

INSTITUTE FOR  
**POLITICAL  
ECOLOGY**

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THE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL ECOLOGY (IPE) is a research and education organisation engaged in shaping alternative development models and innovative institutional forms for a democratic political and economic social transformation. The Institute addresses present-day environmental shifts as social phenomena that reduce or increase social inequalities and affect power relations. IPE also conducts transdisciplinary studies and education programmes in cooperation with local and international institutions and organisations. These form the basis for the expert analyses and platforms for discussion that IPE provides to social movements, as well as political and economic actors advocating environmentally sustainable, just and democratic society in Croatia and abroad.

IPE's aim is to contribute to an increase in theoretical and practical knowledge for a democratic and economic transformation towards an environmentally sustainable and just society through scientific studies and expert analyses; educate and inform the public, as well as relevant social actors, on the causes of environmental unsustainability and social inequity as obstacles to realising the human rights of the current and future generations; develop alternative development models and innovative institutional frameworks for social change leading towards greater environmental sustainability and socio-economic equality in Croatia and the world, in cooperation with local and international actors.

- MEMBERS OF IPE MANAGING BOARD  
Danijela Dolenc (president of IPE managing board), Teodor Celakoski, Mladen Domazet, Vedran Horvat, Bernard Ivčić, Walter Kaufmann, Tomislav Tomašević (up to summer 2017);
- IPE ASSEMBLY  
Marta Batinić Petrović, Teodor Celakoski, Vladimir Cvijanović, Danijela Dolenc, Karin Doolan, Mladen Domazet, Tomislav Domes, Vedran Horvat, Bernard Ivčić, Walter Kaufmann, Luka Tomac;
- IPE ACADEMIC COUNCIL  
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- HEAD OF INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL ECOLOGY  
Vedran Horvat;
- IPE STAFF  
Lana Pukanić, Marta Batinić Petrović, Vedran Horvat, Mladen Domazet, Tomislav Tomašević;



✦ LANA



✦ VEDRAN



✦ MLADEN



✦ MARTA



✦ TOMISLAV

# Work Report 2015 - 2017

ZAGREB



INSTITUTE FOR  
POLITICAL  
ECOLOGY

# Introductory Words



Green Academy, Vis, Croatia, 2016

# Vedran Horvat,

## Head of Institute for Political Ecology,

20/12/2017

IPE FIRST INTRODUCED ITSELF to the local public a little over two years ago. The result of long-term cooperation between its founders, variously active in Right to the City, Green Action, Group 22 and the Zagreb office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, IPE was initiated to seek to provide answers to several existing challenges: 1) to influence the creation of new—or the changing of the dominant—narratives defining the questions of sustainability, economic growth or social inequality, through lasting and intense exchange with the academic and scientific community at home and abroad; 2) regarding these same issues, to continuously provide analytical and expert underpinning needed by social movements or civil society organisations active in social struggles or advocacy efforts; and 3) to contribute to the strengthening and better positioning of progressive social forces at home and abroad by producing relevant concepts, suggestions, scenarios and policies.

People who work in IPE or collaborate with it often operate between disciplines, and frequently hail from different sectoral, disciplinary and organisational cultures. We are often asked, why political ecology? There are many answers, but this one is foolproof: in the future, the perspective of political ecology will become increasingly relevant, as it supplies answers to the questions of unequal distribution of environmental costs and benefits between various social groups.

The first three years are a small step for a new organisation, even when people active in it have relevant experience in activism, academia or work in foundations. And while the feedback regarding our consolidation that we received from both our immediate surroundings and external evaluations have so far been very encouraging and positive, we have already outlined the new goals we aim to achieve by 2020. In this report, we shall highlight and briefly delineate just a few of the most important activities of the previous period within their priority programme areas (the commons, climate justice, democratising public services, green economy, degrowth, trade agreements).

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In this period, IPE consolidated its Fellowship programme for supporting younger and older researchers, initiated several of the most significant research processes in the field of sustainability, degrowth and democratisation of public services, organised several larger and dozen of smaller meetings and curricula on sustainability in education programmes both at home and abroad, diversified our sources of financing, and initiated a series of collaborations with international partners. This organisational development, consolidation and secured continuity wouldn't be possible without great personal motivation on the part of all the IPE staff and its Managing Board, and significant institutional support for its establishment secured by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



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# **Climate Justice**

**— Perspectives from the  
Natural & Social Sciences**



# 2015 / Programme & Events



Sustainable Energy Youth Network, Šolta, July 2015



Sustainable Energy Youth Network, Šolta, July 2015



Climate justice: perspectives from social and natural sciences, Zagreb, November 2015

# Sustainable Energy Youth Network

Šolta, July 2015

AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF ITS OPERATION, in the summer of 2015, in collaboration with UNDP, Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia and the Green European Foundation, IPE organised the first summer school of energy democracy, entitled 'Sustainable Energy Youth Network: Res/volution' (SEYN). The school gathered around sixty young activists, researchers and practitioners from some 15 European countries on the Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia premises on the island of Šolta. With a pronounced political dimension, and work organized into thematic modules, the programme provided an excellent platform for launching this new network and its new projects, which to this day have continued to organisationally and conceptually develop, independently following their paths.



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# Climate justice: perspectives from social and natural sciences,

Zagreb, November 2015

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL ECOLOGY approaches climate change, as the paramount environmental problem, through a social prism. Like other forms of environmental change, climate change also increases social inequalities, both globally and in individual states, which further affects power relations in society. From the climate justice perspective, special attention is paid to the fact that the poor and underprivileged states and individuals, who contributed least to the creation of this problem, will bear the greatest burden while lacking the resources necessary to cope with it.

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It was for this reason that climate justice represented an opportunity for IPE to present its work to the public at home. The climate justice assembly gathered around two hundred participants from various disciplines, sectors and spheres of work, and was the platform IPE used to announce its future programme and research activities in Croatia and this part of Europe. The conference took place in advance of the climate negotiations in Paris, and was an opportunity to send a strong signal to the national delegation, comprising representatives of the relevant ministries. IPE therefore included researchers from various disciplines in the conference, so they could provide specific insights, reflections and discussion on the intersection between climate science and its political implications. In the long run, the conference aimed to improve dialogue between researchers from the natural sciences dealing with the physical basis of climate change and their impact on natural ecosystems, and social science researchers providing insights into social forces together with policies of mitigation and adaptation to climate change.



# Industry, and yet green?

Zagreb, November 2015

FAR TOO MANY INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES in Croatia that have been severely weakened by the continuous economic crisis maintain business models that prolong their dependence on fossil fuels, failing to disentangle the idea of economic growth from the growth of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions that hasten climate change. It is hardly necessary to mention that the industries that survived the nightmare of the '90s criminal privatisation and the crisis of the 2000s are struggling to survive and remain competitive, while at least trying to keep their workers. In such a context, the environmental transition of industrial policy is often presented as yet another danger, risk or business killer. On the other hand, the imperative of productivism is strong, arising from dissatisfaction with weak exports and insufficient production at home. In such social and economic context, IPE, in cooperation with the Green European Foundation, initiated a discussion that presented some successful instances and models of environmental transition in the European context, primarily focusing on the impact of green transition in industry on jobs security, workers' rights and workers' prosperity. The discussion mostly centred on the possibility of lasting dialogue between unions and ecologists on whether green production is possible in firms with conventional methods of production, how it is connected to economic democracy, how it fits in with the idea of economies of scope and how it resonates with so-called 'policy of sufficiency'.



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# PUBLIC IS GOOD! Using democratisation against privatisation of public services

Zagreb, November 2015

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PRIVATISATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES is a trend that began in the EU countries during the 1980s, following the neoliberal turn. In many EU states various public services were privatised, including those connected to public infrastructure and managing natural resources such as water, energy, waste and transport. These privatisations unfolded by including the private sector in providing public services through long-term concessions, public-private partnerships, mixed-ownership companies or direct privatisation of public corporations providing public services. Lately, the EU countries have seen a trend of remunicipalisation- returning utilities to the public sector. The reason behind this is that in the past few decades the provision of such services by the private sector frequently led to increased prices, underinvestment, poor maintenance of infrastructure and reduction in the quality of service. Remunicipalisation processes have occasionally led to democratisation of public services through experiments with participatory management and inclusion of diverse social groups in oversight and management of utilities and the institutions providing such services. The objective of democratisation is to secure a social counterweight to political party control over public corporations and institutions, and to secure a broad democratic definition of public interest that ought to be followed.





✍ Industry, and yet green? Zagreb, November 2015, Poster



✍ Industry, and yet green? Zagreb, November 2015, 'Novinarski dom', seminar



✍ Industry, and yet green? Zagreb, November 2015



✍ Public is good! Using democratisation against privatisation of public services, November, 2015, Poster



✍ Public is good! Using democratisation against privatisation of public services, November, 2015

Although some smaller steps have been made towards market liberalisation in certain sectors, Croatia is still among the few EU member states where the services of water supply and management, electricity supply, heating, gas supply, waste management, rail and highways are provided exclusively or mostly by the public sector. Despite this, austerity measures and neoliberal ideology are exerting growing pressure for such services to be privatised in Croatia. In this seminar, in cooperation with the Green European Foundation and with foreign experts from the Netherlands, England and Greece in attendance, IPE presented several recent cases of remunicipalisation in the EU states. The goal of the seminar was to show that Croatia need not repeat the mistakes already made by the EU countries, but can immediately take the path of democratisation of public services that guarantees fulfillment of public interest and greater transparency and quality of service, while preventing the privatisation advocated by citizens dissatisfied as beneficiaries of such services. Elements of discussion in this debate served both as motivation for research activity and a way to deepen it through examples of public corporations in the sphere of democratising public services.

