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ACTION NEXUS

for Economic and Climate Justice

DEGROWTH FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE #3

Degrowth for Multilateral Activism

PRIMER SERIES BY EMILIA REYES



HOW CAN DEGROWTH SERVE GLOBAL JUSTICE STRUGGLES?

The economic justice movement has long emphasized the need to promote the reform of the global financial architecture, while targeting colonial and imperial dynamics and the need to address historic and structural inequalities. At the same time, the environmental justice movement highlights the negative ecological impacts of the predatory nature of the current economic system. The proposals of degrowth stand between these two movements, filling some gaps that remained unaddressed by both:

“Degrowth’s particular strengths include its strong analysis of the biophysical metabolism of capitalism, the global justice and resource implications of ecological modernization, the ideological hegemony perpetuated by growth-based economics, and its advancement of more deeply transformative policy proposals for an economy based on autonomy, care, and sufficiency.”¹

Where the economic justice movement demands redistribution of wealth through, for instance, taxing fossil fuel industries, degrowthers² advocate for transiting out of an economic system that exploits the environment by means of extracting material resources. In the same vein, whereas the environmental justice movement demands action to address ecological impacts, the degrowth community³ provides systemic analysis and solutions to articulate different fields of impact (i.e. planetary boundaries) while targeting economic and social needs.

While the economic and environmental justice movements have contemplated the transition towards a different system, the degrowth community more clearly highlights the acceleration of that transition, as well as the formulation of those steps. As Fitzpatrick, Parrique and Cosme state: “[the] latest evidence suggest[s] that a rapid, global, and absolute decoupling of environmental impact from economic growth is highly unlikely, if not biophysically impossible.”⁴ The framework of degrowth, and novel proposals it makes, is key to strengthen demands made by the economic justice movement, especially those addressing the reform of the global financial architecture.

¹ Schmelzer, Vetter and Vansintjan, *The future is Degrowth. A guide to a World beyond Capitalism*, “Introduction”, Verso Books, 2022, p.8.

² As stated in the first two papers of this series, I hold a very critical position on the traditions of thought and practice of degrowth centered only in micro interventions in the Global North. This paper will focus mostly on the proposals derived from the degrowth community interested in addressing global and international dynamics through a justice lens. Challenging capitalism requires targeting the specificity of macro dynamics, that are most of the time away from the micro scope. For the difference between micro and macro dynamics, Carlos García Hernández’ explanation is useful, in the Podcast “Real Progressives”, [Episode 246: Fiat Socialism... The Convergence with Carlos García Hernández, October 14, 2023](#).

³ As of the discussion of what type of “community” is the one composed by degrowthers, it is a personal view that it is mostly an academic or “epistemic” community, and not yet a “movement” (as in “social movement”). I owe the notion of the degrowth landscape being more of an “epistemic” community to Lorenzo Velotti.

⁴ Fitzpatrick, N., Parrique, T., & Cosme, I., “Exploring degrowth policy proposals: A systematic mapping with thematic synthesis”, *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 365, 132764, 2022, p. 1.

POINTS OF ENTRY FOR A DEGROWTH AGENDA ON MULTILATERAL ACTIVISM

The evidence pointed out by degrowthers encourages leaving aside reformist approaches, and instead emphasizes the urgency of achieving economic and ecological justice globally. In the context of ecocidal impacts of the economic activity of the wealthy raising the stakes to a degree unknown so far, this emphasis makes this dimension of degrowth a much-needed framing for global justice efforts.

As Schmelzer and Nowshin⁵ point out, within proposals towards degrowth there is still a need to consolidate a global justice agenda. Their analysis identified that “three-quarters of degrowth policy proposals were top-down with a national focus.”⁶ And yet, there is a natural affinity to some of the traditions of thought or “currents” within the degrowth community to align with multilateral activism for global justice.⁷

An agenda of degrowth for multilateral activism is meant to add to the different layers of global justice. It is not an either/or, but an understanding that a degrowth framework enhances our efforts to speed up the transitions required to face the current ecological emergencies while addressing structural inequalities. Degrowth proposals do not compete with other demands of the global justice movement, but complement them and add emphasis on specific elements.

