. The logic of power and the logic of capital tend to grow without limits, controlling more and new spheres within state structures and society.

Different revolutionary and progressive processes during the last century have been the result of varied forms of transformation (war, insurrections, armed struggles, electoral vote, social mobilization, negotiations, etc.) and their achievements have been significant in many cases (independence, overthrowing of dictatorships, nationalizations, agrarian reforms, expansion of civil and political rights to black and indigenous peoples, constitutional reforms, etc.). However, all the governments that emerged from these experiences -after a period of confrontation with reactionary forces - have been captured by the logic of power that puts in the first place the continuation in power rather than the deepening of the process of transformation at all levels.





### **MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE**

### **CLIMATE SCIENCE AND WHAT IT CAN DO FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE?**

# **LUČKA KAJFEŽ BOGATAJ**



Lučka Kajfež Bogataj is professor for climatology at the University of Ljubljana. Her current research includes biometeorology, climate change scenarios and impacts on ecosystems. She served as vice-chair of the Working Group 2 Fourth Assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and was one of the review editors of IPCC AR5. She was also a member of GCOS (Global climate observation system) Steering Committee at WMO acting as a link between GCOS and IPCC and is a member of GWP (Global Water Partnership) Steering Committee.

### Climate Science and what it can do for Climate Justice

For the last decade climate science has developed ethical component in addition to a political and environmental one. Climate change science has shown clearly that some people, groups or states carry an unfair burden in suffering the negative consequences of climate change to the course of which they have made little or no contribution. Science has also tried to determine exactly what is unjust in the distribution of the benefits of actions that cause climate change. Scientists also warn, that climate change has the potential to bring about conflict mobilized by the quest for scarce resources and that the need for an ethical approach is therefore compelling. Climate change science facts, measurements, modelling and provide us with an opportunity to rethink issues of responsibility and accountability; human dignity, national interests and identity and international cooperation and decision-making. The message from science is very clear: climate action is essential to ensure a future with less climate impacts, less warming, and more equity.

### **MODULE C - DEGROWTH**

### **ULRICH BRAND, SOCIAL LIMITS OF GROWTH**

# **ULRICH BRAND**



Ulrich Brand, political scientist, university professor of International Politics at University of Vienna. Brand is focused on critical approach to political economy behind capitalist globalisation, resource and environmental policy and Latin Amerika. Since emergence of financial crisis he also got involved in research on socio-ecological transformation. From 2012 to 2014 he was head of the Institute for Political Sciences at University of Vienna.

# Growth and Domination Shortcomings of the (De-)Growth Debate

The growth critical debate could be more fertile if economic growth were considered more carefully in its connection with the ruling capitalist and patriarchal modes of production and living. In this way, we can understand economic growth as a social relation which is intrinsically linked to societal domination and, hence, reproduces social structures. Moreover, societal domination is the basis of unsustainable societal nature relations. After a quick overview of the debate, my argument is developed with reference to feminist and (neo-)Marxist debates as well as linking to insights from political ecology. Democracy, I conclude, is absent or merely mentioned in contributions to the growth critical debate. This is surprising, since democracy is the precondition for a society which is liberated from the compulsion of capitalist economic growth with all its implications for social dynamics and structures as well as societal nature relations.





### **NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES**

# **GIOVANNI ALLEGRETI**



Giovanni (Aldo Luigi) Allegretti is an architect, planner and senior researcher at the Centre for Social Studies of the Coimbra University, Portugal. Here he is among the directors of the Ph.D "Democracy in the XXI century" and he coordinates the "PEOPLEs' Observatory: Participation, Innovation and Local Powers". He is a member of the Working Group "DECIDe" at CES, being part of the coordination board. Since 2001, he has been assistant professor in Town Management at the University of Florence, where he got his Ph.D in Town, Territorial and Environmental Planning. Since January 2008 he coordinated the scientific training of the EQUAL-funded project "Participatory Budgeting in Portugal" which trained more than 600 local authorities and municipal technicians in Portugal on the issue of Participatory Budget. On behalf of its department, dr. Allegretti is also a member of several international organisations whose aim is to promote networking among 'best practices' of urban participatory management (Committee for Participatory Democracy and Social Inclusion of UCLG and OIDP - International Observatory on Participatory Democracy). He is member of the Standing Group on "Democratic Innovations" in the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR). At present, he has been appointed as co-chair of the Independent Authority for Promoting Participation (APP) of the Tuscany Region (Italy), for the mandate 2014-2019. He is a member of the Academic Council of the Institute for Political Ecology (IPE) in Zaghreb, Croatia, and ofthe do Scientific Council of the PhD in Public Policies at IUAV University, Venice.

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### **NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES**

# **BARB JACOBSON**



Barb Jacobson is co-ordinator of Basic Income UK and on the board of Unconditional Basic Income Europe, a network of organisations and activists in 25 countries. She is also an advice worker at a small central London charity which helps people with benefits, housing, and debt. She has been active in community organising since 1982.





### **NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES**

# **GORAN JERAS**



Goran Jeras works as a Cooperative Manager in the Cooperative for ethical financing in Zagreb, Croatia. Cooperative for ethical financing is financial cooperative whose main task is setting up of a new ethical bank in Croatia as an integrak part of creatine a new open-source collaborative banking and economic model designed to use resources of the cooperative members to minimize risks and maximize added value distributed to the local community in a sustainable and socialy inclusive way.

Prior to this he was living in The Netherlands for 7 years and was working as consultant for Yellowtail BV, Dutch consulting company active in the financial sector as well as Chief Product Officer for Cloudbilling BV, innovative cloud based online invoicing company. During his working career in The Netherlands Goran has gained experience in software architecture for complex high-load, high-demand IT systems and risk management in large international banks and insurance companies.

Goran is involved in work of many Croatian organizations dealing with social economy, human and workers rights and philanthrophy. Since 2015 Goran is a member of GECES - European Commission's Expert Group on Social Entrepreneurship and Social Economy and since 2016 Fellow of German Marshall Memorial Fund.

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### **NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES**

# **HILLARY WAINWRIGHT**



Hilary Wainwright is a leading researcher and writer on the emergence of new forms of democratic accountability within parties, movements and the state. She is the driving force and editor behind Red Pepper, a popular British new left magazine, and has documented countless examples of resurgent democratic movements from Brazil to Britain and the lessons they provide for progressive politics.

