ECOFEMINIST DEGROWTH

SLOWING DOWN TO RESTORE LIFE

JÚLIA MARTÍ COMAS

ODG
OBSERVATORI DEL DEUTE EN LA GLOBALITZACIÓ

AUTHOR:
Júlia Martí Comas
CONTENT REVIEW:
Paz Aedo, Astrid Agenjo, Stefania Barca, Blanca Bayas, Joana Bregolat, Amaranta Herrero, Alfons Pérez, Marta Pérez, Nerea Ramírez and Maristella Svampa.
PROOFREADING AND CATALAN TRANSLATION:
L'Apòstrof SCCL
ENGLISH TRANSLATION:
Joanne Craven
DESIGN AND LAYOUT:
Maria i Punt.
PRINTING:
Cooperativa Cevagraf
PUBLISHED BY:
Debt Observatory in Globalisation
observatori@odg.cat
Junta de Comerç 20, principal
08010 Barcelona, Spain
PUBLICATION DATE:
January 2025
SUPPORTED BY:
Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament
Generalitat de Catalunya
Ajuntament de Barcelona

ECOFEMINIST DEGROWTH

SLOWING DOWN TO RESTORE LIFE

JÚLIA MARTÍ COMAS

DISCUSSION SPACE PARTICIPANTS

8TH APRIL, 13TH MAY AND 11TH JUNE, 2024:

Aimée Martínez Vega (Asociación de Mujeres Defensoras de las Aguas y la Vida, Colombia)
Alba del Campo (specialist in the energy transition and energy poverty, the Spanish State)
Alejandra Durán (CICrA Environmental Justice, Barcelona)
Amaia Pérez Orozco (feminist economist, Euskal Herria)
Amaranta Herrero (ecological sociologist at the University of Barcelona)
Antonella Medici (curator specialising in memory studies, Barcelona)
Ariadna Tremoleda (Mas les Vinyes cooperative, Catalonia)
Astrid Agenjo (feminist economist at the Pablo de Olavide University, Seville)
Blanca Bayas Fernández (Debt Observatory in Globalisation, Barcelona)
Blanca Valdivia (feminist urban planner, Barcelona)
Bruna Cañada (Debt Observatory in Globalisation, Barcelona)
Carolina Pérez (Ecologists in Action, Catalonia)
Cristina Alonso Saavedra (energy transition specialist, Friends of the Earth, Seville)
Elba Mansilla (La Ciutat Invisible Cooperative, Barcelona)
Eva Vilaseca (Espai Ambiental cooperative, Barcelona)
Flora Partenio (feminist and lesbian activist, DAWN network for feminists in the Global South, Argentina)
Gabriela Vélez Agosto (Amigxs del M.A.R., Puerto Rico)
Joana Bregolat (ecofeminist activist, marica, Anticapitalistes, Barcelona)
Júlia Granell (Cel Net, Tarragona)
Laia Forné (Urban Research Institute, IDRA, Barcelona)
Mariona Zamora (L'Esberla cooperative, Catalonia)
Maristella Svampa (Pacto Ecosocial e Intercultural del Sur, Argentina)

Natalia Riera (Entrepobles, Catalonia)
Nerea Ramírez Piris (Ecologists in Action and ecofeminism section of Greenpeace, Spain)
Paz Aedo (Pacto Ecosocial e Intercultural del Sur, Chile)
Raquel Gallego (Ecofeminism section of Ecologists in Action)
Rosana Cervera (Ecofeminism section of Ecologists in Action)
Sandra Ezquerra (feminist economist, University of Vic, Catalonia)
Stefania Barca (ecofeminist researcher)
Viviana Espinosa (Debt Observatory in Globalisation, Barcelona)

10TH MAY, 2024

Elena Cardona (Associació de Drets Sexuals i Reproductius)
Esther Pérez Berenguer (SUDS)
Florencia Brizuela (Red Jurídica Antiracista)
Mar Companys (CooperAcció and La Fede)
María Ignacia Ibarra (decolonial feminist researcher)
Montse Benito (Ca La Dona and Entrepobles)
Teresa Sanz (Ca la Dona and Klimàticas)

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

> "In a culture of excess, there is a sense of repugnance at the thought of slowing, holding back, reducing, or being content with what we have. And yet we need to promote a culture of self-restraint and limits, [...] weaving in freedom and justice, weaving in autonomy and interdependence, exploring unprecedented - or not so unprecedented - forms of cooperation..." (Herrero, 2023, p. 15)

As the planet continues to warm, we feel a sense of hope as we witness a boom in degrowth policy proposals, filling academic congresses and even European Union conferences.[1] A naive hope, perhaps, in the face of a capitalist dystopia that persists despite genocides and a thousand other violent methods of oppression and accumulation. However, we believe that degrowth opens spaces and opportunities to "hack" the system. A significant opportunity, in fact, since it disrupts the narrative with new (and not so new) arguments that attack one of the bedrocks of the capitalist system: growth.

The goal of infinite economic growth shows itself to be completely absurd the moment we recognise that we inhabit a finite planet. This recognition is spreading, leaving capitalism and its future increasingly uncertain. Various greenwashing attempts have been set in motion to try to quash concerns about this contradiction, aiming to demonstrate that an absolute decoupling can be achieved between economic growth and material consumption on one hand, and environmental impact and emissions on the other: that GDP can continue to grow while emissions and other impacts decrease, something that may be achievable on a national scale, but is impossible on a global scale.

In the context of this contradiction, we urgently need to look for alternatives to growth as an indicator of how "well or badly" an economy and the society that depends on it are doing, and this is where degrowth has begun to gain traction. Under

[1] We are referring to the International Degrowth Conference that celebrated its tenth edition in 2024 with a huge attendance, as well as the *Beyond Growth* Conference that filled the facilities of the European Parliament in Brussels in May 2023.

the degrowth umbrella we find all sorts of initiatives from academic theories setting out other ways of organising the economy to social movements and provocative slogans. Within them, we find proposals to achieve a drastic decrease in energy and material consumption, but also other more comprehensive analyses that propose a radical change of priorities, centralising the sustainability of life through relocalisation, cooperation or redistribution.[2]

The book *Degrowth,* for example, explains that one of the objectives should be to "produce and consume differently, and also less, [...] share more and distribute more fairly" (Kallis et al., 2022). And Jason Hickel (2023), in his book *Less is More,* goes one step further and relates degrowth to a process of liberation in the face of various oppressive narratives:

> "Degrowth stands for de-colonisation, of both lands and people and even our minds. It stands for the de-enclosure of commons, the de-commodification of public goods, and the de-intensification of work and life. It stands for the de-thingification of humans and nature, and the de-escalation of ecological crisis."

The theories of degrowth, which emerged in the seventies, are gathering strength today as they are updated and expanded, attracting more and more activists and intellectuals. However, it is important to point out that this is not the first time that a critique of growth and capitalism has achieved a high profile. For decades, and especially during the wave of feminist mobilisations which started between 2017 and 2018, feminists have fiercely attacked another of the bedrocks of capitalism: the invisibility and precariousness of the reproductive work that is essential to sustain capitalist production. In the Spanish State, the slogan went "Si nuestro trabajo no vale, produzcan sin nosotras" ("If our work is worth nothing, try producing without us"). This critique, analysed extensively by feminist economics, resonates with and is reinforced by decolonial and anti-racist theories and activism, which show how the continued colonial logic of hoarding forms a keystone of capitalism, as well how as the racial and sexual division of the workforce is used to deepen exploitation.

Convinced, therefore, of the importance of genealogy, of remembering where we come from and not starting from scratch each time, of the need for dialogue and of the potential of co-creating analyses and proposals from a range of perspectives, we began to reflect on the possibility of cross-pollination between degrowth, feminisms and ecofeminisms. Can degrowth be an ecofeminist option? This is the question we used to spark a series of discussions on degrowth and ecofeminism involving more than 30 activists and researchers. We met three times in person and virtually, in conversations guided by ecofeminist experts and activists where we contrasted our various perspectives on degrowth and explored its potential and limitations.

---

[2] It is important to emphasise that the concept "degrowth" can refer to both a theory and a social movement, as well as to the physical process of reducing the material sphere of the economy. This distinction is important because it is easy to confuse terms and to make a reductionist reading of a theory that actually goes far beyond these physical and material processes.

In addition, several comrades from the Pacto Ecosocial e Intercultural del Sur visited us as part of the ODG Seminar in May 2024, and we organised an ecofeminist meeting where we debated with them along with other activists from Barcelona. This provided us with further reflections and discussion. We are very grateful to all of the participants for the time they dedicated to these spaces of exchange, for their honest reflections and arguments, and for their willingness to learn and "feel-think" together. Talking with them was extremely valuable, allowing us to start interweaving feminism and degrowth, to pose questions, to spark debates and to make proposals.

In this publication we capture many of the reflections that arose in those conversations and place them in dialogue with other texts and theories which we feel illuminate our shared reflections. We imagine these pages as a first step towards interweaving ecofeminism and degrowth, understanding that it is necessary to create space for reflection amongst ecofeminists first in order to later establish dialogue with people from the degrowth world.

In accordance with several of the concerns and positions that arose during the discussions, we have divided the publication into three chapters. The first chapter approaches the theories of degrowth from a feminist perspective: we highlight feminist theorists and activists who we also consider to be degrowth-ists, collect feminist arguments for and against degrowth and look at some contributions of degrowth from a feminist perspective.

The second chapter attempts to synthesise both currents (degrowth and ecofeminism) to arrive at new ways of inhabiting and reorganising the world. We discuss what post-capitalist ethics would look like, propose 8 ecofeminist principles to transform the socioeconomic model and ground these principles in a set of concrete and achievable proposals.

The third chapter delves into the strategic debate, proposing some key ideas for an ecofeminist transition strategy. And we delve deeply into the construction of ecofeminist narratives that reconnect us with the possibility of achieving different futures and presents, far from the denialist, racist and antifeminist perspectives that increasingly proliferate.

In addition, throughout the text you will find boxes entitled "*Deepening knowledge*", where we give examples to illustrate the arguments we want to share. And other longer boxes, entitled "*Broadening the debate",* set out the range of arguments or theoretical proposals that have been made from the various feminisms on a specific topic. We hope these boxes are useful in providing background information on what has already been said in relation to the topic, removing the need to start each debate from scratch. However, it is not necessary to read the boxes to follow the thread of the text, so if you want to skip the more theoretical parts and head straight to the proposals, you can do so. We begin, in fact, with one of these boxes, taking a step back to look at debates within the ecofeminisms themselves and flesh out the context we are writing within. We hope you find it useful!

BROADENING THE DEBATE
A HETERODOX ECOFEMINISM

Before continuing, we want to find our feet a little in the tangle of feminist and ecofeminist streams of thought, because it's a fact that within the ecofeminisms there are many open debates and opposing views. Also, we know that there are various different movements in the various feminisms. For example, a liberal feminism is not the same as a class-based or socialist one, and if we look deeper, we find a wide diversity of opinions regarding which strategies or objectives to follow. Considering all this, there was a lot of debate amongst ourselves about which ecofeminism defined us and the truth is that we are very diverse! We explored several points of discussion, aiming to collect all the various perspectives. However, we did not always succeed, since that would have needed many more hours of debate.

IS THERE A LINK BETWEEN WOMEN AND NATURE?

We recognise and celebrate the leading role that many women have played in the defending natural lands and showing the links between the oppression of women and of nature in the capitalist system. However, we maintain that this link is not natural and essential, but has been constructed through the establishment of a patriarchal capitalist model of social reproduction that holds women responsible for sustaining life, and therefore makes them more vulnerable (and more attentive) to the degradation of their lands and spaces for life.

In addition, as put forward by WoMin-African Alliance (2017) "a network of African feminist activists", we recognise the parallel between discrimination against women and the separation of society from nature. WoMin hold that we are a fundamental part of nature, we depend on and live with nature, we have autonomy and agency thanks to it, and this separation from nature only became possible by characterising women as witches and out of control. In other words, capitalist "progress" had to devalue and attack the women who kept this link with nature alive in order to impose itself, producing hierarchies between humans and nature, and men and women, that still continue today.

If we accept that women are placed on the front line in the defence of life, this positions them, together with other people who take responsibility for sustaining life and lands, in a strategic place to confront the threats generated by the capitalist system. That is why we think that uniting the struggles for decent social reproduction (demanding time and resources for decent care, public services, the protection of rights such as housing and food, liveable neighbourhoods etc.) and

the struggles for the climate and environment has a very great strategic potential. However, even though we highlight the role that women and other feminist subjects play in these struggles, and promote their work, does not mean that we think they are the only subjects that can lead these struggles. In fact, we want this recognition to go hand in hand with overcoming the sexual division of labour and its characterisation by gender. We want to escape the paternalistic formulas that, in the interest of "protecting women", end up stealing their agency.

Returning to what we said at the beginning, this non-essentialist position does not change the fact that we recognise that in many contexts it is still strategic to start from this link between women and the defence of land and the environment in order to further the cause. As Zo Randriamaro (2023) states:

> "While the wider global movement is often distracted by a divisive debate over whether gender associations with nature reduce women, it appears that most movements engaged in feminist and environmental activism in Africa have simply sought to create strategic and political alliances between women, nature, and environmental protection."

Therefore, we think that criticisms of feminism and essentialist ecofeminism must be directed at those who (especially from positions of power such as academia or political parties) make a reductionist and fixed reading of what we mean by being a "woman" or "feminist", and not so much at grassroots movements that, from their specific contexts, work towards strategic alliances that appeal to women without the need to essentialise them. As one of the early ecofeminists, Ariel Salleh, states:

> "When you look back on the five decades long history of ecological feminism, there was a period where academic feminists were attacking ecofeminist radicals as 'essentialist'. But you only see women's politics of care-giving as essentialist if your thinking follows given patriarchal labels like 'femininity' etc. [...] Any joined-up common denominator between workers, women, indigenous and ecological politics has to be a materialist politics." (Capire, 2023).

PATRIARCHY AND CAPITALISM: HOW ARE THEY RELATED?

A significant branch of ecofeminism (especially the ecofeminisms which emerged closer to academia) has taken much from materialist feminism to explain the role of women in social reproduction (the tasks involved in sustaining life) from non-essentialist positions. However, in its eagerness to explain gender-specific oppressions, this thinking sometimes risks isolating gender-specific oppression from the general workings of the capitalist system, as if patriarchy and capitalism were two differentiated systems that intersect, rather than being inextricably linked together. As the Social Reproduction Theory sets out, despite the fact that patriarchy existed before capitalism, the form it takes within capitalism cannot be understood separately from capitalism itself, and therefore comprehensive analyses are needed which see social reproduction as more than a simple add-on.

Cinzia Arruzza explains it very well in this dialogue with Bhattacharya:

> "The phenomenon of women's oppression goes beyond capitalism. It was completely transformed by capitalism, but to say 'transformed' is not the same as to say 'integrated into'. It was transformed precisely by the need to subordinate social reproduction to the production of value, the production of profit" (Arruzza and Bhattacharya, 2020).

The Social Reproduction Theory warns of the risks of a dual, parallel analysis of the axes of oppression. It questions whether women can be spoken of as a "class in themselves" in relation to men. Ferguson, one of the pioneers of Social Reproduction Theory, explains this in a text written with McNally:

> "While the family is fundamental to women's oppression in capitalist society, the pivot of this oppression is not women's domestic labour for men or children, however oppressive or alienating this might be. Rather, it pivots on the social significance of domestic labour for capital — the fact that the production and reproduction of labour-power is an essential condition undergirding the dynamic of the capitalist system, making it possible for capitalism to reproduce itself" (Ferguson and McNally, 2016).

However, as we know, the indispensability of care work does not make it more recognised and valued but rather makes it more precarious so that it can continue to fulfil its function of sustaining the production of capital in a cheap and invisible way.

In addition, the Social Reproduction Theory defends the non-capitalist character and ethos of care work, and questions the usefulness of trying to equate it with productive work, a strategy used by some streams of feminism in an attempt to increase its recognition. From this position, it is argued that it is not necessary to equate care work with productive work in order to see it as essential work and give it the centrality it deserves.

HOW DO WE CONSTRUCT AN ECOFEMINISM THAT DOES NOT REINFORCE THE MALE-FEMALE BINARY?

As Stefania Barca (2020) states, "materialist ecofeminism does not sufficiently question the heteronormativity of the capitalist patriarchal system, since the focus on women leaves the experience of LGBTQI+ people invisible."

One way to overcome this reductionism has to do with the approach to social reproduction outlined above. From this position we can say that the inequalities suffered by women and feminised subjects in capitalist society are not simply due to the gender-based division of labour, but, rather, due to the role that each subject plays in social reproduction (Tithi Bhattacharya, 2022). That is to say, to understand these inequalities we need to include more layers of complexity and other dimensions such as class or racialisation. In this way we see that, despite the fact that some women do enter spaces of power, they are still largely "masculinised", and the same can be said in the case of "feminised" sectors of society, which include other feminised or

racialised subjects beyond cis women. Therefore, we cannot say that cis women as the only ones affected by this model of social reproduction.

Instead, as affirmed by *queer* activists, we need to question the relationship between heteronormativity and the social reproduction of capitalism, to not only "tolerate" diversity, but to mount a challenge to the heterosexual status quo in order to disrupt the role that it plays in maintaining the current model of social reproduction (Joana Bregolat and Alberto Cordero, 2024).

Therefore, we find it relevant to connect the struggles for social reproduction (or for the sustainability of life) with *queer* struggles and degrowth movements. We seek to expand the subjects of struggle to all those feminised and *queer* subjects who confront the binary model that separates production and reproduction, divides sex into two stagnant "man-woman" boxes and reinforces dualities that promote hierarchy, such as heterosexual/queer or reason/eroticism. Herein lies the significance of the contributions of queer environmentalism, which speaks from uncomfortable or hidden places to challenge thinking and "queer" the conversation (*Joana Bregolat).* Greta Gaard, for example, promotes a perspective that connects the various forms of oppression intrinsic to this system:

> "From a queer ecofeminist perspective, we can examine the ways in which queers are feminised, animalised, eroticised, and naturalised in a culture that devalues women, animals, nature, and sexuality. We can also examine how racialised people are feminised, animalised, eroticised, and naturalised. Finally, we can explore how nature is feminised, eroticised, and even queerised" *(Gaard, 1997).*

Also relevant are the contributions of decolonial and queer feminism, which denounce heteronormativity as a legacy of colonial and capitalist modernity, as well as the role that gender identities play in sustaining the capitalist colonial model. Oyèronké Oyewùmí (2017), for example, explains that before the spread of Western ideas in Yoruba culture, "the body was not the basis of social roles, inclusions, or exclusions; it was not the foundation of social thought and identity. [...] the social positions of people shifted constantly in relation to those with whom they were interacting; consequently, social identity was relational and was not essentialised". For her part, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui explains that in the pre-Hispanic Andean cultures, although there was a distinction between the masculine and feminine, they were not understood as opposite poles. The disruption of this concept by the European invasion highlights the need to find a balance again, a tangled identity or *ch'ixi*. According to Rivera Cusicanqui, "the *ch'ixi* equilibrium, contradictory and at the same time interwoven, of the irreducible differences between men and women (or between indigenous and non-indigenous or part-indigenous people, etc.) would make another world possible" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2018).

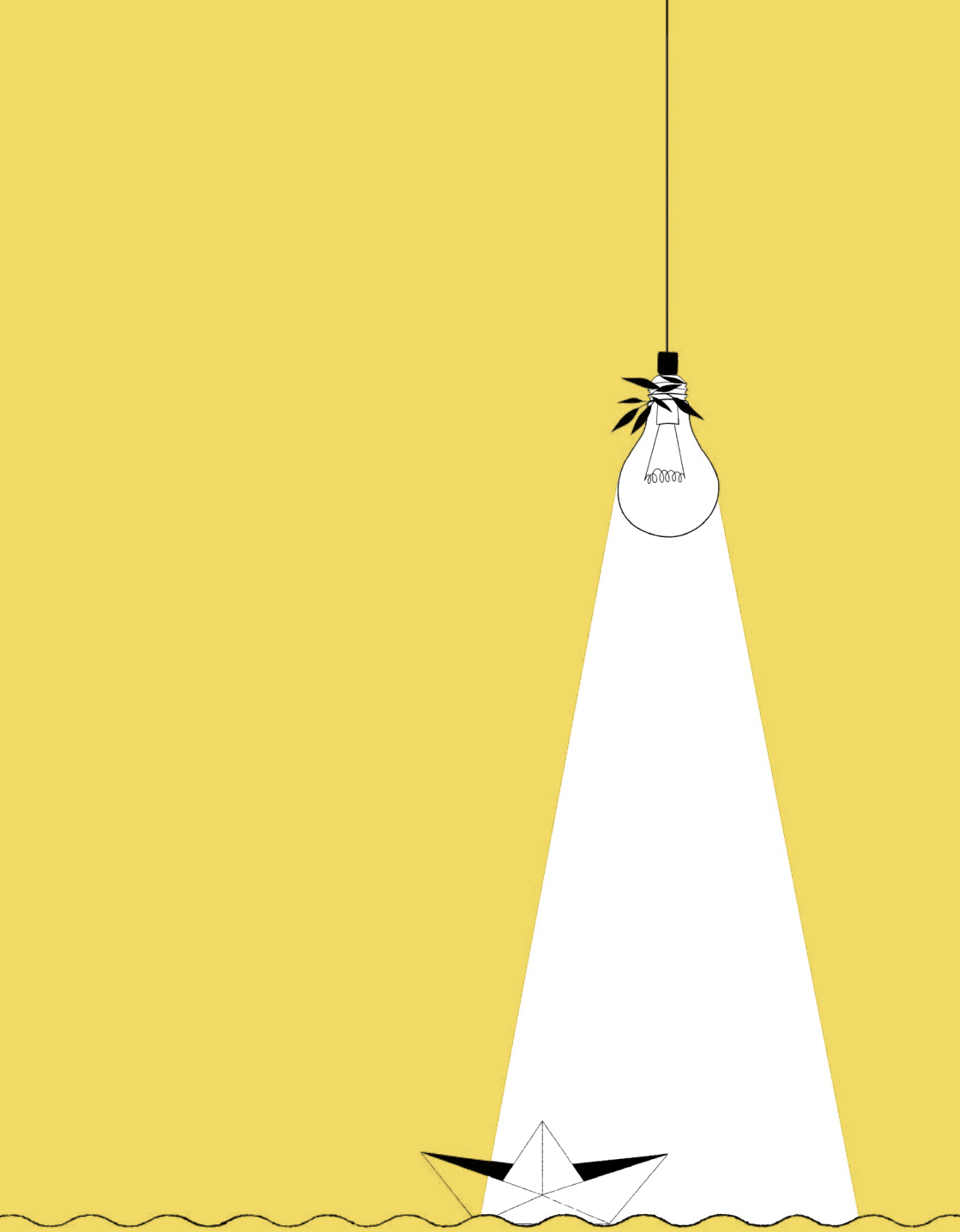
However, not all decolonial feminists arrive at the same analysis of pre-colonial cultures. For example, Rita Laura Segato (2016, p. 167) writes:

> "In the pre-colonial world there was patriarchy, gender hierarchy, higher status given to men and masculine tasks, and a certain degree of violence, because where there is hierarchy, it must necessarily be maintained and reproduced by violent methods. However, that patriarchy was (or is, where it still exists - and it exists in many places,

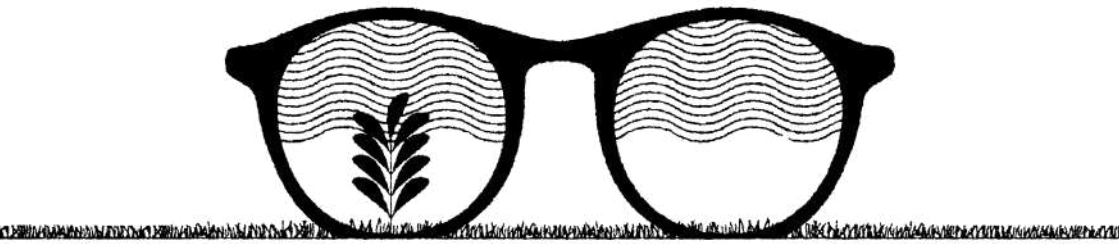
> though in recession), a low-impact or low-intensity patriarchy. Where there is community, women are more protected. What happens in the transition to modernity is the colonial seizure of the non-white man and an abrupt fall in both the value and the political status of the domestic space".

