

Zennström Visiting Professor in Climate Change Leadership 2023–2024

Professor Stacy D. VanDeveer



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Report by Judith Lundberg-Felten
2024

Summary

This report offers an overview of the activities during the twelve months that Stacy VanDeveer held the Zennström Visiting Professorship in Climate Change Leadership at Uppsala University (UU) in 2023 and 2024. Professor VanDeveer made several significant contributions to research, outreach and internal collaboration during his period at UU.

The 10-year professorship in Climate Change Leadership at UU is funded by a generous donation from Niklas and Catherine Zennström and the Zennström Philanthropies.

The key outcomes of Professor VanDeveer's activities are organized into these three themes in this brief summarizing report:

- 1) Teaching & Mentoring: New cross-faculty PhD course in climate leadership, and doctoral student mentoring and collaboration
- 2) Invited Lectures, Seminars & Conferences: In Uppsala and across Sweden and Europe
- 3) Research and Scholarly Publications



Photo taken at Uppsala botanical garden at a CCL retreat day in September 2023 shortly after Prof. VanDeveer joined the team. From left to right: front row: Frida Öhman, Sverker C. Jagers (Zennström Professor 2022-2023), Naghmeh Nasiritousi, Laila Mendy, Judith Lundberg-Felten, Jens Ergon. Back row: Oskar Lindgren, Anna Berg Grimstad, Stacy VanDeveer (Zennström Professor 2023-2024), Mikael Karlsson, Daniel Lindvall.

Table of contents

Introduction	4
Teaching & Mentoring:	5
Invited Lectures, Seminars & Conferences	7
Research/Scholarly Publications	10
 <u>Appendices</u>	
I. List of activities 2022- 2023	11
II. Economic report	14

Introduction

Stacy D. VanDeveer was Uppsala University's sixth Zennström Visiting Professor in Climate Change Leadership, from September 2023 to August 2024. He was in residence in Uppsala during the whole period.

Stacy VanDeveer is a professor at the Department of Conflict Resolution, Human Security & Global Governance at the McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies at University of Massachusetts Boston and interim director for the Centre for Governance & Sustainability at UMass Boston.

VanDeveer's research answers key questions of global and comparative environmental politics, policy and governance – and the interface between scientific expertise and policy. His research has important impacts on scholarly and policy practitioner communities alike. This includes his work on the roles of experts in policymaking, EU environmental and energy politics, and processes and institutions of global environmental policymaking. Professor VanDeveer has also conducted community-engaged research on climate change policies in the US. He advises local, state and federal officials in the US on how to improve climate policy-making.

VanDeveer used the opportunity of working in Sweden to integrate expertise from Uppsala University and Sweden to better connect his work on US, European and global climate change politics, policy and leadership. More specifically, VanDeveer is interested in Sweden's important role on EU environmental and energy policies, Sweden's acceptance and implementation of European policies, and the current political and social challenges to environmental policymaking in Sweden. While in Uppsala he continued to write and research

contention in climate change politics, the challenges of global minerals governance during energy transitions, and causes and implications of the move away from coal burning in many countries.

Another of VanDeveer's goals was to contribute new connections to Uppsala University to help build and expand sustainable relationships between US and Swedish researchers, students and policy innovators. His goal with this was to accelerate shared learning and policy making and implementation to meet the growing challenges we all face from climate change and over-consumption of many resources.



Welcoming cake for Stacy VanDeveer at CCL

While at Uppsala University, VanDeveer visited, lectured and collaborated with numerous Swedish faculty colleagues across several Uppsala University departments and centers, as well as at Gothenburg University, Linköping University, Stockholm University, the Swedish Institute for International Affairs (Stockholm) and Lund University, to give but a few examples.

Teaching & Mentoring

Led by Stacy VanDeveer and Mikael Karlsson, CCL had obtained funding from Uppsala University to organize a new interdisciplinary, cross-faculty PhD course that VanDeveer helped shape into a successful concept. The course, entitled “Climate Change Leadership: from science and technology to fair policies for climate and biodiversity protection” ran from March to June 2024 with 12 participating PhD students from five different departments at Uppsala University (Earth Sciences, Sociology, Computing Science, Ecology and Genetics, Material Sciences and Engineering), the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, University of Gävle, Chalmers Technical University and Stockholm University.

Through five different modules the students explored science, technology and justice, science denial and communication, fair transformation and policies, decisions and institutions. Both VanDeveer and Karlsson organized and taught in the course. VanDeveer was the examiner of the final essay, which was designed to be useful as a draft perspectives paper for peer-reviewed publication by the PhD students.