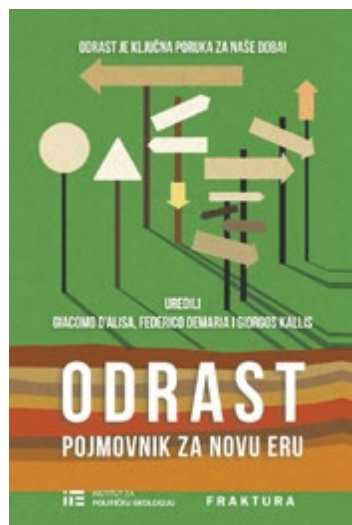


## Degrowth: a Vocabulary for a New Era

Zagreb, November 2015

THE EXTENSIVE, bold and in many ways pioneering work on linguistic and discursive shaping of the translation of the book *Degrowth: a Vocabulary for a New Era* began in the first months after the Institute for Political Ecology was established. In cooperation with Fraktura, a distinguished Croatian publishing house, IPE chose this translation to open the path for a different narrative in the wider public and expand the field of dispelling the illusion of growth as the solution for future prosperity. In Fall of 2015, work started on translating and editing the collection of more than 50 different papers representing alternative solutions; new modes of living, producing and consuming that can secure growthless means for life for all.

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# 2015 / Research & Education

IN 2015, IPE GATHERED a broad team of activists and experts, initiating a participative process for a multiyear research in the field of democratising the railway services sector. Croatian Railways were recognised as one of the public corporations that could be exposed to privatisation, yet is considered to be of exceptional importance to the broader circle of stakeholders around IPE due to workers' rights protection, the green dimension of this form of transport and the possibility of setting up a democratic form of managing this public corporation. In the first months of IPE's work, a team consisting of some 20 active participants (primarily gathered around organisations such as the Centre for Peace Studies, Organization for Workers' Initiative and Democratization (BRID), Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia and Right to the City), with the help of Anka Kekez from the Faculty of Political Science, defined the research goals, priorities and methodology that set the groundwork for continued research in 2016.

Already at the beginning of the 2015/16 academic year, IPE began intense cooperation on implementing the course 'Society and sustainability' at the University Department for Croatian Studies, which would continue until late 2017. The course was developed to use an interdisciplinary approach in proposing answers to the challenges of the 21st century, and open the perspectives of alternative developmental models that take the limited character of natural resources as their starting point, while relying on insights from environmental economics, political ecology and contemporary sociology. Mladen Domazet, director of research at IPE, had a leading role in designing and implementing the course alongside course coordinator Marija Brajdić Vuković, but lectures were also given by a number of other IPE members and staff (Danijela Dolenc, Tomislav Tomašević, Karin Doolan) and collaborators, such as Giacomo D'Alisa, Branko Ančić, Jelena Puđak, Ana Dević and Ana Maskalan.





# 2015 / Networking & Visits

IN SUMMER 2015, IPE accepted the invitation of Italian jurist, commons scholar and deputy mayor of Chieri, Ugo Mattei, who organised the first AREA festival dedicated to the commons in Chieri (a town near Torino). Together with several collaborators from Zagreb and Belgrade (Iris Beneš, Svibor Jančić, Marko Aksentijević, Dobrica Veselinović), IPE appeared as coorganiser of the ‘Commons in the Balkans— from Struggle to Innovation’. Vandana Shiva, Antonio Negri, David Bollier and many others appeared at the festival.

During that summer, IPE members also participated as speakers in the Green Academy in Poland and Georgia, the Transeuropa Festival in Belgrade etc. In autumn, they undertook a series of study travels to aid international recognition and further organisational development in important programme areas.

In October 2015, in cooperation with Green Action, IPE designed and partly conducted a study visit to France, focused on successful cases of remunicipalisation of public water services. The delegation, comprising several organisations interested in democratising public services in the water supply and wastewater management sector, spent time in Paris and Grenoble, where it met the key stakeholders of water services remunicipalisation in France: Anne le Straat, former deputy mayor of Paris who initiated the remunicipalisation process, Celia Blauel, the current deputy mayor of Paris and president of Eau de Paris, Eric Piolle, mayor of Grenoble, and the management of the Eau de Grenoble utility company, with whom they spent several useful days learning the details of the remunicipalisation process and participatory water management. The contacts and experiences gained through this visit were of key importance in further development of the programme in the field of democratising public services. A direct meeting with the main actors of these changes was as important as the unique opportunity to gain a deeper insight into the functioning of public corporations such as the municipal water supply company in Grenoble.

In late 2015, IPE staff and members of the Managing Board travelled to Great Britain, where they visited the Public Services International Research Unit at the Greenwich University and the New Economics Foundation. They had a special meeting with Natalie Bennet, president of the UK Green Party, and Christian Wolmar, an expert on railways. In Netherlands, they visited the Wageningen University and its Centre for Agroecology, and the Transnational Institute, with which we started a fruitful exchange and collaboration.





✦ Visit to Grenoble water supply enterprise 'Eau de Grenoble'



✦ Visit to Grenoble water supply enterprise 'Eau de Grenoble'



✦ Visit to Grenoble water supply enterprise 'Eau de Grenoble'



✦ Visit to TNI – Transnational Institute, Netherlands

# 2016 /

# Programme & Events



## Green Academy, winter seminar

### Plitvice lakes, March 2016

THE FIRST WINTER SEMINAR on the subject of 'New Economic Thought, Policies and Practices for Green-Left Alliances' was held in late March 2016 at the Plitvice Lakes. The seminar gathered around sixty activists, researchers, experts and politicians in the field of solidarity economy, degrowth and commons, from Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, Belgium, Spain, Hungary, Portugal, Greece, the Netherlands, France. In the course of three intense days, there was a rich and substantial exchange between several current trends within which alternative economic concepts are being developed, as well as dialogue with representatives of certain progressive, green and left political options in Europe that are seeking to implement such ideas under extremely unfavourable social conditions.



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## Book launch, Degrowth: a Vocabulary for a New Era

### Zagreb, March 2016

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IN SPRING 2016, after demanding and exhaustive work on translating and adapting the original to its Croatian language version, IPE, in collaboration with Fraktura, presented *Degrowth: a Vocabulary for a New Era* to a full house at the Grič cinema in Zagreb. The book is a collection of around fifty scientific and journalistic essays providing a framework for a different approach to thinking about society which opened a path for 'degrowth' ideas in the local public sphere. Mladen Domazet, editor of the local edition, (who prepared the foreword with Danijela Dolenc), Federico Demaria, one of the featured authors, and Edo Popović, a local writer in many ways close to the tendency, participated in the book launch. In addition to talking about the book itself and the demanding work done by the translator, Mirta Jambrović, the discussion tried to answer the questions of the possible reach of the degrowth movement, its influence and interaction with the scientific community, but also its potential for social transformation.



# Anthropocene, capitalocene and the crisis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Zagreb, June 2016

IN COOPERATION WITH THE MULTIMEDIA INSTITUTE, IPE welcomed environmental historian and historical geographer Jason W. Moore in Zagreb. Moore held a lecture at the Multimedia Institute, in which he gave an analysis of capitalism as the global ecosystem of power, capital and nature. Moore claims that the conventional ideas on Nature and Society are ill-adapted to and insufficient for understanding the crises and politics of the 21st century. He attaches a long history of violence, expropriation and imperialism to the dichotomy between Nature and Society, which, according to Moore, is inherent to modern thought, and presents the ever more popular concept of Anthropocene, which ties the causes of the increasingly visible and drastic changes in the ecosystem to anthropogenic activities, and thus the ways in which its harmful effects may be reduced.



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## Green Academy, 'Tipping points'

Vis, August 2016

ORGANISED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL ECOLOGY, with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the Green European Foundation and the Open Society Initiative for Europe, the fifth Green Academy, a programme of political education, consisting of a series of lectures, discussions and workshops, was held from 20–26 August on the island of Vis. Entitled 'Tipping points', the fifth installment of the Green Academy continued its work through modules across three thematic areas (this time divided into three sections: commons, degrowth, climate justice), but also through evening debates dealing with the suspension of democracy, the strengthening of social movements and development of new economic alternatives.

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The Academy again served as a kind of platform for developing progressive thought and movements seeking to answer the growing challenges related to the field of commons, abandoning the concept of unlimited growth and protecting the climate, identifying those social forces that would allow the abandonment of the unsustainable economic model that has engendered increasingly harmful effects on people's quality of life, possibility of political engagement and ecosystem welfare.

In 2016, the programme that gathered more than 150 participants was held in the town of Komiža on the island of Vis, featuring many lecturers such as Boris Buden, Gala Pin, Joan Martinez Allier, Kira Vinke, Brannon Andersen, Srećko Horvat, Hillary Wainright and Ana Mendez.