Along the same lines, Lorena Cabnal (2010) not only criticises the heteronormativity of modernity, but also raises a critique of the indigenous worldview as well, looking for ways to move beyond it:

> "As designated by a heteronormative cosmogony, indigenous women assume the role of caretakers of the culture, protectors, reproducers and ancestral guardians of that original patriarchy. And in our bodies we reaffirm heterosexuality, compulsory motherhood, and the ancestral male pact that women will continuously pay tribute to ancestral patriarchal supremacy."



AN ECOFEMINIST LOOK AT DEGROWTH



WHAT DO FEMINISTS THINK ABOUT DEGROWTH?

First of all, it's worth highlighting that feminism and degrowth have generally evolved with their backs turned to each other. Despite this, since 2017 there has been an international network of academics, the Feminism(s) and Degrowth Alliance (FaDA), which works to bridge this gap and start to combine both movements.

One key accomplishment has been to broaden degrowth's genealogy, breaking with the idea of a small group of (predominantly male and European) "founders" of the theory (some names may sound familiar: Gorz, Latouche, Illich...).

In addition, these degrowth theorists and activists are pushing for degrowth movements to incorporate the reproductive dimension into their analyses. Cattia Gregoratti and Riya Raphael (2019) (members of FaDA) recognise that there has been progress. For example, the care perspective is beginning to be incorporated. However, they affirm that there is still a long way to go for feminism to truly permeate degrowth analyses and proposals and not only remain in isolated pockets.

The challenge, as we will see later, is to bring in the structural criticisms of growth made for decades by Marxist feminisms, ecofeminisms, decolonial feminisms, community feminisms and feminist economics, and also their proposals for transformation. To incorporate, for example, analyses of the capitalist model of social reproduction and the violent bases on which capitalist accumulation occurs. Therefore, it is not only a question of recognising unpaid care work, but of recognising all subsistence work (unpaid, precarious, informal or community-based), and also the role played by gender-based and colonial thinking in the processes of accumulation and exploitation (Gregoratti and Raphael, 2019). A collective unlearning of Eurocentric and androcentric knowledge and practices is needed before collaborative knowledge and practices can flourish, according to FaDA (Dengler et al., 2023).

Outside of academia, in the discussions we held with feminist and ecofeminist activists to write this text, we questioned whether the degrowth framework strengthens us or weakens us (*Laia Forné*[3]). This question, as we will see, is above all a strategic question of how to construct narratives and vocabularies that resonate with people.

To begin with, we recognised that in reality the discussion is about how we manage degrowth, because after all, material degrowth of the economy will necessarily occur in any case. We think this concept is a useful defence against the false starts of green capitalism and *greenwashing* (*Alba del Campo*), but at the same time we saw that it could not be the ultimate objective of our transition proposals. In any case, degrowth appears to be a means of moving towards a system of ecofeminist social organisation, which is the truly desired horizon. "I think that an ecofeminist society, or a just ecological transition, implies degrowth *per se*" (*Eva Vilaseca*).

In addition, we share a criticism of the fact that degrowth as a framework is mainly driven from male-dominated academic circles, which particularly focus on the ecological question whilst neglecting other dimensions of the multidimensional crisis we are experiencing. These degrowth frameworks do not always take an anti-capitalist, decolonial or feminist approach (*Amaia Pérez*). However, it is also true that some of these issues are being corrected by the new wave of academics who are broadening the foundations of the theory.

We highlight, as well, the lack of exchange of thought between North and South. As *Paz Aedo* says, "The South is a place from where thought is generated, we are not just subjects/victims of this system." With this in mind, we highlight the importance of putting degrowth into dialogue with other currents. These include the post-development movement, which has criticised the imposition of a Western model of development by financial institutions, NGOs and governments; post-extractivism, driven by Latin American socio-environmental movements; and the concepts of ecological, external, colonial, and care debt (*Maristella Svampa*).

Finally, we recognised a danger that degrowth could be seen as a new imposition on the global South or the most precarious classes, and therefore we discussed the importance of accompanying it with ideas that connect to the desires for change and for a good life, rather than to containment and austerity. "How are we meant to think about consuming less when people are struggling to survive?" said *Gabriela Vélez*. In this sense, we share the conviction that, since degrowth involves much more than the reduction of consumption, we need to give much more thought to how it is communicated to avoid transmitting a distorted and negative version of what we really propose. This dialogue between the potential and the limitations of degrowth as a framework to organise ourselves around will continue throughout these pages, and we will also delve a little deeper into how to overcome degrowth's limitations.

[3] The names of the participants in the discussions that expressed the idea mentioned are shown in italics.

WHAT ARE OUR CRITICISMS OF GROWTH?

Criticising growth can seem like sacrilege, as it means dismantling a well-established paradigm. As *Paz Aedo* says, "paradigms tend to reduce and even erase previous history and can create a process of standardisation that limits the possibilities of questioning". In this paradigm, growth is synonymous with progress, and therefore it seems that we cannot afford not to grow. However, criticism of growth is getting louder.

Specifically, the feminisms raise various criticisms of growth as a paradigm that does not guarantee a good life for everyone. Growth involves a process of constant acceleration, which has serious impacts on body-territories as it is a wheel that cannot stop turning and crushes more and more areas of human and non-human nature in its path, through debt, the extortion of employment and other forms of violence. In the words of *Stefania Barca,* in achieving GDP growth, bodies and territories are sacrificed to achieve a "greater good". In her words, "the religion of growth demands bodies in sacrifice". Think, for example, of all the disease generated by industrial pollution or the use of toxic products, or the impacts on ecosystems that put their very survival at risk.

Alejandra Durán shared a similar idea: "this system in which we live does not generate well-being, but lives on the run, miserable... we are in a continuous race." And *Blanca Valdivia* asked us, "Is growth as it currently is guaranteeing well-being today? And not only well-being from the point of view of the dispossessed or a certain section of the population, is it generating well-being for us who are white and live in the global North?". Following this line of argument, we agreed on the need to challenge the "development dream", a dream that is broken both in the South and in the global North. As *Amaia Pérez says,* "there are no safe places on the planet because accumulation by dispossession is everywhere."

What is more, positioning ourselves as anti-growth feminists also means taking a stand against other liberal feminisms that take "equal opportunities" as their objective. This position has been harshly criticised as classist and racist, since under this framework, the equality achieved for some women is always at the expense of other women who take on the care work they leave behind. In addition, it can be criticised from the degrowth perspective. The framework of "equal opportunities" assumes that the way to women's emancipation is through the market, whether by joining the labour market, climbing within it, breaking glass ceilings, or by the privatisation and outsourcing of care work. That is, it subordinates the protection of human rights to the functioning of markets and demands a situation of economic growth so that this dynamic can continue without interruption.

Ultimately, decolonial and class-based ecofeminisms focus on the possibility of imagining new horizons of well-being that do not require GDP growth, well-being that is understood in a more comprehensive and complex way, recognising the diversity of ways of living and coexisting based on a foundation of reciprocity. As we continue, we will take a deeper look into these proposals.

DEEPENING KNOWLEDGE ECOFEMINIST PIONEERS IN THE CRITIQUE OF GROWTH

Maria Mies (1931-2023, Germany) is the author of the book *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986), where she analysed the intersection between capitalist, colonial and patriarchal structures, explaining how care work and nature subsidise capitalism. In addition, she presented the subsistence perspective, which seeks to recognise the non-monetised economy and give value to everything necessary for life.

Carolyn Merchant (born 1936, USA) published the book *The Death of Nature* in 1980, a pioneering historical analysis of the configuration of the growth paradigm, within which gender relations and the relationships between humans and nature have been transformed. For Merchant, the animist ideas widespread in Europe until the sixteenth century limited the degree to which people accepted the plundering of the natural environment, so it was necessary to put an end to them to allow capitalism to advance. "As long as the earth was considered to be alive and sensitive, it could be considered a breach of human ethical behaviour to carry out destructive acts against it," she states in her book (cited in Hickel, 2023).

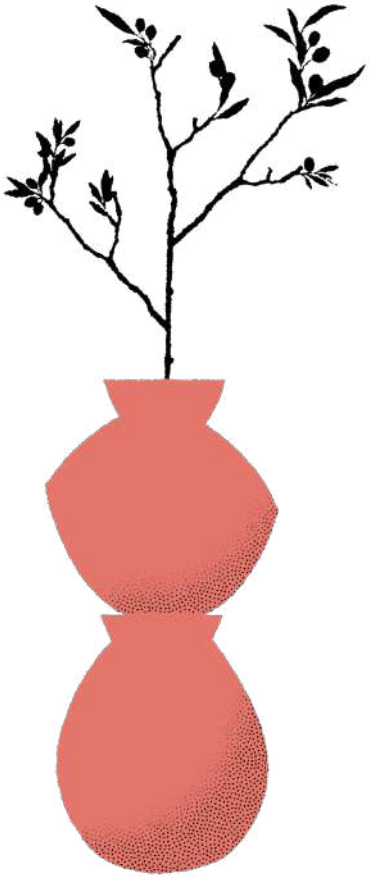
Maathai Wangari (1940-2011, Kenya) was a pan-Africanist social, environmental and political activist. In 1977 she founded the Green Belt Movement, a pan-African network that sought to improve quality of life and the state of the land through reforestation driven by rural women and finally became a movement for peace and democracy. In 2004 she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. She used the ceremony to take a stand for cultural biodiversity (the role of ancestral cultures in the defence of seeds and plants) saying "we need to revive our sense of belonging to a larger family of life, with which we have shared our evolutionary process".

Marylin Waring (born 1952, New Zealand). In the book *Counting for Nothing*, Waring made a strong critique of GDP as an indicator of success, stating that it was conceived as an expression of patriarchal power, and proposed other ways of measuring well-being (Gregoratti and Raphael, 2019).

Vandana Shiva (born 1952, India) is an environmentalist, activist, scientist and author of works including *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* (1988). Shiva highlights the transformative power of women and makes a strong critique of globalisation and agribusiness. She is also very critical of the dualisms imposed by the Enlightenment and considers Western development objectives in the global South to be neocolonial projects that fundamentally depend on the exploitation of women and nature.

Berta Cáceres (1971-2016, Honduras) fought for social justice, LGBTQI+ rights, and the defence of nature. She asserted the worldview of the Lenca people (to which she belonged) for whom, in her words, "we are beings emerged from the earth, water and corn". This worldview and the defence of their lands led her to denounce the model of colonial, racist and patriarchal domination (Berta Cáceres, 2015). Her last struggle was against the construction of the Agua Zarca dam and the privatisation of the river. Berta was murdered on March 3, 2016. She was one of several defenders of the land murdered in Honduras.

STARTING THE DIALOGUE



In this section, we pick out some key ideas from degrowth theories that we consider interesting to put into dialogue with feminist and decolonial perspectives. We want to nourish the feminisms with views from degrowth, whilst contributing some feminist reflections that may enrich degrowth.

SCARCITY AND ABUNDANCE

Capitalism (and growth as its engine) works by creating conditions of scarcity, that is, by limiting abundance. As Jason Hickel affirms, in capitalism "the objective is not to satisfy human needs, but to avoid satisfying human needs". From this viewpoint he argues, together with Kallis, that to stop producing artificial shortages and to reclaim access to the commons and to de-commodified livelihoods removes the need for growth:

> "Abundance reveals itself as the antidote to growth, allowing us to restrain the beast and free the living world from its yoke. As Giorgios Kallis writes 'capitalism cannot function in conditions of abundance'" (Hickel, 2023).

Artificial scarcity makes it possible to create the imperative to earn a salary in order to survive, as well as to resort to indebtedness in order to satisfy basic needs. Wage labour and debt: the fundamental drivers of a growth economy, and two areas that have also been extensively critiqued from feminist and decolonial perspectives, laying bare the violence and precariousness they generate.

Hickel himself (2023) reviews several examples of "enclosure and forced proletarianisation" during the establishment of capitalism and European colonisation in his book. These processes, as we learned with Federici, went hand in hand with the punishment of women through witch hunts, among other violent practices used to impose of the capitalist model of production and reproduction. Likewise, it is interesting to read the work of Pastora Filigrana, who reviews the history of the gypsy peoples' resistance to the processes of forced proletarianisation. She explains that "one of the greatest victories of the present socio-economic system is to have made people believe that the only concept of work is that which consists of selling labour in exchange for wages [...], any activity outside the 'work for rent' racket is invisible, unrecognised or undervalued" (Filigrana, 2020).

DEEPENING KNOWLEDGE
LAWS IMPOSING WAGE LABOUR ON ROMANI PEOPLE

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Catholic monarchs [in Spain] were bent on forcing Romani groups to settle and work in "known trades". Their reluctance to leave their nomadic ways of life to fit this mould led institutions to impose various punishments on them, such as forced labour in the galleys or in special prisons in the case of women. A century later, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the siege tightened even more when the Crown established that the only trades they could carry out were those related to agriculture: that is, they were to become servants, labour to replace the expelled Moors. As Pastora Filigrana states, "a set of laws were built aimed at converting Romani people into useful workers for the system through punishment", seeking to control their labour by considering them a "non-indigenous human group". This logic persists in current immigration policies, which seek "to organise migratory flows according to the demands of the labour market" and include lists of "in-demand professions" - the only professions migrant workers can access.

The violence intrinsic to the coercive system of wage labour as a means of survival, as well as the use of discriminatory laws to ensure that all labour needs are covered, is also currently manifested in contexts of extreme exploitation such as in the red fruits greenhouses at Huelva. There, the Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha [lit. (Female) Day Labourers of Huelva in Struggle] denounce conditions of enormous daily exploitation and violence. In this case, the coercion of employment is reinforced by the colonial and patriarchal systems that make the female workers hugely vulnerable, due to impoverishment in their countries of origin, their lack of rights due to immigration policies and the responsibility to provide for their families' survival. These conditions place them in positions of greater vulnerability, since they cannot afford to lose their jobs (Filigrana, 2021).

Incorporating these analyses into degrowth critiques of employment would make it possible to connect the idea of overcoming scarcity and curbing growth with more concrete elements of daily life, turning an abstract concept into concrete proposals and achievable demands. Connecting the Romani people's struggle to the extortion of employment allows us to question one of the pillars of this capitalist and growth-based system - to "dethrone employment" (Colectiva XXK, 2020) and reclaim other collective ways of "earning a living". Furthermore, recognising the violations that occur in the most precarious work contexts challenges proposals for degrowth

and the transformation of work to reflect all realities and not become blind to the coercion and violence that can prevent them from being applied in certain contexts.

Returning to the call for radical abundance as a contrast to imposed scarcity, Hickel relates it to reclaiming "public wealth", ranging from the reclamation of natural commons, forests, fertile lands, water, etc., to the expansion of public services. From an ecofeminist perspective, Mary Mellor (2019) defines this proposal as a model of "sufficiency provisioning", an idea which is "more comprehensive than the standard categories of political economics, embracing an understanding of human beings as themselves bodily creatures, metabolically related to the environment and embedded in the natural conditions of the planet".

CRISIS, AUSTERITY AND DEBT

Classical economics says that if GDP growth rates decrease, there will be a recession, and austerity policies will be needed in order to escape it. However, degrowth theories depart from this logic, asserting that we can live well regardless of what happens to GDP; in fact, it is the very pursuit of growth that generates debt, inequality and financial crisis.

> "Growth through debt is a vicious cycle. Economies get indebted to grow, then have to grow to pay back debts. [...] In sum, onerous debt, forced austerity, and wild inflation in food and housing markets are all portrayed as maladies to be cured by growth. We argue, to the contrary, that these are all consequences of policies intended to stimulate growth." (Kallis et al., 2022).

There is a difference, therefore, between economic stagnation arising from the contradictions of capitalism itself - that is, a financial crisis - and an economy that enters a steady state (without growth) in a planned and democratically managed way. In this sense, degrowth proposals give us an escape from the compulsion to keep growing at any price. Let's not forget, for example, how during the COVID pandemic this compulsion meant that less drastic measures were taken to curb infections and expand healthcare resources, since public health came into conflict with the fear that the economy would enter a recession that was too severe.

In addition, in the current context, capitalism increasingly relies on processes of indebtment, which causes crises to be increasingly frequent and severe. The impossibility of stopping the wheel and capital's voracious pursuit of profit despite the crises spreads exploitation, precarious and uncertain work and expropriation through increases in rent, energy prices, food prices, etc. In this context we can say that capitalism leads us to overexploit lands and bodies to service debts, so we sacrifice our quality of life in the present as our future is stolen from us.

Feminist analyses of these processes also highlight how debt becomes a device for creating instability and control, from the macro level of national budgets to the micro level of households, deepening the feminisation of poverty, reducing autonomy and increasing vulnerability to violation.

"Debt functions as the largest wealth accumulation machine for present-day capitalism and, simultaneously, as a form of social control. [...] debt functions as a productive tool. It puts us to work. It forces us to work harder. It obligates us to sell our future time and effort" (Federici *et al.,* 2021 cited in Gago, 2019).

What is more, in relation to the multiple crises we are experiencing, we are concerned that the analyses carried out by the feminisms are made invisible and squashed under the umbrella of "social impacts", ignoring the gender dynamics within these social impacts. What is more, it is also sometimes forgotten that the social reproduction crisis is one of the main contradictions of the capitalist system itself.

The feminisms have developed creative ways of understanding the interrelationship between the different facets of the capitalist crisis, one of them being cross-analysis of three scales macro-meso-micro. In other words, the global scale, the meso scale of households and the community and the micro, individual scale. Using this framework, *Astrid Agenjo* argues that there are three interrelated crises: the economic collapse due to planetary limits, the crisis of social reproduction (or more specifically that of care) and finally a crisis of meaning, a loss of ecosystemic and social connection. This leads to three fundamental concepts in ecofeminism: vulnerability, the realisation that life is deeply vulnerable; interdependence, the reality that life only goes forward if connections are maintained; and eco-dependence, the inescapable relationship with nature.

It is also interesting to use the contributions of Social Reproduction Theory to understand the inherent contradiction of capitalism in relation to reproduction. As Nancy Fraser (2020) states: "Capitalist society harbours at least three inter-realm contradictions, which correspond to proclivities towards crisis: the socio-reproductive, the political and the ecological". The socio-reproductive contradiction is when production takes precedence over social reproduction, destabilising the very processes on which capital depends. "Destroying its own conditions of possibility, capital's accumulation dynamic effectively eats its own tail," adds the author.

This analysis allows Fraser to situate the struggles for reproduction and against the various forms that patriarchy has taken throughout capitalism's history as struggles

inherent to the system, which are capable of challenging capitalism's own contradictions and taking advantage of these cracks to achieve transformations. Therefore, incorporating the feminist perspective into diagnoses of the crises and transition proposals should involve much more than briefly mentioning the care crisis and its impacts on women. We will not understand all the dimensions of the care crisis and its intersections with the other crises if we do not accept the centrality of social reproduction to the sustenance of all spheres of life.

EXPLOITATION AND INEQUALITY

In degrowth proposals, criticism of inequality and the various forms of exploitation also play an important role. In an interesting reflection, Dan O'Neill (2014) points out that if growth has worked as a substitute for equality, then equality can work a substitute for growth. In this sense, instead of attempting to assure human rights by continuing to "enlarge the pie" based on the "trickle down" model (a model which has been proven to be completely unrealistic), we could aim for a deep redistribution of wealth that protects human rights while reducing the size of the economy.

With regards to exploitation, the role it plays in sustaining capitalism is prominent. To keep the wheel of growth turning, capitalism needs cheap labour, materials and energy, which is why it invents new forms of precariousness and exploitation in order to lower the costs of production, as well as looking for new ways to extract wealth from nature and the working classes through new extractivisms, finance or housing, for example. As *Paz Aedo* explains, growth is based on a process of constant acceleration, the cost of which is the exploitation of bodies and the precariousness of life.

In the analysis of how this exploitation and expropriation are marked by the logics of gender, class, coloniality and racialisation, degrowth theory has timidly begun to incorporate feminist contributions. However, in general, the debates that the various streams of feminism have had regarding these processes over recent decades have been ignored. In general, there is an assumed link with the materialist feminisms, which, as discussed previously, runs the risk of oversimplifying the gendering processes affecting productive and reproductive work (the processes by which tasks come to be seen as masculine or feminine).

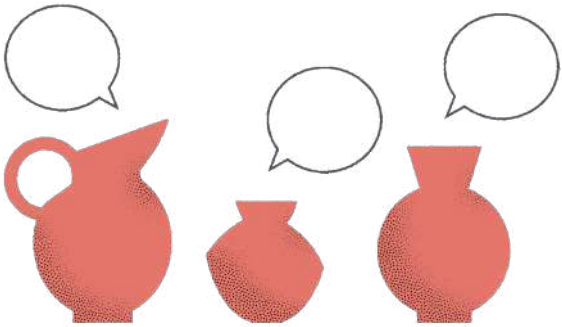
For example, the book *Degrowth* proposes that there is a "gender-based hierarchy of production versus reproduction", assuming that the fact that it is women who mostly perform the tasks of reproduction is what causes this area to be undervalued. This ignores all the historical and economic studies that have shown that the reverse is true, since the feminisation and isolation of reproductive tasks through the creation of the working family was a process expressly promoted in the nineteenth century to facilitate capitalist expansion and not something that happened naturally due to biological characteristics (Arruzza and Bhattacharya, 2020).

Regarding the forms of exploitation of labour that operate in the capitalist system, it is interesting to use the concept of "forces of reproduction", coined in the nineties by Mary Mellor and more recently used by Stefania Barca (2020a), who describes them as "those agencies — racialised, feminised, waged and unwaged, human and nonhuman labours — that keep the world alive". This responsibility, however, is not sufficiently recognised. As the author states, "their environmental agency goes largely unrecognised in mainstream narratives of that epoch of catastrophic earth-system changes that scientists have called the Anthropocene" (Barca, 2020a).

Specifically, it is interesting to focus on the work of "making nonhuman nature fit for human reproduction while also protecting it from exploitation, and securing the conditions for nature's own regeneration, for the needs of present and future generations" (Barca, 2020b). Using this concept, we can broaden the perspective of Social Reproduction Theory, incorporating the contributions of ecofeminism, since it better understands how the capitalist system attacks life as a whole. Therefore, defenders of land, and in general all people who protect the conditions required for life, are key to making proposals for degrowth transformation. Social reproduction workers "have not only embodied, but also worked to counteract ecological contradictions," says Ariel Salleh (Capire, 2023).

Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies (2014) conceptualise this work as a change of consciousness, an ecological change:

"The ecological shift involves not seeing ourselves as outside the ecological web of life, as masters, conquerors and owners of the Earth's resources. It means seeing ourselves as members of the Earth family, with responsibility to care for other species and life on Earth in all its diversity, from the tiniest microbe to the largest mammal."



COLONISATION AND VIOLENCE

Another idea that we want to look at is the concept of degrowth as a process for reparation. As Jason Hickel (2023, p.269) states:

> "Degrowth is, ultimately, a process of decolonisation. [...] For 500 years, capitalist growth has been a process of enclosure and dispossession. Degrowth represents a reversal of this process. It represents release. It represents an opportunity for healing, recovery and repair."

This approach is especially interesting because it gives us a way to think about the asymmetric responsibilities that each region has in relation to degrowth, as well as allowing us to design degrowth proposals that go beyond simply shrinking the productive economy to consider ways to repair the damage caused on our way here. In this way, degrowth could be seen as a proposal for global justice.