Throughout various lectures on the course, VanDeveer brought in several colleagues from his networks to enrich and diversity the course, build the students’ networks and bring new perspectives. Examples of these colleagues include Henrik Selin (Prof of International Relations at Boston University), Noelle Selin (atmospheric chemist and Prof at



PhD student group at the course kick-off retreat.



Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Michele Betsill (Professor of Global Environmental Politics from Copenhagen University) and Dr Florian Krampe, Director of the Climate Change and Risk Programme Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

The course was well received by the students and it afforded opportunities for CCL faculty and students to network with young researchers of other Swedish universities in a transdisciplinary environment. This was the first opportunity for CCL to arrange a PhD course and we hope that VanDeveer’s initiative, that helped make this possible, will have a lasting impact so that the course can be repeated in the future.

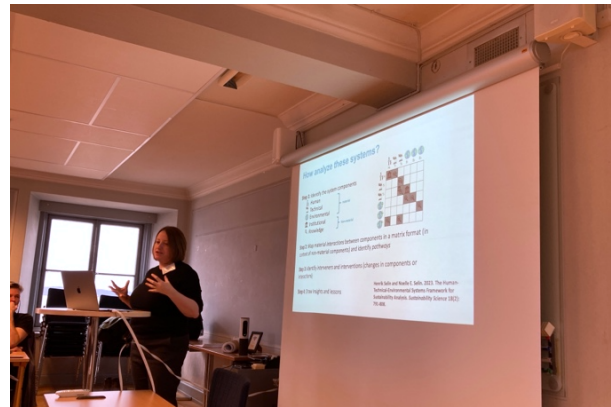


VanDeveer and Henrik Selin in a panel discussion with the students about scientific publishing.

VanDeveer's teaching was not limited to the PhD Course with Mikael Karlsson. He gave guest lectures and led discussions in a number of Uppsala University undergraduate courses, most of these organized by Uppsala University's Centre for environment and development studies, CEMUS. He also presented and led discussion with the large interdisciplinary group of NRHU and other programs' monthly doctoral student seminar. From Uppsala, he also gave virtual lectures for courses at Columbia University and Copenhagen University – as well as a professional development seminar on European Energy Transitions for the United States Department of State.

In addition to the PhD course, VanDeveer dedicated substantial time to working with and mentoring CCL's five doctoral students to help advance their ongoing research agendas, doctoral program progress, European and transatlantic networking, and scholarly

publications. He also served as a “half-time seminar” discussant for another NRHU doctoral student at Uppsala University, and a Political Science doctoral student at Stockholm University. Professor VanDeveer is hopeful that research and writing collaboration with these Uppsala doctoral students will continue beyond his tenure as Zennström Professor.



VanDeveer's US colleague Noelle Selin holding a lecture on human-technical-environmental systems frameworks for sustainability analysis.

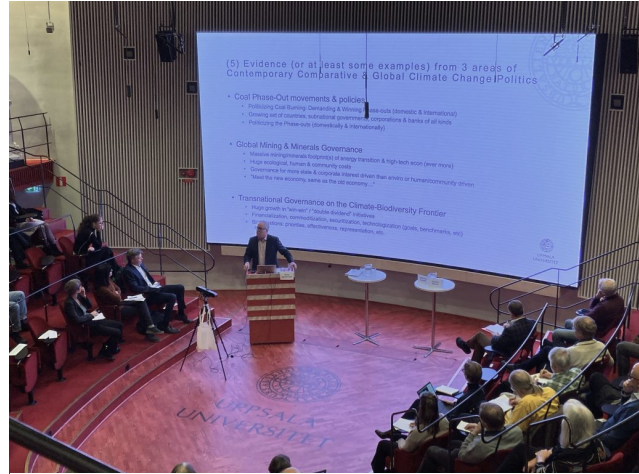
Invited Lectures, Seminars & Conferences

During his tenure as Zennström Professor, Prof VanDeveer gave over 30 invited research lectures, public talks, conference and workshop papers and presentations in around Sweden and in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Finland and the United Kingdom. Below we highlight his Inaugural lecture and other research and conference papers and presentations.