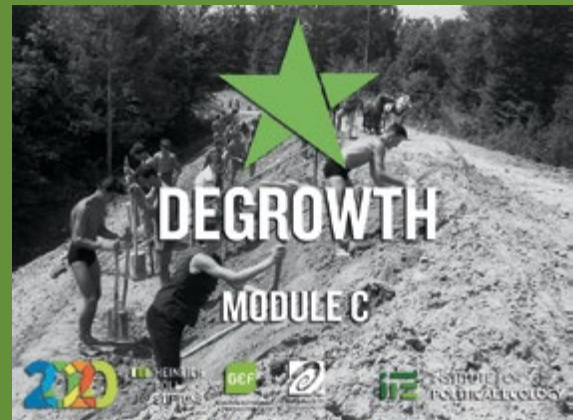




🌿 Green Academy, Climate Justice, Vis, August 2016



🌿 Green Academy, Commons, Vis, August 2016



🌿 Green Academy, Degrowth, Vis, August 2016



🌿 Green Academy, Vis, August 2016









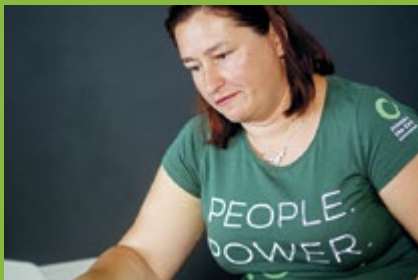
🌿 Green Academy, Vis, August 2016



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🌿 Green Academy, Vis, August 2016



🌿 Green Academy, Vis, August 2016



✦ 5<sup>th</sup> International Degrowth Conference,  
Budapest, August 2016



✦ 5<sup>th</sup> International Degrowth Conference,  
Budapest, August 2016



✦ 5<sup>th</sup> International Degrowth Conference,  
Budapest, August 2016



✦ 5<sup>th</sup> International Degrowth Conference,  
Budapest, August 2016

Through a series of thematic sections and exchange through debates, the programme aimed to recognise the dynamics that can create the momentum for a transformation favourable to systemic change. To that extent, the Academy served as the place where activists can find impetus, get acquainted with new modes of work or delve deeper into an area relevant to their activism. During the events, a number of critical voices could also be heard demanding stronger and clearer affiliation with feminist principles and practice, and, more generally, more intersectionality, which is the precondition for all the transformations that are being advocated.



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## 5<sup>th</sup> International Degrowth Conference

### Budapest, August 2016

IN LATE AUGUST, after intense year-long preparations and a selection process, the fifth international degrowth conference was held in Budapest. IPE was involved in organising the conference from the beginning through Mladen Domazet, our director of research, who was one of the three co-organisers of the five-day event that gathered some eight hundred participants, primarily researchers, scientists and activists concerned by the fundamental environmental, social and political unsustainability of our societies. The conference, held at the Corvinus University, incorporated around 250 scientific sessions, specially organised evening discussions, and the 'Degrowth Week', with a varied theoretical and practical programme open to all citizens. Although keeping in line with the continuity of the previous conferences, Degrowth in Budapest nevertheless made a qualitative step towards creating a permanent epistemic community in the field of degrowth, a step towards a more systematic production of relevant knowledge and a somewhat more rational view of the reach of the event itself. In addition, invoking the strong Central European tradition of developing alternatives and the specific perspective of the semi-periphery, the latter conference engendered a strong emancipatory influence towards other European trends in degrowth and turned a new page for the movement.



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## The future of work in the green transition

### Zagreb, November 2016

DO ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES represent an obstacle, or an opportunity for development? What is the price of the current model of development paid by the workers? Can local industry take the green path while holding on to its employees and improving work conditions? How does climate change alter the conditions of production and consumption and how does local industry deal with this? What changes does the adaptation of industry to growing environmental challenges bring to the world of work? Is there room for a new ecology of work? Are green jobs more work-intensive and of better quality? What should be secured in the long term, and in which sectors, to make the environmental transformation of the economy and the industrial sector as easy as possible?



We tried to find answers to these and many other questions at a one-day seminar on the impact of the green transition on labour, working conditions and the transformation of the concept of work/employment in general, that has been caused by growing environmental challenges.

The transition of both the economy and industry to (more) green, just and sustainable modes of production has — to greater or lesser success — already begun to take place both globally and on the European level. In some cases, it almost takes the form of technological revolutions, while in other it concerns slower and more gradual processes of transformation that imply the adaptation of societies, citizens and workers. Although the last couple of years have seen a growth in green jobs throughout Europe, questions concerning the world of work and new forms of association are arising. Since such change has an irreversible impact on working conditions, the quality of work, safety at work, job security, working time and education system, it is also an opportunity to create a new ecology of work that would improve the quality of life, social justice and working conditions. Taking off from the new impetus for kickstarting an industrial policy in Croatia, this seminar above all presented a series of views on the challenges arriving with the green transition in the world of work.

A particular highlight during the seminar, which was organised in cooperation with the Green European Foundation and brought together around sixty participants, was the discussion on the social effects of production, which shouldn't create new inequalities or dismantle the social infrastructure, but should, on the contrary, create a model that would enable the social and economic inclusion of a larger number of people. Participating in the discussion were representatives of unions, youth organisations, environmental protection and economic experts, who gave a comprehensive overview of the effects the green transition on the world of work.



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## Urban commons – commoning the city

### Zagreb, November 2016

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THE SEMINAR, which was held in cooperation with the Green European Foundation and brought together around fifty participants, presented interesting examples of urban commoning through commons governance practices and the struggle for the commons in Madrid, Berlin, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Maribor and Zagreb. It also opened additional space for exchanging experiences of various practices of urban commons governance and for sharing confrontation tactics against the enclosure of urban commons and privatising urban public goods. The goal of the seminar was to start a debate among the local participants on how to multiply, enhance, support and protect the models of urban commons and self-governance in the cities of the region. Self-governance and participatory management of urban resources by the community have been introduced or reintroduced in cities across Europe. For instance, in Athens, there is an operative network of solidary commons practices, providing food, accommodation, and even healthcare services to people affected by years of austerity. In Bologna, the local government even adopted regulation to allow cooperation with communities in producing and restoring commons. In Barcelona, the civic platform 'Barcelona in Common' won the local elections and is trying to create a framework for governing urban commons in various sectors.





✦ The future of work in the green transition,  
Zagreb, November 2016



✦ The future of work in the green transition,  
Zagreb, November 2016



✦ Urban commons – commoning the city,  
Zagreb, November 2016



✦ Urban commons – commoning the city,  
Zagreb, November 2016

# 2016 / Research & Education



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DURING 2016, IPE both continued and initiated a series of new studies concerning the commons, privatising natural resources, democratising public services and harmful effects of international trade agreements.

At the end of that year, Tomislav Tomašević's 'Message in a Bottle' was presented to the public — a new and noted analysis of the public policy on concessions to extract water for bottling, drafted by the Institute for Political Ecology in cooperation with Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia as part of the INTRA WASP—Increasing transparency in water and space management project. The analysis offers some answers to the central question; why doesn't the Republic of Croatia implement policies that stimulate greater investment in the public water supply and wastewater management system, which is more environmentally adequate and socially just, rather than extra profits for private corporations? Beside this, the analysis highlighted a series of irregularities in the system of giving concessions on sources of potable water for bottling. It advances an assessment that the bottled water industry in Croatia makes an annual profit of around a billion kuna. At the same time, income from households for all utility companies providing public water services — supply, sanitation and wastewater treatment — amounts to just around 1,800 million kuna per annum.

Throughout 2016, the work on field research in the sphere of railway services intensified. After the methodology was developed with help from Anka Kekez Koštro from the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb, IPE's large team of collaborators conducted more than 20 interviews with various and relevant stakeholders in the railway sector. In addition, several working groups were started, which were going to be independent of each other but coordinated in studying and discussing various aspects of the railway sector: the national and energy regulations; various instances of railway development in other EU states and globally; governance models in the railway sector etc. In the latter part of the year, the interviews were processed and coded, which formed a large database that, along with the aforementioned analytical groundwork, became the basis for preparing written material in the following period. During this period, IPE invested significant effort to govern the research process in a participatory way and include many researchers, some of whom would become co-authors of the study.

IPE recognised the railway sector, with its accompanying public corporations and unions, as a field within which it is necessary to set off the process of democratisation, but also to suggest the need for essential infrastructure investments in ecological modernisation. The research itself was aimed at showing how public corporations in this sector may be transformed in order to improve the end service to the users, and create potent arguments against attempts at privatisation to which the sector will be exposed. Alongside Tomislav Tomašević and Vedran Horvat from IPE, and Anka Kekez Koštro, a number of researchers participated, including Nikola Zdunić, Bernard Ivčić, Jovica Lončar, Martina Domladovac, Melita Varga, Enes Čerimagić, Jelena Miloš, Jasna Račić, Mirna Rul, Lina Gonan and Antun Sevšek.

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In addition to work on democratising public services in the railway sector, in 2016 IPE started a regional study on the commons in Southeast Europe, in collaboration with the Sarajevo office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The goal of this study was to demonstrate the usefulness and relevance of the theoretical and practical context of common goods and the commons in the region, both for social movements and for the series of challenges concerning ecology and democratisation. The study sought to map the most significant instances of struggles for the commons in the region, as well as attempts at institutional innovation in the field of governing resources according to the relevant principles of the commons. The publication itself is aimed at giving a theoretical introduction, an overview of the existing initiatives and practices in the political and cultural context of the region, but also — in the English translation — to position part of the social movements onto the European and international map of so-called 'commoners'.