As well as TNI fellow, she is also Senior Research Associate at the International Centre for Participation Studies at the Department for Peace Studies, University of Bradford, UK and Senior Research Associate at International Centre for Participation Studies', Bradford University. She has also been a visiting Professor and Scholar at the University of California, Los Angeles; Havens Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison and Todai University, Tokyo. Her books include Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy (Verso/TNI, 2003) and Arguments for a New Left: Answering the Free Market Right (Blackwell, 1993). Wainwright founded the Popular Planning Unit of the Greater London Council during the Thatcher years, and was convenor of the new economics working group of the HelsinkiCitizens' Assembly from 1989 to 1994.





### **NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES**

# **ROBERT PAŠIČKO**



Robert is crazy about testing new things, and thinking how it could help to improve people's lives. He is mostly active on crowdfunding, cooperatives and alternative finance models, namely crowdfunding for renewable energy and reducing energy poverty with innovations. He works as a Team Leader for Low Carbon Development at UNDP Croatia, and as a member of UNDP Alternative Finance Lab for Development, supports a number of projects across Europe and Central Asia.

He cofounded Crowdfunding Academy (www.crowdfundingacademy.eu) and with his team helped to develop 25 + crowdfunding campaigns worldwide. Working motto is: innovation in financing and energy use are the best chance we have to avoid climate disasters and lead us to sustainable development. He holds a PhD in energy and environment field.

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### **NEW ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGIES**

# **VLADIMIR CVIJANOVIĆ**



Vladimir is an economist with a doctorate from Goethe University Frankfurt working in Brussels as an independent researcher and consultant in the field of public policy. He is one of the general editors of the book series 'Socio-Economic Perspectives in South-Eastern Europe' with an academic publisher Peter Lang and an author at makroskop. eu, magazine on economics and politics. His main areas of interest include comparative political economy, economics of innovation, sustainable development, and South East Europe.

### New economic alternatives and their political strategies

This evening debate aim to present some of the most distinctive and occasionally successful concepts and experiments that can compose different configuration of current economic system in some of its functionalities. From peer to peer production and participatory budgeting to ethical banking and crowdfunding there are many developing practices that produced localized successes or attract more and more visibility and support. We will aim to develop discussion about their inter-relations, ideologies behind them and about the risks which are identified so far. Particularly we will focus on political strategies of these economic models and their protagonists to maintain their independence, to resist to competition or co-optation into existing unsustainable economic models. Where possible, discussion will also aim to present in which ways and to what extent they actually can substitute some of the unsustainable or detrimental functions of prevailing economic system.





\_09:30 INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

DEREK WALL,

COMMONS AND GREEN POLITICS

\_11:00 BREAK

11:30 MODULE A - COMMONS

MICHEL BAUWENS, CONCEPT OF THE PARTNER STATE

MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE

PABLO SOLON,

CLIMATE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR BALANCE

MODULE C - DEGROWTH

BRANNON ANDERSEN,

ENVIRONMEN₹AL LIMITS TO GROWTH

\_13:00 LUNCH BREAK

\_14:00 - 17:00 BREAK

\_17:00 MODULE A, B, C
GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CONVENORS

\_18:30/ DINNER

\_20,000 EVENING DISCUSSION

PROTESTS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES – VOICES FROM EUROPEAN PERIPHERY

SPEAKERS:

DANIJELA DOLENEC, FILIP BALUNOVIĆ, FELIPE G. GIL

# **DEREK WALL**



Derek Wall is the International Coordinator of the Green Party of England and Wales. He joined the Green Party in 1980, when it was known as the Ecology Party. He was Principal Speaker of the Green Party between 2005-2007 and is a local councillor in Winkfield, Berkshire. He has had eleven books on green politics published. Derek teaches New Radical Political Economy at Goldsmiths College, University of London. His main academic interest is in the work of Elinor Ostrom, the only woman so far to win a Nobel Prize for economics, for her work on commons (collective forms of ownership). His books on commons include The Commons in History (MIT 2014) and The Sustainable Economics of Elinor Ostrom (Routledge 2014). He is also a founder member of Green Left and the Ecosocialist International Network. As a patron of Peace in Kurdistan and works closely with Kurdish activists in the UK.

### Elinor Ostrom and Green Politics.

In 2009 Professor Elinor Ostrom became the first woman to win a Nobel Prize for Economics. Her work is about green economics and green politics. She won the Prize for her book Governing the Commons, which showed how collective ownership could be used to promote conservation and ecological use of land and seas. Her work focused the politics and economics of resource conservation.

Her commitment to feminist values and diversity and her believe in radical democracy are also inspiring. Her contribution to green politics is both thought provoking of great practical value

# **MICHEL BAUWENS**



### Concept of the partner state

McKenzie Wark calls Kojin Karatani's The Structure of World History (Duke University Press, 2014) "an astonishing work of synthetic historical theory". It's premise is that humans allocate resources using different modalities that have always co-existed, but in different configurations. This allows us to look at social change not as a change in mode of productions that then overdetermine the superstructures, but as reconfigurations between the four modalities of pooling (mutualization, the commons), gift-based reciprocity, the market (capitalist or not), and the state ('rule and protect', 'plunder and redistribute'). The re-emergence of commoning as a central feature of both capitalist extractivism and commons-based collaborative economies, invites to reconsider social change strategies based on reconfiguring the mutual relations of the different modalities. This has been the core practice of the commons transition strategies developed by grassroots economic coalitions and their 'transvestment' strategies (i.e. striving for 'value sovereignty' by disciplining value originating from the other modalities to the needs and demands of the commoners), which aim to subsume the state and market functions to the logic of the commons, through partner state practices and generative market forms. In this presentation, we will move from the micro-economic experience of p2p phyles (economic eco-systems at the service of the commons) to the potential for a full macrosocietal strategy for social change.



### **MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE**

### **CLIMATE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR BILANCE**

# **PABLO SOLON**



Pablo Solón is a social activist, an analyst and a researcher on the issues of systemic alternatives, climate change, water, the rights of Mother Earth, trade agreements and integration processes.

Pablo Solón served as Ambassador of the Plurinational State of Bolivia to the United Nations from January 2009 to June 2011. As Ambassador to the UN, Solón spearheaded successful resolutions on the Human Right to Water, International Mother Earth Day and Harmony with Nature. He was the chief negotiator for Climate Change of Bolivia and helped organize the World People's Conference on Climate Change and Mother Earth Rights in 2010.