Inaugural lecture

On October 9th 2023, Stacy VanDeveer held his inaugural lecture in front of more than 100 listeners ranging from students and researchers, local politicians and employees of the municipality, civil society organizations, NGOs and companies. In his lecture, VanDeveer gave an overview of his past and current research while addressing the question of why progress in climate change politics and policymaking remains so slow and inadequate to the challenges, despite widespread scientific and public consensus agreement that the climate is changing due to human behavior. Stacy VanDeveer asked whether scientific participation in policymaking had any impact, and discovered that countries possessing institutional capacity most efficiently transformed scientific knowledge into policy. He noted that scientists often fail to make themselves particularly useful in environmental policymaking. The growing scientific consensus and increased public awareness, does not translate into effective political action, resulting in mediocre climate policies.

VanDeveer concluded that climate policy is not advanced more because it remains a constant struggle against well-entrenched and powerful actors, with scientific knowledge alone insufficient to drive political action. He emphasized that climate leadership often relies more on discursive power and social-economic



Stacy VanDeveer during his inaugural lecture at Humanistiska Teatern, Uppsala University

arguments rather than scientific facts alone. Also, climate change policy opponents learning from the success and failures of climate leadership have become stronger in designing counteractive measures

The lecture was followed by a panel discussion with Naghmeh Nasiritousi, associate professor in political science at Linköping University, Johanna Sandahl, chairperson of the EEB (The European Environmental Bureau) and Charles Parker, professor in political science at Uppsala University, led by Mikael Karlsson, Associate Professor at CCL. The panelists agreed that there will be no sudden acceptance of climate policy, but Parker highlighted the cumulative effect of scientific evidence in fostering international cooperation. Johanna Sandahl emphasized the importance of integrating perspectives from political science and humanities, advocating for the co-production of knowledge. Nasiritousi compared climate policy backlash to a broader democratic backlash and stressed the need for courageous countries to lead. The audience discussion underscored the urgency of climate action, the challenges of climate mitigation due to financial interests, and the necessity for more research on the impact of activism in climate policy.



Panel discussion. From left to right: Mikael Karlsson, Naghmeh Nasiritousi, Johanna Sandahl and Charles Parker

Interaction with UU researchers

VanDeveer's inaugural lecture led to a number of interactions with researchers and students at Uppsala University beyond the CCL team. He interacted with students, by presenting at the CEFO Doctoral Student seminar about climate change, biodiversity and other natural resources and through three lectures at CEMUS on 'Actors and dynamics in international environmental policymaking', 'Global mining and mineral governance', and 'Governance, Government and EU and US Climate Change and Energy Politics and Policy'. Contact to PhD students at other departments at UU, beyond the department of Earth Science, such as Sociology, Computer Science, Ecology and Genetics and Material Science and Engineering were made through the newly established PhD course, course outlined above.

VanDeveer served as a discussant for the doctoral midterm seminar by Björn Eriksson within the Natural Resources and Sustainable Development programme at the Department of Earth Sciences, UU, on the topic of geopolitical and environmental challenges for global ocean governance in the 21st century.

VanDeveer was invited to the institute for Housing and Urban Research at UU for a lecture on governing mining and minerals for the energy and sustainability transition. He was called to UU's department of Peace and

Conflict as a panelist for a round table discussion on Water and Peace at the World Water Day in 2024. That interaction has led to follow-up meetings while VanDeveer was in Uppsala and is now resulting in two book chapters: One is co-authored by several faculty members in peace and conflict research and VanDeveer, the other was requested for a book that Stefan Doring (a young scholar at the peace and conflict department) is editing. The latter also includes a workshop in April 2025, for which VanDeveer will come back to Uppsala.

Finally, VanDeveer has agreed to be a member of the steering committee for the Nordic Environmental Social Science Conference (NESS) 2026 at Uppsala University, arranged by CCL, exemplifying that his engagement with Uppsala University is lasting even after his stay at UU.

Lectures and Scientific Conferences

VanDeveer also received invitations on international level for presentations at the University of Bath (UK), the Graduate Institute in Geneva (Switzerland), and Stockholm University. Each of these was a public lecture and during each visit he met individually and in groups with numerous faculty and graduate students at each institution. Other highlights included being invited to participate in an "expert working group on international responses to climate and security" for the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Vienna; lecturing on changing global norms related to coal burning at the Swedish Institution for International Affairs in Stockholm; participating in an expert discussion of governance of geoengineering in a global perspective at the Global Challenges Foundation in Stockholm; and lecturing on global minerals governance in Uppsala and Linköping. VanDeveer also helped to plan and moderate an online "shared learning and exploration" discussion between the heads of four environment-related United National Inter-Agency Mechanisms in July of 2024.