Degrowth can help to emphasize key elements to the fight for global justice. Several specific points of entry help identify what could support a comprehensive logic of a degrowth agenda in a multilateral space: reparations, emergency response, and investment in beneficial sectors and a real economy.

REPARATIONS

A global justice agenda from the eyes of the degrowth tradition should align itself with the premises of reparation and restitution. As Priya Lukka states, one of the major tasks of the reparations agenda is to completely transform the global financial architecture in order to halt the reproduction of structural inequalities, through the guarantee of non-repetition of human rights violations.⁸ A reparations scheme will have to be set in place to avoid the harm that the process of degrowth in the Global North may have in the Global South due to the interrelation of economic dynamics. The work on reparations and degrowth is still in nascent form.⁹

⁵ Schmelzer Matthias, and Nowshin, Tonny, “Ecological Reparations and Degrowth: Towards a Convergence of Alternatives Around World-making After Growth”, Society for International Development, 2023.

⁶ Ibid, p. 10.

⁷ To see more about the 5 “currents” of thought within the degrowth community (institution-oriented current, sufficiency-oriented current, the commoning, or alternative economy current, the feminist current, and the post-capitalist and globalization-critical current), see Schmelzer and Nowshin. In their views, it is the latter three currents that there is a larger affinity for an alignment with a global justice agenda. Ibidem, p.3. See also the discussion of both the weaknesses of the degrowth literature in addressing global justice, and the main points of entry that can provide a path moving forward, in Maj Larsen-Lechuga, Masters Dissertation in Degrowth: Ecology, Economics and Policy, “Global Economic Justice for Degrowth: How the Cap and Share can Enrich the Degrowth Movement”, UAB, March 2024, p. 19.

⁸ Lukka, Priya, “[Reparations as a pathway to decolonization](#)”, in Gender and Development Network, May 2023.

⁹ See Schmelzer and Nowshin, Op. Cit.

EMERGENCY RESPONSE

Jason Hickel mentions the spirit of war and post-war, when major decisions are made to shift entire economic practices to support some sectors, to divest from others, and to encourage the population through public policies to support a collective effort to achieve a common aim. This “emergency” or “war” effort could be applied currently in the recognition of the risk of a major collapse ahead of us. This is not for a pernicious motive such as war, but for an uplifting one: the recognition that we can collectively eradicate inequalities through common planning, while reverting the harm done in the overshoot of planetary boundaries and arriving again at a safe zone.

INVESTMENT IN BENEFICIAL SECTORS AND A REAL ECONOMY

Schmelzer, Vetter and Vansinjan¹⁰ highlight that a boom of investment will be required to launch a major degrowth effort. This will encompass spending on public services, an affluence of capital into beneficial sectors, and overall systems change. Degrowth is therefore not a scarcity framing (as is feared by its detractors), but focuses on macro dynamics that address the root causes of the current crises. Degrowth proposes a transition towards redistribution, reappropriation and self-limitation for those who have accumulated and consumed in excess, devised under democratic settings prioritizing the common good and the health of the planet.

PROPOSALS FROM THE DEGROWTH COMMUNITY FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE

Beyond the general points of entry that should be taken into consideration when thinking from a degrowth perspective to promote global justice, specific proposals that originate from or have been strengthened by the degrowth community are key for global justice.

1. RESOURCE JUSTICE

A major input of the degrowth agenda to struggles for global justice refers to the emphasis on **resource justice**,¹¹ related to the assessment of resource use based on a fair-shares approach.¹² Resource justice remains conscious of planetary boundaries, but also calls for divestment in certain sectors to invest in others. That will allow for the opportunity to remain in safe zones of planetary boundaries, and support a rational effort to make the best use of materials and commodities, especially minerals and fossil fuels. Given that “green mining” has been proven to be a myth,¹³ resource justice also aims at keeping most minerals and fossil fuels in the ground—after concerted

¹⁰ Schmelzer, Vetter and Vansintjan, “The future is Degrowth”, Op. Cit.