✦ Message in the Bottle, public presentation, Zagreb, 2016



✦ Message in the Bottle, public presentation, Zagreb, 2016

Since negotiations around the CETA agreement between the EU and Canada have advanced in 2016, it was a matter of time when EU member states would start ratifying the agreement. On this occasion, IPE assembled several experts in various fields to publicly offer a yet inexistent but urgently necessary critical analysis of the possible impacts CETA may have on the European periphery—especially in the fields of environmental protection, agriculture and social policies. In 2016, these experts began preparing analyses and exchanging main preliminary findings.

In 2016, IPE added its expertise to participate in the project ‘Social stratification in Croatia: structural and subjective aspects’, supported by the National foundation for science and the University of Zadar. The goal of this project is to identify the existing class structures in Croatia by operationalising various theoretical approaches to class analysis, and examine the modes of manifestation of a specific class status in everyday life, with a special emphasis on people's vulnerability or exposure to environmental disasters (such as floods).

IPE continued 2016 with intense collaboration on implementing the course ‘Society and sustainability’ at the Croatian Studies department, and began lectures on environmental justice and social movements as part of the ERMA programme (European Regional Master for Democracy and Human Rights) in Sarajevo.



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# 2016 / Networking & Visits

AT THE START OF THE YEAR, IPE took part in the first meeting of a new research platform on the new politics, launched at the initiative of the Transnational Institute from Amsterdam. Throughout the year, IPE was actively involved in the activities of this platform through frequent and close cooperation with the various European organisations it brings together, and through its international activities.

In order to identify the prospects for cooperation in 2016, part of the IPE team visited kindred organisations in Vienna, such as the Institute of Social Ecology, Global 2000 and Grüne Bildungswerkstatt, with which it had already begun cooperation. Among other things, IPE's participation in the 'Gutes Leben für Alle' congress in Vienna was arranged.

During 2016, in addition to his exceptional success at the 5th International Conference on Degrowth, IPE's Mladen Domazet gave a series of presentations at scientific conferences in the field of political ecology, such as 'Undisciplined environments' at the KTH Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm and the 'Political ecology, environmentalism and the Greens in Central and Eastern Europe: Past, Present and Prospects' at the Université de libre Bruxelles in Brussels.

Tomislav Tomašević, IPE's programme manager, presented his lectures at International Association for the Study of Commons (IASC) conferences, the regional conference 'Commons in a Glocal World: Global Connections and Local Responses' in Berne and the annual conference of the INURA network entitled 'Cities in transition. Spaces of Confusion, Places of Hope' in Romania. Tomašević also visited the University of Buenos Aires as a guest at the panel 'America Latina y las uchas y resistencias desde el Sur Global' in September 2016, while in November he took part in launching the first European Commons Assembly in Brussels along with Teodor Celakoski, member of the IPE Managing Board. Together with Vedran Horvat, he participated in the conference of the Sarajevo office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation held in Banja Luka on the subject of the commons, and lectured at the newly initiated Commons studies in Belgrade.

In addition to organising the fifth installment of the Green Adacemy and various appearances in Croatia, in 2016 Vedran Horvat took part in Heinrich Böll Foundation's Green Academy in Georgia and the youth conference on Digital Commons in Belgrade, which was co-organised by IPE. During the summer, he participated as a speaker at the round-table 'Croatia on the road to illiberal democracy?', held at the European Parliament at the invitation of the Green group in the European parliament, and the presentation of the migration research project 'Next to us' at the European Green Party Council in Glasgow. In Vienna, at the invitation of Attac Austria, he participated in developing regional answers to the growing pressures around signing the TTIP and CETA trade agreements in Central and Eastern European countries. He took part in the Greening the Balkan Economies conference organised by the EGP Balkan Green Network.

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✦ Buenos Aires, 'America Latina y las luchas y resistencias desde el Sur Global'



✦ Strasbourg, 'Croatia on the road to illiberal democracy?'



✦ European Commons Assembly



✦ New Politics Research Agenda

# 2017 / Programme & Events

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# Good City for All, Green Academy winter seminar

## Plitvice Lakes, March 2017

IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF CROATIAN LOCAL ELECTIONS, IPE, in cooperation with the Green European Foundation, organised the Green Academy winter seminar, aimed primarily at activists and researchers interested in the subject of new municipalism as well as, more broadly, urban politics, governance models and possible transformative practices creating the conditions for a good urban life. The seminar opened up space for wider transnational European exchange between activists, local councillors, scholars in the field of participatory governance and urban commons. The cases of Bologna, Bilbao, Brussels, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Budapest and Athens served as a good framework for comparison for all those wishing to work on similar goals at the municipal level in Croatia. In addition to useful lectures and accompanying discussions, we also held deliberative discussions that more forcefully incorporated contributions to this subject in shaping progressive programme principles for all social and political actors seeking to advocate for a democratic, green and just future of life in cities.



✍ Good City for All, banner, Plitvice Lakes, March 2017



✍ What a turnaround for HEP?, banner, Zagreb, April 2017

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# What a turnaround for HEP?

## Zagreb, April 2017

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IPE, THE TEHNOS UNION OF SKILLED WORKERS in the Croatian Electricity Company (HEP) and the Cooperative for Ethical Financing (ZEF) co-organised a round-table on the future of HEP, entitled 'What a turnaround for HEP?'. The discussion was moderated by Vedran Horvat and its main participants were Matko Utrobičić (Croatian Distribution System Operator), Ivana Rogulj (Society for Sustainable Development Design), Robert Pašičko (Green Energy Cooperative), Sandra Benčić (Centre for Peace Studies) and Toni Vidan (Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia). The direct motive for the discussion lay not only in the frequent debates about the possible privatisation of HEP, but also in the open issues concerning further development of HEP, its place in society and the national economy, unused role in the environmental transition etc. The speakers suggested ideas and directions for the development of HEP that would be consistent with the principles of sustainability, transparency and democratic governance. Moreover, the discussion served as a form of introduction into the comprehensive study into the democratisation of the energy sector begun by IPE in 2017.



## Yes to CETA – path of no return?

Zagreb, May 2017

DUE TO A LACK OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION in society on the possible impacts of signing and implementing the CETA and TTIP agreements on small peripheral states like the Republic of Croatia, IPE, in cooperation with several experts, produced an analysis of these agreements' impacts on environmental protection, agriculture and social policy, as well as, more generally, an economic and legal introduction to understanding these agreements. The findings of this analysis were unveiled several months ahead of the ratification of CETA, at a discussion organised by IPE together with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Alongside the authors of the analysis (Marija Bartl, Vladimir Cvijanović, Paul Stubbs, Vedran Horvat, Darko Znaor), also taking part in the discussion were Max Brändle of FES Zagreb, Sandra Benčić of CMS, Bojana Percan from the Commercial Trade Union, and Domagoj Novokmet as moderator. The well-attended discussion opened a series of questions challenging the need and reasons for signing the agreement, and was perhaps of use to other states where this decision won't be made so lightly and without deeper analysis.



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## Quiet degrowth and loud rumblings: perspectives from the european semiperiphery, research seminar

Zagreb/Ljubljana, August 2017

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ON THE OCCASION of the beginning of cooperation with Giacomo D'Alisa, IPE organised a series of activities in Zagreb and Ljubljana, presenting the work of several researchers. In advance of the public events, a series of internal seminars were held at IPE, in which a more limited circle of IPE collaborators discussed edgrowth: from introductory definitions to the relation between degrowth and feminist economy, state, climate change discourse and other subjects of relevance to the Institute. We also held a seminar in Net.culture club MaMa, where Tomislav Medak presented his paper, 'Technologies for an Ecological Transition — A Faustian Bargain?', in which he addresses technology and green growth and degrowth — the contrasting scenarios of environmental transition. Afterwards, IPE's Lilian Pungas, Mladen Domazet and Lana Pukanić held several seminars with D'Alisa in Ljubljana. A discussion on degrowth with D'Alisa, Pungas and Domazet as speakers and moderated by Ena Banda's Ajda Pistotnik was held in Pritličje. In the discussion, D'Alisa pointed out that feminism and reproductive work are central aspects of the degrowth movement, while Domazet called on those present to act politically. At the research seminar in Ziferblat, Christina Plank, Giacomo D'Alisa and Mladen Domazet held lectures that served as introduction to work in groups. Plank spoke about quiet degrowth in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, D'Alisa about the universal basic income and the political ecology of care, and Domazet presented the first results of IPE's study on the indicators of sustainability as part of a lecture on degrowth-compatible environmentalism.



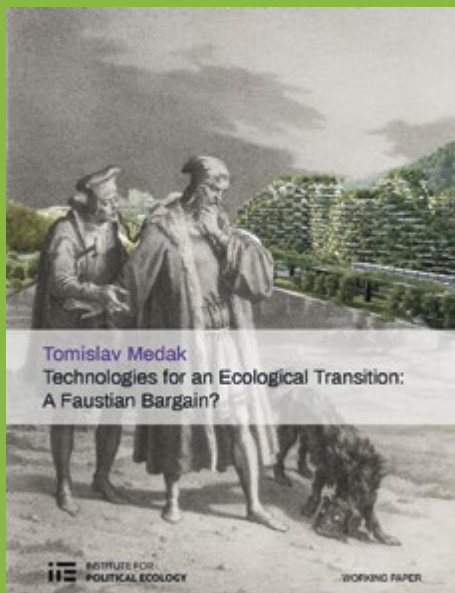




✦ Yes to CETA – path of no return?, Zagreb, May 2017



✦ Yes to CETA – path of no return?, Zagreb, May 2017



# Green transformation: freedom and security in uncertain times, Dirk Holemans' lecture

Zagreb, November 2017

IN COOPERATION with the Green European Foundation, IPE organised a seminar at which Dirk Holemans, member of the GEF board and director of the Belgian green think-tank Oikos, presented a lecture. Dirk's point of departure was that European societies are facing various challenges, such as climate change, migrations, growing inequality, the economy of rapid consumerism and the fourth industrial revolution (new disruptive technologies). Inspired by Karl Polanyi, Holemans claims that this social disruption has spurred two different kinds of reaction: the democratic, seeking a new combination of freedom and security, and fascist, where authoritarian leaders promise security and offer taking freedom away in return. Dirk put forward some fundamentals of a democratic answer, a new social model seeking to reincorporate the economy within itself, while providing freedom and security to all within the capacities of our planet.