VanDeveer participated in a number of conferences and workshops during his tenure

as Zennström Professor. These included various research meetings in the Fairtrans Programme; the annual meetings of the Royal Geographical Society in London; the environmental workshop track at the meetings of the Swedish Political Science Association in Gothenburg; the 2023 Earth Systems Governance conference in Nijmegen, Netherlands; and the annual meeting of the International Studies Association in San Francisco, California.

Finally, Stacy VanDeveer participated in a panel discussion and several seminars at the Swedish Climate Symposium in Norrköping, co-arranged by CCL. He moreover attended the Nordic Environmental Social Science conference in Turku, Finland; and the Environmental Peacebuilding conference in the Hague, Netherlands.

Research & Scholarly Publications

During his tenure as Zennström Visting Professor, VanDeveer had four publications come out (3 peer reviewed articles and a book chapter); he completed a forthcoming co-edited book, a co-authored and peer reviewed article, and a co-authored commentary piece; he has four article and book chapter manuscripts in progress; and he was awarded one grant as co-investigator and submitted another grant application (see Appendix 1).

The three peer reviewed publications explore pathways for a “Non-Use Regime on Solar Geoengineering,” “Energy Regionalisms,” and “Transnational Initiatives and Governance Innovation for climate change and biodiversity.” The solar geoengineering non-use paper is the second in a series of three publications with Professors Frank Biermann and Aarti Gupta (and others) that both raise a set of concerns about solar geoengineering research and experimentation and outline a set of pathways and precedents for more restrictive national and global governance of such technologies. The “Energy Regionalisms” paper (published in *Review of Policy Research*) outlines a multidisciplinary research agenda on regional energy systems and governance, while the “Transnational Initiatives” paper (published in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*) begins to assess the burgeoning number of NGO and firm-led institutions seeking to govern climate change and biodiversity protection at the same time. The grant VanDeveer was awarded in 2024 from the Independent Research Fund Denmark, with co-investigators Professors Michele Betsill and

Harriet Bulkeley, includes funding for a 3-year research project to pursue a set of governance questions about this growing number of biodiversity—climate change initiatives.

The forthcoming book volume, entitled *Stability and Politicization in Climate Governance* (Cambridge University Press) is co-edited with Paul Tobin and Matthew Paterson. The final manuscript was completed and submitted in February of 2024, about half way through VanDeveer’s tenure as Zennström Visiting Professor. The volume explores the iterated tensions between those who want longer-term, stable and incremental climate change policies and governance and those who seek to politicize or repoliticize aspects of climate change, energy, consumption, and/or justice-related politics. The forthcoming volume will be open access and includes a set of chapters by an international and highly accomplished set of authors. VanDeveer’s single authored chapter in the volume focuses on highly contentious normative change related to coal burning and financing the coal sector.

The four pieces still in progress include an article manuscript on local and international contention associated with hydropower development in Uganda, and a piece on “Climate policy backlash in Sweden” co-authored by CCL’s Mikael Karlsson and Oskar Lindgren. The book chapters include co-authors from the Department of Peace and Conflict at Uppsala University.

Appendix 1: List of activities (September 2023 -August 2024)

Publications

- [Towards a Non-Use Regime on Solar Geoengineering: Lessons from International Law and Governance](#) (w/ Aarti Gupta, Frank Biermann, Ellinore van Driel, Nadia Bernaz, Dhanasree Jayaram, Rakhyun E. Kim, Louis J. Kotze, Dana Ruddigkeit & Margaretha Wewerinke-Singh). *Transnational Environmental Law* (2024): 1-32.
- [Energy Regionalisms in Theory and Practice](#) (w /Corey Johnson). *Review of Policy Research* (2024)(40)(2): 290-309.
- [Double Dividend? Transnational Initiatives & Governance Innovation for Climate Change and Biodiversity](#) (w/ Harriet Bulkeley, Michele Betsill & Anouk Fransen). *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* (39)(4)(2023): 796-809.
- [Global Climate Change Governance: Where Next, After Paris?](#) (w/Henrik Selin), *Environmental Policy*, 12th edition, Michael Kraft and Barry Rabe, eds. Sage/CQ Press (2024): 249-67.
- [Stability and Politicization in Climate Governance](#) (w Paul Tobin & Mat Paterson, eds.) Cambridge University Press, *forthcoming*.
- [Politicizing Coal and Energy Policy: Phase-Out Politics from Cheap Signals to Emergent Norms](#). Book chapter in *Stability and Politicization in Climate Governance*, *forthcoming*.
- Three Pathways to Nonuse Agreement(s) on Solar Geoengineering (w / Frank Biermann, Rakhyun Kim, Carol Bardi & Aarti Gupta). *Ethics and International Affairs* (2024): 1-12.
Doi:10.1017/S0892679424000285.