¹¹ I owe the term “resource justice” to Jan Mayrhofer, who in turn quoted from Meadhbh Bolger, of Friends of the Earth Europe.

¹² See: Hickel, O’Neil, Fanning and Zoomkawala, “[National responsibility for ecological breakdown: a fair-shares assessment of resource use, 1970–2017](#)”, The Lancet Planetary Health, Volume 6, Issue 4, April 2022, Pages e342–e349.

¹³ See: Friends of the Earth’s report “[Green mining’ is a myth: The case for cutting EU resource consumption](#)”

efforts to address collective needs and rights (especially centering the Global South), emphasizing access to decent living standards for all according to collective principles of global justice.

Examples of initiatives to cap resource extraction

Currently, a [Cap and Share Coalition](#) is promoting many proposals in relation to fossil fuels.¹⁴ These include a formulation not only to invest in a fair and equitable transition (covering expenses for mitigation, adaptation and loss and damage), but a direct cash transfer mechanism, as a redistributive measure in the logic of a basic social protection income.¹⁵

Another example is the case of the Yasuni referendum, in Ecuador, considered one of the biggest environmental successes in recent history. In 2023 the majority of the population in Ecuador voted to stop fossil fuel extraction in the Amazon's Yasuni reserve, in which many Indigenous peoples reside.¹⁶ Clearly illustrating the link between the resource justice agenda and anti-imperial struggles, two days after the government of Ecuador announced its commitment to the popular will, credit rating agencies threatened to lower Ecuador's credit terms, which could "result in a default qualification and further increase the interest rate paid by the country to its creditors."¹⁷

Additionally, Mexico is still in the process of nationalizing lithium extraction, after a series of murders of human rights defenders and death threats to journalists who were denouncing the criminal conditions around lithium mining sites operated by Canadian and British companies in the Mexican state of Sonora.¹⁸ In the face of the national efforts to reclaim sovereignty over this mineral, there have been threats of lawsuits from foreign investors.¹⁹

The resource justice agenda is very much aligned with an anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggle, since it is at the foundation of the demand of resource sovereignty and self-sufficiency in Global South territories. This is paired with the recognition of the excess extraction and consumption of resources carried out in a predatory manner by the Global North²⁰: the EU alone, for example, "uses between 70-97% of the resources within the safe operating space available for the whole world."²¹

Resource justice is based on a comprehensive mapping of imperial dynamics, including the global chain of extraction-production-consumption and disposal. Although consumption and production

14 Some proposals for cap and share include: [Global Redistribution Advocates](#); FEASTA (2023) '[Cap and Share](#)'

15 See [Autonomy and Equal Right \(2023\): Climate Justice Without Borders: Cap and Share as a Mitigation and Climate Finance Solution](#), [Report](#) and [Executive Summary](#)

16 See: "[Yasuní: Crece la ambición climática gracias al pueblo de Ecuador](#)", AIDA, October 4th, 2023

17 See: "[Ecuador: Can oil be kept in the ground?](#)", by Roberto Bissio, TWN Info Service on Climate Change (Sept23/07), 12 September 2023, Third World Network

18 See: "[Condena Artículo 19 amenazas de muerte contra autores de «México: Litio al descubierto»](#)", [Desinformémonos](#). Periodismo desde abajo, April 8th, 2022

19 See: "[Mexico risks claims from lithium mining investors](#)", [Global Arbitration Review](#), September 28, 2023, in:

20 See: Friends of the Earth's "[Climate crisis is the symptom, Overconsumption is the disease](#)"

21 Friends of the Earth's report "[Green mining' is a myth: The case for cutting EU resource consumption](#)"

take a central role in much economic analysis, the planetary boundaries framework encourages degrowthers to also pay attention to the dimensions of extraction and disposal,²² which take place in the Global South by means of the logic of unequal exchange. Again, an over-exploitation of the ecological balance in Global South territories, as well as Black and brown populations in the Global North, come to the fore through a comprehensive analysis from an ecological economy perspective.