Between 2002 and 2008 he was Ambassador for issues concerning Integration and Trade. He was Secretary Pro Tempore of UNASUR [Union of South American Nations] during Bolivia's Pro Temporary presidency (December 2006 – May 2008).

He was the Executive Director of Focus on the Global South in Asia and currently is the Executive Director of Fundacion Solon, an institution was created to preserve and promote the artwork and thoughts of his father, Walter Solón Romero, a renowned Bolivian muralist and social artist.

### **Climate Negotiation and Their Balance**

The Climate Paris Agreement is based on voluntary pledges that prioritized the interests of polluting corporations and governments rather than the needs of humanity and life on Earth.

To limit the temperature increase to 2°C, the Paris Agreement should have ensure that global emissions drop to 35 Gt of CO2e by 2030, but according to INDCs (Intended Determine National Contributions) it will be in 58 Gt of CO2e by 2030.

Both agreements deliberately obviated the most important task: to set a limit to fossil fuels (oil, coal and gas) extraction, which is responsible for 60% of global greenhouse gas emissions. If 80% of known reserves of fossil fuels are not left under the ground it is impossible to limit the temperature increase to 2°C.

Also, the Paris Agreement does not guarantee the goal of zero deforestation by 2020 set in the Sustainable Development Goals knowing that this activity generates 17% of global emissions. By contrast continues on the path of carbon markets and offsets allowing countries to "compensate" deforestation of native forests with monoculture tree plantations.

Finally, the Paris agreement does not have a mechanism of compliance and sanctions even of those inadequate promises that will burn the planet.





### **MODULE C - DEGROWTH**

### **ENVIRONMENTAL LIMITS TO GROWTH**

# **BRANNON ANDERSEN**



### **Limits to Growth in the Anthropocene**

Achieving the goal of a just and sustainable world will require an acknowledgement of the limits to the current growth paradigm. Since 1950, human consumption of resources and production of waste has increase exponentially, a pattern known as the "Great Acceleration." The current industrial sociometabolism, available to only 20% of the global population, is exceeding the environmental ceiling of the planet Earth, while not achieving social sustainability for the vast majority of the global population. The industrial sociometabolism and associated economic growth has been powered by vastly increased consumption of fossil fuels and massively increased throughput of materials, all of which are ultimate extracted from a finite Earth. The trade-off, however, has been environmental degradation (waste assimilation limits), depletion of resources (resource availability limits), and increased social inequity (social limits). Thus, the grand challenge of sustainability science in the Anthropocene is increasing social quality and reducing environmental impacts at the same time. Any solutions will have to acknowledge the need for dematerialization, the problem of emergy, and the potential of bioeconomics in the face of a growing population. Bioeconomics recognizes both the planetary and social limits to growth and the need to radically transform the goals and social institutions of the economic system. Reaching the goal of such a global "shrink and share" policy will require a "third great transformation" and a new vision of society.

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### PROTESTS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES - VOICES FROM EUROPEAN PERIPHERY

# **TIN GAZIVODA**



Tin Gazivoda is currently a senior program officer at the Open Society Initiative for Europe (OSIFE) in Barcelona, leading the work on the effective activism portfolio and the network of former Soros foundations in Eastern Europe.

After finishing his studies in 1997 Gazivoda got engaged with human rights work in Croatia. In 1999 he was co-leading the central office of Glas 99, a major get out and vote campaign that mobilized thousands of citizens, including youth and was implemented by a broad coalition of 143 civil society organizations and initiatives. Tin was the Director of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights until December 2002 and then the Coordinator of the Human Rights Center. From 2003 to 2007 Gazivoda was also a member of the parliamentary based Council for Civil Oversight of the Security Services. He was involved in several activist initiatives, from the initiative 'Ne damo Varsavsku' to a neighborhood social cultural center Kino Mosor.

Tin holds a BA in international relations and MA in international policy studies from Stanford University. In 2012 he received a PHD from the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb.





# PROTESTS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES - VOICES FROM EUROPEAN PERIPHERY FILIP BALUNOVIĆ



Filip Balunović is a PhD student at Scuola Normale Superiore in Firenca, Department of Political Sceince and Sociology. He is focused on political theory and political philosophy and an author of several essays and the book: "Beleške sa slobode". Recent publications include essays: "O fenomenima procesa privatizacije u Srbiji" and "Da li je socijaldemokratija klinički mrtva?".

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### PROTESTS, MOVEMENTS, PARTIES - VOICES FROM EUROPEAN PERIPHERY

# **FELIPE G. GIL**



Felipe G Gil (@abrelatas) is part of ZEMOS98 since 2000. BA in Audiovisual Communication from the Universidad de Sevilla. Post. Graduated in E-Learning from The National Distance Education University (UNED). He is an expert on Remix Culture and he coordinates international and audiovisual projects in ZEMOS98. He also writes in "Interferencias" a blog of activism and culture in the digital spanish newspaper eldiario.es. He is an amateur tennis player and a fan of Star Wars.

# Protests, movements, parties - voices from european periphery

This debate will focus on different manifestations and forms of political engagement that are already functional, or they experience their formative period or have not yet been established in the left political spectrum. With implications of financial crisis in 2008 (such as public bailouts of banks losses or huge number of evictions) there was a new wave of contentious politics that generated a variety of protest movements which were organised not only as anti-austerity movements but also as social movements that claimed for direct democracy, demanded more equality, demanded actions against the establishments that captured or usurpated political power. In this discussion we will not only focus on the successful oppositions which were politically articulated (N.Fraser) and had limited but noticeable successes across European periphery but also on similar potential that exists elsewhere in the region or at European level. Successes of Spanish movements, emergence of DiEM, actions of established parties and other cases will be examined while additional attention will be focused on interrelation and differences between movements and parties.