Work in Preparation

- "Geopolitics of Water Agreements: Cooperation, Conflict, Justice and Peace" (w/ Kyumgme Kim, Stefan Doring, Maria Bald and Ashok Swain). In *Handbook on the Geopolitics of Sustainability*.
- "Peace, Goal 9 and Extractive Industries and Energy Transition Challenges" (w/ Kendra Dupuy, Nkasi Wodu, Timothy Adivilah Balag'kutu and Weston Marume) In Hegre, Petrova and Doring, eds. *Peace and the SDGS*.
- "Same Dam Problems: Hydropower Discontents in Uganda" (w/ Kendra Dupuy), *article manuscript*.
- "When a Fore-runner Stops: Understanding Climate Policy Backlash in Sweden" (w/ Oskar Lindgren and Mikael Karlsson) *article manuscript*.

Invited lectures, Conferences and Presentations

2024

- Invited Facilitator & Moderator, "Informal Dialogue among United Nations Inter-Agency Secretariats" 11th of July.
- Roundtable Participant, "Green Curses and Violent Conflicts: Risks of Renewable Energy Expansion in Africa" Third International Conference on Environmental Peacebuilding, The Hague /Leiden University, 19-21 June
- Paper Presentation, "Environmental Peacebuilding Priorities for the Next 10 Years" Third International Conference on Environmental Peacebuilding, The Hague/Leiden University, 19-21 June
- Invited Participant, Peer Review & Publication Mentoring Panel, Third International Conference on Environmental Peacebuilding, The Hague/Leiden University, 19-21 June
- Discussant, Doctoral Midterm Seminar, Bjorn Eriksson, "Geopolitical and Environmental Challenges for Global Ocean Governance in the 21st Century," Department of Earth Sciences, Uppsala University, 14 June

Invited Paper Presentation, "Politicizing Coal Burning: Cheap Signals, Transnational Norms, North-South Contention & Anti-Fossil Fuel Politics" Swedish Institute for International Affairs, Stockholm, 12 June.

Paper Presentation, "The Politics of Transformation at the Climate Change Biodiversity Frontier" (w / Michele Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley) Nordic Environmental Social Science conference, Turku, Finland, 4-6 June

Invited Discussant, "Assessing the Prospects for Fair and Effective Governance of Solar Geoengineering Deployment" (Biermann, Gupta, Kim & Rabitz), Global Challenges Foundation, Stockholm, 3 June.

Discussant, Doctoral Midterm Seminar, Felicitas Fritzsche, "Partnerships for Sustainable Development and the United Nations: global politics and bureaucratic practices" Stockholm University, 29 May.

Invited Presentation & Roundtable, "Climate Policy Outside the Box," Swedish Climate Symposium 2024, Norrköping, Sweden, 15-17 May.

Invited Lecture, "Governing Mining and Minerals for the Energy and Sustainability Transitions" Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University, 14 May.

Invited Lecture, "Transnational Minerals Governance, Such as It Is" Linköping University, TEMA, 25 April.

Paper Presentation, "Whither Coal? Outlining a Research Agenda for the Comparative Politics of Coal" International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, 3-6 April.

Paper Presentation, "The Politics of Transformation at the Climate-Biodiversity Frontier" (with Harriet Bulkeley & Michele Betsill), International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, 3-6 April.

Roundtable Participant, "Blue Carbon, Blue Justice, Blue Extraction: Politics and Contradictions of Deep Sea Mining," International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, 3-6 April.

Mentor Participant, Enviro Studies Section Speed Mentoring, International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, 3-6 April.

Panelist, ISA-ESS Distinguished Scholar Panel Honoring Michele Betsill, International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, 3-6 April.

Panelist, "Water & Peace" A World Water Day Roundtable" Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict, 22 March.

Invited Lecture, "Why are Climate Change Politics more Contentious and Politicized Despite Increased Scientific Consensus and Public Awareness?" Stockholm University, 14 March.

Invited Lecture & Discussion, "Actors & Dynamics in International Environmental Policymaking" Center for Environmental and Development Studies (CEMUS), Uppsala University, 4 March.