At the same time, when we think of decolonisation processes, it is interesting to review the ecofeminist analyses that have linked the colonial system with other forms of appropriation of bodies and lives. Maria Mies (1988 cited in Gago, 2019), for example, analysed how "*housewifisation* and colonisation are inseparable, since they constitute a specific relation both as a way of exploiting the labour force and of subordinating territories." She uses "housewifisation" to refer to the feminisation and invisibilisation of reproductive work, as she herself explains:

> "The subjugation of women, nature, and the colonies, with "civilisation" as the watchword, inaugurates capitalist accumulation with the sexual and colonial division of labour as its foundation" (Maria Mies, 1988 cited in Gago, 2019).

This approach challenges us to think about how degrowth could become a movement for social and reproductive justice, overcoming the subordination of reproduction to production and thus undoing the precariousness of life and the scarcity of time, and healing and making reparations for all the violence involved in this system, including

patriarchal and extractivist violence. Later we will compile some concrete proposals, but in order to contextualise them, we need to analyse the role that violence has played as an engine of growth in capitalist development more deeply.

As Verónica Gago states, in recent years "we stopped talking "only" about violence against women and feminised bodies, and have instead connected it to a set of other forms of violence, without which its historic intensification could not be understood" and adds that this reconceptualisation allows us to:

"connect imploded homes with lands razed by agribusinesses, with the wage gap and invisibilised domestic work; [...] it relates all of this with financial exploitation through public and private debt. It ties together ways of disciplining disobedience through outright state repression and the persecution of migrant movements, with the imprisonment of poor women for having abortions and the criminalisation of subsistence economies. Moreover, it highlights the racist imprint within each one of these forms of violence" (Gago, 2019).

This spider's web of interconnections shows the way in which the growth machine produces more and more violence, with a particular impact on feminised and racialised bodies: a violence that is also aggravated by a process of dehumanisation and devaluation of life that nevertheless works very well for capital. In addition, it ignores the web of life, allowing the global economy to advance as if the territories through which it expands were empty, blind to the social and ecological life that grows within them (Moreano et al., 2021). Therefore, taking a more comprehensive perspective allows us to better understand the roots of the connection between patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism, and their associated intersecting forms of violence.

BROADENING THE DEBATE
EXTRACTIVISM AND BODY-TERRITORIES

The concept of the "body-territory" (or "body-land-territory") comes from Abya Yala communitarian feminism and helps us to understand the consequences of capitalist accumulation on human and non-human life. Lorena Cabnal (2010) explains that it is an approach that involves "the conscious reclamation of our primary body territory, as an emancipatory political act", as the body-territory is a territory which has been invaded by patriarchies for millennia. In addition, this struggle contributes to the reclamation and defence of land territories. In her words:

> "In approaching the historical reclamation and defence of my body-land-territory, I take on the reclamation of my expropriated body, to allow it life, joy,

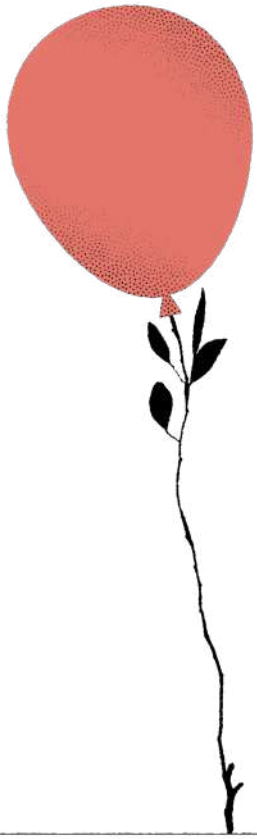
> vitality, pleasures and the construction of liberating knowledge for decision-making. I call on this power in defence of my land territory, because I do not conceive of this woman's body without a space on earth that dignifies my existence, and promotes my life in fullness. Historical and oppressive violence exists both for my primary body-territory, and also for my historical territory, the land. In this sense, all forms of violence against women threaten this existence that should be full" (Cabnal, 2010).

In this sense, it "expands our way of seeing, based on bodies experienced as territories and territories experienced as bodies" (Gago, 2019) and allows us to understand the impacts of dispossession on each person and on the collective body. From this framework we can understand extractivist systems and their impacts from a broad perspective, which encompasses both "classic" extractivisms, that is, the extraction of goods from nature to be injected into the capitalist system (mining, dams, oil wells, large wind or solar megaprojects, agribusiness, etc.), as well as new forms of extractivism that occur in both rural and urban areas such as real estate speculation or the extraction of data through digital applications.

Each of these processes has specific impacts, but we can see in them some common characteristics. As stated by WoMin, "extractivism is an economy of unpaid costs". Companies that benefit from these processes outsource a section of the costs to be paid by poor and working-class communities (and especially women). Specifically, they give the example of the work that communities take on in relation to health or the social impacts generated by extractivism, such as caring for the sick, repairing ecosystems or taking on extra work to access privatised basic goods (WoMin, 2020).

In addition, these processes of extractivism, and in particular those that involve the imposition of megaprojects, produce processes of repatriarchalisation of territories across five dimensions: political, due to the transformation of collective decision-making spaces, which become hierarchised and often masculinised; economic, because the dependence on the masculinised wage economy increases; ecological, since the web of life is broken, and the burdens of care for diseases and the loss of livelihoods increase; territorial, due to the arrival of male workers and often also militarisation; and, finally, corporal, a consequence of intensified control of bodies and violence (García-Torres, 2018).

ECOFEMINIST PROPOSALS FOR MOVING BEYOND GROWTH



As we said in the introduction, there is a key question running through this text and the discussions leading to it: *can degrowth be an ecofeminist alternative?* This question evolved, finally becoming: *how do we make degrowth ecofeminist?*

There are many contributions from feminisms and ecofeminisms that can not only enrich degrowth theories but transform them so that they become truly comprehensive. In this section, we highlight several of them, following a path that goes from the most abstract ("what is our place in the world?") to the most concrete, a potential ecofeminist degrowth programme.

NEW POST-CAPITALIST ETHICS

"It's not the land which is broken, but our relationship to land [...] we cannot meaningfully proceed with healing, with restoration, without 're-story-ation'" (Kimmerer, 2021, p. 18).

Reading Robin Wall Kimmerer and her call to remake the bond between humans and nature, we ask ourselves: if we change our ontology, our place in the world, can we overcome androcentrism and anthropocentrism at the same time? That is, can we break the hierarchies and dichotomies that underpin patriarchy and capitalism? A new post-capitalist ethics could help us do this, to find a way to inhabit the world that is based more on reciprocity and less on hierarchies.

BEYOND BOUNDARIES, EXPANDING AWARENESS

The race for growth is based on constant overreaching: planetary limits are being exceeded, in addition to other human and social limits. We cannot forget that breaching planetary boundaries leads to severe social ruptures, such as forced displacement due to climate change or famine. These tensions are not always incorporated into the analysis of limits, because we continue to analyse human and non-human nature

separately, as if we were not part of the same planet which is being taken past its limits. As *Cristina Alonso* said, "continuing to grow also means breaching other limits in the field of care, continuing to increase care chains to maintain exploitation, and expelling more and more people".

Jason Hickel (2023, p.51) gives yet another twist to this reflection, when he states that:

> "The notion of limits puts us on the wrong foot from the start. It presupposes that nature is something 'out there', separate from us, like a stern authority hemming us in. This kind of thinking emerges from the very dualist ontology that got us into trouble in the first place. [...] It is not about limits but interconnectedness — recovering a radical intimacy with other beings [...] expanding the boundaries of our consciousness".

Fortunately, there are still peoples who have not completely lost this interconnection, peoples who now share their worldviews to teach us to see past limits. For example, it is interesting to look at the concept of *sumak kawsay* from the Quichua and Aymara peoples. As Lorena Cabnal (2010) explains, "*Sumak* is a word from the Ecuadorian Quichua language that expresses the thought not of a better life, nor a better life than that of others, nor a continuous effort to improve our lives, but a life that is simply good in its entirety [...]. The second word "*kawsay*" comes from the Bolivian Aymara language and [...] could be translated as 'good living together': good for everyone, having enough internal harmony".

RESTORING THE CONNECTION, BREAKING DICHOTOMIES

> "We need to disrupt that false discontinuity between the self and the natural and social community into which life is inserted, without this implying the elimination of freedom and personal autonomy. [...] When we talk about putting life at the centre, we are talking about the need to understand ourselves as a species, as living beings both natural and social." (Herrero, 2023, p. 256)

One of the main theoretical contributions of the ecofeminisms is the criticism of the hierarchising dualisms that define capitalist modernity. The 1980s saw the publication of the book *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* by Carolyn Merchant, who analysed how the feminisation of nature and the naturalisation of women have facilitated the domination of both. These processes are based on dichotomies that pit culture against nature, man against woman, reason against

emotion, production against reproduction... and in which greater value and status is given to the masculine and rational than the feminine and natural.

To break with this thinking, the ecofeminisms and communitarian feminisms defend the need to reinstate the balance between human and non-human beings, recognising the interdependence and eco-dependence that unites and defines us. The concept of the body-territory, for example, tells us that:

> "It is impossible to cut apart and isolate the individual body from the collective body, the human body from the territory and landscape. [...] The power of feminisms that speak of the body-territory is that they propose another concept of possession, in terms of use and not of property, [...] one "has" a body-territory in the sense that one is part of a body-territory, not in the sense of property or possession. "Being part of" then implies a recognition of the "interdependence" that shapes us, that makes life possible" (Gago, 2019).

From Bolivia, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2018, pp. 51-52) studies ancestral forms of exchange and states that we can "find an alternative way of thinking in these communitarian forms of sacred economy, in which we can be inspired to recreate more organic, healthy and humane ways of doing things in and with the market, while also resisting its tendency to engulf everything". It refers to both material and symbolic exchanges, between humans and with nature, which repair damage in a reciprocal way. In her words, allowing ourselves "to heal the planet and to reconnect our little anxieties with the heartbeats and sufferings of the Pacha [Mama]".

This concept of reciprocity with nature is also very present in Kimmerer's thought, which unites the ancestral knowledge transmitted to her by her relatives and friends from indigenous peoples with the scientific knowledge she acquired as a biology professor. Here, for example, she explains our reciprocity with the (human and non-human) beings who sustain us, using wild berries as a metaphor:

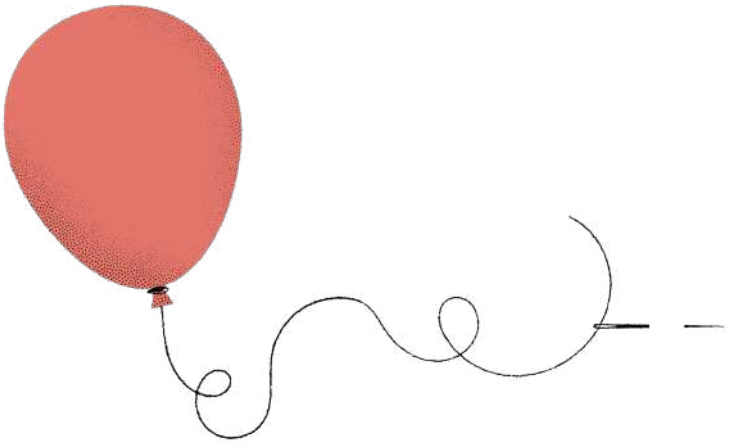
> "All flourishing is mutual. We need the berries and the berries need us. Their gifts multiply by our care for them, and dwindle from our neglect. We are bound in a covenant of reciprocity, a pact of mutual responsibility to sustain those who sustain us" (Kimmerer, 2021, p. 405).

The Malagasy ecofeminist Zo Randriamaro (2023), for her part, looks at the *ubuntu* ethic, emphasising the importance of treating non-human animate beings with care, reverence and kindness and granting them ethical consideration, a care that extends to plants and bodies of water that do not necessarily have the ability to feel.

From Catalonia, Helena Guillén of the Ramaderes de Catalunya collective explores this connection with ecosystems and non-human nature from a material perspective, not just a spiritual one. And she criticises the very urban conceptualisation of nature that only sees it in a contemplative way, disregarding other ways of living in and from the land:

> “Sometimes I get the feeling that it is a very contemplative, emotional viewpoint, we are going to feel everything that the mountain gives us. And that is very good. But we cannot elevate this spiritual viewpoint above a more pragmatic one, because that is classist. [...] It should be understood that there is no division between the practical value and the intrinsic value we give to nature or animals. That something has a practical use, and that I benefit from it (not necessarily economically, but in that it serves me to live), does not mean that I do not respect or value it. Quite the contrary. [...] I always say that we do feminist livestock farming, which does not mean that it is done by women, but that for me each goat is important [...] I put a lot of importance on the life of each animal, its living conditions and everything in general”.[4]

We see, therefore, that there are a variety of perspectives and worldviews on how to restore our connection with what sustains us. Even beyond the focus that we wish to place on this, what is clear is that we need to get down from the pedestal on which anthropocentrism has placed us in order to begin to relate to other beings from a more respectful viewpoint. This does not mean, as Helena Guillén argues, that we can remove ourselves from these bonds, that we can have a relationship that is only contemplative, without interaction; on the contrary, we must operate on a system of exchange, but this time from a culture of reciprocity that recognises mutual dependence. This is a challenge in urban environments, where although we continue to be dependent on the natural environment, it is much more difficult to take charge of this relationship and act accordingly.



[4] Interview carried out by Júlia Martí and Blanca Bayas as part of the research for the publication *Lluites feministes en defensa de la vida i el territori. Un diàleg des d'Hondures, Guatemala i Catalunya [lit. Feminist struggles in defence of life and the land. A dialogue from Honduras, Guatemala and Catalonia]* (2023), published by Suds Barcelona.

NEW DISOBEDIENT ETHICS FOR GENDER ROLES

Feminist perspectives assert the ethics of care, a concept that can be controversial since it risks romanticising care without questioning its unequal distribution if not thought about in a transformational way. Nonetheless, it remains a powerful concept for demanding recognition for the essential work which sustains life and for ensuring that care regains the centrality it should have in society.

Rita Segato, for example, links this new ethics with a civilisational change, in her words an almost anthropological redefinition, and asserts that "there is no macro transformation without the creation of a different humanity". We therefore put forwards an ethics of care that allows us to explore the transformations and changes that recognising the centrality of care can bring. An ethics as a horizon for transformation, not a punishing morality that imposes more guilt and demands on us.

In addition, this new ethics is also disobedient to the gender norms imposed by capitalist and heterosexual normality. As stated by FaDA,

> "Challenging the growth imperative crucially involves curbing the reproduction of masculinities and femininities that are subjected to and subjectified by this imperative. Creating degrowth futures depends crucially on feminist innovation, retrieval, and adaptation of other gendered ecologies" (Dengler et al., 2023).

Peter Drucker (2023) delves a little deeper into the link between sexual repression and more general social repression, and the need to confront them together. He explains that this does not occur in a simple, linear way because, in a context of growth, capitalism, rather than repressing sexuality, has promoted the expansion of desire in the interest of its commodification and the promotion of consumerism. Therefore, sexual liberation is not always an anti-neoliberal or anti-capitalist emancipation but has often gone hand in hand with this scheme, promoting the channelling of desire through the limiting and problematic route of profitability.

Unlike these commodified forms of recognition, Drucker (2023, p.52) advocates for "queer anti-capitalism", understanding that within capitalism there can be no true sexual liberation for everyone. In contrast, "if only human needs could be satisfied without the cycle of alienated labour, payment, purchase and performance, far less erotic energy would need to be either repressed or channelled towards profitable activity".

BROADENING THE DEBATE ON ENLIGHTENED MODERNITY

The ecofeminisms are some of the streams of thought that have focused most on dismantling the precepts of the Enlightenment and modernity. Plumwood (1993 cited in Barca, 2020b), for example, "argued that the root of the current ecological crisis was in what she called the 'master model' of Western rationality, defined by its dualistic hierarchies". Stefania Barca, for her part, follows the thread of these criticisms to criticise something more pressing today, a narrative of the Anthropocene that has been used to explain the ecological crisis as a product of "humanity". According to the author, this reading draws on Western thought that recognises a single white, male and heterosexual subject as synonymous with all humanity, dehumanising and invisibilising other subjects, who are exactly those who actively oppose the exploitation of nature (Barca, 2020a).

In addition to echoing these criticisms, we like to make a slightly more complex analysis of the Enlightenment following the reflections of Marina Garcés. In her book *New Radical Enlightenment,* the philosopher advocates recovering a part of The Enlightenment's sense of dissent, while continuing to criticise its legacy:

> "We have received the Enlightenment legacy through the catastrophe of the project of modernisation in which Europe colonised and shaped the world (...). Criticism of this project and its consequences must be constant and refined (...). However, this critique, precisely because it is a critique of the dogma of progress and its attendant forms of credulousness, takes us back to the roots of the Enlightenment as an attitude, not as a project, as a challenge to dogmas and the powers that benefit from them" (Garcés, 2017, pp. 30—31).

Jason Hickel (2023, p. 265), makes a similar reflection, stating:

> "On the one hand the Enlightenment was a quest for the autonomy of reason — the right to question received wisdom handed down by tradition, or by authority figures, or by the gods. [...]. On the other hand, the dualist philosophy of Enlightenment thinkers like Bacon and Descartes celebrated the conquest of nature as the basic logic of capitalist expansion. Ironically, these two separate projects of the Enlightenment are not allowed to meet. We are not permitted to question capitalism and the conquest of nature. To do so is considered a kind of heresy."

Another contradiction of Enlightenment thinking is highlighted by Greta Gaard (1997) when she questions the idea that non-heterosexual sexuality is a sexuality that goes against nature. This idea, which began to spread in the sixteenth century, used the idea of "natu-

re" as something sacred to control sexuality, while at the same time nature was objectified and devalued, a contradiction that basically shows that "natural" in this sense does not really refer to nature (which is not always heterosexual itself) but to a new dogma imposed by the very Enlightenment that in theory arose to challenge dogma.

Therefore we see that the critical thinking that emerged with the Enlightenment hits a limit when it seeks to question the precepts that were established in that period. Therefore, we could consider reviving the critical project of the Enlightenment to dismantle the dogmas it established, of the dualities between humanity and nature, between production and reproduction, and between heterosexuality and queerness.

To do so, we could revive the legacy of the animist worldview, that is, the possibility of recognising the other elements of nature as subjects, a recognition that is already being promoted, through the formulation of the rights of nature for example. In addition, this perspective opens the door to relocating our place in the world, to defend the protection of nature not only as a material necessity, but also from a cultural and symbolic perspective, helping us to recognise ourselves as part of nature, overcoming modernity's zeal for conquest.

However, following Garcés and Hickel, we can say that this challenge to the precepts of modernity does not vindicate a return to the past. On the contrary, it is about recovering the anti-dogmatic tradition that enables societies to transform, rediscovering our place in the world without the impositions of gods or higher powers.

In fact, the question often arises as to whether criticism of modernity unavoidably implies a vindication of past cultures and societies. The reflection by Rita Segato (2016) on this point is interesting, leading us to think again:

> "Sometimes people have said that I idealise the tribal. Aren't we, instead, prejudiced against the tribal? Don't we have to examine our beliefs? Is it not a constant obligation of the person who is curious about the world and about themselves to examine their own certainties? [...] Now, our certainties tell us that the tribal is underdeveloped. And what I say [...] is that the world is moving in the direction of violence, that as Hannah Arendt and Zygmut Bauman have said the Holocaust is modern, that is to say without modernity there is no genocide."

Finally, it is worth deepening the criticism of modernity as a homogenising force which imposed Western thinking as model to follow throughout the world, without giving up on imagining a non-colonial universalism. As Rivera Cusicanqui (2018, pp. 56-57) says based on her reflection on the juxtaposition of cultures that she defines with the Aymara concept of *ch'ixi*: "While the *ch'ixi* is an explicit challenge to the idea of the One, we cannot forget that there is only one *Pacha* [Mama], one planet, there is no other spare". Therefore, we cannot defend the particularities of each territory or community without accompanying it with a search for what unites us.

PRINCIPLES FOR REORGANISING THE SOCIOECONOMIC MODEL

When we asked ourselves in our conversations what a degrowth socio-economic model would look like, several reflections arose. To begin with, we acknowledged that rejecting the logic of growth implies having "another model of well-being", which focuses on the satisfaction of human and non-human life, decentralising the market and centralising living conditions; in other words, "putting life at the centre" (*Astrid Agenjo*). In this sense, we believe that when we talk about degrowth in the consumption and production of unnecessary goods and services, we must also talk about growth in rights, in time, in quality of life, etc. (*Mariona Zamora*). This new socio-economic model should, therefore, guarantee access to basic rights such as decent housing, energy, water, care, health, education, etc., not from an individual perspective, but thinking about the collective quality of life in our communities. Thinking about growth in terms of these rights, whilst respecting the limits of the planet, leads us to debate how we define what is necessary and what is just.

As well, just as we defend a model of degrowth that promotes redistributive, decolonial policies and a new relationship with nature, we also think of degrowth as a policy for feminist justice and reproductive justice. This means that gender debts should be recognised and settled, and profound transformations should be promoted, revaluing everything related to the reproduction of life, revaluing and fairly distributing work which is currently feminised, ending violence as a form of capitalist accumulation, transforming gender relations to overcome violence, etc.

To ground all these ideas, we propose the following principles to help us think about what ecofeminist degrowth would look like:

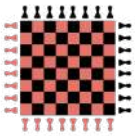
1
ABUNDANCE

2
THE COLLECTIVE RIGHT TO CARE

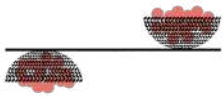
3
ECO-SUFFICIENCY

4
DECOLONIALITY

5
DEMOCRATISATION



6
EQUALITY AND INTERSECTIONALITY



7
LIVES FREE OF VIOLENCE

8
RESILIENCE AND RESTORATION

1
ABUNDANCE

Faced with the conflict between capital and life or, in other words, the impossibility of sustaining life in decent conditions in a world marked by capitalist accumulation, we propose to reverse the order of priorities to protect the sustainability of life above the profitability of capital. We demand a return to abundance to stop an unsustainable model of consumption that does not protect well-being. Kimmerer (2021, p. 397) expresses it clearly when she writes, "here is the arrow that weakens the monster of overconsumption, a medicine that heals the sickness: its name is plenty".

To recover abundance, it is necessary to reverse the enclosures and reclaim the commons and public services. As Mary Mellor (2010) says: "Necessary production and exchange would be fully integrated with the dynamics of the body and the environment. The provisioning of necessary goods and services would be the main focus of the economy". However, capitalism does the opposite. As we have said before, it is a system sustained by the creation of scarcity, forcing us to work and consume to sustain our lives.

That is why two keys to degrowth must be firstly to reclaim time for life, reducing productive working hours in order to devote more time to the care of other people, communities and ecosystems and, secondly, to reclaim and protect common goods and public services to recover "public wealth" as a space which provides us with everything we need to live. This demand should be linked to a questioning of private property, as a central pillar of the capitalist system.

When we talk about the commons we tend to think of natural commons, which if deprivatised would allow us to access land, water, forests, etc. facilitating life in rural and peri-urban environments, which are now increasingly privatised with land hoarded by a few. However, we also refer to the commons in a generic sense, "as a fabric of relationships that connect to sustain life" (Moreano et al., 2021). As Lucia Linsalatta, Mina Navarro and Raquel Gutiérrez (2017) state,

> "The commons is produced by many, through the generation and constant reproduction of a multiplicity of associative networks and collaborative social relationships that continuously and constantly enable the production and enjoyment of a large quantity of tangible and intangible goods for common use."

Focusing on these networks that allow us to sustain life outside the capitalist market allows us to imagine what a socio-economic system that would not deny us this radical abundance would look like. A system in which access to necessary goods and services would not be at the service of profitability and would be managed either independently of the State or in interrelation with it (through public services or state-community collaborations).