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\_o9:30 INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

JOAN MARTINEZ ALLIER

POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

\_11:00 BREAK

\_11:30 MODULE A - COMMONS

TOMISLAV TOMAŠEVIĆ.COMMONISING THE STATE

**MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE** 

JAGODA MUNIĆ CLIMATE JUSTICE AS INTERNAȚIONAL STRUGGLE

**MODULE C - DEGROWTH** 

DANIJELA DOLENEC, MISLAV ŽITKO

UNDERSTANDING DEGROWTH:

SEMIPERIPHERY AND HISTORIC SOCIALISM

\_13:00 LUNCH BREAK

\_14:00 - 17:00 BREAK

\_17:00 MODULE A -COMMONS

DANIJELA DOLENEC,

COMMONS AS RADICAL DEMOCRACY

MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE

EDGARDO LANDER

EXTRACTIVISM AND CLIMATE CHANGE - EXAMPLE FROM

LATIN AMERICA

**MODULE C - DEGROWTH** 

BRANKO ANČIĆ

MEASURING DEGROWTH

TOMISLAV MEDAK

TECHNOLOGY IN DEGROWTH

18:30 DINNER

\_20:00 EVENING DEBATE

EUROPE, ITS ECONOMIC FAILURES AND HOPES

SPEAKERS:

ZOLTAN ROGATSA, TREVOR EVANS AND BARB JACOBSON

### **INTRODUCTORY LECTURE**

### **POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE**

# **JOAN MARTINEZ ALIER**



Joan Martinez-Alier, emeritus professor Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador. Senior researcher at ICTA-UAB, where he directs the EnvJustice Project (2016-21) funded by an ERC Advanced Grant, and is co-director of the EJAtlas (www.ejatlas.org). Member of the collective Research & Degrowth. Founding member and past president of the International Society for Ecological Economics. Editor of the journal Ecología Política since 1990. Author of Ecological Economics: Energy, Environment and Society (1987) and The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation (2002). Co-editor of the textbook Ecological Economics from the Ground Up (2012) and the Handbook of Ecological Economics (2015).

# A global movement for environmental justice and its relations with the degrowth movement

The words "environmental justice" were first used in a sociological sense in the United States in the 1980s by people coming from the Civil Rights movement. They noticed that racial minorities and other disempowered social groups are disproportionately damaged from industrial landfills, air pollution and other evils. They rebelled against this. They said it amounted to "environmental racism".

The term "environmental justice" is now used for a much wider global movement in which many people, organizations, networks take part, potentially not a minority but a majority of the world population: poor people, peasants, township dwellers, indigenous peoples, "people of color" (as the Zapatistas say, pueblos del color de la tierra), complaining against rural and urban land grabbing, open cast mining, tree monocultures, dams, climate change injustice, biopiracy, incinerators, urban air pollution ...

The participants in this movement are regularly repressed, criminalized, some of them are wounded or killed, like Berta Cáceres was killed in Honduras a few weeks ago for complaining against mining and hydropower (the Agua Zarca dam). There are hundreds of environmental defenders killed around the world every year. We should list and remember all their names. There are also many local successes in achieving environmental justice as we find in the Environmental Justice Atlas (www.ejatlas.org).

The new EnvJustice project, 2016-21, will carry out three main tasks. First, the team will update and expand the EJAtlas which was launched in March 2014 as part of the EJOLT project (www.ejolt.org). It will grow thematically and geographically up to 3000 cases of ecological distribution conflicts, becoming a unique instrument to conduct comparative, statistical political ecology. The field of political ecology studies "ecological distribution conflicts" ultimately caused by the increase in social metabolism. The links between such socio-environmental conflicts and changes in the social metabolism will be explored. Even a non-growing industrial economy would require new supplies of fossil fuels and other materials from the commodity extraction frontiers because energy is not recycled and materials are recycled only in part. The economy is not circular, but entropic: there are therefore many resource extraction and waste disposal conflicts, at different scales, such as climate change caused by excessive and disproportionate emissions of greenhouse gases.

Research based on the EJAtlas will analyze the resistance movements born from such conflicts and the networks they form across borders in a Global Environmental Justice Movement. The project will try to provide answers to questions such as: Who are the social actors and victims in such conflicts, the forms of mobilization, the variables explaining the rates of "success" in creating new alternatives?

Second, EnvJustice shall expand the scope and deepen the analysis of the Vocabulary of the Movement for Environmental Justice, from its beginning in the United States in 1982 (with terms like environmental racism, popular epidemiology, sacrifice zones) to its deployment in many countries with new crosscutting concepts. In Paris in 2015 (at the 21st COP on Climate Change) there were claims for "Climate Justice". This is only one of many terms in the vocabulary of environmental justice. For instance, the slogan "leave oil in the soil" was introduced by Oilwatch activists, while "land grabbing" and the slogan "tree plantations are not forests" come from two small socio-environmental justice organizations, GRAIN and WRM. The project will investigate how different claims are expressed in Europe, India, China, Africa, Latin America, related to mining and fossil fuel extraction conflicts, biomass and water, waste disposal and transport conflicts. For instance, in France the expression ZAD (zone à defendre) is becoming popular. In Europe there is a network called Grands Projets Inutiles Imposés.

Third, EnvJustice will analyze (following in the steps of Sicco Mansholt and Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen) the elements for a possible alliance between the Global Environmental Justice movement and the smaller Degrowth (Décroissance, Post-Wachstum, "Prosperity without Growth") movement in Europe.





### **MODULE A - COMMONS**

### **COMMONISING THE STATE**

# TOMISLAV TOMAŠEVIĆ



Tomislav Tomasevic works as Program Director of the newly established Institute for Political Ecology which is a think-tank that aims to connect environmental and social justice through research and advocacy. Tomislav has BA and MA in political science from the University of Zagreb and MPhil in environment, society and development from the University of Cambridge. He was involved in youth, environmental and urban movements in Croatia and Balkans for the past 15 years. Among other roles Tomislav was the executive president of Croatian Youth Network, executive president of Friends of the Earth Croatia and one of the leaders of the Right to the City urban movement in Zagreb. He was also active in global youth movement for sustainable development and was Youth Advisor for Europe to the United Nations Environment Programme

### **Commonising the State**

In the current crisis of both states and markets the concept of commons is becoming more and more popular among progressives of various political colors. Commons are often defined as "outside the realm of state and market" but this could be criticized as no contemporary social practice is completely outside state rule(s) and isolated from the influence of markets. For example, all social practices have some material base and footprint which is linked with territory while rule over territories of the whole planet is shared between states. Commons are also usually defined as governance of resource(s) by the community of users so comprising of three elements: resource, governance regime and community of users. One might notice how this is not very different from the classical definitions of the state which define it as political community under single government ruling over defined territory so comprising also of three elements: territory, government and people in political community. There are many competing theories of the state but if we take that state is not neutral entity separated from society and economy but part of the capitalist system there is an old political dilemma on the Left if it should attempt to capture state power to change socio-economic relations or this attempt is doomed to fail. Within the New Left this debate is between autonomists who focus on building socio-economic alternatives "outside" of the state and new parties-movements who focus on taking state power through representative democracy in order to create new socioeconomic alternatives from "inside" the state. One option leaves the state power in hands of neoliberals and far Right while the other option in examples of left-wing governments in Latin America shows that it is not absolved from corruption and isolation of state elites from society. Perhaps the way out of this dichotomy can be the concept of commons.