Invited Lecture & Discussion, "Global Mining & Minerals Governance: Violence Fast and Slow" Center for Environmental and Development Studies (CEMUS), Uppsala University. 29 February.

Invited Presentation, "Energy Transitions" for United States Department of State Expert Consultation on "Europe's Energy Shift" (virtual), Washington, DC, 1 February.

Invited External Discussant, "FAIRTRANS" Project meeting, Stockholm, Sweden, 25-26 January.

Invited Lecture/Discussion, "EU climate and energy politics and policymaking institutions in the Wake of the Russian War on Ukraine" (virtual), Columbia University, SIPA, 16 January.

2023

Presentation and Discussion, "'Double Dividend' Transnational Governance: Research at the Climate Change/Biodiversity Frontier" Climate Change Leadership Program Year-End Meeting, Uppsala University, 14 December.

Invited Lecture, "No Political Tipping Point is Coming: Why Climate Change Politics Grow More Contentious and Politicized Despite Increased Scientific Certainty and Public Awareness" Bath University, Bath, UK, 12 December.

Invited Lecture, "Climate Change, Biodiversity and Other Natural Resources: How Can we Sustainably Govern and Research?" CEFO Doctoral Student Seminar. Uppsala University, 28 November.

Panelist, Webinar on "COP28: What's at Stake?" Global Program on Politics and Security, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 24 November.

Invited Participant, "Expert Working Group on International Responses to Climate and Security" Organizations for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Vienna, Austria. 15 November.

Invited Lecture, "Why Do Climate Change Politics Grow More Contentious and Politicized, Despite Increased Scientific Certainty and Public Awareness?" Geneva Dialogue, The Graduate Institute, Geneva, Switzerland, 9 November.

Invited Participant, Kathryn Chelminski Book Workshop, "The Global Governance of Energy Transitions" Brown University/Virtual, 6 November.

Chair, "20 Years of Cities and Climate Change" Earth System Governance, Nijmegen, Netherlands, 23-27 October.

Roundtable Moderator, "Engaging with ESG Publications: Research Dissemination and Community Building" Earth System Governance, Nijmegen, Netherlands, 23-27 October.

"Toward a Non-Use Regime for Solar Geoengineering" (w/ Aarti Gupta, et.al) Earth System Governance, Nijmegen, Netherlands, 23-27 October.

Invited Roundtable Participant, "How can ESG Research Contribute to Transformative Change for Climate and Biodiversity?" Earth System Governance, Nijmegen, Netherlands, 23-27 October.

Invited Lecture, "Governance, Government and EU and US Climate Change and Energy Politics and Policy" Uppsala University, 17 October.

"Why is Climate Policy Increasingly Contested When We Know So Much More?" Zennström Professor in Climate Change Leadership Inaugural Lecture, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, 9 October.

"Toward a Research Agenda on Environmental Policy Backlash" (w/Oskar Lindgren, Frida Ohman & Mikael Karlsson) Swedish Political Science Association (SWEPA), Gothenburg, Sweden, 3-6 October.

"Politicizing Coal and Energy Policy" Annual Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, London, UK, 29 August-1 September.

Research applications

2024-27 Co-Investigator, "Transnational Governance and the Politics of Transformative Change at the Climate Biodiversity Frontier" Independent Research Fund Denmark (M. Betsill, lead PI, Copenhagen University) (funded).

2024-26 Co-applicant with Mikael Karlsson, "Solar Diplomacy" MISTRA (not funded).

Appendix 2 – Economic report

Below follows an economic report in summary.

Feb 2024 - Aug 2024		SEK	Euro
Incoming balance		-2 132 664	-187 718
Revenue	Installment from Zennström Philanthropies grant April 2024	3 180 774	279 973
Cost	Personnel Vandever Feb 2024 – Aug 2024 Assistant 20% Feb – Aug 2024	-778 111	-68 490
	Administrative costs	-207 496	- 18 264
Balance by 2024-08-31		62 503	5 501
Prognosis Sept 2024 – July 2025			
Incoming balance		62 503	5 501
Costs	Personnel Gupta Mar 2025 – July 2025, Biermann Mar 2025 – July 2025 Assistant 20% Sept 2024 – July 2025	-2 388 170	-210 208
	Administrative costs	-788 097	-69 369
Balance by 2025 – 07-31		-3 113 763	-274 076

Euro exchange rate by Aug 31st 2024: 11,361