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# Good city for all, public discussion

Zagreb, December 2017

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CITIES TODAY are increasingly becoming sites of confrontation between different concepts of development, in which the public interest often goes missing, and citizens become the targets of commodification and enclosing of public and housing space, as well as the disappearance of joint planning and co-deciding. In this process not only do they increasingly lose their right to the city and to the urban, but are at the same time faced with systemic policies of depolitisation of the urban as public, as well as the total destruction of urban ecosystems that until recently fulfilled basic life needs. Nevertheless, there is a growing number of examples where, through various forms of organising and mobilisation, citizens in certain European cities have been developing or initiating practices resisting the neoliberalisation of their cities and changing and transforming the city to make it as accessible as possible to all. Whether these are micro-initiatives changing the way of life and inhabiting neighbourhoods and districts, wider plans of development that view the city as a common space, or brave policies of the governments of 'fearless' or 'rebellious cities' such as Barcelona or Grenoble returning their cities to the citizens; through insubordination, imagination and new practices, all these examples are creating a different city. A well-attended public discussion that, as a kind of sequel to the winter seminar in Plitvice, gathered around 70 participants in the Grič cinema in Zagreb, featured activists from Ghent, Rotterdam, Belgrade and Budapest, who presented various recent ideas and policies that derive from the conception of the city as a common good (or group of commons), as well as current attempts by some groups in these cities to change their cities, district by district.





🌿 Green transformation: freedom and security in uncertain times, Dirk Holemans' lecture, Zagreb, November 2017



🌿 Green transformation: freedom and security in uncertain times, Dirk Holemans' lecture, Zagreb, November 2017

# Degrowth and state, lecture by Giacomo D'Alisa

Zagreb, December 2017

IN ACADEMIC CIRCLES, political debates and everyday discussions, state is usually represented as a 'thing' that exists for-itself, separate from those who govern it (and with increasing frequency as the culprit). 'Where is the state?' or 'The state should guarantee...' are sentences repeated after a socio-environmental tragedy or when someone's rights are violated, and 'Why should I give my money to the state?' is the chorus of the discussion on taxation in the public space. On the other hand, we encounter the experience of the state as a social relation every day, standing at checkpoints (as a soldier or civilian), going to school (as a teacher or pupil), entering hospital (as a doctor or patient) or taking part in the meeting of the city council (as the ruler or the ruled). In a lecture that filled the Nova gallery, Giacomo presented his ideas on how degrowthers can question the social relations built into structures defined by capitalist, hetero-patriarchal, colonialist and racist forces without reifying the state.



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 Giacomo D'Alisa i Tomislav Medak, lecture, Zagreb, December 2017

# 2017 / Research & Education

IN 2017, IPE started a collaborative research project on indicators of sustainability under the working title SUPER DONUT, which is still ongoing. At the start of the year, it primarily involved the preparation of a conceptual and analytical groundwork for shaping quantitatively-based narratives dedicated to degrowth for environmental sustainability and social justice. The main pillar of the project consists in (1) critically questioning the conceptual underpinning of the widespread macroeconomic modelling of transition towards a sustainable social metabolism in the 21st century (with a special emphasis on societies on the Southeastern semi-periphery of Europe); and (2) choosing indicators of social metabolism and development suitable for a scientific understanding of the sustainable social metabolism and communicating with various social groups (from the scientific and professional community to at-risk groups and popular media).

The programmes of activities take place parallelly, in order to regularly support each other and mutually inform the development of subsequent programme activities. Starting with critical questioning of the existing instruments of measurement used in scientific projection and bureaucratic schemes for managing environmental change, the emphasis in the study has been placed on the quantitative projections of the expanded spectrum of planetary boundaries and their interaction with the quantitative indicators of the imperative of economic growth and the dominant social opinions in Croatia, Europe and selected American states. Recognising the quantitative metric as the most influential and broadly comprehensible tool for managing systemic change, the project expands the instrumental framework with alternative metrics of development and sustainability. Simultaneously, new communication tools (under the working title 'Super Donut') are being developed to facilitate the paradigmatic understanding of global sustainability in the context of democratic support for a social-metabolic turn.

The project activities overlap with related research and education activities in IPE's year-round work. In cooperation with the Furman University from Greenville, South Carolina, USA, the research team was joined in May by Logan Richardson, research intern. Richardson primarily worked on gathering and adapting data from international databases — which was also the foundation of her graduation thesis at the Furman University. In May, a meeting of project researchers, including dr. Brannon Andersen, dr. John Quinn, dr. Branko Ančić, Marija Brajdić Vuković, Logan Richardson, Lilian Pungas and other IPE associates, was held in Zagreb, where the initial groups of biophysical and social indicators were chosen, as well as the countries of comparison (Croatia, USA, Costa Rica, Estonia, Germany and Spain). Partnerships with the Furman University and the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb (IDIZ) were also established at the meeting. Lilian Pungas, IPE Junior Research Fellow for 2017, took part in collecting and analysing data in this project and incorporated them in preparation of the research and policy reports she has been developing as part of her research residence at IPE. Data on the opinions of the citizens of Croatia and the countries of comparison were collected from international databases (ISSP, EVS and others), as well as the specific databases of surveys conducted by IDIZ. The initial analyses that resulted from the data were presented at the international conference of the European Society for Ecological Economics, held in June in Budapest.

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In July 2017, in the framework of the partnership with IDIZ, researchers and collaborators at IPE and project partners from Croatia developed additional survey batteries for conducting opinion research on degrowth on a nationally representative sample in Croatia. At the same time, within the framework of the collaboration with Karin Doolan on the project 'Social Stratification in Croatia: structural and subjective aspects' (University of Zadar), Mladen Domazet took part in shaping the research instruments for additional quantitative and qualitative comprehension of resistance to economic and environmental change in different social groups in Croatia. The collected data were the basis for scientific studies that will be presented at international conferences in Europe and North America during 2018.





✍ Municipal services – clean hands, Zagreb, 2017



✍ Anton Tomičić, IPE's associate in research about communal services

Simultaneously with the collection and analysis of data, over the course of summer and autumn, the IPE team developed modes of visualising indicators of sustainability; the potentials and obstacles to transition towards a sustainable social metabolism in the 21st century along the lines of the 'doughnut' developed by Kate Raworth (Oxford). In this way, the project team wishes to use an accessible and coherent visual instrument to communicate the overstepping of justly distributed global environmental boundaries and the gap between the desirable social well-being and that which has been achieved. The team is facing the serious task of normalising disparate groups of data for the needs of comparative visualisation, and the intention is to present the preliminary visualisations at a project partners' meeting at the Furman University in May 2018. The possible visualisations of complex quantitative data were also shaped in seminars with the IPE Senior Research Fellow Giacomo D'Alisa in Zagreb and Ljubljana in the second half of 2017. Through the coming cooperation with the European Post-growth Ecological Macroeconomics network and the Centre for Advanced Studies at the University of Rijeka, the team will additionally develop the scientific grounding and communicability of the presentation of complex data and the attending explanatory narratives dedicated to degrowth for environmental sustainability and social justice in Croatia and Europe.

A multiyear study on the democratisation of public services in the railway sector was continued in 2017. During the year, several team meetings were held in order to exchange the main findings of the study, determine the structure and composition of the publication and, to a large degree, the interpretation of data.

A study in the field of democratisation of the energy sector, with a special focus on HEP, was initiated in 2017. IPE assembled a team of several experts in the field, while part of the study was conducted in cooperation with the Centre for Peace Studies. In the first stage of the research, the legislative and policy framework of the Croatian energy sector and the model of managing HEP and various aspects of its business were analysed. The team prepared a special analysis in the case of the role of HEP in combating energy poverty. An overview of the existing models of democratising national and local electricity utilities in various EU countries was also compiled. In addition to IPE as the coordinator and CMS, which commissioned the study, experts from the ECO Ltd in London, the Society for Sustainable Development Design and Green Energy Cooperative also participated. The preliminary results were presented at the conference, 'Governing public goods in the Republic of Croatia', organised by the Croatian Parliament and Centre for Peace Studies. However, in recent months, the research was continued with the initiation of a series of interviews with competent individuals in the energy sector who were involved in the study. The research itself is focused on the issue of democratising the governance models, environmental transition of the sector itself and the companies within it, these companies' social impact and privatisation scenarios. BRID's Velimir Gašparac, former employee of the TEHNO union, has taken up a significant portion of the work of preparing and internally coordinating the project.