If concept of commons is to be understood normatively and politically as a force of democratization, I believe it can be also used for democratization of the state. Even if the state is instrument of upper class and has its internal logic of power relations and institutional self-preservation, if one insists on some agency then the commons experiences can be instrumental in changing state institutions to include more of real participatory and direct democracy. This would make the border between commons counter-power and state power blurrier. There is a whole spectrum of cases between pure public and pure commons governance of resources like co-management, civic-public partnerships, democratic governance of public enterprises, civic non-profit concessions etc. Progressive commons practices with fair access, collective control and sustainable use of resources can be perhaps a way forward in transforming state institutions both from the "outside" and from the "inside".





### **CLIMATE JUSTICE**

### **CLIMATE JUSTICE AS INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE**

# **JAGODA MUNIĆ**



Jagoda Munic is chairperson of Friends of the Earth International since 2012. She has extensive experience in environmental research, activism and conservation. She joined Friends of the Earth Croatia as a volunteer in 1997 and was president of the group from 2001 to 2007. She has degrees in biology; library and information sciences; and pollution and environmental control. She has led successful biodiversity research projects and public advocacy campaigns, including a campaign on Genetically Modified (GM) crops, which resulted in Croatia adopting one of the strictest GM laws in the world. Jagoda has served as FoEl's Treasurer on the executive committee since 2004.

### **MODULE C - DEGROWTH**

### **UNDERSTANDING DEGROWTH: SEMIPERIPHERY AND HISTORIC SOCIALISM**

# **DANIJELA DOLENEC**



# Comparing Modernities: Ideas and Practices from the European Semi-periphery

In this talk I explore ways in which socialist and post-socialist legacies can inform and advance degrowth theory and movement. My main objective is to debunk Orientalist assumptions according to which ideas important for a reorientation towards degrowth come exclusively from the West. This is done along several dimensions. The first pertains to the knowledge production in post-socialist Europe, and in particular the role of the academic field in employing and reinterpreting Orientalist conceptions according to which socialist modernization represented an aberration from the normatively desirable and supposedly universal modernization trajectory towards capitalist democracies. The second dimension delves into particular practices and legacies in the post-socialist context of the European semi-periphery that carry relevance for the degrowth project. This for instance relates to the theory and practice of self-management from socialist Yugoslavia, which has since the 1990s been abandoned as a failed project. Equally important, I have in mind the Yugoslav project of egalitarianism, which lives on not only in collective memory, but as a political aspiration in post-socialist Europe: representing perhaps the key ingredient for social transformation towards degrowth societies.





### **MODULE C - DEGROWTH**

### **MEASURING DEGROWTH**

# **BRANKO ANČIĆ**



### Let us measure degrowth

At the beginning of the development of degrowth movement, at the conference in Paris (2008), participants set up a working definition to reflect their shared vision of the degrowth concept ("Toward a Declaration of Degrowth"). It underlines that degrowth should be a voluntary transition towards a just, participatory, and ecologically sustainable society with the necessity of developing new non-monetary indicators to assess the achievements of the proclaimed degrowth goals.

So far research aimed at constructing and deconstructing degrowth-relevant indicators is scarce, leaving the proclaimed goal of envisaging new measures still in the dark. Therefore this presentation would like to open a discussion about measurement challenges within the degrowth theory. Is and should degrowth be measurable? Can we speak about objective measures of degrowth? What kind of subjective measures do we need? Should we measure degrowth only in a numeric manner?

In the presentation an overview of some attempts of measuring degrowth will be presented with the more in-depth presentation of environmentally-motivated degrowth potential on the level of attitudes and self-reported behaviour among European population. Since similar proposed goals, as in the aforementioned degrowth definition, can be found in the literature on green economy which invokes economy of improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities, some of the empirical findings of the research of green economy in Croatia will be used in order to additionally explore to what extent could it be helpful in measuring degrowth.

### **MODULE A COMMONS**

### **COMMONS AS RADICAL DEMOCRACY**

# **DANIJELA DOLENEC**

### Can the Commons Be Radical?

Ostrom (1990) unravelled numerous examples of the commons, one such being the village of Törbel in the Swiss Alps, which well encapsulates the potential, as well as the limits of the practice. It is a commons for managing forest and grazing land, dating from the 13th century. Confuting Hardin's (1968) thesis about the tragedy of the commons, the villagers of Törbel have democratically and sustainably managed their natural resources for over 700 years, without resorting to either the state or the market as coordinating mechanisms. At the same time, this case reveals two fundamental flaws: until recently, women could not participate, and very strict rules apply as to who counts as part of the community. While intrinsically democratic, the commons are often exclusionary, which is an obvious problem for Left politics. In addition to that, in practice they are oftentimes a middleclass endeavour, because participation in collective decision-making tends to require knowledge, time and other resources. In order for the commons to have emancipatory effects they need to be embedded in system of social reproduction - i.e. what we are used to calling the welfare state. Only if supported by a network of institutions that embody participatory party (Fraser 2003) the commons can have radical potential; otherwise they simply keep expanding opportunities for those already privileged. In this talk we juxtapose the commons and the welfare state, and ask the following questions: Designed to reduce inequalities and further emancipation, how well do existing welfare states perform these functions? What should be the principles for redesigning them from paternalistic and conservative into emancipatory and liberating? Most urgently, which political forces can make this happen?