2. WHERE IS THE MONEY GOING TO COME FROM? CAP, FEE AND DIVIDEND

One of the most relevant inputs to the global justice agenda by the degrowth framing, especially under the logic of resource justice, is the proposal of cap, fee and dividend, or cap and share schemes. Hickel describes these systems as follows: “charge industries a progressively rising fee for resource and energy use, and distribute the yields as an equal dividend to all citizens.”²³ These are complex proposals which can target pretty much any commodity and potentially support the rational use of materials, including considering halting extraction.

The first step is to **cap the extraction of any material**. The capping must be set under a rigorous evaluation of needs, capacities and the interrelated impacts in social, economic and ecological levels. Capping can happen according to a yearly rate, a proportional rate for each actor, or, in alignment with criteria regarding historical responsibility, can be allocated in a differentiated manner for private and public/local actors, or for Global North and Global South capital. Capping extraction would help consider planetary boundaries, while at the same time allow room to continue the productive cycle required to deliver for the needs of the population. Eventually, the progression of capping needs to arrive at a minimal level of extraction that ensures an economic system is functioning in an efficient and non-excessive manner, to ensure most minerals and fossil fuels remain in the ground after covering the human needs of local populations, while transitioning to a sustainable mode of living.²⁴ Capping is an efficient way to address both local and macro challenges.

The second component is **the fee**, charged by means of a “service” or a “quota,” to ensure a cost to extraction. The fee is charged to those actors directly engaged in the extractive field. This fee will help to generate additional finance to fund the transition to a new economic paradigm, to invest massively in quality public services for all, to pay for a feminist, just and equitable transition, to secure funding for maintain ecological integrity or to address mitigation, adaptation and loss and damage costs, or to expand on the reparations scheme required to ensure global justice while a transition is implemented.

The cap and the fee have a proportionally indirect relation: while the cap needs to lower progressively to expand the planned limits to extraction, the fee will increase to match the higher costs to the ecological integrity.²⁵ This also means that the notion of cap and fee remains as a grounded alternative

²² See for instance the work of Basel Action Network, tracking the enormous impact of waste disposal in Global South through toxic trade, including its ongoing efforts to trace an Atlas of Plastic Waste: <https://www.ban.org/>

²³ Hickel, Jason, *Less is More. How Degrowth will Save the World*, Windmill, 2020, pp. 221-222.

²⁴ Fitzpatrick, Parrique and Cosme, “Exploring degrowth policy proposals”, Op. Cit., Appendix A, p. 11.

²⁵ It has to be clarified that the fee is not a tax, but, as already said, the service or quota payment. Therefore, additional taxes should be applied in accordance to progressive taxation and polluter pays principles. However, the difference between the tax and the fee payment is key. Whereas the tax is a macro fiscal tool, the fee can be understood as an administrative tool, such as a conservation local fee used in conservation parks or reserves. This brings an immediacy to the administrative system, that opens the door for more democratic ownership of the process of recollection and expenditure.

directly linked to the territory in which the extraction is taking place. The fee can also be adapted depending on the size of the actor who is doing the extraction (the bigger the actor, the larger the payment), or its nature (big corporation or local private investor/cooperative).

The third stage of this proposal is the **dividend**. Given that there will be an immediacy of cash flows resulting from the fees, the logic of this stage is to channel this extra financial allocation directly into the most immediate needs (as outlined above). The money can also be allocated to fund ambitious proposals of universal protection floors or direct cash transfers for populations in need. This implies that new possibilities of economic decision-making can take place at local and national levels through this scheme. The dividend stage can be as simple or as sophisticated as relevant to each specific context, and be operated at local, regional or international level if applied sectorially or under cooperation plans in a South-South logic.

Finally, the cap, fee and dividend scheme requires one final component: **divesting**. As part of a transition towards less consumption, divestment towards other alternatives and parallel sectors that need support is central to shifting the economic logic at the roots. Divestment requires a comprehensive understanding of the specific contexts in which the planning is taking place.