DEEPENING KNOWLEDGE
TRANSFORMING MONEY, ACCORDING TO MARY MELLOR

Mary Mellor is an ecofeminist economist who has made very interesting contributions in relation to monetary policy, advocating for a complete transformation of money as we understand it today. Specifically, she argues that money should be at the service of society and its needs, rather than for the generation of wealth for a few, reflections that also fit with the degrowth perspective. According to Mellor, to have an economy without growth we need a monetary system that is not directed by the demands of a currency based on debt and financial accumulation. Therefore, she proposes that currency should be issued following a social logic:

> "A great deal of waste and unnecessary production and consumption would be avoided if public services could be paid for directly through money issue. Rather than debt-based money being created and circulated through the market, money creation could be achieved through the provision of socially necessary work and then flow outward towards the market" (Mellor, 2010).

This form of socially produced currency, as she calls it, would "prioritise democratically determined socially relevant expenditure with the commercial economy having to earn the money into its sector through carrying out socially relevant and ecologically sustainable activities" (Mellor, 2010).

2
THE COLLECTIVE RIGHT TO CARE

Human beings are interdependent and vulnerable, two characteristics that the current capitalist system denies and hides by pretending that care can be relegated to the background. Therefore, the recognition of vulnerability implies the recognition of care as something fundamental throughout our lives. However, in order for care to regain the place it deserves and to curb the inequalities that occur in its management, it is necessary to transform model from the ground up. With this objective, we propose to recognise the collective right to care, a collective right that seeks to guarantee both the right to receive care for all people, and the rights of caregivers, whether salaried or not (Colectiva XXK, 2020).

The recognition of these rights is linked to revaluing care work, as well as to the settled of debts to all the women who have given up their lives to take care of other people. These reparations can be symbolic, but, above all, they should be tangible, in the form of decent pensions for women who could not contribute to pension schemes because they had caring responsibilities, for example, or who held precarious jobs that have not afforded them a decent retirement. In relation to paid care, reparations should address issues from health to migration policies, guaranteeing immigration papers from the outset, facilitating family reunification processes, and so on.

It is also key to consider how we broaden the concept of co-responsibility beyond care within the household to include communities' and States' co-responsibility for care in a broad sense, from the satisfaction of basic needs, such as food or care for dependent people, to the care of the land that we inhabit.

In this vein, as *Maristella Svampa* explains, the Southern Ecosocial Pact proposes a care paradigm that draws on the contributions of feminist economics and the praxis of eco-territorial feminisms. Feminist economic manifestos demand the integration of care into public policies and the guarantee of rights in relation to health, education, housing, work, the climate crisis, etc. An example of this path is the recognition of a public care system in Uruguay. As well, eco-territorial feminisms are reclaiming practices for the defence of the land. *Maristella Svampa* gives these feminisms as examples of relational practices and ways of living together which put the sustainability of life centre-stage and demand the protection of the body-territory relationship, food sovereignty, the defence of the commons and water sources, as well as the end of patriarchal and colonial violence and extractivism.

3
ECO-SUFFICIENCY

The principle of eco-sufficiency begins with the recognition of planetary boundaries and the limits of our bodies. Salleh (2009 cited in Barca, 2020b) puts forward eco-sufficiency as an alternative to eco-efficiency, arguing for a "a non-extractive relation to nonhuman nature as a provider for human needs rather than profit. Eco-sufficiency, she claims, is the true response to climate and ecological debt."

Sufficiency speaks as much to preventing overconsumption as to guaranteeing sufficient resources for appropriate consumption (Mellor, 2019). While it is true that trying to ground this ethical and rights-based approach in more concrete proposals that establish what "eco-sufficient" consumption looks like is complex, some studies have looked into this question. For example, researcher Julia Steinberger has found that:

> "Research suggests that dimensions of well-being are satiable: that material need satisfaction (e.g. nutrition, shelter, energy services) improves lives only up to a threshold of consumption. Overconsumption, by contrast, strains individuals and societies, as revealed by research across the fields of philosophy, psychology and the medical sciences. Overconsumption often sits alongside appalling material deprivations. Distributive policies are therefore key to enabling flourishing societies at a minimum of biophysical cost" (Steinberger et al., 2020).

This concept can also be related to the idea of "subsistence" put forward by Maria Mies and more recently by Cattia Gregoratti and Riya Raphael (2019). According to them, a subsistence economy is not necessarily synonymous with hardship and suffering. On the contrary, it can allow us to redirect production and consumption towards the satisfaction of real human needs and the reproduction of life in a broad sense, rather than sustaining the accumulation of capital. A subsistence economy would therefore be:

> "An ecological economy that does not deplete or destroy the foundations on which life depends — fostering close relations between producers and consumers through rural-urban links, cooperatives as well as ecoregions (Mies, 1997). Moreover, it would encourage international trade that, in the absence of wage differences, is fair and only for goods that are produced over and beyond one's needs (Mies, 2010)" (Gregoratti and Raphael, 2019).

These ideas help us to start imagining how an eco-sufficiency economy would work, a principle which should be extended and applied democratically and with an emphasis on redistribution in order to maintain its coherence. One way to start trialling this principle is by instating policies that prohibit or discourage luxurious consumption such as private flights or the overconsumption of water. But we can also put it into practice in our daily lives, especially in community settings, where we can collectively assess how to achieve eco-sufficiency in balance with other principles such as redistribution and democracy, for example when we decide where to source the food we consume (in consumer cooperatives or community or school canteens), when we choose how much wattage a community energy initiative should produce or when we set up collective care spaces to ensure no one is excluded from collective organisation spaces.

4
DECOLONIALITY

Ecofeminist and decolonial degrowth starts from the recognition of the impacts of coloniality on peripheral bodies and territories, assuming, as Mies already described, that there are repeating patterns in the logic of dispossession of capitalism, which co-opts colonies, nature and care as its bases for accumulation. This recognition is both historical and current, attentive to the continuity of colonial logics and their transformations in each phase of capitalism. In addition, an ecofeminist degrowth needs to include reparations for these impacts and accumulated colonial, climate and gender debts. Reparations that, as we will see, should be both symbolic and tangible, capable of really transforming colonial processes.

It must also be committed to non-repetition. This is fundamental, for example, in the opposition to green growth. The reactivation of extractivist logics in the service of green growth can be challenged from the principle of the "non-repetition" of colonial logics. There is no point in talking about a transition that incorporates reparation measures if extractivist logics continue to operate, now green-washed and justified by the so-called "energy transition" that promotes a new race to extract materials

(lithium, copper, rare earth metals...) and build new megaprojects.

Likewise, incorporating decoloniality means integrating decolonial criticisms and alternative proposals into the Western model of development. Therefore, a reorganisation of the socioeconomic model for degrowth that seeks to be decolonial should incorporate principles such as post-development and post-extractivism. Alberto Acosta, for example, argues that post-extractivism would be the counterpart of degrowth, the form it would take in the global South, and specifically refers to the possibility of overcoming the current primary product export economic model generated by the "underdevelopment" of dependent countries. He summarises it as follows:

> "The idea is to gradually transfer the surpluses of extractivism to strengthen non-extractivist productive activities, which will eventually replace extractivism. As other productive activities strengthen, primary exports that cause serious socio-environmental problems could be gradually wound down" (Acosta, 2018).

This proposal could be framed by the theories that argue for self-directed economic models and economic planning that redirects the axis of the economy from the international level to the national level, meaning that instead of subordinating production and consumption to foreign markets, economic decision-making is guided by national demand. This process does not imply moving towards an autarchic or closed model but rather frames international exchanges within a framework of complementarity and fair trade (Etxezarreta, 2023). In this sense, it could be a way to overcome dependence on peripheral countries ("*delinking*" in Anglo-Saxon theory).

Finally, a decolonial degrowth would also be a project that recognises the diversity of subjects involved in its construction, with all the challenges that this entails. To begin with, the Eurocentric and academic character that still persists should be corrected, looking for ways to expand the construction of ideas beyond those spaces. And, in addition to this, we should highlight the need to drive transformation processes from all possible areas of life, to construct a subject of transformation that is as broad and diverse as possible.[5]

[5] In the chapter on strategies we dedicate a section to discussing how to achieve this.

BROADENING THE DEBATE
WHO OWES WHOM?

We revisit the classic question of the debt cancellation movements to propose a reconceptualisation of debt that is still useful and valid: who owes whom? As Corinna Dengler states, debts not only function as mechanisms of oppression, but also as mechanisms of resistance and movement-building. This dual function is very well explained using the concept of debts from above and debts from below. Debts from above are financial debts that the social majorities (both states and individuals) owe to a handful of banks and investment funds. Debts from below, or invisible debts, are debts that they owe to us, to the social majorities: ecological, social reproductive and colonial debts, etc. As an illustrative example of these debts, we can look at the quantification that Jason Hickel, Dylan Sullivan and Huzaifa Zoomkawala (2021) made of the plunder of the global South in the post-colonial era (1960-2019). In their study they concluded that drain from the South due to unequal exchange amounted to $62 trillion (constant 2011 dollars), or $152 trillion (accounting for lost growth).

Looking at reproductive debt, Bengi Akbulut (2023) takes an interesting approach which focuses on "the unequal flows of life-maintaining labour by human beings and nature between the global North and the global South". It places special emphasis on flows of social reproductive work, and introduces the concept of "'reproductive debt' from racialised and cheap social reproductive labour flowing from the global South to the North."

Another interesting reflection on debt comes from Ariel Salleh, who uses the concept of "*embodied debt*" to refer to the money stolen through surplus value in capitalist exploitation, comprising the hours of unpaid reproductive work, the livelihoods stolen from indigenous peoples and the work of protecting the natural environment on which capitalism also depends. To this array of debts we can also add the generational debt incurred with future generations, who will suffer even more than ourselves from climate change, or debts to non-human nature (Capire, 2023).

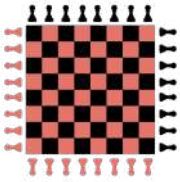
Taking this broad view of debts into account, it becomes clear that when we talk about reparations we cannot think only of economic reparations:

> "Olúfémi Táíwó proposes a constructive perspective on reparations. Despite such reparations being motivated by past injustices, in their operationalisation, they do not aim at reconciliation or redemption. Rather, taking on the eternal debts of the south, they aim to remake the world in other terms, with other rules of the game and other structures, to 'create a completely new political order, characterised by self-determination, non-domination and solidarity' (Táíwó, 2022). This includes, of course, building a different type of economy" (Lang et al., 2023).

Examples of how to "remake the world" are given by Bengi Akbulut in her call for a "des-

tabilising transition", where she references, for example, demands for reparation and indigenous sovereignty such as the Land Back Movement (which demands the return of land) or the Alianza de los Pueblos del Sur Acreedores de la Deuda Ecológica [lit. Alliance of the Southern Peoples who are Creditors of Ecological Debt]. Likewise, she warns of the impacts that an economic downturn in the global North could have on the global South. Due to dependencies, this could become a "forced disconnection", which is why she argues that "direct measures are necessary such as the transfer of resources for economic restructuring", as well as promoting alternatives to growth, for example, post-extractivism, Ubuntu, Buen Vivir, etc.

5
DEMOCRATISATION



The feminisms have made significative contributions to democratisation through the concept of "sovereignty from below" and take a multi-scale perspective (from bodies and communities to the national and international scale). This approach is fed by movements such as the food sovereignty and energy sovereignty movements, in addition to the struggles for the right to abortion or for community self-organisation. Reclaiming our own right to decide about all facets of our lives means reclaiming the radical meaning of "democracy", turning it into something which is always in process, a continuous transformation, since there will always be areas to be democratised, from workplaces, to homes, neighbourhoods, schools or nursing homes. Uzuri Aboitiz, based on the reflections of the Basque feminist group Bilgune, argues for a feminist sovereignty:

> "that happens in homes, in the distribution of time, in the models of coexistence, in the recognition of diversity, in the right to decide about our own bodies, in the organisation of work, but also in the defence of the commons, in the public services model, or the way finance is done [...] [a sovereignty] that allows us to be the owners of our own lives" (Aboitiz, 2018).

Two keys to advancing these processes are de-commodification[6] and decentralisation, since, in order to regain control, we must ensure that decisions are not subject to the interests of the markets and that they are taken closer to the places we inhabit.

BROADENING THE DEBATE QUESTIONING COMMODIFICATION AS AN EMANCIPATORY STRATEGY

We want to pause a little here to delve a little deeper into the critique of commodification, since, too often, processes that involve commodification have been defended in the name of emancipation.

Corinna Dengler warns us that the process of commodification produces the externalisation and internalisation of both social reproduction and ecosystems. Externalisation, that is, putting something outside of the markets, has impacts because it makes jobs invisible, produces precariousness and damages ecosystems. On the other hand, internalisation, that is, the incorporation of areas of social reproduction or ecosystems into the markets (through global care chains or carbon trading, for example) also produces impacts, as it subordinates them to the generation of profit.

Therefore, although some feminisms have argued for the professionalisation of reproductive work as a path to emancipation, and some environmentalist discourse defends carbon offsetting systems as a way to mitigate climate change, in reality it is necessary to question commodification as a solution to the externalised costs of capitalism and analyse all its consequences.

Another way of defining democratisation processes is under the umbrella of "communal democracy", which Nora Miralles, of the Estructuras Populares y Comunitarias de Manresa [Network of Popular and Community Structures of Manresa] (Catalonia) defines as follows: "Building communal democracy is about generating spaces of empowerment, weaving networks in diversity, organising and giving mutual support; and doing so against a system of domination that saturates us" (Vega et al., 2022).

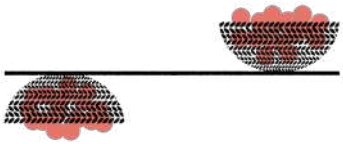
[6] Although Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2018, p. 67) problematises this concept: "I think we should talk about de-alienating or de-privatising, rather than de-commodifying," she says, claiming that other forms of barter and exchange that constitute markets may not be "alienating."

More specifically, in dialogue with participants with other self-organisation experiences, she concludes that "communal democracy leads us to generate freer ways to make decisions, but also freer and more equal ways to live, to live well, with others and with nature; we learn how to build communal democracy as we build it, and this requires patience and delicacy" (Vega et al., 2022).

The contradiction between these ways of understanding democracy (or sovereignty) and what is commonly understood by democracy in capitalist frameworks and frameworks represented as liberal is very well explained by Montserrat Galcerán (2016) in this quote:

"'Democracy' must, therefore, cease to mean a space of electoral competition which sets up the place where the common decision-making that affects our lives happens. Given that we live in complex communities where wealth is nonetheless produced collectively and the worlds of life are shared, democracy cannot mean a set of rules that keep the population at bay but should mean the structuring of a space for freedom and coexistence."

6
EQUALITY AND INTERSECTIONALITY



During our meetings we talked a lot about the importance of approaching degrowth from a justice perspective, and thus we connect it to redistribution. "It's important not to sell a naive idea. The future that will come will be a fairer future for all, but not better for all, because some will have to lose, give up privileges. Some capitals have to degrow significantly in order for us to have sufficient access to our rights" (*Blanca Bayas*).

The good news is that there are already studies confirming that such a scenario is possible, that is, that the energy and resources exist to guarantee the basic needs of the entire world population. Specifically, "the final energy requirements for providing decent living standards to the global population in 2050 [of around 10 billion people] could be over 60% lower than consumption today" (Millward-Hopkins et al., 2020). As the authors state, the idea that we will be poor in a degrowth scenario is a fallacy.

Global income will be reduced, but it will be better distributed, the unnecessary will be reduced and we will be able to dedicate the resources we have to what is really necessary. In other words, we need to directly attack the current productive system which based on permanent accumulation, not reduce the consumption of those already below the poverty line.

Furthermore, when considering equality and redistribution, it is key to take into account intersectionality: intertwined oppressions, beyond class or income. We must put forward an equitable and just proposal that tangibly and symbolically dismantles heteropatriarchal, racist, colonial and ableist systems (amongst others).

BROADENING THE DEBATE WAYS TO OVERCOME THE REDISTRIBUTION-RECOGNITION DICHOTOMY

There is a recurring debate on the left that often becomes too polarised, losing nuance and limiting the possibility of finding uniting positions or common bases. Redistributive policies are set against policies of recognition, that is, policies that aim to achieve equality are set against policies that seek the recognition of identities to end discrimination. An in-depth analysis of this debate was published in the 2016 book *Redistribución o Recognición? Un debate entre marxismo y feminismo [Redistribution or Recognition?, a debate between Marxism and feminism]* which comprises several articles by Nancy Fraser and Judith Butler.

It is true that there are movements that focus on identity without relating it to class or to material conditions (for example, the most liberal expressions of the gay movement), just as there are socialist positions that remain blind to questions of gender or race, imagining a homogeneous working class that does not exist. We can say that feminist movements do not reflect this dichotomy. On the contrary, they have managed to formulate strategies that seek both the emancipation of women on a symbolic and cultural level, and the transformation of the material and structural conditions that force them to work double and triple shifts.

As Julia Cámara (2021) states, "gender, race or sexual orientation cannot be at odds with class because class is constructed, among other things, through processes of racialisation and gender assignment. And vice versa".

The reflections of Asad Haider in his book *Mistaken Identity* are relevant here. He warns against the dangers of identity politics, in this case anti-racism, that do not take class into account. In his words:

> "A political formation such as whiteness cannot be explained by starting with an individual's identity — the reduction of politics to the psychology of the self. The starting point will have to be the social structure and its constitutive relations, within which individuals are composed" (Haider, 2020, p. 91).

7
LIVES FREE OF VIOLENCE

Achieving lives free of violence is one of the main lines of action of feminist movements around the world, but when we connect those efforts with ecofeminisms and decoloniality we can expand them to include the defence of lands and life in a much broader sense. As we saw in the previous chapter, patriarchal, extractivist and capitalist violence are united in a complex web of violence. This web is sustained by the dehumanisation of sectors of the population, as well as the voracious desire of capitalism to continue expanding whatever the cost.

Given all this, we can put forward various plans of action. The first is anti-militarist feminism, which merges with feminist and environmentalist currents between the 1970s and the 1990s and focuses part of its activism on a strong opposition to the military and war. This position made perfect sense in the context of the Cold War and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and makes even more sense now, if that were possible, in the face of the horror of the Palestinian genocide committed by the Israeli army.

An example of these historic struggles which is worth relating so that feminist and antimilitarist legacies can inspire our current struggles is the Greenham Common camp. This women's camp began in 1981 under the slogan "Women for Life on Earth" with the aim of preventing the installation of US nuclear missiles in the UK. The camp lasted 19 years during which marches and blockades of the base were carried out, with activists chained to the fences, and it also became a point of reference for anti-militarist feminists around the world.[7] Today, anti-militarist feminism does not catalyse such outstanding mobilisations, but it does participate in struggles such as fiscal disobedience to avoid contributing to military finance or in solidarity campaigns with Palestine such as the "Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions" campaign that seeks to economically and politically pressure the State of Israel to end the occupation.

The second movement that we are interested in highlighting is feminist self-defence, a self-defence that, as Maitena Monroy says, "is not only personal, but a

[7] Montserrat Cervera, a Catalan antimilitarist feminist, explains how this camp inspired them to replicate similar movements here: https://caladona.org/les-dones-de-greenham-common/

collective commitment to eradicate violence in our lives" (Vargas, 2023). Feminist self-defence is a tool that seeks to politicise violence in order to provide us with individual and collective resources to eradicate patriarchy. This movement has broadened and expanded during the most recent wave of feminist mobilisations in which many experiences of grassroots self-organisation emerged and grew stronger, seeking to confront not only gender-based violence, but also seeing its interrelation with capitalist and colonial violence.

In addition, these experiences, mostly localised, sought to build a practical feminism, embodying the idea that "feminist networks support us" (slogan of the 8M 2020 marches in Argentina). As the comrades of the Community House in Cordoba (Argentina) say, this "translates into a mandate to create and sustain spaces for listening, care and bonding within each neighbourhood" (de la Vega and Fernández, 2023). One of the members of the space stated:

> "I think of community self-defence, I think of community-based peer support, and I think of talk 'between women', of bonding with other women, of generating spaces for us to listen, for us to get to know each other, to find out how each other are, to be able to understand each other's situation and be able to support each other and, at the same time, build tools and strategies" (de la Vega and Fernández, 2023).

These practices, which instead of revictimising, place victims at the centre and trust in their agency, are an escape from victimising and punitive feminisms. As well, they address violence in all its facets and interactions, not just from the perspective of gender-based aggression. Therefore, recognising the potential of these spaces is part of a feminist toolkit that understands that the way to rid ourselves of violence is not with more police or prison sentences, but by transforming everyday realities and the structures that sustain violence.

Women's spaces (not necessarily cis, binary, heterosexual women), spaces in which social, material and symbolic life is collectivised, according to Mariana Menéndez Díaz, allow us to break down isolation, produce new meanings, create new ways of doing politics and enact practices of self-care and defence. Therefore, "the expansion of the webs of life that allow us to weave together our interdependence is a key way of deepening our autonomy from the system of domination" (El Apantle, 2019).

Finally, a comprehensive approach to violence should also incorporate reparation and memory. In this area, we can look at proposals for restorative and transformative justice that seek to fight against the impunity with which patriarchal violence and in general violence exercised by the State or corporations is often carried out, and demand that the truth is exposed: that is, recognition, reparation and non-repetition. This debate has been thoroughly explored by the feminisms in relation to gender-based violence, but not so much as to consider the search for justice in other cases of capitalist or corporate violence. However, if we think about the violence produced by the growth-driven system, we cannot separate one from the other.

DEEPENING KNOWLEDGE
WHAT WOULD FEMINIST REPARATION FOR CORPORATE VIOLENCE LOOK LIKE?

In our discussions so far, we did not have time to debate how to apply feminist or restorative justice frameworks in the case of violence that goes beyond the interpersonal or community scale. However, we find it relevant to include some reflections that emerged at the International Meeting "Ecofeminist alliances against corporate power", held in April 2022 at the Casa de Defensoras Basoa (Euskal Herria). There, we were able to discuss how to address violence (understood broadly) and look at the keys of restorative justice to apply them to conflicts with multinational companies.

In this debate, several defenders of the land argued that formal justice, if not accompanied by other strategies, is of little use or can even generate processes of revictimisation. As alternatives, in particular they spoke of the importance of activating processes of mobilisation, influencing public opinion and, above all, supporting victims (Martí & Pozzobon, 2022). In addition, they highlighted the need to seek comprehensive answers, identifying all the rights violated, especially those that are hidden (such as sexual assaults suffered in the context of conflict, or effects on physical and mental health). Likewise, to achieve comprehensive reparations it was assumed that, in addition to the corporation, the other actors that facilitated the aggression should take part in the reparation, for example, the state and economic actors that collaborated with the multinational.

Finally, apart from the women's spaces already mentioned, much thought was given to how processes of remembering play a fundamental role in reparation, since they contribute to the construction of narrative owned by the victims that helps to reframe violence. In addition, the creation of collective remembering processes is related to the objective of non-repetition. These processes can occur on a micro scale, such as the community scale, but they should also occur on a macro scale, remaking official histories and incorporating the historical processes of dispossession and colonisation into our collective memories.

8
RESILIENCE AND RESTORATION

Lastly, we believe that resilience is a key ecofeminist principle as it highlights the struggles and resistances of the groups most affected by the ecological crisis, and also allows us to think beyond the collapse to imagine and put into practice new ways of guaranteeing a good life for everyone in times of multi-systemic crisis. As Cattia Gregoratti (2024) says, there is a risk of understanding this concept from a neoliberal, individual perspective, as if it were a personal responsibility to be resilient in a world that generates ever more precariousness. Far from it. From an ecofeminist and degrowth perspective we think of resilience as a collective concept linked to the restoration of connections and ecosystems, and as a universal right to be defended, as the protection of life will increasingly depend on it.