### **MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE**

### **EXTRACTIVISM AND CLIMATE CHANGE - EXAMPLE FROM LATIN AMERICA**

# **EDGARDO LANDER**



Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas. Was part of the Organizing Committee of the World Social Forum held in Caracas in 2006. Participated in the negotiations of the (finally defeated) Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) as part of the Venezuelan delegation. Fellow of the Transnational Institute (Amsterdam). Part of Rosa Luxemburg (Quito Office) Permanent Working Group on Alternatives de Development, Professor at the Simón Bolivar Andean University in Quito, Ecuador. Areas of interest:

The critique eurocentric and colonial character of modern social science knowledge; democratic theory; politics en Latin America and Venezuela; extractivism; the limits of the planet and the crisis of the civilization of un-limited growth; beyond development.

### **Extractivism in Latin America**

The talk will deal with the following issues: extractivism and preservation of the colonial international division of labour and nature; extractivism as a model of society; progressive governments and extractivism; limits to democracy in an extractivist rentier state; divisions within the left in relation to extractivism; environmental impacts; indigenous peoples' and peasants' rights; beyond extractivism, beyond development, beyond capitalism.

### **MODULE C - DEGROWTH**

### **TECHNOLOGY IN DEGROWTH**

# TOMISLAV MEDAK



Tomislav Medak's interests are in contemporary political philosophy, media theory and aesthetics. Together with his colleagues at the Multimedia Institute/MAMA (Zagreb), he's coordinating the theory and publishing program. He is a free software and free culture advocate and the amateur librarian for the Public Library project. In parallel he's doing artistic work with the Zagreb based theatre collective BADco.





# Technologies for a Degrowth Transition -A Faustian Bragain?

I'll broach the degrowth transition from the combined perspective of social construction of technology and world system theories. Hailing from the post-socialist east, I'll seek to demonstrate how the dominant technological complex functions to integrate yet thwart the advancement of semi-periphery in the world system. Imaginaries of a socially more just and ecologically more sustainable future would frequently have us believe that exising technologies lend themselves either to a wholesale repurposing or a strategic cherry-picking of renewable, microproduction and recycling technologies. Yet they fail to register that technological systems are co-substantial with the existing social metabolism: they operate in a mutually enabling manner, the integration of capitalist world system is only made possible by the existing technological configuration, and techno-scientific development is shaped by the exigencies of capitalist valorization. Globe-spanning and interlocking complex of cybernetic, logistics and natural resources management technologies is essential for the continued reproduction of global capitalist system. Conversely, the deintensification of capitalist system would lead to the disruption of technological development. This has a three-fold consequence that I'll develop in my paper: a) technologies do not lend themselves easily to disaggregation and thus the technological aspects of transitional narrative require an integrated approach, b) socioeconomic transition will be disruptive and thus cannot be technologically pre-figured with any degree of certainty, c) development through technology is a negative-sum process for the capitalist periphery and thus holds a strong incentive for a trajectory of alternative (technological) development.

### **EVENING DEBATE**

### **EUROPE, ITS ECONOMIC FAILURES AND HOPES**

# **ZOLTAN POGATSA**



Zoltán Pogátsa is a political economist researching issues related to European Integration. He is head of the MA Programme on Economy and Economics at the West Hungarian University, and also teaches at ELTE, the Central European University and at the University of Verona. He has published 7 books, numerous articles, and is a regular commentator on European economic issues in the Hungarian and international press.





### **EVENING DEBATE**

### **EUROPE, ITS ECONOMIC FAILURES AND HOPES**

## TREVOR EVANS



Trevor Evans worked for many years at the Regional Centre for Economic and Social Research (CRIES) in Managua, Nicaragua. Until 2015 he was a professor of economics at the Berlin School of Economics and Law and Director of the university's Institute for International Political Economy. He is a member of the coordinating committee of the European Economists for an Alternative Economic Policy in Europe (EuroMemo Group) and has published numerous articles on Marxian and Post Keynesian theories of money and crisis, and on the economies of the United States, the European Union and Central America.

### **EVENING DEBATE**

### **EUROPE, ITS ECONOMIC FAILURES AND HOPES**

# **BARB JACOBSON**



Barb Jacobson is co-ordinator of Basic Income UK and on the board of Unconditional Basic Income Europe, a network of organisations and activists in 25 countries. She is also an advice worker at a small central London charity which helps people with benefits, housing, and debt. She has been active in community organising since 1982.

### Europe, its economic failures and hopes

Speakers in this debate will share their individual evaluations of most recent economic developments in Europe regarding the implications of financial crisis. They will engage in the open discussion about the creation of sound economic programs that identify specific weaknesses of European economy, recognize qualities of international environment and offer sound proposals that can provide hope for European economy and citizens.

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\_09:30 INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

KIRA VINKE

FROM CLIMATE SCIENCE TO CLIMATE JUSTICE

11:00 BREAK

\_11:30 MODULE A - COMMONS

DANIEL CHAVEZ

THE STATE, NEW POLITICS AND THE COMMONS

**MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE** 

**ASAD REHMAN** 

PLANET PEOPLE AND INEQUALITIES

MODULE C - DEGROWTH

GIACOMO D'ALLISA

DEGROWTH TRANSITION

\_13:00 LUNCH BREAK

\_14:00 - 17:00 BREAK

\_17:00 MODULE A, B, C

GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CONVENORS

\_18:30 DINNER

\_20:00 EVENING DISCUSSION

WATERMELON COLOURS OF NEW INTERNATIONALISM

SPEAKERS:

SREČKO HORVAT. RENATA AVILA. DANIEL CHAVEZ.

HILLARY WAINWRIGHT

### **INTRODUCTORY LECTURE**

### FROM CLIMATE SCIENCE TO CLIMATE JUSTICE

# **KIRA VINKE**



Kira Vinke works at PIK as an analyst for the director of the German Advisory Council on Global Change to the Federal Government (WBGU). Previously, Ms. Vinke was affiliated with The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) in New Delhi and the Environmental Policy Research Center (FFU) of Berlin. In New Delhi, she conducted field research on governance in the energy sector and cross-border river administration. In 2014 she worked as a consultant for the German Development Cooperation (GIZ) on the nexus between climate change and migration into vulnerable cities in Southern Bangladesh.