No territory can live in isolation with its own resources, and therefore even though **the cap, fee, dividend and divestment scheme** is key to reclaim self-sufficiency and sovereignty, it has to happen with sound articulation of sub-regional, regional and inter-regional efforts. This is where the “planned” dimension of degrowth is key, also in supporting anti-imperial strategies (like delinking) that have been under consideration for decades. The implementation of this framework needs to happen under the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR), equity, fair shares and reparations.

In the current world, Global South countries, especially Least Developed Countries and Small Island Developing States, are “advised” that their potential jump to economic growth is by extracting and exploiting their mineral reserves in land and sea, or their commodities, and therefore promoting larger biodiversity depletion and even extinction. Introducing a cap and fee/share, dividend and divestment scheme in this context would mean a very different relation to production and consumption. It would strengthen the capacity to implement the polluter pays principle, while at the same time regulating extraction, exploitation and overconsumption. It would also expand on sovereign space and self-sufficiency efforts locally, nationally and regionally.

A cap, fee, dividend and divestment approach would also shift the logic of many financial entities in the global financial architecture. It would revolutionize the way trade dynamics operate globally, regionally and locally, by directly targeting the productive activities that are not only at the core of human provisioning but also at the core of our larger practices within the ecological balance.²⁶

²⁶ Other proposals of cap use within the degrowth community include capping wealth and income.

As outlined here, only the logic of capping has been attempted so far, without the other components of fee, dividend and divestment.²⁷ The tools of Investor-State Dispute Settlements, as well as unfair trade agreements (under both WTO and bilateral regimes), are and will be used as imperial traps to stop sovereign and self-sufficiency efforts of Global South countries that attempt to use these measures.²⁸ This reinforces the need to consider a global justice agenda in relation to many structural pillars to support local efforts on the ground²⁹—one that is entirely linked to a degrowth and post-extractivism agenda with the reform of the global financial architecture.

3. REFORMING THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL ARCHITECTURE WITH A DEGROWTH LENS

Some traditions of degrowth are more in line with global justice efforts than others, and Schmelzer and Nowshin highlight the scarcity of “discussion of degrowth’s relations to the Global South and policies such as reparations, or on international taxation and trade, etc.”³⁰ That said, they also establish several points of entry for an “internationalist degrowth agenda,” including (ecological) reparations; trade; mining; global governance; and transformation of the Global monetary and financial system.³¹ Whereas the economic justice movement has worked hard on proposals to reform the global financial architecture, degrowth itself has embraced and pushed for the implementation of alternatives to deal with specific challenges that refer to this global agenda.

One example is the discussion on **currency sovereignty and the expansion of fiscal floors**. Building on heterodox economic traditions, degrowthers have explored alternative ways to deal with the challenges of lack of resources to ensure self-sufficiency. These include Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) as one of the solutions to tackle currency sovereignty. The premise is that wealthy countries are able to live with large amounts of debt because their indebtedness is in their own currencies (they keep on printing more money).³² Ndongo Samba Sylla explains that through MMT, “money can never be an absolute constraint. Governments that issue their own fiat currency can never lack their own currency. In principle, they will always be able to finance in their own currency any project that relies essentially on real resources available locally or that can be developed locally.”³³ MMT is a recurrent proposal by degrowthers in the Global North, and there are many discussions of the role of money

²⁷ As conservation fees are quite common for “users,” it is important to shift responsibility onto producers, including through conservation fees (and other related mechanisms).

²⁸ The Civil Society Financing for Development Mechanism includes in one of their demands: “To elaborate a UN Multilateral agreement for a coordinated and permanent termination of Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms that has empowered transnational corporations to sue governments in confidential tribunals on a range of issues including debt, tax and climate action”. See: ‘What should be achieved in FfD IV?’, in [“The FfD Chronicle”, April 22, 2024, Year II, Issue 7](#)

²⁹ For the full demands of the Civil Society Financing for Development Mechanism related to an agenda of global justice to be discussed in the next Financing for Development Conference, see the full article ‘What should be achieved in FfD IV?’, in “The FfD Chronicle”, Ibid.