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The work on the study of commons in South-Central Europe also continued, preparing a theoretical and interpretative framework and identifying the cases to be presented in the research as 1) models of governing the commons and 2) the struggle for the commons. Researchers from the region (Ivana Dragšić, Miodrag Dakić, Alma Midžić) were also included, analysing some of the cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. Through work on research and consultations with the Sarajevo office of Heinrich Böll Foundation, a textbook-like format for presenting this material, which should serve as a basis for understanding and possible social engagement, was settled on.

Commissioned by Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia, in 2017 IPE began and completed a study on anti-corruption mechanisms in the sphere of municipal services (waste and water) in several Croatian cities (Dubrovnik, Osijek, Pula, Zagreb), which it conducted over the summer. The basic goal of the study was to establish how and through which mechanisms can the room for corrupt practices in the work of local utilities companies be reduced, and municipal services improved in terms of quality and public interest. Together with Anton Tomičić, Tomislav Tomašević and Vedran Horvat conducted more than 20 interviews with relevant stakeholders in all four cities and prepared an analysis, 'Municipal services—clean hands', in which they propose some basic recommendations.



Several months before the signing of CETA, IPE unveiled an analysis of the impact of the agreement on environmental protection, agriculture and social policy to the interested public. The analyses gained a measure of media attention, as well as that of the Canadian Embassy and several Members of Parliament, but, for structural reasons, insufficient to delay or prevent the ratification itself.

In 2017, in cooperation with Fraktura, IPE decided to translate Andreas Malm's *Fossil Capital*. During this period, a new draft translation of a book was readied, which, although not to the same extent as the *Degrowth* translation, faced a slew of linguistic challenges in introducing a new subject matter to our public.

In his working paper for IPE, 'Technologies for an Ecological Transition: A Faustian Bargain', Tomislav Medak wrote about the role of technologies in two contrasting scenarios of environmental transition—green growth and degrowth. In the first part, the text addresses the limitations of the green innovation and green growth strategies, which originate from the dominant techno-developmental doxa, in line with which they place inordinate expectations on the process of innovation that is expected to save the planet. In the second part, the conclusions of this analysis are applied to the degrowth scenario, while the final part suggests some elements of a strategy for a degrowth transition as a potentially revolutionary process of transition to a new mode of production, social organisation and a relationship towards the environment that is not premised on economic growth.

In 2017, IPE continued the cooperation on the Society and Sustainability course at the Croatian Studies, albeit of somewhat different intensity, and delivered the environmental justice module within the framework of ERMA.



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✍ Velimir Gašparac, IPE's associate in research on democratisation of energy sector

# 2017 / Networking & Visits

AT THE START OF THE YEAR we participated in the transnational meeting in Grenoble convened by mayor Éric Piolle on the subject 'Local Authorities and the New Generation of Free Trade Agreements'. During the meeting, the participants, some fifty people from around Europe engaged against new trade agreements, met the representatives of the urban authority and various local initiatives.

In March 2017, Vedran Horvat took part in the 'The Crisis of Politics. Politics of Crisis' conference in Capetown, South African Republic, organised by the Transnational Institute and the Alternative Information and Development Centre, which brought together around eighty activists from around the world who are engaged in emancipatory and progressive politics and creating a counter-hegemonic narrative. His lecture focused on the limitations and possibilities of a 'great transformation' in the prevailing social and political conditions in the European semi-periphery.

In April, Danijela Dolenc, president of IPE's Managing Board, held a lecture at the 'Systemic Alternatives Across Borders – Thinking Backwards from Utopia' panel at the annual conference of the Edge Funders Alliance, entitled 'Re/Organising Power for Systems Change'. In the first part of her lecture, she pointed out two key parameters that should serve as points of orientation for any future left-wing strategy—the environmental crisis and automation of work. Together, these two factors lead to a natural resource deficit on the one hand, and an overabundant workforce on the other, meaning that the majority of the world population is becoming economically superfluous and a drain on resources, and so a growing risk to the political elites. In the second part of her lecture, Danijela spoke about the need for the Left to face these challenges.

The twelfth conference of the European Society for Ecological Economics was held from 20–23 June in Budapest. IPE was represented by research director Mladen Domazet, Branko Ančić, Marija Brajdić Vuković, Lillian Pungas and Logan Richardson. The issues proposed at the conference included pro-environmental behaviour and its determinants and thresholds for various indicators, social metabolism and systemic approaches, degrowth and climate justice, to mention just a few. Mladen moderated a panel on 'Environmental economics in transformations of sustainability and degrowth'. Branko and Logan unveiled the Institute's research poster on 'Quiet Degrowth', while Maria held a presentation on engagement with climate change in the academia at a panel on the power of science in the production and use of knowledge.

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Vedran Horvat and Tomislav Tomašević took part in the municipalist summit 'Fearless cities', organised by the progressive municipalist political platform Barcelona en Comú, which won the local elections in May 2015 and whose leader Ada Colau became the mayor of Barcelona. The successful model of political organising represented by Barcelona en Comú was replicated in other Spanish cities, primarily Madrid, where the Ahora Madrid platform won that year's elections, and Manuela Carmena became mayor. It was Ada Colau and Manuela Carmena who opened the summit, joined by leaders of other progressive cities around the world. Tomislav Tomašević held a presentation entitled 'Creating non-state institutions: between state and non-state in Croatia', in which he touched on the example of creating hybrid forms of governing commons, where institutions lie on the boundary between state and non-state. He showed the examples of managing physical space and water resources in Zagreb and Pula. Also participating at the summit were Right to the City's Iva Marčetić and Teodor Celakoski, a member of the IPE Managing Board. The conference was brought to a close by Ada Colau and participants from around the world, who presented examples of successful municipalist political platforms to inspire similar political projects in the future.



# QUIET DEGROWTH

Mladen Domazet (mladen@ipe.hr), Logan Richardson (logan.richardson2@furman.edu) & Branko Ančić (branko@idi.hr)

## Introduction

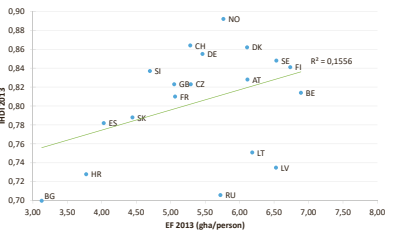
- The phenomenon of global environmental change calls for a rational and emotional response, primarily from societies of the developed world.
- Those people who claim to be committed to creating such a response are known as environmentalists, and within practically democratic societies their identity attracts different political and market responses.
- One of the dominant views in environmental sociology holds environmentalism to be a position more prevalent within the affluent societies.
- We aim to show that the research whose results connect environmentalism to average national affluence relies on an erroneous construal of what it means to be an environmentalist.
- We contrast the dominant "post-political" conception of environmentalism with "degrowth-oriented" environmentalism.
  - "Post-political": green consumption
  - "Degrowth-oriented": distributive justice

Figure 1. The correlation between environmental concern and wealth (Franzen and Meyer, 2010)



- Figure 1 displays the prosperity or affluence hypothesis (Franzen and Meyer, 2010)
- It seems to illustrate that wealth is positively correlated with environmental concern. Countries with high levels of per capita GDP also demonstrate higher levels of environmental concern such as Switzerland and Denmark. Countries with low levels of per capita GDP such as Bulgaria and Latvia exhibit low levels of environmental concern.
- The kernel of such environmentalism lies in the willingness to pay for the sake of the environment, which is hidden in this affluence hypothesis. Therefore, this research relies on politically impotent construal of what it means to be an environmentalist.
- We propose a tentative step to move conceptually to an environmentalism of a very different kind that is rooted in a movement known as degrowth.
  - The degrowth movement challenges the belief in the necessity, possibility, and desirability of economic growth.
  - It is concerned fundamentally with social justice and rejects the post-political response to environmental crisis that frames it as a problem that can be solved by relying on expertise

Figure 2. EF (2013 data) – IHD (2013 data) spread for 19 European countries



## Definitions

- The **Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI)** is a composite measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standards of living in countries worldwide that discounts each element's average value according to its level of inequality, accounting for how each of those components are distributed among a country's population. It is part of the spectrum of indices that provide a background of distinctions between development trends and benefits in the core and semi-peripheral European societies. European countries are ranked in the top group of inequality adjusted human development index and are considered to have high or very high human development.
- Ecological footprint (EF)** is conceptualised as a measure of the land and water required to sustain the material standard of living of a given population, given the reliance on contemporaneously dominant technology. It is a measure of the human demand for extraction from Earth's ecosystems, that is of the human utilization of the natural capital contrasted with the planet's ecological capacity to regenerate. Globally, the situation is not bright as the average global citizen has an eco-footprint of about 2.8gha, whilst the top sustainable limit is 1.8gha. In other words, the global population has (without including the threat of irreversible catastrophic climate change) overshoot the global biocapacity by 50% and now lives unsustainably by depleting the previously accumulated stocks of natural capital.
- The **Inequality-adjusted Income Index (IHI)** is the HDI income index, as measured by the GNI per capita, adjusted for inequality in income distribution based on data from household surveys listed in "Surveys used for estimation of 2013 IHDI." This measure was used as a proxy for national affluence in the scatter plots below instead of per capita GDP as seen in the affluence hypothesis (Franzen and Meyer, 2010) because it accounts for inequality within national populations. All European countries included are ranked in the top 30% of all countries based on the inequality-adjusted income index.