### From Climate Science to Climate Justice

The beginning of the 21st century is marked by the existential challenges of combating climate change and fighting poverty in rapidly growing and urbanizing societies. Science gives us the basis to understand the consequences of our actions. The success of the formation of a legally binding climate protection treaty in Paris last year was, however, only possible through the additional pressure of a World Citizen Movement. It is thus clear that the implementation of the Paris Agreement has to be supported by science and by the moral imperative to act. While in the past, the issues of socio-economic disparities and climate change have been largely addressed separately or even been seen as to oppose each other, this talk will give insights on why they are fundamentally linked and can only be solved jointly. Furthermore, it will be explored how the development paradigm could shift to accommodate necessary changes and widen the opportunity space for the most vulnerable.

### **MODULE A - COMMONS**

### **NEW POLITICS AND THE COMMONS**

# **DANIEL CHAVEZ**



TNI fellow Daniel Chavez is a Uruguayan anthropologist specialising in Latin American politics and urban social and political movements. He joined TNI in 2001 as co-ordinator of the Energy Project, looking at democratic and participatory alternatives to electricity privatisation in the Global South. Before moving to Europe he had worked for almost a decade for the United Federation of Mutual-Aid Housing Cooperatives (FUCVAM). Daniel currently co-ordinates the New TNI Politics Programme, in co-operation with Hilary Wainwright. He has authored and edited a number of books, including most recently La nueva izquierda en América Latina: sus orígenes y trayectoria futura, with Patrick Barrett and Cesar Rodriguez Garavito (Grupo Editorial Norma, 2005) and The Left in the City: Participatory Local Governments in Latin America with Benjamin Goldfrank (LAB, 2001). He holds a Phd in the Politics of Development from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS, The Hague).

### The state, New Politics, and the commons

The presentation will be focused on a discussion of the meanings, possibilities and limitations of the interaction between the commons and the state. The key questions to be explored will be the following: Is it realistic to think about 'commonising' the state'? What would that mean in practice, in the context of the current international political economy? Could the state be perceived as a tool to promote the expansion of the commons? Can the state be democratised and reclaimed by ordinary citizens and local communities? Are there real-life examples of 'alternative' state forms evolving today around the world? What are the implications of scale?

The presentation will also refer to highly polarised academic and political debates in





Europe and in other regions of the South (particularly in Latin America). On the one hand, there are activists and thinkers who still perceive the state as a social relation and a set of institutions that could be transformed to create or expand commons, while on the other hand there are many who argue that the left (or the emancipatory forces, more in general) should stop worrying about the state and focus all the efforts in building local, socially controlled and fully autonomous initiatives for social, economic and political change. Are there possibilities for dialogue and cross-fertilisation between these two seemingly opposite approaches? The presenter will refer to the New Politics project, a recently international initiative recently (re)launched by TNI that aims to promote further conversation and eventual joint work, linking activists and thinkers from different regions and theoretical and ideological traditions.

Finally, the presentation will offer a quick review of a few processes presently evolving in different parts of the world. In Latin America and some European countries, the left has entered state institutions and have experimented with local and national governance. In the case of Ecuador, for instance, part of the national government supported the design of a commons-driven transition plan, focused on the notion of the 'partner state'. More recently, in Barcelona and other Spanish cities, progressive social and political organisations have advanced innovative proposals for the democratisation of the state, including concrete moves towards water justice and energy democracy. The presentation will analyse the prospects and constraints of these processes in terms of 'commonising' the state.

### **MODULE B - CLIMATE JUSTICE**

### PLANET, PEOPLE AND INEQUALITIES

# **ASAD REHMAN**



Asad Rehman, is Head of International Climate at Friends of the Earth (EWNI), and is also a Board member of Friends of the Earth International. He is a leading advocate for climate justice at both a national and global level. He is a well known anti-racist activist, community organiser and has been involved in many of the UK's leading campaigns around deaths in custody and racist murders. Asad has been active on global justice issues, and was a founder of the Stop the War Coalition in the UK, and was one of the organisers of the Global Day of Action on February 15th.



### **MODULE C - DEGROWTH**

### **DEGROWTH TRANSITION**

# **GIACOMO D'ALLISA**



Giacomo D'Alisa is a political ecologist and ecological economists. He has established himself as an expert in the field of waste conflict and management, waste metabolism and explanation of illegal waste trafficking. He is at the centre of current research and networking in Europe around the idea and theory of the commons, Last but not least he is one of the founding memeber of Research and Degrowth Barcelona, and he is at the core of the scholar community studying degrowth. The book - Degrowth. A vocabulary for a new era - that he coedited with F. Demaria and G. Kallis is a publishing success with 6 translations following the English edition (three more forthcoming).

## Debunking the growth imaginary

A prolonged stagnation, rapid impoverishment of a vast part of the population, growing inequalities, socio-ecological disasters and the continuous tragedy of preventable deaths by lack of access to land, water and food, is the current global outlook. There is a failure, even by radical thinkers, to come up with new responses that are not articulated around the twin imperatives of growth and development. However, if the desire for growth is the main driver of the occurring multiple crises then growth cannot be the solution. Degrowth aims to articulate and connect new forms of living, producing and consuming in common as well as it attempts to envision new institutions that can secure the livelihoods of all without growth. It is a collective endeavor to build counter-hegemonic narratives and debunk the imaginary of growth.

Explore possible living examples, actions and policies help to understand the complex interventions needed at different scales to move steps towards the transformation of the current industrial patterns and give sparks on how degrowthers can go about on the ground.

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### WATERMELON COLOURS OF NEW INTERNATIONALISM

# **SREĆKO HORVAT**



Srećko Horvat, philosopher and political activist, born in Yugoslavia (1983), without permanent address. Published more than 10 books translated into more than 15 languages, most recently: "What Does Europe Want?" (together with Slavoj Žižek, Columbia University Press, 2014)), "Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism" (Verso, 2015) and "The Radicality of Love" (Polity Press, 2015). He regularly publishes articles in the Guardian, New York Times and Al Jazeera. Together with Greece's ex-finance minister Yanis Varoufakis he founded Democracy in Europe Movement (DiEM25): www.diem25.or



### WATERMELON COLOURS OF NEW INTERNATIONALISM

# **DANIEL CHAVEZ**



TNI fellow Daniel Chavez is a Uruguayan anthropologist specialising in Latin American politics and urban social and political movements. He joined TNI in 2001 as co-ordinator of the Energy Project, looking at democratic and participatory alternatives to electricity privatisation in the Global South. Before moving to Europe he had worked for almost a decade for the United Federation of Mutual-Aid Housing Cooperatives (FUCVAM). Daniel currently co-ordinates the New TNI Politics Programme, in co-operation with Hilary Wainwright. He has authored and edited a number of books, including most recently La nueva izquierda en América Latina: sus orígenes y trayectoria futura, with Patrick Barrett and Cesar Rodriguez Garavito (Grupo Editorial Norma, 2005) and The Left in the City: Participatory Local Governments in Latin America with Benjamin Goldfrank (LAB, 2001). He holds a Phd in the Politics of Development from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS, The Hague).