³⁰ Schmelzer and Nowshin, “Ecological Reparations and Degrowth”, Op. Cit., p. 3.

³¹ Ibid. To these elements, I will add technological justice, financial justice and the primacy of public finance, including the need to tackle corporate capture in the UN.

³² See for the discussion on Global North countries and the interest to apply MMT to a degrowth planning, the film [“Finding the Money. There’s another side to national debt”](#), 2023 Hand Hewn Productions LLC.

³³ In contrast to financial resources, real resources refer to land, labor, equipment, intermediary inputs, etc. Ndongo Samba Sylla, “Live as African. On the Relevance of Thomas Sankara’s Agenda for Economic Liberation”, University of Bayreuth African Studies Working Papers, Institute of African Studies, 2022, p.19.

and currencies for the implementation of a degrowth project, including promoting local currencies and the role of communities in the democratization of currency use.³⁴

For the Global South, currency sovereignty is part of a crucial agenda of self-sufficiency, and requires making larger connections to colonial and imperial dynamics. Global South countries are drowned in a debt trap because their debt is made in a foreign currency (the same foreign currencies of countries reproducing imperial dynamics). An extreme case is that of Francophone Africa, trapped in a “Colonial Pact” that France forced its former colonies to sign as a condition for independence. Pan-African feminist Sylvia Tamale explains the continued colonization of monetary policy:

“The Pact included a clause that required all fourteen countries to use a common currency (the CFA Franc), controlled directly from the French Central Bank in Paris. To date, the fourteen countries are obliged to deposit 50 percent of their foreign exchange reserves with the French treasury and another 20 percent to address financial liabilities. This means that after paying this ‘colonial tax’ these African countries have access only to 30 percent of their own money for national development.”³⁵

At the time of writing, four countries (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal) have announced their intention to drop the CFA Franc.³⁶ As a new wave of heterodox economists and degrowthers from the Global North rescue MMT for the possibility of printing more national currencies, the Global South is giving degrowthers an example of the power of these alternatives. In seeking solutions to achieve currency sovereignty through the MMT framework, activists and economists on the African continent are laying the ground for the struggle to abandon imperial dynamics and advance the liberation of African peoples and for the planet.³⁷

Currency sovereignty may shatter the very premises of the global financial architecture, which ensures the subsidy of Global South countries to the Global North through unequal exchange and imperialism.³⁸ The fight for currency sovereignty in the Global South also emphasizes that degrowthers in the Global North working on MMT have omitted to make stronger connections of their local struggles to the larger anti-imperial fights that are of life and death to Global South countries. Degrowthers in the Global North cannot only focus in printing their national currencies or diversifying their monies while their own governments are bleeding out entire economies of the Global South through monetary, fiscal and financial policies.

³⁴ See for instance, William Mitchell and Thomas Fazi, *Reclaiming the State. A Progressive Vision of Sovereignty for a Post-Neoliberal World*, Pluto Press, 2017. For the discussion of “monetary diversity” and “alternative currencies”, especially at local level in the Global North, see “Chapter 11. Transforming Money”, by Timothée Parrique, *The political economy of degrowth*, Université Clermont Auvergne, Stockholms universitet, 2019, pp. 631-665. There is of course another trend, mostly led by an anarchist tradition of thought in degrowth, that questions the use of money at all in a degrowth utopia. (See Anitra Nelson, *Beyond Money. A Postcapitalist Strategy*, Pluto Press, 2022.) But in my opinion, that is a discussion that cannot be used to tackle the reform of the global financial architecture or even to address its negative impacts.