## Methodology

We use the data for 19 countries (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom) from ISSP Environmental module and EVS (2016), which was fielded during 2009, 2010, and 2011 and 2008, 2009, and 2010 respectively, together with the existing measures constructed in order to enable longitudinal and cross-sectional comparison, focusing on designing measurements of sustainability-ready populations in terms of values, expectations, attitudes and commitments (ISSP Research Group 2012).

Table 1: Instruments

INDEXES	ITEMS
<b>ISSP Environmental Module Indicators (ISSP, 2012)</b>	
Active Degrowth Indicators	Q10a "And how much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?" "We worry too much about the future of the environment and not enough about prices and job today"
	Q11a "How much do you agree or disagree with:" "Our country needs economic growth in order to protect the environment"
Passive Degrowth Indicators	Q11b "How much do you agree or disagree with:" "Economic growth always harms the environment"
	Q19c "How much do you agree or disagree with:" "Economic progress in [COUNTRY] will slow down unless we look after the environment better"
<b>European Values Study Indicators (EVS, 2008)</b>	
Q62a	"Here are changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me if it were to happen whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?" Less emphasis on money and material possessions
Q85g	"How much do you agree or disagree with:" "If things continue on their present course, we will soon experience a major ecological catastrophe."

\* Measured on Likert scale: 1 = "strongly agree", 2 = "agree", 3 = "neither agree nor disagree", 4 = "disagree", 5 = "strongly disagree"  
 \* Measured on Likert scale: 1 = "strongly agree", 2 = "agree", 3 = "disagree", 4 = "strongly disagree"

## Concluding Remarks

- This research shows how defining environmental value orientations more in line with those of degrowth lets a very different map of environmentalism in Europe appear.
- An affluence thesis trend can still be detected in correlations between individual national affluence and Active Degrowth measures (Figures 3 and 4)
- On the Passive Degrowth orientation greater national affluence in Europe is, overall, weakly inversely correlated to the proportion of the population supportive of its measures (Figures 5 and 6).
- From the EVS indicators, affluence is weakly positively correlated to believing that less money and material possessions would be a good thing but negatively correlated to believing that we will experience a major ecological catastrophe if things continue on their present course.
- While the European degrowth-compliant population is not of negligible size and standing (Ančić and Domazet, 2015), immediate income priorities are still related to overall national affluence; but assent to longer term growth-environment trade-off is not.
- Values of redistribution, community cohesion, and metabolic localization rooted in social trust could characterize a pan-European environmentalism.

Figure 3: IHI 2011 – Q10a Active Degrowth

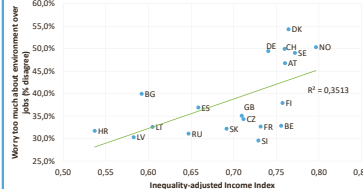


Figure 4: IHI 2011 – Q11a Active Degrowth

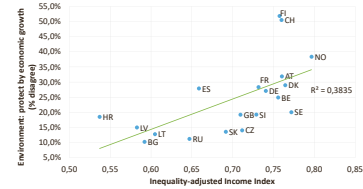


Figure 5: IHI 2011 – Q11b Passive Degrowth

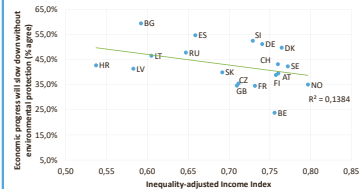


Figure 6: IHI 2011 – Q19c Passive Degrowth

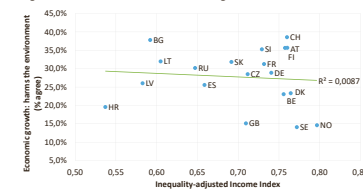


Figure 7: IHI 2011 – Q62a Less Money Emphasis

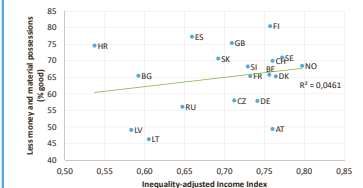
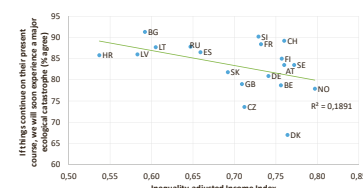


Figure 8: IHI 2011 – Q85g Ecological Catastrophe



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✦ Barcelona, EDGE Funders conference, 'Re/Organising Power for Systems Change', April 2017



✦ Capetown, TNI/AIDC conference, 'The Crisis of Politics/Politics of Crisis', March 2017



✦ Berlin, INNOCRACY, Conference on Democratic Innovation, November 2017



✦ Grenoble, Local Authorities and New Generation Trade Agreements, February, 2017

Vedran Horvat appeared in Hamburg at the invitation of DiEM 25 as a speaker at an event on the margins of the G20 summit, and was also invited by Green Action/Friends of the Earth Croatia to give comments at a round-table organised on the occasion of unveiling of the new Croatian low-carbon strategy.

Tomislav Tomašević participated at the 16th conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons (IASC) in July. IASC, of which Tomislav is a full member, is the main global association of scientists dealing with the commons, whose first president was the Nobel Prize winner Elinor Ostrom. IASC holds an international conference every two years, and the subject of this year's conference, held in Utrecht, was 'Practicing the commons: Self-governance, cooperation, and institutional change'. Tomislav held a presentation entitled 'Urban commons in the western Balkans: From conflict to cooperation and back', in which he gave an overview of the institutionalist and critical theoretical framework of the commons and drawing from the examples of Zagreb and Pula showed how these two theoretical frameworks and practices have alternated through cooperation and conflict between the practitioners of the commons and the local authorities.

In late October, IPE's Mladen Domazet, Lana Pukanić, Lilian Pungas and Vedran Horvat visited several German institutes with a view to establishing better connections and possible acquaintances, and gaining deeper insights into the work of kindred organisations. They visited the German Federal Environmental Foundation, the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research and the Institute for Ecological Economy Research, and spoke to Heinrich Böll Foundation's Lili Fuehr and Hermann Ott from the Wuppertal Institute.

In November, Tomislav Tomašević appeared as a presenter at the annual INURA (International Network for Urban Research and Action) conference in Cuba, where IPE was collectively chosen to host the annual conference in 2019. At the end of the month, Vedran Horvat, together with Daniel Chavez from partner organisation Transnational Institute, presented IPE's work in the field of the commons and on democratisation of public services at the 'Innocracy' conference on democratic innovation, organised by the Progressive Zentrum. Horvat also held a lecture entitled 'From Struggle to Innovation – Ecological Transition in hands of the People' in Sofia, at a conference organised by BlueLink and the Green European Foundation under the name 'Eco Innovations for Economic Change and Shared Prosperity'.





🌿 Berlin



🌿 Osnabrueck

# IPE fellowship



AT THE VERY BEGINNING of its operation IPE launched its programme of scholarship-supported research residences in IPE (Junior Research Fellowship) in the duration of 6 to 9 months. The idea of this residential scholarship is to give financial support to talented, outstanding young researchers to stay in Croatia and collaborate with the team of the Institute for Political Ecology on research and advocacy activities in the Institute's programme areas. Each year IPE opens one or two such positions; it is preferred that the researchers' interests coincide with IPE's planned activities across its programme areas. It is usually expected that at the end of their stay, the researchers produce a final draft of a policy paper or an advanced version of a scholarly article, and to participate in other activities of IPE in the course of their residence. Additionally, IPE has introduced the option of a similar kind of residence for senior researchers whose academic work is at a higher stage and who can significantly contribute to IPE's work in one of its programme areas.



## **JELENA MIRKOVIĆ** (2016)

JELENA HAS A MASTER'S DEGREE IN DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (Sarajevo University and Bologna University) and a Bachelor's Degree in Japanese language and literature from the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade. Apart from the IPE fellowship, her experience in the civil society sector includes coordination of activities and advocating conditions for the development of civil society in the Western Balkans region, comparative research on modalities of support for civil society through the IPA Civil Society Facility in BH and Serbia, and field research in a FP7 MAXCAP project in Serbia. She currently works as a monitoring officer for the Perform project in Serbia.

As a fellow in the Institute for Political Ecology she worked on the democratisation of models of public services (railway) in Croatia and Japan. She is interested in uncovering social patterns and models in social sciences and the humanities, as well as in natural sciences.



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## **OSCAR KRUEGER** (2016)

OSCAR COMES FROM THE FIELD OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY and human ecology; in both fields he holds diplomas from the Lund University. Currently he is a doctoral student in social anthropology at the University of Kent. As an IPE research fellow, Oscar worked on the project of revitalising the work of Ivan Illich in order to explore the common foundations of growth and sustainability.





## NIKOLA ZDUNIĆ

(2016)

DURING 2016, as part of the professional development programme, Nikola Zdunić worked at IPE as a project assistant. Nikola completed undergraduate and graduate studies of political science at the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb. His research interests lie in social movements and their impact on political systems; participative models of governing public commons; research into models of public and cooperative housing; and the degrowth theory and movement. In recent years, he has been active in the Zagreb LGBTIQ movement and in the struggle for the commons and public goods. He is a member of the LGBTIQ rights association Zagreb Pride and has been a co-organiser of the Zagreb LGBTIQ Pride Parade for a number of years. He is a collaborator of the left-green advocacy group 'Grupa 22'. He worked at the Institute for Political Ecology for one year, in 2016, supported by the state policy of professional development without employment.