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### WATERMELON COLOURS OF NEW INTERNATIONALISM

# **HILLARY WAINWRIGHT**



Hilary Wainwright is a leading researcher and writer on the emergence of new forms of democratic accountability within parties, movements and the state. She is the driving force and editor behind Red Pepper, a popular British new left magazine, and has documented countless examples of resurgent democratic movements from Brazil to Britain and the lessons they provide for progressive politics.

As well as TNI fellow, she is also Senior Research Associate at the International Centre for Participation Studies at the Department for Peace Studies, University of Bradford, UK and Senior Research Associate at International Centre for Participation Studies', Bradford University. She has also been a visiting Professor and Scholar at the University of California, Los Angeles; Havens Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison and Todai University, Tokyo. Her books include Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy (Verso/TNI, 2003) and Arguments for a New Left: Answering the Free Market Right (Blackwell, 1993). Wainwright founded the Popular Planning Unit of the Greater London Council during the Thatcher years, and was convenor of the new economics working group of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly from 1989 to 1994.

### WATERMELON COLOURS OF NEW INTERNATIONALISM

# **RENATA AVILA**



Renata Avila is a human rights lawyer specialised in Intellectual Property and Technology. She worked as one of the lawyers representing the Guatemalan Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchu Tum and more recently, Julian Assange and Wikileaks. Involved in Internet and Human Rights research since 2006, she works with the Web Inventor Sir Tim Berners - Lee in an effort to uphold human rights in the digital age. She serves as a Board Member of Creative Commons. She is also a member of Courage Foundation advisory board, assisting whistleblowers at risk and in the D-Cent board, exploring the potential of decentralised technologies. She is currently an Advisor of the BITS initiative by the Municipality of Barcelona.

### **EVENING DISCUSSION**

### WATERMELON COLOURS OF NEW INTERNATIONALISM

# PAUL STUBBS



Paul Stubbs is a UK-born sociologist who has lived and worked in Croatia since 1993, combining research with activism and advocacy activities. He is currently Senior Research Fellow in the Institute of Economics, Zagreb. His main research interests focus on global and European social policy, social movements and social change in South East Europe, and policy translation. He is co-editor (with Alexandra Kaasch) of a new book 'Transformations in Global and Regional Social Policies' (Palgrave MacMillan) and co-author (with John Clarke, Dave Bainton and Noemi Lendvai) of a book 'Making Policy Move: towards a politics of translation and assemblage' to be published in 2015 by Policy Press.

### Watermelon colours of new internationalism

This debate aims to open room for ambitious but necessary discussion that aims to discuss about the next wave of internationalism which would be based on increased cooperation between leftist and environmental political movements across the globe. It will depart from recognition that there are high social and environmental prices of growth driven neoliberal globalisation which is more and more often paired with democratic suspension and authoritarian rule introduced by radicalised right wing forces. Debate will aim to detect common and non-negotiable stands of such potential alliances and explore opportunities to strengthen international opposition to these processes.







### **MORNING DISCUSSION**

### TAKE THE POWER BACK

# **ANA MENDEZ**



Ana Méndez de Andés is architect and urban planner and has been working as landscape and urban designer in Madrid, London and Amsyterdam. She has been teachnig Urban Design at the Universidad Europea de Madrid and Tonji University in Shanghai. She is doing her Phd on urban Commons at the Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid and is currently working Advisor to the Mayor's Office at Madrid City Council of Madrid.

Ana Méndez de Andés is funding member of collective research projects areaciega, urbanacción and Observatorio Metropolitano, where she has been working on the collaborative mapping, urban commons and the conditions of production of public space. Currently she is interested in the relation between self-organized provision of and the institutional public sphere. As part of the OM seminar at the Reina Sofia, she has been coordinating seminars on the relation between the common and the public: Metropolis, Transiciones:Democracia, ecología y comunes ante el cambio de época; Los comunes urbanos. Crisis, derechos y riqueza. She has also organized and peraticipated in seminars at the Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, KKH in stockholm or Cultura Viva in Barcelona. She was involved in the creation of the citizen electoral platform Ahora Madrid that won the local elections and is currently working on Strategic Planning on Culture, where she tries to find ways to articulate the theory and the praxis of the commons and the becoming-common of the public.

### **MORNING DISCUSSION**

### TAKE THE POWER BACK

# **DOBRICA VESELINOVIĆ**



Dobrica Veselinović was born in 1981 in Belgrade/Serbia. He is active in the civil sector for the last 10 years, and in the last few years has been fighting for public spaces and greater citizens' participation in decision making process in regard to urban development issues. The areas of interest are political theory, ecology and urban development, the counter-cultural movements. Every year he maintains the large number of lectures and presentations.



### **MORNING DISCUSSION**

### **TAKE THE POWER BACK**

# **FELIPE G. GIL**



Felipe G Gil (@abrelatas) is part of ZEMOS98 since 2000. BA in Audiovisual Communication from the Universidad de Sevilla. Post. Graduated in E-Learning from The National Distance Education University (UNED). He is an expert on Remix Culture and he coordinates international and audiovisual projects in ZEMOS98. He also writes in "Interferencias" a blog of activism and culture in the digital spanish newspaper eldiario.es. He is an amateur tennis player and a fan of Star Wars.

# Take power back collective action and contestation in cities

This debate aims to focus on the urban level where both greens, left and other progressive social forces can more easily act together opposing to local establishments which usurpate power and public resources thus increasing debt, deepening inequalities, favorising huge investments and worsening life conditions. Presentation of movements struggles for different and better life in the cities will be combined with cases where progressive social forces already do have opportunity to frame local politics and take the power back. Discussions from previous debates and work in the modules will be particularly relevant for the last discussion to be enveloped by specific proposals for green and left social and political forces to engage in collective political actions across Europe and its periphery.

**DEPARTURES** 