³⁵ Sylvia Tamale, *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism*, Daraja Press, 2020, p. 20. Tamale digs deeper: “The French treasury invests the money that it collects from its former African colonies for its own enrichment. It is the same money that the former colonies receive back as loans at commercial interest rates! It is estimated that France receives approximately USD 500 billion annually from this colonial tax, which yields trillions after being invested in the stock market,” and: “Furthermore, the Pact demands that the French have priority in buying any natural resources found in the land of the fourteen countries[...] and] obliges all fourteen countries to prioritize the award of government contracts to French companies.”

³⁶ [CFA Franc Could Lose Half its Members](#), Cash Essentials, April 16, 2024

³⁷ For a further explanation of the imperial dimensions of the CFA franc, see: Ndongo Samba Sylla, [“The Franc Zone, a Tool of French Neocolonialism in Africa”](#), Jacobin, 1 June 2020

³⁸ Ndongo Samba Sylla, [“What does MMT have to Offer Developing Nations?”](#), Brave New Europe, 27 February, 2020

FINAL THOUGHTS

Degrowth has carved its own paths, highlighting alternatives while also supporting efforts taking place from the bottom up. In principle, this makes degrowthers natural allies of the Global South in its efforts to dismantle imperial and colonial dynamics. However, unless degrowthers establish clear paths to show actionable and implementable ways to effect such dismantling from the spaces of the Global North, the degrowth movement runs the risk of being trapped in a virtue-signaling stage. It is essential that degrowthers strengthen their efforts towards accountability of decision-makers and elites, as well as mapping and confronting more clearly from their end ways in which structural pillars of the system (such as trade, tax, debt, monetary policy and others) work against the Global South.

On the other hand, the environmental/ecological, feminist and economic justice movements would benefit from the flexibility and openness of the degrowth proponents to expand the scope of their proposals, make stronger and more complex connections in the diagnostics, and dare to dream big in the fight against the current economic system that preys upon every form of life on this planet. Some other movements are still establishing their own dialogues with degrowth: a complex one is being carried out within trade unions and workers, trying to solve all the puzzles on how to ensure decent labor and a just and equitable transition if economic sectors degrow. Another complex dialogue is still in incipient form, with Indigenous Peoples' profound understanding of imperial and colonial harm, while also demanding of western cultures to stand up against practices that are incompatible with the planet's health.

Finally, it remains to be said how relevant it is to promote cross-movement mobilization. Every social movement and tradition of thought aligned with principles of justice and equality, pursuing structural transformation, has a little piece of the puzzle. So far, degrowth, while generating more and more interest as time goes by, keeps being rejected in mainstream "economic justice" movements (perhaps because of its strong roots in academia). But the inputs of degrowth to feasible, urgent and desirable transformations cannot be easily left aside. Rather, there has to be a humble recognition of the extent we can all learn from each other. Especially at this point in time, in which there is an extreme need to radicalize our proposals and actions in the face of the risk of collapse, a framework that can enrich our views should be embraced.

Also, a tradition of thought that is targeting transformation in the Global North is most welcome, and should serve as a point of inspiration to shatter the passivity of Global North citizens, INGOs, NGOs, and social and political actors, to ponder what is at stake and why the world needs more radical action in the North. The passivity in the Global North in the face of the rise of fascism comes hand in hand with lost opportunities to reclaim our present and future. Degrowth offers policy and democratic ideas, although, at the moment, in a scattered manner. It is time social movements rally around comprehensive and structural proposals, and march collectively towards common aims.

The context for this three-part primer series is the commitment of feminist movements who are part of the Feminist Action Nexus for Economic and Climate Justice (“Action Nexus”) to develop more resources and materials for popular education and advocacy that advance a comprehensive feminist agenda. This feminist agenda is not a separate or new initiative, but an intentionally articulated one that draws on the work of feminist movements over generations. Our 2021 Blueprint for Feminist Economic Justice, a central piece that anchors the Action Nexus, acknowledges how our work mutually reinforces and reaffirms robust feminist agendas of over five decades and connects movements—including, but not limited to, trade justice, debt justice, and a feminist decolonial vision of a gender-just and equitable economic and climate arena. More resources as well as the summary of seven key demands of our work can be found on the Action Nexus [webpage](#).