A key idea in this regard is that we need to promote fair adaptation to the ecological crisis. That means that the ability to be resilient should not depend on class, coloniality, gender or where we live. So, when we talk about justice and re-distribution, we must look for transformation processes that allow us to build more resilient communities and territories. When we fight to defend public services, we must also demand that institutions put measures in place to prevent and respond to emergencies. These demands are fundamental in order to demilitarise the response to climate disasters, as well as to condemn the persistence of colonial logics in the humanitarian aid mechanisms used to tackle them.

On the other hand, if we look at strategies for resilience or resistance created from the grassroots, we can find some interesting ideas for an ecofeminist degrowth approach. In *A Paradise in Hell* (2020), for example, Rebecca Solnit makes an interesting review of collective resistance practices during disasters, which show our ability to act collectively in times of emergency. Around the world, we can see other strategies for collectivising efforts to sustain life in contexts of great insecurity, such as neighbourhood mutual support networks, or migrant empowerment strategies such as the migrant caravans that cross borders in Central America and Mexico (Mariana Zaragoza, interviewed by Makazaga, 2022).

In addition, we cannot separate these processes from the ecosystems that sustain us, so any resilience process must also include practices for ecosystem regeneration and restoration. As Kimmerer (2021, p. 358) says:

> "Biocultural restoration raises the bar for environmental quality of the reference ecosystem, so that as we care for the land, it can once again care for us. Restoring land without restoring relationship is an empty exercise. It is relationship that will endure and relationship that will sustain the restored land. Therefore, reconnecting people and the landscape is as essential as reestablishing proper hydrology or cleaning up contaminants. It is medicine for the earth".

Finally, it is worth saying that although focusing on resilience may seem like giving up, like accepting our fate without trying to change it, we put it forward as a form of "eco-utopia", part of our continuing attempt to describe viable horizons in which everyone can have a decent life. In other words, we see our call for resilience as a two-pronged attack that seeks to curb the ecological crisis, but at the same time does not consider human life on this planet to be a lost cause and seeks to guarantee decent lives and justice in all possible scenarios.

WHAT WOULD ECOFEMINIST DEGROWTH LOOK LIKE?

In this section we ground the eight principles mentioned so far in some more concrete proposals to imagine what ecofeminist degrowth would look like. It is not our intention to exhaustively review of all the measures that could help us implement ecofeminist degrowth, but to highlight some key measures and show that these are not just abstract or theoretical proposals, but that there are many measures and actions that could put ecofeminist degrowth principles into action. Some would require more debate and political pressure to implement, but others are examples of actions that are already being carried out in various contexts.

In the following table we summarise twelve proposals for implementing ecofeminist degrowth. These were developed starting from WoMin's proposals to transform the economy (cited in Randriamaro, 2023), to which we have added other proposals, such as reducing working hours, guaranteeing access to universal services, abolishing migration policies and cancelling debt.

WHAT WOULD ECOFEMINIST DEGROWTH LOOK LIKE?

1. Food sovereignty and agroecological food production.
2. Alternative forms of development that have the consent of the local population.
3. Energy sovereignty through sustainable and decentralised collective energy systems.
4. Small-scale, low-impact forms of extraction under collective ownership.
5. Participatory and inclusive democracy at all levels of decision-making.
6. Communal ownership, respect, support and expansion against privatisation and financialisation.
7. Rapid transition to a low-consumption lifestyle by the rich and middle classes.
8. Reduction of working hours.
9. Guaranteed access to universal services.
10. Abolition of migration policies.
11. Debt cancellation measures.
12. Fair funding for a planned and democratic transition.

Achieving this program will involve actors at various scales and with various responsibilities. During our conversations, we realised that "when we discuss ecofeminism we often focus on the land, on the body, on the local, but, in addition, we need to look at another broader scale" (*Eva Vilaseca*). In this sense, in addition to proposing everyday practices for transformation, we ask ourselves: "what policies do we aspire to implement?". The ideas that emerged range from economic planning to measures that go beyond the boundaries of the State (*Joana Bregolat*).

Paz Aedo stated that "it is misleading to think of the micro as isolated processes, limited to non-transferable subjectivities, since the micro is located and contextualised in networks of interdependence and reciprocal influence, by which both the reproduction and the evolution and transformation of realities are sustained". Maintaining this commitment, we then reflected on how to promote these agendas both from the community level and from the public-state level, knowing that this division is not always clear and that, in fact, the ideal would be to blend both spaces a little more and implement public-community strategies.

COMMUNITY LEVEL

The stories of community defence of the land are those that have most inspired the ecofeminisms since their inception. Wangari defined them as experiences led by women dedicated to "maintaining and developing their places on the planet through the daily management of their living landscape" (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Zo Randriamaro (2023), for her part, affirms that "eco-feminism is inseparable from the concrete struggles and initiatives at the grassroots to preserve, develop or repair liveable spaces and social bonds through material and cultural processes that allow a society to reproduce itself without destroying other societies or living species".

This possibility of reproducing ourselves without harming other societies and species is where the potential lies to transform our most everyday spaces and reclaim communities as areas from which to construct new possible ways of life, from the very roots to the larger landscape and its connections. *Ariadna Tremoleda* of the Mas les Vinyes cooperative (Catalonia) put it perfectly, saying,

> "I've never felt so abundant as I do now living in a rural community. We live by intentionally thinking about what we consume, what we produce, what impact we have on our land, how we manage things... And the impact that our life is having on our small territory".

This reflection also resonates with the way in which Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2018, p. 72) describes the privileges of community experiences, in this case referring to the context of Andean indigenous peoples:

> "It is a privilege to live in a space from which you can experience and evolve your thinking about things like organised disobedience, community resistance, communal forms of self-organisation, the de facto de-privatisation of public services and spaces, alternative and iconoclastic ways of doing politics beginning from the everyday/feminine, which help us to defend ourselves from the perverse logics of the capitalist system."

We speak, therefore, of experiences and "projects that take place in a space of mutual support and proximity, in which most people can spend some time to meet everyday needs" (*Elba Mansilla*). What is more, these experiences "transform the lived reality of women and allow us to collaborate with anyone we coexist with, without needing to be experts, from neighbourhood communities, for example" (*Rosana Cervera*).

It is difficult to map the role that community experiences can play in promoting ecofeminist degrowth, because they are so varied and involve so many areas and organisational forms that some examples will always be left out. In addition, by definition, community experiences are territorial, that is, they respond to local logics, so it is difficult to formulate a proposal that works for all contexts, especially thinking across contexts in which the presence of the state varies greatly, from total absence to authoritarianism to forms in between which offer some possibility of collaboration.

However, we can put forward some key ideas that help us interpret these experiences from the logic of ecofeminist degrowth and think about how to promote new initiatives that help us advance along this path.[8]

The first step would be to think about their strengths, which we can summarise as follows:

1. Prototyping alternative ways of organising production and the reproduction of life. Providing practical examples that show the possibility of alternative paths without private property, wage labour or commodification. This is invaluable in a present marked by fear of the future and difficulty in imagining alternative futures.

2. Organising parts of life autonomously and beginning to emancipate people from the extortion of employment. This is a fundamental element of these experiences, since the construction of alternatives cannot only be a political project — it is also a strategy for survival. These initiatives might only cover a small part of our lives, or they might also really solve basic issues such as access to food or housing. In any case, having spaces for living which are emancipated from capital gives us a breathing space, helping us to deal with everything else.

3. Stopping the advance of capital by disputing spaces and confronting its hegemony. An experience of community self-organisation, in order to have the potential for transformation, must directly or indirectly confront the capitalist system itself. Sometimes these experiences do not produce alternative living spaces and work more as containment dams to halt the advance of capital, such as fights against megaprojects. However, in reality, any space for self-organisation carries the seed of an alternative way of life, since it breaks down individualism and puts the community to work for a common goal.

4. Transforming subjectivities. This is a more underground process, but not lesser for that. The Alianza Contra la Pobreza Energética [Alliance against Energy Poverty] explains this very well in its documentary *"Recuperar la Luz"*, where the protagonists explain how thanks to their collective struggle, they no longer feel shame for their situation of poverty. Likewise, in many cases we can see how daily practices can transform the division between the productive and the reproductive, as well as the sexual division of labour, since care is no longer confined to the domestic sphere. Sometimes this community care is still feminised, but it is precisely the prominence gained

[8] Our thinking about many of these ideas started in previous works, specifically in the books: *Rethinking Economics from the Popular* (Uharte, L. and Martí, J. [eds.], 2019) and in the *Ecofeminist Manual against Corporate Power* (Martí, J. and Mentxaka, M., 2022).

by the women who carry it out that allows them to transform their role in the community. In addition, all of this is connected with the drive to build spaces free of violence.

Secondly, some of the principles that show us the alternative nature of these initiatives, as well as how they fit into proposals for ecofeminist degrowth, would be:

1. Grounding in the everyday. As we have said, politicising the everyday is essential for constructing broad and inclusive processes. It allows us to strengthen the community, creating spaces for community care and working on collective commitment. In addition, it calls us to consider activism in an integrated way, that is, that we do not leave everything else aside for activism, but that it is "part of life".

2. Radicality. Projects that seek radical social and political transformation, and do not shy away from conflicts with the State, landowners, landlords or employers.

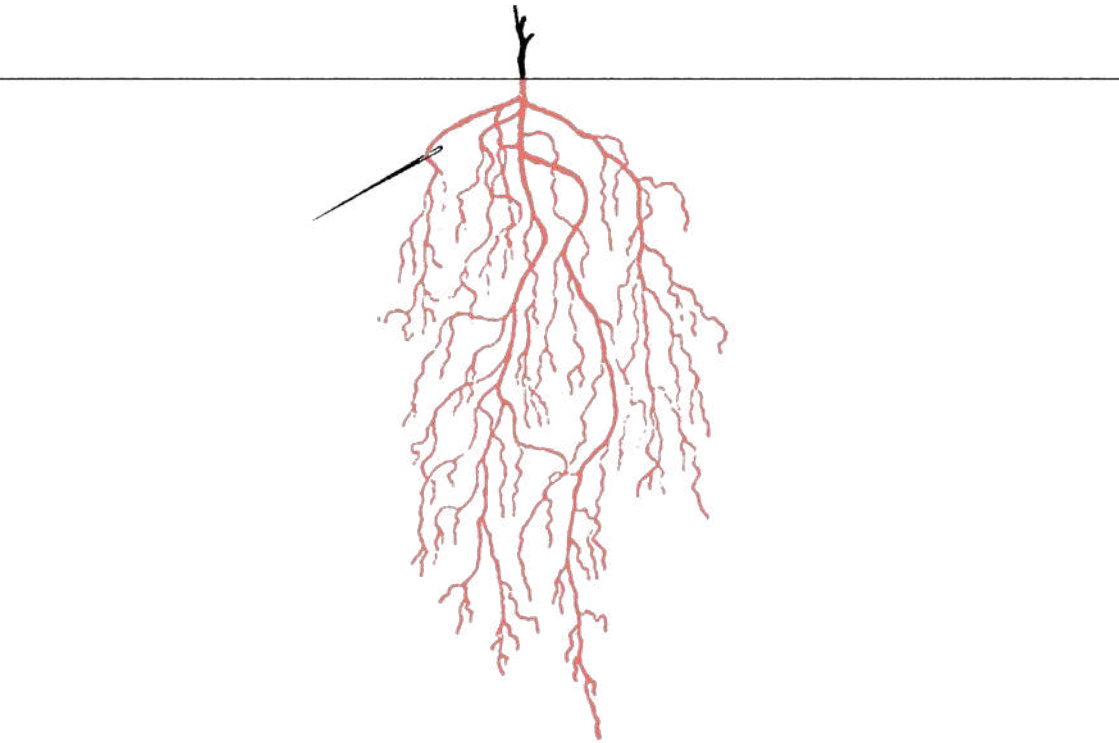
3. Democracy and diversity. Understanding these principles from a desire to collectively construct a broad and diverse subject, as well as democratising operating practices, staying vigilant to colonial, racist or patriarchal logics.

4. Eco-sufficiency and restoration. Incorporating the principle of eco-sufficiency, as discussed previously, means rethinking our supply models taking into account their impacts and seeking balance with the other principles. To do this, we will need to reconnect and restore links with the territories that sustain us, forming part of their regeneration. These are two objectives that will be much more achievable collectively than individually, so they reinforce the need to build collectives and communities.

Finally, we want to stress how important it is that these projects recognise their vulnerabilities and strive to overcome them. Some of the challenges they may face is the danger of being too isolated and that, therefore, their potential for transformation is limited; another challenge would be navigating a world that is still capitalist, meaning if the project is not solid enough the pressure can become too strong; and, related to this, the focus on immediacy, which sometimes overwhelms us and prevents us from seeing the bigger picture.

Given all this, some examples that satisfy all these key principles are projects of the social or community economy, local community energy, consumer cooperatives, housing cooperatives or squatted housing, family associations, community soup kitchens, food sovereignty initiatives, land reclamation... We can also recognise these community spaces for their "struggles for memory and micropolitical decolonisation," as Rivera Cusicanqui (2018, p. 91) says. This includes the construction of feminist

and community forms of self-defence, which range from work to achieve resilient communities in the face of patriarchal and capitalist violence (neighbourhood unions, networks against energy poverty, organisations defending the land, etc.), to strategies to promote forms of feminist and restorative justice or collective processes for healing from violence (for example, houses or projects for sheltering human rights defenders).



STATE LEVEL

When formulating interventions at public-state level, it is important to take into account the framework we are working in, to realise that states (with a few exceptions) are key actors driving the growth-based capitalist system and that, in general, they will only accept initiatives for change that continue to sustain this system.

So, what do we do? Perhaps it is useful to explore the idea of "non-reformist reforms", that is, measures that take a foothold in cracks in the system, not to reinforce it and adapt it to new stresses, but to expand our capacity to challenge the system as a whole. As Thea Riofrancos explains, we must distinguish between policies aimed at preserving the power of the ruling class through a modernisation of the system, such as "technological innovation that aims to internalise to a certain extent the environmental costs of capital, to convert environmental damages into new spaces for accumulation", and "structural or non-reformist reforms, in which movements demand achievable but strategic changes in the status quo" (Martínez, 2022).

One way to know whether we are looking at this type of proposal is to be clear about whether this victory, whether by symbolic and material achievements, can serve to push "social movements to fight still more and to press for more radical changes". Although, as she herself states, "the question can only be answered by observing the process that has generated the changes. Depending on this, the reform itself can have stabilising or emancipatory consequences" (Martínez, 2022). It will be key to look at the logic driving the intervention: whether it is merely a demand put to the State, which may or may not grant it, or if, on the contrary, it is framed within a logic of struggle and conflict, and aims to achieve change through social pressure. This may seem like a trivial distinction, but looking at how the actors driving these struggles are connected, and especially how they see themselves and their struggles, we should be able to see whether they are capable of achieving longer-term transformations and alliances.

It is difficult to propose concrete policies, because their appropriateness and effectiveness is context-dependent. In addition, despite the fact that we have tried to take a global and decolonial perspective, and that we have talked with several colleagues from the global South in order to write this text, we are writing from a country of the global North, and so we have been able to expand more on the proposals from these contexts. Taking into consideration all these "buts", we think that it is worth developing some public policy proposals a little further, to counter the idea that ecofeminisms only care about the micro and the fallacy that implementing a feminist degrowth programme would be impossible.

Here, we give some strategic outlines for thinking about what such a programme would look like,[9] and at the end of the publication you will find a more developed set of proposals.

1. Policies to reverse the priorities of the economic system. In this category we put forward measures that seek to transform the uses of time (for example, reduced working hours), measures that curb speculation and protect the commons and territories and proposals that promote changes such as public-community management (as opposed to public-private management) or the transformation of harmful sectors, such as the military industry.

2. Policies for the sustainability of life. Here we delve a little deeper into resources for guaranteeing the satisfaction of basic needs (public services, income, equipment...), measures to expand and monitor the protection of employment rights, proposals to defamiliarise and defeminise care and everything connected with holistic well-being and health (feminist urban planning, disaster resilience, recognition of diversity, etc.).

3. Policies to drive the transition to degrowth. This objective has to do with the implementation of measures for restraint (preventing overconsumption, localisation, fair taxation, etc.), but also with establishing pathways for a democratically planned transition, promoting forms of democratisation of the economy and territorial rebalancing. In addition, these policies will have to ensure that colonial logics are not repeated and that the logics of international trade are transformed.

4. Policies to restore body-territory connections and cancel debts. We can also divide this category into measures aimed at promoting reconnection with and care of the ecosystems that sustain us (collective land stewardship, recognition of local knowledge, etc.) and measures aimed at ending plunder and the externalisation of impacts, including debt cancellation, access to justice and the weakening of patriarchal and colonial structures.

[9] These proposals arise from work that we carry out jointly with the ecofeminisms section of Greenpeace Spain.

BROADENING THE DEBATE PROPOSALS FOR INCOME TRANSFER POLICIES

There is a long-standing debate within critical economy about whether the way to guarantee income for sustaining a decent life should take the form of "socially necessary work" or whether, on the contrary, the model should be based on a "guaranteed universal basic income". We do not intend to enter this debate here, but we do find it worthwhile to review a historical debate amongst the feminisms regarding the demand for a salary for domestic work, or care salary. This debate, despite being quite intense in the seventies and eighties, has been rather forgotten, despite the fact that some of the proposals that were made then are being raised again today, updated and adapted to present day thinking.

Corinna Dengler (2024) made a good analysis of this journey from the perspective of degrowth. In her analysis, she reviews the demands of the "Wages for Housework" campaign that originated in the United States in the 1970s and spread to other countries, such as Italy and the United Kingdom, promoted among others by Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Selma James and Silvia Federici. Dengler states that this campaign was not exclusively based on a simple monetary demand, since it was not so much about getting all unpaid domestic work effectively remunerated, but more about making this work visible and demonstrating that a radical transformation of the capitalist system would be needed to be able to pay for it.

Some of the criticisms received by this campaign were, first of all, the danger that the establishment of such an income would consolidate the feminisation of care. Federici herself responded, however, that it was exactly the opposite, that remunerating these works would be a way to make them visible and begin to dismantle their "feminisation". Meanwhile, black and anti-racist feminisms criticised the focus on unpaid care work only, claiming that this made salaried women invisible, although many of them were in feminised and precarious sectors. Finally, others challenged the need to monetise this work in order for it to be valued. This is the point that we are interested in discussing here, from a degrowth perspective.

First of all, we must bear in mind that the demand for the domestic wage arose from an analysis of care work that understood it as productive work, that is, it equated the "production" of the workforce with the production of goods for the market. In this sense, it was considered that the demand for a salary made it possible to incorporate domestic workers into class struggles. However, as was demonstrated later with the feminist strikes, there are other ways to fight for these sectors as part of the class struggle. Through the feminist strikes we broke the division between wage-earners and non-wage-earners, between productive and reproductive work, since all women (in the broadest sense of the term) were called on to strike.

Therefore, we can say that making reproductive work visible and recognised does not necessarily mean turning it into wage labour. For example, Social Reproduction Theory asserts the strategic potential of using the unproductive characteristics of this work (subsistence work in Mies' words) to stress capitalist dynamics themselves. In the words of Ferguson, Bhattacharya and Farris (2021):

> "Capital still tends to dominate 'unproductive' work processes involved in creating life. But it can only do so indirectly. The logic and domination of capitalist value creation can and does affect the time, place, rhythm and pace of social reproductive work in public schools and hospitals, at home and in the community. But it does not subject that work to the calculations of value production in the way that it does, for instance, the labour processes at McDonald's or Amazon. [...] Labour in general resists total subsumption by capital precisely because there can be no labour without life — without a living human being, whose life needs can and will assert themselves against capital time and again".

It is this possibility for insubordination in work considered "unproductive" that makes it a key battleground for resistance and for laying bare the contradictions of capitalism, something that does not necessarily happen by demanding a salary, but rather by transforming the productive model and achieving decent conditions for care work: reduced working hours, more public services, liveable environments, community networks, public transport, etc.

Secondly, returning to the proposal to monetise these tasks to raise their status, Dengler (2021) warns that, although it allows us to demonstrate the essential role that the devaluation of care plays in the functioning of the system, it is still a proposal that uses money as a form of social recognition. In addition, she revisits Fraser's (2016) idea of "*boundary struggles*", a concept that refers to how struggles for reproduction have managed to move the boundaries that separate the productive and the reproductive. She argues that the monetisation pathway involves moving some tasks, hitherto considered unproductive, to the other side of this boundary - to the productive side, as has been done, for example, with the commodification of ecosystem services through carbon offsetting schemes. In contrast, she suggests that proposals based on "*care commons*", referring to care carried out by the State, but also at the community level in a non-commodified way, could serve not only to move the boundary, but to actually dissolve it.

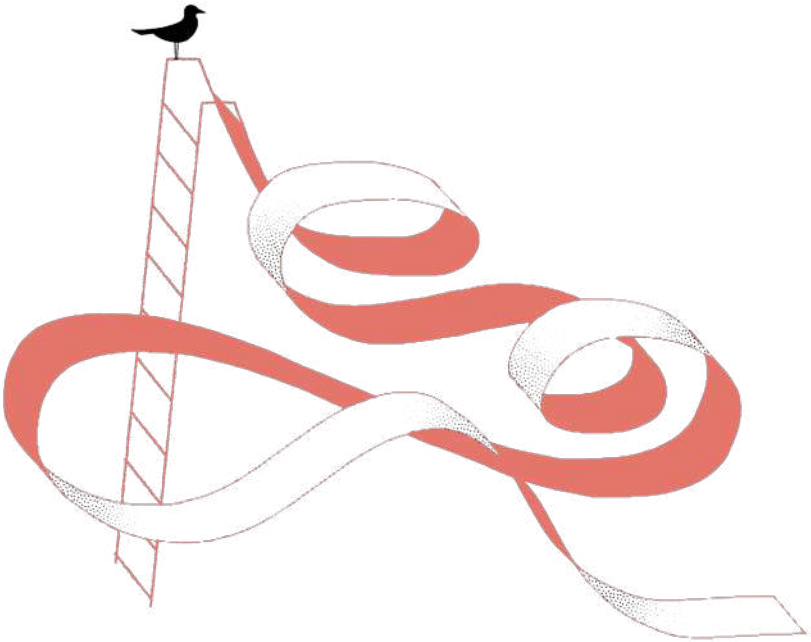
In this same line, Veronica Gago, based on experiences in Argentina, stresses the importance that valuing reproductive work has had in "popular economies", spaces in which a form of dissolution of these boundaries can be seen. Their configuration does not exactly resemble wage labour, although there are incomes, but neither does it exactly resemble domestic work, although women continue to play a fundamental role, and they cover not only reproductive areas of life (such as community canteens), but productive areas as well (such as textile workshops, for example).

> "This valuing [of reproductive work] has to do with these tasks spilling beyond the confines of households. This happened due to the crisis that dismantled the figure of the male 'head' of the household due to mass unemployment. But, above all, it is an effect of the politicisation of the crisis through

community and popular organisational dynamics" (Gago, 2019).

Finally, it should be said that there are still sectors of feminism and ecofeminism that, reviving the call for a domestic wage, advocate for a care income which would serve to recognise and reward all care work (including community and territorial care work). One of the defenders of this position is Selma James, founder of the *Wages for Housework* campaign. In addition, this proposal was incorporated into the Green New Deal for Europe drafted by the DiEM25 movement. *Stefania Barca*, who participated in our meetings, advocates for this measure, and defended it as follows: "The proposal of a care income says that reproduction is not a cost, but is what produces well-being. If we put well-being at the centre of the economic system, everything changes, valuation changes, merchandise is no longer valued, but care is (regardless of whether it is done by women or by everyone)". She also stated that "there are risks such as the commodification of care, but capitalism is already doing that (privatisations of education and health, outsourced and precarious domestic care...)". And, in any case, she added, in line with Mary Mellor, that "money is not evil, but a means (like technology), and the important thing is what we do with it. From a feminist perspective, we must change the way money is used, as the servant and not the master".

CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES FOR "HACKING" GROWTH AND TACKLING THE CRISES



So far, we have seen how degrowth and ecofeminism can feed into each other to amplify critiques of growth and capitalism, as well as to propose alternative future horizons. However, this dialogue on "what" is toothless if we do not address the "how", if we do not also ask ourselves how we can help to hack growth from within the ecofeminisms and move towards these other horizons.

In the session we dedicated to discussing strategies, *Flora Partenio* invited us to organise and form alliances inspired by Dieter Rucht's "Quadruple A" strategy, which proposes four actions: "Abstention, Attack, Alternatives and Adaptation".[10] Specifically, she proposed combining:

1. Abstention from the ecocidal system: that is, escaping capitalism.

2. Attack (boycott or activism), for example, showing the consequences of excessive economic growth, joining street protests and direct actions.

3. Alternatives built based on the commons (emphasising this versus individual outcomes).

4. Adaptation (taming capitalism), for example, using platforms such as social networks to raise awareness.

Many other issues related to strategies also came up in the discussions. Following the Four A's, we saw a clear need to organise ourselves at different interconnected levels, from alternatives for sustaining ourselves and providing breathing space away from the ecocidal system to unions and neighbourhood and community organisations for sustaining conflicts against capital. For example, struggles against profit-hungry

[10] It resonates with Olin Wright's proposal: "Crush, escape, erode and domesticate capitalism", taken up by Anastasia Kavada, Tina Askanius, Anne Kaun, Alice Mattoni and Julie Uldam (2023) and Partenio, F. (2024)

landlords, extractive companies or businesses that squeeze our workforce, fights to achieve new laws and legal battles that provide small victories in our drive towards ecofeminist degrowth.

In this sense, although it is beyond the scope of this text to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the strategic areas where these conflicts occur (especially considering that they are highly dependent on each context and form of organisation), we believe that there are some key principles that can be useful when formulating strategies. These key principles, which we frame from an ecofeminist perspective, are: firstly, organisation at various spatial and temporal scales; secondly, alliances, in particular those that allow us to move beyond the purely feminist or feminist-motivated sphere; thirdly, the narratives we use to raise awareness and mobilise, specifically how to build a narrative around ecofeminist degrowth that helps us to reach people and how to translate theories into tangible proposals; and, finally, internationalism, understood as the construction of connections between struggles, especially relevant when considering how to jointly confront the advance of the extreme right and the ecosocial crisis on a global scale.

WORKING ACROSS TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL SCALES

As feminists and ecofeminists, we know that the personal is political, that we cannot try to dismantle the growth and capitalist system only by attacking it from above, that struggles and transformations have to go from the most everyday to the most structural. In addition, we are clear that we will no longer accept approaches to transformation that leave the "non-urgent" for "later on". For us, no dimensions of oppression are more urgent than others and there is also no room for calls that ask for sacrifice now to build a better future later. We have seen how the most effective organisational strategies are those which are capable of solving the emergencies of the moment (access to land, housing, energy, food, education, care...) without giving up the fight to achieve deeper transformations.

We discussed all this deeply and many interesting reflections emerged. We recognised, for example, that an important aspect of struggle and organisation initiati-

ves, as well as a foothold for reaching more people, has to do with the socialisation of hardship. These struggles generate a map of the needs that the current system or the market is not satisfying, and one of our challenges is to give value to these collective struggles and construct alliances and provide mutual support (*Alba del Campo*). In addition, these concrete struggles show us the way to make degrowth "tangible on a temporal and territorial scale" (*Eva Vilaseca*). The fact that it is "tangible", that we can see it and appreciate it in our everyday lives and environments, opens two dimensions: the challenge of constructing "living blueprints" that can be adapted and localised to different contexts, and the opportunity to start building the new reality we are trying to move to, so that our proposals do not remain in a theoretical plane (*Eva Vilaseca*). As *Viviana Espinosa* said, "example, example, example".

On the question of timescale, we revisit an idea by Sabrina Fernandes (2023), who states that "the ecological transition will only win this race *against time* if it also *creates time* through the rearrangement of production and living environments". That is, we cannot lose sight of present-day emergencies (the ecological crisis, but also the care crisis and the movements in the extreme right, we would add). We need profound transformations, and, in addition, ways to buy time, to transform realities where we can. To gain time as a way of stopping the constant acceleration, for example by reducing working hours: focusing on the present to dismantle the promises of growth. *Paz Aedo* gave the example of the rejection of the new Constitution in Chile, which is very enlightening around the need to look long-term without forgetting the present. She explained that the new Constitution was drafted in the hope of "shifting the boundaries of what is possible, crossing the borders of the dominant neoliberal paradigm", but that it failed to inspire this same sense in a society marked by urgent and everyday concerns associated with the multiple crises.

Along the same lines, Raquel Gutiérrez uses a very apt metaphor to explain that "subverting the relationship with capital" does not simply mean destroying it, but also dissolving it in our own lives:

> "It is about preventing the train from running, of dissolving its very ability to run, and at the same time it is about making it possible to live outside the train, creating new terms and conditions for the general reproduction of life. It is therefore also about previously hidden and rejected knowledge and practices reacquiring their role of vital significance in producing the material conditions required for the reproduction of social life" (El Apantle, 2019).

This way of combining total rejection of the system (stopping the train) with concrete alternatives and resistances (making it is possible to live outside the train) is a very ecofeminist way of working. Valuing the resistances and concrete experiences of the present changes our way of thinking, leading us to understand that the collapse is not in the future, but is already happening now, and not to think about it in apocalyptic terms, but in terms of resistance. Community teacher Guadalupe Záyago de Morelos always tells us that the meaning of hope is "waiting in motion": it is not about

waiting for changes that may or may not come, but about unfolding the full potential of change in the here and now.[11]

Transformation starting from the everyday seems fundamental to us, but as *Mariona Zamora* said, we need spaces that allow us space to "raise our heads", to stand up. Therefore, the challenge would be "to find the link between the micro, the meso of local politics and the macro of state politics, etc." (*Elba Mansilla*), to strengthen the networks that sustain life in territories, towns and neighbourhoods, organise ourselves in trade union, community and land defence struggles, and, at the same time, create broader alliances.

FORMING AND STRENGTHENING NEW ALLIANCES

Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2018) tells us that we need to "*corazonar*, think together using our hearts, to face what is coming to us", but with whom, and in which spaces? To answer this question, we started by recognising the feminist subject as a subject in continuous transformation and expansion. In addition, we agreed that, although there is not yet a consolidated movement, "the ecofeminisms are creating an umbrella for many women, beyond the spheres they inhabit" (*Alba del Campo*). That is, ecofeminism can function as a meeting point for activists organising in different fields.

In the wake of the latest wave of mobilisations during the feminist strikes, Veronica Gago reflects on the transformations of the feminist subject. According to her, these strikes evidenced the diversity of experiences of exploitation and value extraction, so the need was raised for a new organisational modality that would account for the intersectionality between:

> "(1) a map of the world of work in a feminist register that allows us to reevaluate non-waged economies; (2) the emergence of a political ecology from below that deploys a non-liberal comprehension of the earth and resources, in a broad sense, because it emerges from struggles in favour of communitarian life; and (3) struggles for justice, understood as an extension of the work of collective care" (Gago, 2019).

[11] We were able to discuss with her during her stay in Barcelona as part of the Barcelona Programme, which welcomes journalists from Mexico, the City Council and the Taula per Mèxic.

It should be noted that we stand at a moment of confluence between the class-based feminisms, with their demands for the transformation of the reproductive/productive model and the search for justice, and the ecofeminisms (also called communitarian or ecoterritorial feminisms) that fight in defence of the environment and the land. Struggles that no longer only focus on classic extractivisms, but extend to urban environments faced with the consequences of speculation or tourism, for example.

In addition, in recent years, transfeminist approaches and queer activism (understood as dissident activism by the LGBTI community) have gained strength and resonate with many ecofeminist approaches. As Joana Bregolat (2020) explains,

> "These activisms criticise the naturalisation of opposite and hierarchical binaries such as man/woman, hetero/homo, intellect/nature, and others. They resist the standardisation of their bodies, sexualities and lives, crossing boundaries and vindicating the subversive potential of their experiences to question the social, political, economic and cultural order [...] they endow themselves with their own voice where the category of "woman" becomes too small for everything they represent".

In our debates we recognised the tapestry of activisms that is already confronting heteropatriarchy and attacks on the land, and we also recognised the need to go beyond these spaces, to form alliances between different areas of struggle, even between those that appear to be conflicting (environmentalism and rural farmers' organisations, for example) or form unexpected combinations, such as trade unionism and queer activism. In this sense, *Maristella Svampa* asserts that "the crack that we are trying to open must be directed towards the ruling classes, who are economically illiterate, but, in addition, we have to influence downwards (unions, for example)". Blanca Valdivia reminded us that the first environmental movements were working class, so it would be interesting to revisit those genealogies.

Likewise, we saw the need to think of strategies that move beyond classic spaces for organisation and to be attentive to the conflicts and tensions that produce new subjects of struggle, such as the housing crisis, touristification or the rural life crisis, in order to organise and mobilise accordingly (*Eva Vilaseca*). We debated a lot about how to build these alliances, assuming that in order to weave alliances between such broad and diverse subjects we need to avoid sectarianism and look for ways to find each other. As an example, Cristina Alonso challenged us to also address complex issues or issues that scare us because they have usually been approached from perspectives that we do not share. She gave the example of maternity, which is generally politicised from essentialist and conservative perspectives, but which we need to politicise from more critical positions, listening to other experiences and making their diversity visible.

We will need plenty of generosity and to sit with discomfort to be able to form these alliances, work on the collective "egos" (*Eva Vilaseca*) and leave our most familiar spaces, to work from this discomfort in order to come closer together (*Joana Bregolat*). And, as a counterpoint to this, the question of where we would draw red

lines in forming alliances hovered over us, something that we will continue to discuss in relation to the extreme right.

We agreed on the idea that an arena space for enabling these unlikely dialogues is everyday life and the land. As *Nerea Ramírez* said, it is about "collectively taking charge of what happens around us". For example, taking time to talk with mothers at the school gates. "In these everyday situations I think it is easier for these more diverse and unlikely networks to emerge, allowing us to find other answers," she said. *Mariona Zamora* also recognised that "working from the everyday allows you to get out of your own bubbles". And *Viviana Espinosa* added that "many times what people need is to be heard, to be given a place".

Another thread that ran through our debates was the attempt to see what is behind a question that is quite common in leftist spaces: how do we reach people? Responding to this question, *Gabriela Vélez* challenged us: "Who are the "others"? People already have a voice, you don't have to give anyone a voice, you have to open spaces for them. Rethinking who the "other" is for us - someone we have to save?". This reflection coincides with Rivera Cusicanqui's (2018, p. 69) call to "work from the loopholes and cracks in the system, but without missionary pretensions, which have always characterised the conservative left".

In the same vein, *Gabriela Vélez* stated that "we have to rethink who the expert is" and added "this is why we lack narratives or they are stolen from us because we are always having the same conversation". Faced with all this, we need to listen to and amplify the voices located in (or expelled to) the peripheries without instrumentalising, infantilising or essentialising, recognising collective voices from their own spaces of struggle.

Along the same lines, *Joana Bregolat* urged us to recognise our own plurality and diversity, not to see ourselves as a homogeneous subject (in relation to class or sexual orientation, for example). In this sense, we recognised that "we are bodies impacted in a differentiated way, with privileges, etc." (*Blanca Bayas*) and that it is important that people in privileged situations regarding class, income, or time ensure participation at all levels (*Elba Mansilla*). *Aimée Martínez,* for her part, urged us to rebuild the bonds of trust. "You have to use the body, the mind, the desire for openness to really listen to what we want/need, because trust is not built only through ideas, but with concrete collaborative actions. [...] And when it comes to privileges, I believe that it is not a question of blaming ourselves, but of keeping them very present, really understanding the pain and hurt of the other". "May my pain and my situation not make me think that your pain is less," she said, citing the *Ecofeminist Manual Against Corporate Power.*

When it comes to building community networks, however, we must recognise that communities are not without tensions, especially when faced with various forms of subjugation and discrimination, and therefore we cannot afford to be confused by them either. As María Paz Aedo (2022) states: "Everyday micropolitics creates possible and paradoxical worlds, and we do not know which of these worlds, or when, will manage to overflow into consensus to transform or at least interfere with the agenda. We just know that sometimes it happens".

NARRATIVES

While all over the world the ultra-right is gaining ground by imposing the idea that "life only goes forward if it is individual, in an entrepreneurial way" (*Flora Partenio*), we ask ourselves how to build counter-narratives, how to fight the cultural battle to oppose their hate speeches with proposals for transformation and explain that good outcomes only work if they are for everybody? *Blanca Valdivia* insists on the importance of this cultural battle, because if we think about a fairer future "there will be people who will have to lose" and "there is the chink in the armour of the extreme right".

It is also about how to look for a language that works, since as *Gabriela Vélez* said, "we are not responding to people's needs, we are not speaking their language, we are building alternatives without communicating with people". Along the same lines, *Ariadna Tremoleda* stated that "capitalism sells itself very well and we sell ourselves very badly. Capitalism sells itself excellently, but it only offers you false comforts based on needs that are not authentic at all".

The first obstacle we encounter is the challenge of driving home the urgency of climate change, of the multiple crises we face, without supporting a catastrophic discourse that generates even more paralysis and denial: to convey the idea of urgency (the need for deep and rapid changes) without falling into stories which sound closer to a war economy (*Amaia Pérez).* As *Elba Mansilla* said, "feminists have reappropriated anger to turn it into transformative energy, and now we have to learn to use fear so that it is not immobilising and can be converted into a creative energy". *Rosana Cervera* said that "you have to be able to build agency, stimulate and encourage other comrades, and not always be on the defensive".

We find the key to this is to "think of the present as the place the crack starts" (*Paz Aedo*). Normally, we are focused on the future, but as Rebecca Solnit taught us in *A Paradise in Hell*, there is a very great potential for self-organisation and resistance during disasters themselves, in the urgency of the moment. In this sense, we reflected on the importance of "finding ways to amplify what is happening in the present, to make us believe that other futures are possible" (*Nerea Ramírez*). And *Aimée Martínez* reminded us of the importance of working on gratitude, because "it seems that we are never satisfied with what is happening, and so we do not take care of ourselves," she said.

Paz Aedo (2021) puts it this way:

> "The art of combining elements "so that new things are born inside", as the song says[12] can help us work through fear, pain, anger and sadness, without avoiding them or being consumed by them. In the midst of the civilisational-socio-ecological collapse and in complete darkness, we need to sustain ourselves through the multiple daily acts that make up this collective, vital and unfathomable force which has allowed us to survive extermination and violence. Against all odds, in this universe of multiple possibilities, life exists".

[12] Translator's note: this refers to the song "Soy pan, soy paz, soy más" [lit. "I am bread, I am peace, I am more"] by Mercedes Sosa.

On the other hand, thinking about this commitment from the ecofeminisms allows us to expand "the potential of ecosocialism, and also of feminism, to put the ecological crisis and the sustainability of life on the table" (*Joana Bregolat*). Therefore, we believe it is essential to present our analyses of the systemic crisis for the public debate, confronting from the most circumstantial to the most structural aspects and thus escaping the "tunnel vision" that only looks at some of the dimensions of the crisis in order to find comprehensive solutions.

Next, we continue to delve a little deeper into how to build an ecofeminist and degrowth narrative.

DOES THE CONCEPT OF DEGROWTH WORK FOR US?

As we said in the introduction, some of the participants in the debates raised doubts about the difficult fit of the degrowth narrative, especially in the global South, but even in the global North. *Eva Vilaseca,* for example, wondered if it is politically useful as a concept, understanding that it is a desirable proposal for transformation, but that perhaps she needs other concepts to be able to promote it. In addition to warning that these narratives are perceived as "an academic discourse with political power that is developed from the urban context, very focused on thinking of a model for the countryside but without the countryside" (*Elba Mansilla*). In this sense, it was proposed that "we should look for our own vocabulary from the place where we are fighting and positioning ourselves" (*Gabriela Vélez*).

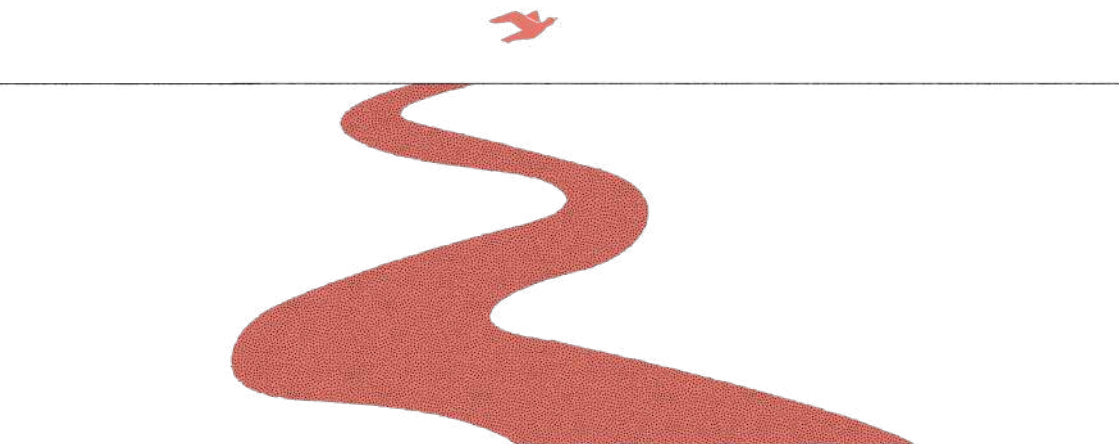
It was also stated that "degrowth" is a concept that limits us, although we recognised that "beyond the term, the most important thing is the political content behind it" (*Amaia Pérez*), and we agreed that "it would be interesting to set out what the degrowth of our economies means, to have slower lives, to reorganise our ways of living, to create new future policies, etc." (*Eva Vilaseca*). In this line, we think that emphasis should be placed on the possibility of achieving "a good life for everyone", of guaranteeing essential minimums, something that would help us reach other groups that do not connect with an environmentalist discourse. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasise the underlying objective: to guarantee the basic needs of everyone without depending on economic growth, something far removed from a recession generated by a collapse of the system.

Along these lines, *Amaranta Herrero* proposed that from an ecofeminist perspective it should be accepted that there is a situation of collapse, and added, "degrowth is not a matter of opinion, we are in a situation where planetary limits have

been surpassed and so degrowth will occur no matter what". Therefore, the question would be "How does this degrowth occur? Is it unbridled or is it accompanied by principles of ecological justice, incorporating internal, social dimensions, etc.?", which is precisely what degrowth theories propose. As the authors of the book *Degrowth* state:

> "Degrowth is not forced deprivation, but the aspiration to ensure everyone has enough to be able to live with dignity and without fear, experiencing friendship, love and health; a society where you can give and receive care, and enjoy leisure and nature" (Kallis, et al., 2022).

In this sense we think that the concept of degrowth has to be accompanied by other proposals and concepts that can make the project desirable for more people, for example, a collective Buen Vivir, based on localised approaches that challenge colonial power matrices (*Alejandra Durán*). However, there were also other voices that said that unfortunately words describing a "desire" are more easily co-opted, such as "the sustainability of life". And that is why it was proposed that, although these are powerful concepts that must not be abandoned, it is good to combine them with the demand for degrowth, which is more difficult to co-opt because it defines a future that is clearly incompatible with capitalism.



DEEPENING KNOWLEDGE REDUCING CONSUMPTION AND INCREASING WELL-BEING

Scientific studies have shown that it is possible to implement demand management policies (policies designed to reduce the consumption of materials and energy and therefore reduce the emission of greenhouse gases) which also have positive effects on the well-being of the population (Creutzig et al., 2022). Some examples are measures to reduce private transport in urban environments (which improve health by reducing both air and noise pollution), make homes more energy efficient or move towards healthier diets with less animal protein.

HOW DO WE COMMUNICATE THE NEED TO DEGROW?

In our conversations there was consensus on the importance of communicating mindfully, in order to build a desirable and shared narrative. A first step in this direction is not to focus the discourse on individual degrowth or degrowth exclusively linked to consumption, but to question the productive and economic model as a whole. That does not mean not questioning the logics of consumption, but it means not doing so only from the perspective of individual responsibility.

In addition, we must put forward narratives that make it possible to politicise current everyday suffering, that make vulnerability visible and recognised, narratives that dare to ask complex questions, such as the one put forward by *Astrid Agenjo*, who invited us to ask ourselves about the benefits that economic growth still generates for us and if we are able to give them up. This question is important because, although on a theoretical level we claim that it is possible to live well with much less, this must be grounded in real lives, and conflicts will surely arise as those who have an unsustainable standard of living will need to change it. It is true that these changes will be easier to implement when accompanied by structural transformations than if we approach them only on an individual level. Consider, for example, the changes in transport, which are much easier if you have infrastructure for transport by foot, bicycle or public transport by land.

However, we also realised that in order to demonstrate the need for self-res-

traint we need to take ownership of the impacts we generate, and for this we need to break the disconnect that we often have with the material realities that sustain our lifestyles, and their consequences. This disconnect is especially strong in urban environments, where we are not aware of where the resources we use come from (water, food, energy...) but occurs in general throughout the global North, which maintains a production and consumption model supported by plundering other territories and exploiting workers in other places. We need to "ruralise" cities, as Vanessa Freixa proposes, to restore the link with the ecosystems that sustain us, promote urban gardens, renature peri-urban territories, weave links with the rural communities that feed us etc., and, in addition, build diverse communities, which allow us to come into contact with varied realities. Therefore, beyond narratives and discourses, we need to build from the experiential and the relational.

Lastly, although we advocate taking on conflicts and complex questions and not shying away from them, and although we think that those who have more will have to adjust more, we think that it is not strategic for degrowth to be associated with the idea of renunciation, but rather should be associated with redistribution. A concept we can use to build a degrowth narrative that is not based on renunciation is sufficiency, discussed previously. With this idea we deactivate one of the fears that is activated when we talk about degrowth: that even more cuts will be imposed on people who already have difficulty making ends meet.

FEMINIST NARRATIVES AGAINST GROWTH

We do not have a set idea of how we would defend degrowth, but we do have some ideas about how to construct proposals that respond to a feminist reading of the current crises, that resonates with the realities experienced by the people in charge of sustaining the lives of their families and communities.

The first aspect would be to exercise the "discipline of hope", as Angela Davis would say, not to only project catastrophic discourses that leave no room to imagine other realities. In this sense, we emphasised the importance of communicating everything we would gain in a degrowth model, for example, the end of territorial conflicts generated by speculation and megaprojects, and the possibility of maintaining lives rooted in a territory without the fear of displacement. We can also highlight the chance to experience a new form of abundance, born of non-custodial access to common goods, such as public space, public services, land etc., as well as the availability of time for rest, care or community work.

We also discussed the importance of highlighting the practices that are working, the successful experiences, and the organisational spaces that already exist. In the Spanish State, for example, the ecofeminist section of Ecologistas en Acción has mapped many ecofeminist initiatives on the map "Trenzando cuidados" [lit. "Braiding care"]. However, we must be aware that we are starting from a historical defeat, from a lack of imagined alternatives to capitalism (*Joana Bregolat*) and that, therefore, we need much more than maps and isolated experiences, we need extensive spaces for coordination, to allow us to project other future horizons in the short, medium and long term.

Secondly, we discussed the need to use approaches that do not remove agency, that recognise the power we have in our own hands, whether by collectively constructing ways to meet our needs directly, or by blocking and confronting the actors who put themselves in our way. This approach is especially important when thinking about sectors that are systematically deprived of a voice, such as women, gender-diverse people, rural communities, migrants, etc. In addition, this approach seeks to promote activism cultures that depart from heroic and sacrificial militancy, only accessible to a few, and that instead favour diverse spaces for coordination, in which life does not have to be left to one side; spaces that can combine the resolution of collective needs with the struggle for more structural transformation.