Apart from organising the fifth international conference on degrowth, he was involved in the final preparations for the publication of the translation of *Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era* as well as preparation and drafting a thematic paper on the subject of financing scientific research from state budget funds; he assisted in organising the Green Academy on Vis; he also attended the course 'Society and Sustainability'. At the moment he is engaged with research on public housing in Zagreb, the neoliberalisation of urban planning in Zagreb, democratisation of railway services, and local politics through the political platform 'Zagreb je NAŠ!'.



## LILIAN PUNGAS

(2017)

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LILIAN GRADUATED IN POLITICAL SCIENCE from the European University Viadrina in Germany. She comes from Estonia and lives and works in Berlin. In recent years she became involved in the degrowth movement in Germany and elsewhere. Since then she has been active both academically and as an activist in various groups and non-profit organisations which deal with issues of climate justice or support degrowth and education on sustainable development.

Her research interest fields include practices of sustainability, environmental and political ecology issues in eastern Europe, the trade-off between economy and environment, social metabolism, and policy of sufficiency. She is currently working on a model of a series of indicators of natural resources and environmental impacts, whose objective is to assess the regionally specific sustainability potential in the European semi-periphery.





## GIACOMO D'ALLISA

(2017)

GIACOMO D'ALISA is an environmental economist with interdisciplinary skills. Together with eminent social scientists he has developed the political ecology agenda of the 'Barcelona school' of climate justice and degrowth (Research and Degrowth Barcelona). In his academic work he applies a critical and innovative approach based on environmental economics, political theory, integrated assessment and urban political ecology, in order to explore changes in the patterns of social metabolism, and the climate injustice that they can produce.

He is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra. The goal of his current research project, entitled 'Becoming', is to connect three theoretical frameworks (institutional analysis, political ecology, and digital studies) to better explain the flourishing of the commons throughout Europe. Giacomo is one of the editors of Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era, which has so far been translated to ten languages (recently to Portuguese); scholars from various academic fields include it in their syllabuses.



## LOGAN RICHARDSON

(2017)

LOGAN RICHARDSON was also at IPE in 2017; she is a final year student at the Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina, where she studies sustainability science and economics. She spent the summer as a research intern in IPE, where she created a model for measuring the current level of sustainability in Croatia. At the university, she is also engaged in assessment of greenhouse gasses and reducing the use of plastic bottles.



# Publications

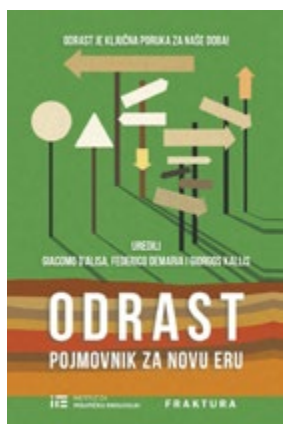
## Scientific works (a selection)

Domazet, M. (ed.). 2017. *Ecology and Justice: Contributions from the margins*. Zagreb: Institute for Political Ecology

Domazet, M. and Ančić, B. 2017. 'How Far for the Money? Affluence and Democratic Degrowth Potential in Europe'. In A. Telesiene and M. Gross (eds.) *Green European: Environmental Behaviour and Attitudes in Europe in a Historical and Cross-Cultural Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge, pp. 157–181

Krüger, O., Domazet, M., Dolenc, D. 2016. 'Rejecting the Post-Political Response to Climate Change: Introducing the European Egalitarian Environmentalist'. *Socijalna ekologija* 25/1–2: 167–189

Ančić, B., Puđak, J., Domazet, M. 2016. 'Vidimo li klimatske promjene u Hrvatskoj?: istraživanje stavova o nekim od aspekata klimatskih promjena u hrvatskom društvu' ['Do we see climate change in Croatia?: research of attitudes on some aspects of climate change in Croatian society']. *Hrvatski meteorološki časopis*. 51: 27–45



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✦ Degrowth – vocabulary for new era



✦ Message in the bottle



✦ Race to the bottom: CETA & TTIP on European periphery/Case of Croatia



✦ Ecology & Justice



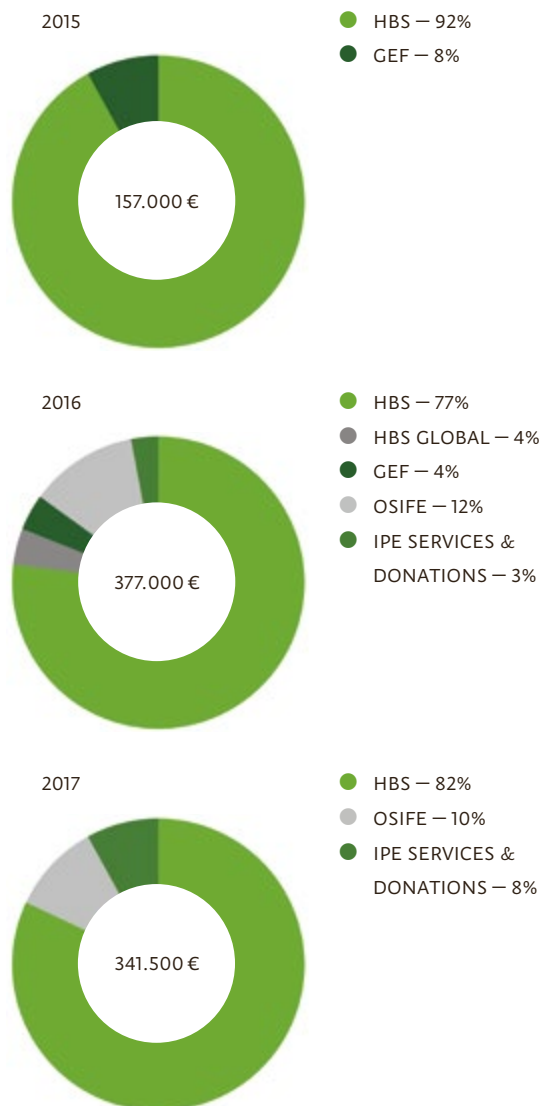
✦ Municipal services – clean hands



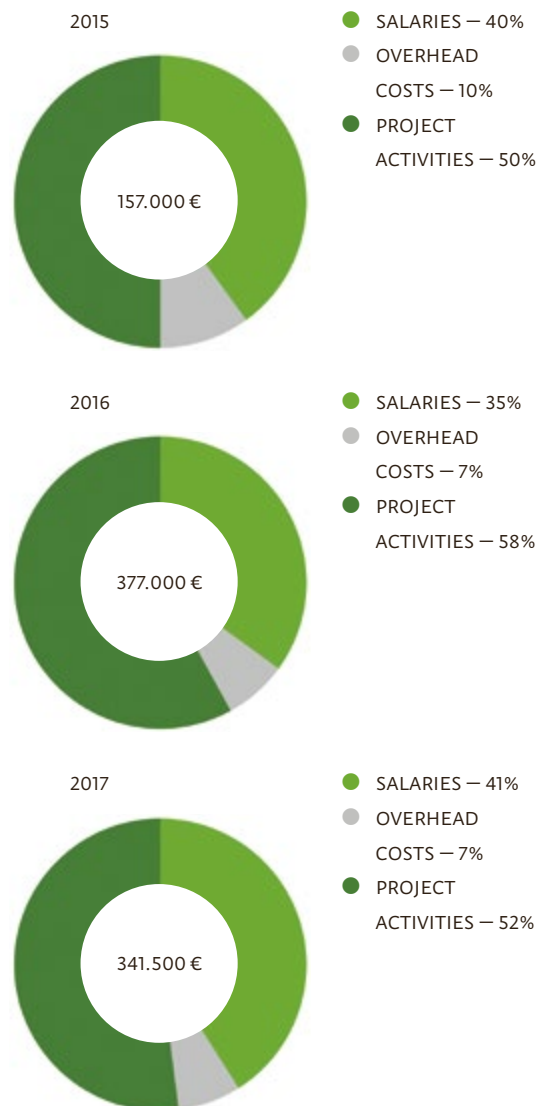
✦ 'NEXT TO US', A New Narrative on Migration in Europe

# Finances

**DISTRIBUTION BY DONOR**



**DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF EXPENSE**



IN THE PERIOD 2015–2017, IPE received institutional and programme support from the Heinrich Böll Foundation, which served to cover all operational and organisational costs, and a considerable part of project activities.

The total amount for 30 months of IPE's operation was 770,000 €.

On several occasions over the same period, IPE received support for certain project activities from the Green European Foundation.

From 1st August 2016 to 31st December 2018, IPE has been a beneficiary of support from the Open Society Initiative for Europe, based in Barcelona, in the amount of 129,100 \$.

In 2017, as partner in consortiums, IPE received grants for its first two European projects: Community-based learning from the European Social Fund and H2020. In both cases, the projects are to start in 2018; it is estimated that IPE has raised approximately 280,000 €, through these projects.

In 2018, IPE will continue to operate with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in the amount of 220,000 €.



# We cooperate & participate



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## FROM THE IPE KITCHEN FOR 2018

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- A study on the democratisation of public services – the case of the energy sector and HEP
- A study on the democratisation of public services – the case of the railway sector and the Croatian Railways
- Regional study on the commons in Southeastern Europe
- Green Academy, 6<sup>th</sup> edition: 25–30 August 2018
- Croatian translation of Fossil Capital, a book by Andreas Malm
- mPower (H2020) – ‘Municipal Action, Public Engagement and Routes Towards Energy Transition’
- CBL – Modelling socially responsible learning for environmental protection

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