Finally, we raised the importance of allowing ourselves moments of celebration, and of finding each other through other languages such as music or art. As explained by the Mesoamerican Women Defenders Initiative, based on their experience of supporting dozens of women defending land, moments of enjoyment are not incompatible with pain and fear. So the joy of small victories, including the chance to fight together and not face the violence of this system alone, should also drive our organisational proposals.

DEEPENING KNOWLEDGE
CONSENT FOR DEFENCE OF THE LAND

WoMin (2021) take up a feminist concept, consent, which is used to defend women's right to make decisions about their own body, and expand it to the control of territory and natural resources. They emphasise the strategic potential of the concept of "consent" in the battle against patriarchy and extractivism.

They believe it can be used to confront the patriarchal exclusion of women from decision-making on issues such as extractivism, defend their right to participate in decision-making that affects their territories, and

also to confront the developmentalist and extractivist agenda, which aims to exploit their territories.

> "The idea of consent [...] places decision-making at the local level in poor rural communities. This is really radical, as these communities often lack the power to determine policies in the broader national and international system. When communities are empowered to participate fully and equally in political forums, or to reclaim their right to consent, power and authority is taken away from the State and placed in the hands of the local population" (WoMin, 2021).

In addition, they understand this consent not only as a legal tool, but as a strategy that "lives and breathes in struggle", built through local organisation, focusing on local development and international solidarity. In addition, it is a way to assert a community's sovereignty over its own development.

INTERNATIONALISM

Finally, we also discussed internationalism as another strategic arena. First, we recognised the key role that international coordination has played in developing joint campaigns for economic, ecological and feminist justice. *Flora Partenio* shared several examples of international struggles in which feminism made a difference (such as campaigns for debt cancellation, against free trade agreements or against corporate impunity), to inspire us to continue creating spaces for coordination in which we, as feminists, can have an important role. *Júlia Granell* recognised that feminist internationalism gives us "lots of key ideas to support thinking about asymmetrical responsibilities" and make "struggles resonate".

However, we also considered how to go one step further, because sometimes these frameworks of global action do not take into account the different worldviews and perspectives that make up movements in struggle, so it is important to weave an internationalism that does not turn its back on the most localised struggles that might not frame themselves as localist. Linked to this, we also asked ourselves, "how do we make local struggles resonate on a global scale?". One of the key ideas that came out was the need to build narratives that take a comprehensive view but are also anchored in the territory. To this end, we highlighted the need to use alliances to give global meaning to territorial-scale experiences of producing change, so that we do not only see them in isolation (*Flora Partenio*).

Along the same lines, Breno Bringel and Sabrina Fernandes (2023) put forward the objective of weaving together an eco-territorial internationalism understood as

> "a social practice and a form of building transnational connections between experiences that are linked by the impact of socio-environmental conflicts and by the construction of concrete territorial alternatives for just transitions in various areas [...]. They are localised experiences, but not strictly local, because they have acquired what Doreen Massey (1991) has called a 'global sense of place'".

This discussion led to the question of how to knit together these alliances using a decolonial approach that recognises inequalities and diversities. To this end, we propose working within the framework of asymmetric responsibilities (*Amaia Pérez*), which invites people born in the global North and organisations working from here to take an active role in dismantling colonial logics, taking on issues that may not be so high up on our own agendas. For example, the degrowth movement should make a clearer commitment to incorporate issues such as ecological debt or migrants' rights.

Likewise, Zo Randriamaro (2023) states that:

> "What we need are truly radical and revolutionary transnational movements, not little buds. Of course, it's important to pay attention to local realities. In a very limited area, for me an ecofeminist movement is concerned with transforming the ways in which women access economic, intellectual and ecological resources, especially those who are most vulnerable, and often on the frontlines of ecological devastation and climate change. It also means constantly working to reclaim and reimagine much more just and egalitarian ways of living together and, fundamentally, for me, that means destroying the patriarchy and reclaiming the idea of common goods. (Nyambura, cited by Merino, 2017)".

In the same vein, we want to highlight the words of Ariel Salleh in an interview for the World March of Women (Capire, 2023):

> "We are looking for a Pluriverse, as the Zapatista movement says, a world where many autonomous cultures exist alongside each other. [...] Good things are happening — it's just that the world-system of patriarchal-colonial-capitalism is so aggressive and so noisy that we have our time cut out!".

To counteract this noise, we place great importance on the creation of spaces that operate as schools of international activism, to share strategies of struggle and continue to unite analyses from different territories, as well as the need to continue calling for moments of joint action, in which our voices can resonate jointly and disperse across various territories.

BROADENING THE DEBATE
WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT THE RISE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT?

While this text is focused on the critique of growth and its alternatives, the rise of the extreme right was a concern that ran through our debates. Somehow it became obvious that these are not two separate issues, but that the emergence of new or not-so-new denialist, anti-feminist, anti-rights and extreme right forces has a lot to do with a dream of growth in crisis, and that the very possibility of promoting degrowth projects could be a way to counteract the lack of alternatives that seems to push us towards a world with fewer rights and more violence and inequalities.

The first premise we set for ourselves in confronting the rise of the extreme right was to look at them head-on. We are no longer in a situation where not talking about them is an option; on the contrary, we now need to know how they are organised and what proposals they are making. In particular, it seems necessary to reveal their links with climate denialism and misogynistic and racist discourses, and to understand their alliances and look for ways to interrupt them.

We also need to better understand the breeding ground that has allowed these discourses to grow so fast. *Paz Aedo*, for example, stated that "people want the promise of a solution right now, even if there is no evidence to support it", which is why fake news proliferates. In addition, she added, "it is no coincidence that the feminisms, environmentalisms and indigenous movements are the most persecuted, because these are the groups who are questioning these lies". We also looked at how these forces have taken advantage of the defeats of progressivism. As *Flora Partenio* said, referring to Milei's victory in Argentina, we need "not to spread blame, but to understand defeats", and find moments for self-criticism.

The second premise would be not to allow them to continue to channel the reproductive and ecological crisis into their hate speech. As *Maristella Svampa* said, "the masses are being appealed to by the extreme right and not by a non-developmentalist environmental movement". The promises of growth are crumbling, but instead of taking advantage of this moment to confront capitalism, what appears is fascism. A reactionary utopia, which tells us that we can go back to the past.

The difficulty of projecting other future horizons that are both desirable and considered viable leads us to contradictory situations in which we see a dissociation between social struggles and political representation, where territories with strong anti-extractivist struggles (such as Salinas Grandes in Argentina against lithium or Tarragona in Catalonia against the Hard Rock tourist complex) end up electing political forces that support these extractivist projects. We must not forget that, in many territories, the advance of far-right forces is not a matter of electoral will, but is

accompanied by violence and threats. *Aimée Martínez*, from Colombia, explains that "the arrival of the extreme right in our territories is an extreme thing, it lives through distrust in everything and everyone. And so it is complex to build and to imagine collectively".

Returning to the idea that the processes that advance the extreme right are taking advantage of the social reproduction crises, it is our task to show that these crises are not caused by the arrival of migrants or by the existence of racialised people, the main arguments of the racist rightwing. On the contrary, it is the dominant classes that are taking advantage of the diversity of the working class to deepen their exploitation and aggravate the crisis. As Arruzza and Bhattacharya (2020) state:

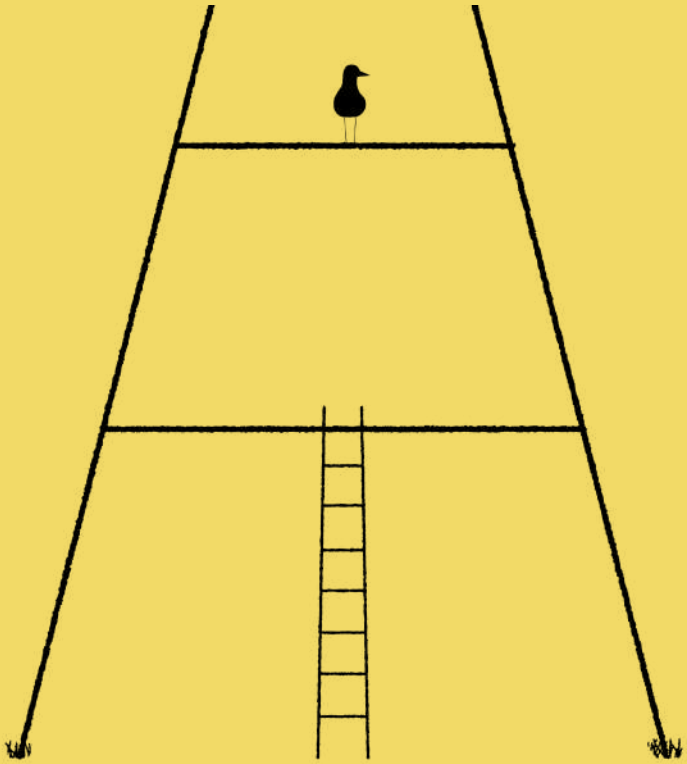
> "Social Reproduction Theory paints a much scarier picture: that racism unfolds in the realm of the reproduction of the workforce. Schools, health services, poisoned water and air [...]: all these processes contribute to the construction of different levels within the workforce and also to the maintenance of racist ideas in society. [...] When we defend a public school from cuts, that's not just a struggle in the workplace, it's also an anti-racist struggle. When we support the Black Lives Matter movement in the neighbourhood, that's not just an anti-racist struggle, it also helps labour rights because it empowers black women workers to negotiate and get better working conditions".

Finally, we need to construct alternatives and narratives that promote other possible horizons as a dam against far-right dystopias. As *Elba Mansilla* says, "the 'cultural battle' is fundamental in the question of alternatives. We have totally abandoned it, and that is where the extreme right has become strong, with a hegemony of individualist anarcho-capitalist narratives". In this sense, *Maristella Svampa* encouraged us to build a discourse around desire, which produces an effect of cognitive liberation: "The extreme right offers a reactionary utopia. Ours looks forward, reclaiming potent ideas such as the right to nature, territoriality, food sovereignty, etc.". In addition, we reviewed the analyses of Proyecto Una, which help us understand and measure the viral spread of hate speech on an internet that clearly facilitates its expansion and monetisation, and becomes a very profitable niche for right-wing influencers (López Baena, 2024).

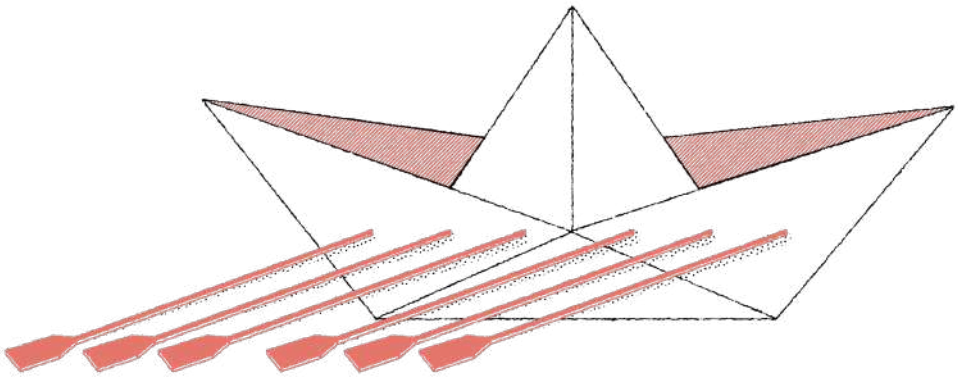
We also saw how these discourses are fed by fear and distrust. That is why ecofeminisms need to put strategies forward that respond to these fears from the community. As Silvia Gil (2022) states, "in this historical moment of domination by the logic of separation, producing connections, entanglements and complicities is a different way of making the world, of defending and inventing life". We are challenged to extend these connections, to give space for meeting with others. Disputing spaces with the extreme right involves occupying these spaces, that is, we have to refrain from giving airtime to those who promote these discourses from above, but continue to share and confront those who promote them from below in our everyday spaces. If we consider them lost, they are spaces and connections that are won from us. In addition, on a larger scale we must continue to promote "an ecofeminist culture of peace, against the culture of death and militarism" (*Maristella Svampa*).

Finally, one of the fears we have to manage is the eco-anxiety generated by the prospect of collapse (*Júlia Granell*). Kimmerer's (2021, p. 347) proposal for dealing with these fears and the paralysis they cause is restoration:

“Despair is paralysis. [...] Restoration is a potent antidote to despair. Restoration offers concrete means by which humans can once again enter into a positive and creative relationship with the world beyond the human, while facing responsibilities that are both material and spiritual.”



CONCLUSIONS



We started this process of collective reflection from the desire to bring the idea of degrowth closer to ecofeminist spaces and activists, and also with the intention of re-reading degrowth proposals through an ecofeminist lens to see resonances and possibilities for synergy and spillover. After several months working on this dialogue, we believe that this approach can be very fertile and that it is worth continuing to search for shared meeting and writing spaces.

To do this, we would need to continue to work to break down two possible barriers that limit dialogue, which mainly have to do with mutual ignorance. Firstly, the ecofeminisms would need to begin a process of contact with the new degrowth proposals that, little by little, are resolving many of the shortcomings that degrowth theories might have had a few decades ago. In this way, we can assess the will to build a comprehensive proposal that goes far beyond simply shrinking the material sphere of the economy.

Secondly, the degrowth movement would need to make an honest reading of proposals from feminist economics, Social Reproduction Theory and the ecofeminisms, in order to integrate them into degrowth proposals. In addition, thinking more strategically, it would be important to recognise what the feminisms bring to the table in the construction of mobilisation processes at different scales, from the sheer scale of the feminist strikes to the tangible transformation of local and everyday spaces. In this way, we could jointly reflect on how to turn degrowth into proposals for real transformation. In this sense, the doubts expressed by some comrades in relation to the usefulness of the concept of "degrowth" as a slogan for political construction are not insignificant. And this leads us to think of ways to translate degrowth theories into slogans and projects which can activate the desire for transformation, connect with everyday hardships and politicise them.

That said, it seems fundamental to us to fight for a feminist diagnostic of the crises, since this is too often left in the background when in fact it is a diagnostic that intertwines with many successful experiences of mobilisation and struggle.

We start from the recognition of a multidimensional crisis that lays bare the mul-

tiple contradictions of the capitalist system, and we focus especially on the ecological and reproductive contradictions. The ecological contradiction of the capitalist system manifests itself, among other things, in the impossibility of sustaining infinite growth on a finite planet, as well as in the attempts to overcome the end of fossil energies through a green transition that continues to come up against shortages of necessary materials and disputes over territories, producing a new cycle of violence and dispossession. The reproductive contradiction, on the other hand, has to do with the need for capital to have a healthy workforce ready to work, a need that clashes with the trend towards deepening exploitation to expand profit margins and the reluctance of capitalists to pay taxes to facilitate this reproduction of labour.

So, how does the reproductive contradiction manifest itself today? There are many ways to look at this contradiction. We see it, to begin with, in the rupture of the social pact established in the countries of the global North after World War II. This pact, arising from a very specific combination of forces, somehow "bridled" capitalism, containing its desire to expand exploitation and ensuring that a large part of the population of the North had access to the livelihoods necessary to sustain life. Now this pact is broken, and we see that it was a mirage that covered up the logics of overexploitation and dispossession that continued to occur in the peripheries.

We are, therefore, in a new context in which the logics which restrain the capitalist system are increasingly weak and social reproduction is at risk, not only in the peripheries but throughout the world. The consequences of this social reproduction crisis involve a lot of suffering, but they are not only important for this reason. They also represent a destabilising element for the capitalist system itself. It may be that currently the capitalists do not need more labour than they already have available and this is not a problem for them. However, letting what has been called the "surplus population" continue to grow, that is, a population that is not useful to capital either as workers or as consumers, means abandoning the model of capitalist governance that has been hegemonic in recent decades and entering an unknown terrain, which is new but which we intuit (and already experience) to be very violent and unstable.

What can we do in this scenario? Certainly, counting on the destabilising potential of this exponential growth of the "reserve armies" cannot lead us to think "the worse, the better" because, as feminists concerned about the sustainability of life, we know that this doesn't work. On the contrary, a feminist diagnostic calls us to look for ways to protect and enable social reproduction. It calls us to expand the struggles for reproduction as an area that has great potential for coordination and shaping new subjects of struggle. If we cannot access jobs with decent wages, we will have to fight to lower rents. If there is no way to access livelihoods within the system, it will be time to look for ways to access these livelihoods by other means, such as land reclamation, for example.

Put another way, capitalism, when it deepens exploitation, not only "eats its own tail," as Fraser puts it, but also leaves space open for self-organisation. So, we look for ways to support life outside of capitalist employment and confront the extortion of wage labour as discussed at the beginning of this text. And, in addition, we fight

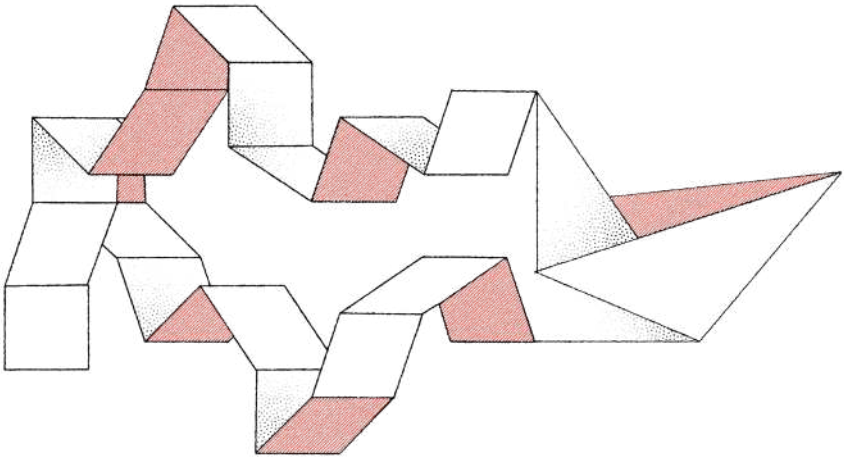
to recover non-privatised access to the resources necessary for life, from land to public services.

Our challenge will be to find ways to relate these struggles for reproduction with struggles for climate or ecological justice. In many cases, the logic of struggle already has this double meaning, for example, the Brazilian Landless Worker's Movement's defence of the camps located on land recovered from agribusiness or the incorporation of demands for energy adaptations into the campaigns of the tenant unions. However, ideally, these interrelationships could occur on a much larger scale.

To do this, it would be necessary to demonstrate the degrowthist nature of the struggles for social reproduction. Not only because the tasks of caring for life and ecosystems are "climate jobs", but because achieving non-commodified forms of supply is, in itself, a degrowth strategy. It allows us, on the one hand, to work less and slow down the productive economy, and, on the other, to generate collective spaces to discuss democratically how to apply eco-sufficiency criteria to the systems operating in our world. These ecological principles and consciousness are, fortunately, increasingly present in spaces of social self-organisation for the defence of a decent life.

Finally, we do not want to end these conclusions without giving some ideas for expanding the potential of ecofeminist degrowth. As we said, we consider it necessary to continue to convene broad and diverse spaces to discuss strategies, to collectively think of ways to ensure that these proposals become a useful framework for organising and confronting the capitalist growth system. Along these lines, it is important to make efforts for this framework to spread and open itself up to social movements, because, if not, there is a risk that its success will only be sustained in institutional structures such as academia, which can leave it lacking in substance. For our part, we will continue to feed all these reflections and proposals into the struggles, and to build bridges to coordinate all those people and groups that desire to interweave degrowth and the ecofeminisms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY



Aboitiz, U. (2018). Soberanía feminista: Una aproximación a la Soberanía desde la vida cotidiana. In *Conjugando la soberanía*. Iratzar Fundazioa.

Acosta, A. (2018). Posextractivismo: del discurso a la práctica—Reflexiones para la acción. *Revue Internationale de Politique de Développement*, *9*, 0—22.

Aedo, M. P. (2021). *Cosmopolíticas en tiempos de crisis (o cómo inesperados mundos son posibles)*. CASA. https://centrosocioambiental.cl/2021/12/04/cosmopoliticas-en-tiempos-de-crisis-o-como-inesperados-mundos-son-posibles/

Aedo, M. P. (2022). Cuidar es resistir: saberes y experiencias de mujeres en conflictos socioterritoriales. *Ecología Política. Cuadernos de Debate Internacional*, *63*(63), 105—108.

Akbulut, B. (2023). Decrecimiento feminista para una transición desestabilizadora. In M. Lang, B. Bringel, & M. A. Manahan (Eds.), *Más allá del colonialismo verde. Justicia global y geopolítica de las transiciones ecosociales*. CLACSO.

Arruzza, C., & Bhattacharya, T. (2020). Teoría de la Reproducción Social. Elementos fundamentales para un feminismo marxista. *Archivos de Historia Del Movimiento Obrero y La Izquierda*, *16*, 37—69.

Barca, S. (2020a). *Forces of Reproduction. Notes for a Counter-Hegemonic Anthropocene*. Cambridge University Press.

Barca, S. (2020b). Fuerzas de reproducción. El ecofeminismo socialista y la lucha por deshacer el Antropoceno. *VientoSur*. https://vientosur.info/fuerzas-de-reproduccion-el-ecofeminismo-socialista-y-la-lucha-por-deshacer-el-antropoceno/

Berta Cáceres. (2015). *Discurso pronunciado en la ceremonia de entrega del Premio Ambiental Goldman*. Social y Solidaria. https://socialysolidaria.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Discurso-de-Berta-Caceres.pdf

Bregolat, J. (2020). Sujetos trans, autodeterminación sexual y teorías queer. *Viento Sur*. https://vientosur.info/sujetos-trans-autodeterminacion-sexual-y-teorias-queer/

Bregolat, J. & Cordero, A, (16/05/2024). ¿Qué política sexual radical construir en tiempos reaccionarios? *VientoSur*. https://vientosur.info/que-politica-sexual-radical-construir-en-tiempos-reaccionarios/

Bringel, B., & Fernandes, S. (2023). Hacia un nuevo internacionalismo ecoterritorial. In M. Lang, B. Bringel, & M. A. Manahan (Eds.), *Más allá del colonialismo verde. Justicia global y geopolítica de las transiciones ecosociales*. CLACSO.

Cabnal, L. (2010). Acercamiento a la construcción de la propuesta de pensamiento epistémico de las mujeres indígenas feministas comunitarias de Abya Yala. In VVAA (Ed.), *Feminismos diversos: el feminismo comunitario* (pp. 11—24). ACSUR-Las Segovias.

Cámara, J. (29/03/2021). *La solidaridad es tomar partido: apuntes sobre "La política de todes." Ctxt.es*. https://ctxt.es/es/20210301/Firmas/35011/la-politica-de-todes-holly-lewis-solidaridad-julia-camara.htm

Capire. (14/04/2023). *Ecofeminismo materialista: una entrevista a Ariel Salleh*. https://capiremov.org/es/entrevista-es/ecofeminismo-materialista-una-entrevista-a-ariel-salleh/

Colectiva XXK. (2020). *Derivas feministas hacia el bienvivir*. OMAL.

Creutzig, F. et al. (2022). Demand-side solutions to climate change mitigation consistent with high levels of well-being. *Nature Climate Change*, *12*(1), 36—46.

Dan O'Neill. (13/06/2014). *The economics of enough*. TEDxOxbridge. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WIG33QtLRyA

de la Vega, C., & Fernández, V. (2023). La emergencia de innovaciones políticas para la democracia comunal. Contribuciones desde una experiencia feminista de organización: Casa Comunidad. *Politica y Sociedad*, *60*(1).

Dengler, C. (18/11/2021). *CLASS 9: On the convergence between ecological and feminist economics*. Course 2021 on "Ecological & Feminist Macroeconomics." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pBF8G9BbI0

Dengler, C. (2024). Rereading the Wages for Housework Campaign: Feminist Degrowth Reflections on Social Reproduction, Commons, and a Care Income. *Hypatia*, 1—20.

Dengler, C., Gerner, N., Sonetti-González, T., Hansend, L., Mookerjea, S., Paulson, S., & Saave, A. (2023). Why are feminist perspectives, analyses, and actions vital to degrowth? *Degrowth Journal*, *01*(01).

Drucker, P. (2023). *Desviades. Normalidad gay y anticapitalismo queer*. Sylone. [English original: Drucker, P. (2015). *Warped: Gay Normality and Queer Anti-Capitalism.* Haymarket Books.]

El Apantle. (2019). *Producir lo común. Entramados comunitarios y luchas por las vida*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Etxezarreta, M. (4/05/2023). *De la globalización al modelo autocentrado (resumen)*. http://www.mirenetxezarreta.net/de-la-globalizacion-al-modelo-autocentrado-resumen/

Ferguson, S., Bhattacharya, T., & Farris, S. R. (2021). Social Reproduction Feminisms. In *The Sage Handbook of Marxism* (pp. 45—67). SAGE Publications.

Ferguson, S., & McNally, D. (2016). Capital, fuerza de trabajo y relaciones de género. *Marxismo Crítico*. https://marxismocritico.com/2017/01/16/capital-fuerza-de-trabajo-y-relaciones-de-genero/

Fernandes, S. (2023). Una estrategia ecosocialista para ganar el futuro. *Viento Sur*. https://vientosur.info/una-estrategia-ecosocialista-para-ganar-el-futuro/

Filigrana, P. (2020). *El Pueblo gitano contra el sistema-mundo: reflexiones desde una militancia feminista y anticapitalista*. Akal.

Filigrana, P. (2021). *Del campo a los cuidados*. La Laboratoria.

Fraser, N. (2016). Contradictions of Capital and Care. *New Left Review*, *100*(III), 111—132.

Fraser, N. (2020). *Los talleres ocultos del capital. Un mapa para la izquierda.* Traficantes de Sueños.

Fraser, N., & Butler, J. (2016). *¿Redistribución o reconocimiento?: un debate entre marxismo y feminismo*. New Left Review & Traficantes de Sueños.

Gaard, G. (1997). Toward a queer ecofeminism. *Hypatia*, *12*(1), 114—137.

Gago, V. (2019). *La potencia feminista: o el deseo de cambiarlo todo*. Tinta Limón.

Galcerán, M. (2016). ¿Qué se reconoce en las políticas de reconocimiento? Una introducción al debate entre Nancy Fraser y Judith Butler. In *¿Redistribución o reconocimiento?: un debate entre marxismo y feminismo*. New Left Review & Traficantes de Sueños.

Garcés, M. (2017). *Nueva ilustración radical*. Anagrama.

García-Torres, M. (2018). *El IBEX 35 en guerra contra la vida. Un análisis ecofeminista*. Ecologistas en Acción.

Gil, S. L. (2022). *Horizontes del feminismo. Conversaciones en un tiempo de crisis y esperanza*. Bajo Tierra & Traficantes de Sueños.

Gregoratti, C., & Linnell, M. (2024). *Resilience: why should feminists care?* 10th International Degrowth Conference.

Gregoratti, C., & Raphael, R. (2019). The Historical Roots of a Feminist Degrowth. In E. Chertkovskaya, A. Paulsson, & S. Barca (Eds.), *Towards a political economy of degrowth* (pp. 83—98). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Gutiérrez, R., Navarro, M., & Linsalatta, L. (2017). Repensar lo político, pensar lo común. Claves para la discusión. In D. Incla´n, L. Linsalata, & M. Milla´n (Eds.), *Modernidades alternativas*. UNAM & Ediciones del Lirio.

Haider, A. (2020). *Identidades mal entendidas*. Traficantes de Sueños. [English original: Haider, A. (2018). *Mistaken Identity. Race and Class in the Age of Trump.* Verso.]

Herrero, Y. (2023). *Toma de tierra.* Caniche.

Hickel, J. (2023). *Menos es más: cómo el decrecimiento salvará al mundo*. Capitán Swing. [English original: Hickel, J. (2020). *Less is More: How degrowth will save the world*. Penguin.]

Hickel, J., Sullivan, D., & Zoomkawala, H. (2021). Plunder in the Post-Colonial Era: Quantifying Drain from the Global South Through Unequal Exchange, 1960—2018. *New Political Economy*, 1030—1047.

Kallis, G., Paulson, S., D'Alisa, G., & Demaria, F. (2022). *A favor del decrecimiento*. Icaria. [English original: Kallis, G., Paulson, S., D'Alisa, G., & Demaria, F. (2014). *Degrowth.* Taylor & Francis.]

Kavada, A., Askanius, T., Kaun, A., Mattoni A. & Uldam, J. (2023) “Atar a Goliat. estrategias activistas para afrontar y aprovechar el poder digital”, *Estado del Poder Digital*, TNI.

Kimmerer, R. W. (2021). *Trenes d’herba dolça: saviesa indígena, coneixement de la natura i ensenyaments de les plantes*. Cossetània. [English original: Kimmerer, R. W. (2013). *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous wisdom, scientific knowledge, and the teachings of plants*. Milkweed Editions.]

Lang, M., Acosta, A., & Martínez, E. (2023). Enfrentando las deudas eternas desde el Sur. In M. Lang, B. Bringel, & M. A. Manahan (Eds.), *Más allá del colonialismo verde. Justicia global y geopolítica de las transiciones ecosociales*. CLACSO.

López Baena, M. (17/11/2024). Interview with Proyecto Una: “Los monetizadores de odio están ahí más por el negocio que por el odio”. *Eldiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/era/confrontar-internet-big-tech-monetizadores-negocio-odio_128_11826308.html

Makazaga, I. (10/11/2022). Mujeres migrantes: Maternidades en tránsito, redes de cuidados en movimiento. *El País*. https://elpais.com/planeta-futuro/2022-11-10/maternidades-en-transito-redes-de-cuidados-en-movimiento.html

Martí, J., & Pozzobon, F. (2022). *Sistematización de los debates del encuentro internacional: Alianzas ecofeministas contra el poder corporativo*. OMAL. https://omal.info/spip.php?article9770

Martínez, R. (28/04/2022). Interview with Thea Riofrancos: “Podríamos encaminarnos hacia el ecosocialismo o el ecofacismo. Hay múltiples capas de incertidumbre”. *La Pública*. https://lapublica.net/es/articulo/ecosocialismo-o-ecofascismo/

Mellor, M. (2010). Public money and sufficiency provisioning. In *The Future of Money: From Financial Crisis to Public Resource* (pp. 152—175). Pluto Press.

Mellor, M. (2019). Una propuesta ecofeminista. Aprovisionamiento suficiente y dinero democrático. *New Left Review*, *116/117*, 207—2020.

Mies, M. & Shiva, V. (2014). *Ecofeminism*. Zed Books & Bloomsbury Academic & Professional.

Millward-Hopkins, J., Steinberger, J. K., Rao, N. D., & Oswald, Y. (2020). Providing decent living with minimum energy: A global scenario. *Global Environmental Change*, *65* (April).

Moreano, M., Lang, M., & Ruales, G. (2021). *Perspectivas de justicia climática desde los feminismos latinoamericanos y otros sures*. Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung.

Oyěwùmí, O. (2017). *La invención de las mujeres. Una perspectiva africana sobre los discursos occidentales del género*. En la frontera.

Partenio, F. (2024). Espacios para erosionar el capitalismo digital, *Pikara Magazine*. https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2024/07/espacios-para-erosionar-el-capitalismo-digital/

Randriamaro, Z. (2023). Perspectivas ecofeministas desde África. In M. Lang, B. Bringel, & M. A. Manahan (Eds.), *Más allá del colonialismo verde. Justicia global y geopolítica de las transiciones ecosociales* (pp. 281—297). CLACSO.

Rivera Cusicanqui, S. (2018). *Un Mundo ch'ixi es posible: ensayos desde un presente en crisis*. Tinta Limón.

Rocheleau, D., Thomas-Slayter, B., & Wangari, E. (1996). *Feminist Political Ecology*. Routledge.

Segato, R. L. (2016). *La guerra contra las mujeres*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Steinberger, J. K., Lamb, W. F., & Sakai, M. (2020). Your money or your life? The carbon-development paradox. *Environmental Research Letters*, *15*.

Tithi Bhattacharya. (23/12/2022). Lise Vogel (1938-) i la teoria de la reproducció social. *Catarsi*. https://catarsimagazin.cat/lise-vogel-1938-i-la-teoria-de-la-reproduccio-social/

Vargas, Y. (22/12/2023). "La autodefensa feminista es para despatriarcalizarnos hacia una vida libre de violencia" . *El Salto — Hordago*. https://www.elsaltodiario.com/autodefensa-feminista/autodefensa-feminista-una-vida-libre-violencia

Vega, C. de la, Reinoso, P. D., & Fernández, M. V. (2022). *Sacarnos los zapatos y ver qué hay debajo de los pies*. CEPSAL, El Llano en Llamas, RSU.

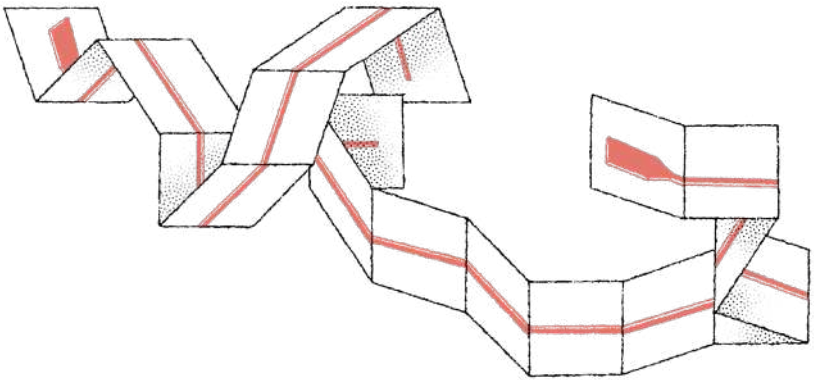
WoMin. (2020). *Five Year Strategy (2020-2024)*. https://womin.africa/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/WoMin-2020-2024-5-Year-Strategy-for-web.pdf

WoMin. (2021). *Extractives vs development sovereignty: building living consent rights for African women*.

WoMin Feminist School. (14/06/2017). *Re: Ecofeminism as a provocation and a challenge*.

ANNEX:

A SET OF PUBLIC POLICIES FOR ECOFEMINIST DEGROWTH[13]



[13] These proposals arise from work that we carry out jointly with the ecofeminism section of Greenpeace Spain.

POLICIES TO REVERSE THE PRIORITIES OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

1. Transform the uses of time: more time for life and less for capital.
   - Reduce working hours whilst maintaining decent wages.
   - Regulate business opening hours and working hours to facilitate work-life balance and discourage consumption.

2. Shield social and environmental rights against speculation.
   - Regulate prices (e.g. gas price caps, rent regulation...).
   - De-privatise and expand public services (health, education, energy, water, transport, housing, care, food, etc.).
   - Support, value and promote community spaces that guarantee rights.

3. Promote a transition for the production model.
   - Reorient R&D&I and develop new technologies appropriately (long-lasting, recyclable, shared-use technologies, with truly renewable energy sources[14]...)
   - Support the agroecological sector (access to land, logistics and transformation for short food circuits, regulatory adaptation...).
   - End unnecessary industries and invest in socially necessary ones.

4. Design spatial plans around life, not capital.
   - Protect fertile soil and water for essential activities.
   - Stop speculation (e.g. regulate large property owners, set up public land banks...).

[14] Luis González argues that truly renewable energies are those that are built with renewable energies and abundant or easily recyclable materials, that perform work directly instead of just producing electricity (for example, hydraulic mills) and are integrated into ecosystems. https://www.15-15-15.org/webzine/2023/02/04/crisis-energetica-y-energias-renovables-r3e/

5. Transition from public-private management to public or public-community management.
   - Bring water back under municipal control (e.g. Terrassa, Girona, Valladolid, Paris...).
   - Create energy communities with municipal participation.
   - Expropriate or allow the use of empty homes to create public social housing banks.
   - Introduce social clauses to move from public-private partnerships to public-community partnerships in the management of care services or other public services.

6. Protect common goods and relational assets.
   - Map, make visible and protect communal lands and public spaces. Democratise their use and eliminate barriers to women's participation.
   - Guarantee the right to prior, free and informed consultation. Seek ways to expand this beyond indigenous peoples who already have this right recognised in ILO Convention 169.
   - Avoid new enclosures (of the digital commons, public spaces, forests, biodiversity, water...).
   - Allow access to spaces, relax regulations for community use, reclaim public facilities for self-managed community social activities.

7. Divest from the military industry and other harmful sectors.
   - Eliminate public spending in sectors that are ecologically harmful and that work against the sustainability of life.
   - Implement just transition measures for workers in sectors destined to disappear.
   - Direct public investment towards (eco)socially necessary technologies.
   - Positive peace (access to rights, life security).
   - Promotion of a peace culture.

POLICIES FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF LIFE[15]

1. Ensure basic needs are met.
- — Introduce social policies that guarantee rights without revictimisation or family-focused approaches.
- — Expand public services (food, energy, water, transport, housing, care...) and extend their reach (e.g. to rural and peripheral populations...).
- — Promote user cooperatives (food, mobility, energy, housing...) with measures to eliminate barriers and make them accessible.

2. Expand labour rights and monitor compliance.
- — Introduce more guarantist[16] legislation, which regulates in favour of living wages, job stability, rights for carers, etc.
- — Use collective bargaining as a degrowth tool to promote changes at the company level.
- — Promote cooperativism, recovered companies[17] and productive transition strategies for companies involving the participation of employees.

3. Ensure lifelong care.
- — Strengthen and develop person-centred care services (both home and residential care).
- — Create universal access to public, free, quality education in the first stage of childhood.
- — Promote autonomy for people with functional diversity.
- — Provide paid leave for precarious and self-employed workers.
- — Reduce the retirement age and make partial retirement more available through relief contracts and incorporate aging into occupational risk plans.

4. Defamilise and defeminise care.
- — Set up facilities for community/collective care (e.g. parenting groups, open schools, social centres...).
- — Carry out awareness raising and education to transform the current narrative that continues to assume feminised responsibility for care.

---

[15] To expand on these proposals, we recommend reading "Care Work in the Just Transition: Provide for people and planet", published by *UNRISD (2024).*

[16] Translator's note: referring to "garantismo", the protection of citizens' constitutional rights and liberties against actions by the State.

[17] Translator's note: a term which emerged in Argentina in 2001 referring to a company which has been taken over by the workers in response to approaching bankruptcy.

— Extend access to care leave (not only for blood relatives).[18]
— Adapt work schedules to allow time to carry out reproductive tasks and develop autonomy (e.g. to work in community gardens to produce food for personal consumption).

5. End the sexual and racial division of labour.
   — Legalise migrants and validate their academic degrees.
   — Improve working conditions in feminised and racialised sectors and bring them into line with other sectors.

6. Promote the recognition of care and guarantee rights for caregivers.
   — Expand and streamline procedures for accessing care benefits and ensure full pay for care-related reductions in working hours or leave.
   — Set up employment standards inspectorates and work counselling services.
   — Professionalise paid care work, facilitating access to courses and accreditations.
   — Provide decent universal pensions not linked to income.
   — Incorporate care into national accounting indices.

7. Highlight and recognise diversity.
   — Implement policies to prevent and eliminate symbolic and material discrimination.
   — Expand *libros de familia*[19] to more than two parents and recognise caregiving connections outside of blood relations or sexual love relationships when granting permits.
   — Educate in diversity.
   — Defend and expand rights around sexual and gender non-conformity (recognise different gender identities, depathologise non-conformity, guarantee access to health, housing, safe working environments...).

8. Implement feminist urban planning and favour social uses of time.
   — Favour proximity to services (utilities, shops, etc.) and compact spatial plans (e.g. 15-minute cities).
   — Enable quality public transport and cycling or walking for everyday journeys.

[18] An example is the concept of "vinculogram" coined by the Agintzari cooperative, which consists of "a new formula that makes it possible to decide who we want to take care of based on criteria of affinity, emotional and/or social bonding, thus favouring new models of care. Each person makes two circles with 5 people each (one first-degree and one second-degree) and can benefit from compensation measures for the care and attention of those people". (Source: https://reaseuskadi.eus/wp-content/uploads/Guia-sera-habitable-2020-cas.pdf)

[19] Translator's note: in Spain the *libro de familia* (lit. "family book") is a document issued upon marriage which records details of the marriage and any births of children to the couple.

- Inclusive city planning (e.g. removing physical barriers, transforming unsafe spaces...).

9. Promote wellness and holistic health.
- Provide comprehensive health plans with an intersectional perspective.
- Prevent and transform environments harmful to health.
- Provide free and universal access to healthcare (also menstrual health products, dental care...).
- Eliminate patents on vaccines and medicines.

10. Promote comprehensive and accessible disaster prevention and response plans.
- Use nature-based urban solutions against the heat island effect to prevent heat waves.
- Implement a moratorium and dismissal of all urban development plans in flood-prone areas.
- Create a network of refuge spaces (managed by the government or by the community with government support) to use in heat waves and cold spells, but also as spaces for meeting, violence prevention, education, etc.
- Adapt housing with public finance and technical support, guaranteeing access for the most vulnerable communities.
- Demilitarise emergency services and coordinate them with the social fabric.

11. Transform securitarian and punitive policies.
- Implement measures against the criminalisation of poverty. Transform the punitive system towards a model based on mediation and reparation.
- Implement holistic public security (access to resources to satisfy needs).
- Avoid the stigmatisation of vulnerable groups and fight against hate speech.

POLICIES TO DRIVE THE TRANSITION TO DEGROWTH

1. Implement restraint.
   - Tax excessive consumption (e.g. water rates, airline taxes, etc.).
   - Implement measures against consumerism: limit advertising and planned obsolescence, promote repair and sharing.
   - Abandon plans for the construction of energy, urban and infrastructure megaprojects (superports, airports, highways...).
   - Curb urbanisation processes (prioritise rehabilitating buildings and regenerating urban centres).
   - Put moratoriums and commitments in place to leave oil in the ground.

2. Encourage non-consumerist leisure.
   - Promote public-community cultural ecosystems in neighbourhoods/towns.
   - Provide public, accessible sports facilities.
   - Promote open access culture through public funding and digital open libraries.

3. Establish demand management policies from a gender and class perspective.
   - Focus on large polluters (e.g. ban flights when there is an alternative by land).
   - Avoid policies that overburden domestic work (such as hourly segmentation of the electric bill).
   - Facilitate access to sustainable consumption alternatives.

4. Democratically plan degrowth.
   - Transform national accounting tools to incorporate ecological and gender criteria.
   - Implement multiscale mechanisms (micro-meso-macro) for democratic and fair planning of consumption and the transition to other production models, incorporating the bioregion scale (e.g. energy communities, citizen councils, participatory budgeting, etc.).

5. Drive participation.
   - Democratise the world of work (guarantee the right to collective bargaining, promote cooperativism...).
   - Enable transparency and participation throughout the entire value chain of polluting industries (workforce, affected communities, consumers...).
   - Spaces for binding participation in communities/neighbourhoods/towns (citizen councils, consultations...).

6. Transform the logic of hoarding strategic materials.
   - Stop the new green extractivism and its promotion through investment and trade treaties.
   - Use fair exchanges (based on the principles of self-restraint) to access strategic materials for the green transition.
   - Implement public management of essential extractive activities with the participation of the local population in decision-making.
   - Promote urban mining (recycling and use of previously discarded waste).

7. Return to local production.
   - Loosen regulation of local and small-scale food production.
   - Provide incentives for the local economic fabric (taxation, urban planning, public procurement, grants, local currencies...).
   - Public-community food processing infrastructure and logistics to promote shorter food circuits.

8. Promote territorial rebalancing.
   - Guarantee the right to the city for the inhabitants of all neighbourhoods.
   - Increase public investment in rural areas and impoverished territories.
   - Drastically reduce the urban metabolism (100% separated waste collection, reduce energy consumption, ruralisation...).

9. Reform taxation.
   - Taxes on financial transactions and large fortunes on a permanent basis.
   - Unitary tax on a global scale for multinationals.[20]
   - Ecological taxation to pass on the environmental costs of economic activities to those responsible.
   - Fair taxation that does not reinforce the traditional family model or make the most vulnerable sectors of society more precarious.

10. Prevent and plan for disaster response.
    - Introduce measures for harm prevention and comprehensive repair in the event of extreme weather events.
    - Set up an automatic mechanism for debt default, debt cancellation and restructuring after extreme weather events, and fast and unconditional access to “loss and damage” funds.

[20] ATTAC

POLICIES TO RESTORE BODY-TERRITORY CONNECTIONS AND CANCEL DEBTS

1. Expand the concept of care by incorporating ecosystems.
   - Implement conservation measures that take into account traditional uses, the spiritual dimension, different worldviews, etc.
   - Recognise, support and protect defenders of land and territories.
   - Declare environmental emergencies in sacrifice zones (to guarantee mitigation and repair measures for ecosystems, health...).
   - Ruralise and renaturalise cities.
   - Recognise the ecosystem services of agroecological agriculture and livestock.

2. Reconnect with the ecosystems that sustain us.
   - Carry out activities to repair, renew and regenerate ecosystems with citizen participation.
   - Use land stewardship agreements for the protection of natural spaces and agroecology.
   - Introduce pedagogical processes for ecological and feminist literacy in schools, work environments, communities...

3. Put an end to plunder.
   - Stop financial extractivism (macro, but also everyday) (e.g. freezing household debts, regulating mortgages and bank profits).
   - International control mechanisms (binding rules on businesses and human rights, an international court to judge on transnational companies...).
   - Recognise nature as a subject of law.

4. End the externalisation of impacts.
   - Mitigate the impacts of global care chains (e.g. facilitating family reunification, providing residence papers for children regardless of age, allow people to leave the country without affecting their residency application process).
   - Measures for closing material loops within regions.
   - Regulate the new forms of relocating digital work.
   - Distribute harmful activities that cannot be eliminated and end sacrifice zones.

5. Debt cancellation and reparation.
   - Hold historical memory and recognise the existence of a climate debt, in addition to a historical, financial, ecological and social debt, that the global North owes to the global South.
   - Urgently deliver new and additional climate finance not based on debt, which prioritises the needs of vulnerable communities.
   - Unconditional cancellation of unsustainable and illegitimate debts.
   - Socio-environmental repair: health, the social fabric and ecosystems.
   - Return land hoarded by transnational corporations.
   - Guarantee the right to free movement and human mobility.

6. Recognise knowledge.
   - Reclaim rural heritage (roads, traditions, culture...).
   - Highlight the essential tasks carried out by rural women (conservation of seeds and indigenous varieties, survival of local gastronomy, oral tradition...) and the territorial defence exercised by indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples.

7. Fight against ecofascist and male chauvinist discourses.
   - Promote discourses and policies that do not criminalise migration.
   - Set up intercultural spaces to strengthen community ties.
   - Implement measures against segregation in education.

8. Weaken patriarchal and colonial structures.
   - Raise awareness about sexist violence.
   - Allow access to resources (housing, pensions...) to guarantee the autonomy of women and gender non-conforming people.

9. Ensure access to justice for all victims.
   - Implement measures to guarantee the right to access justice, especially for the defence of collective rights (e.g. Centro Catalán de empresa y derechos humanos [lit. Catalan Centre for Business and Human Rights]).
   - Universal jurisdiction and extraterritoriality for the guarantee of human rights.
   - Promote holistic forms of reparation and restorative justice.

10. Close loopholes.
   - End dehumanising policies at borders.
   - Apply international law in the occupied territories (Palestine, Sahara).
   - Regulate and audit algorithms, both commercial (used by platform companies, insurers, social networks, etc.) and government (used by the police, for example).