Together we can
POWER UP!

Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review

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Written by Fatimah Kelleher and
Katie Whipkey

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Introduction

Feminism is a political project about what could be, it's always looking forward, invested in futures we can't quite grasp yet. It's a way of wishing, hoping, aiming at everything that has been deemed impossible. It's a task that has to be approached seriously; we must think about the limits of this world and the possibilities contained in what we could craft together.

(Lola Olufemi, *Feminism, Interrupted: Disrupting Power*)

To support the Power Up! (PU!) consortium to prepare its strategy for joint consortium work on feminist economic alternatives (FEA), this literature review presents findings from a wide range of 68 different resources including journals, grey literature, and more. The review explores how FEAs are increasingly being defined using feminist analysis and framing of narratives and positions. It delivers an analysis of the dominant feminist economic literature in this area. This work aims to promote learning within PU! and guide the consortium in shaping and clarifying its specific niche and added value in relation to other actors involved in this work.

The review is divided into two parts, beginning with the theoretical underpinnings of FEAs and following up with the practical work and future opportunities. Part 1 starts with an understanding of the current economic system of neoliberal free market capitalism and the now orthodox systems that have shaped this. The patriarchal, structural, and systemic inequalities inherent within the system are briefly unpacked to understand feminist economic justice. This provides the point of resistance and juxtaposition to demonstrate that feminist economic alternatives present themselves as counter to the current model. It then explores the variety of definitions of FEAs. Recognising that FEAs are not gathered into one singular body of theory, programme, or activism but are instead a plural collection of approaches, ideas, movements, concepts, and practical initiatives.

The review explores the common themes and framings found among them as a means of identifying their dominant markers of both resistance and the solutions that are needed, demanded for, and are being created. Most critically, the review underscores the key elements of FEAs, namely that they aim for structural, systemic changes and operate at the intersection of macro- and microeconomics. The case examples presented are not exhaustive by any means, but the selection gives an indication of how FEAs manifest in practice as both micro- and macroeconomic endeavours. They showcase how FEAs are often driven by organising and within localised contexts, but always with a commitment towards deeper systemic and structural economic and societal shifts.

In Part 2, the review explores the different actors involved with FEAs, mapping across civil society, donors and initiatives, outlining how closely aligned each of these are

with the core tenets driving FEAs (i.e., explicitly, implicitly, or FEA-adjacent), and the levels of commitment that implies. Again, this is not a comprehensive mapping of all actors working on FEAs. Instead, it features actors that have some degree of similarity to the consortium partners of PU! for the sake of future collaborations. It also features a discussion of gaps and opportunities for work on FEAs related to the current work of the actors featured.

Finally, the review initiates the beginning of an approach for PU!. The approach draws on the different elements of the literature review to see what the possible entry points are alongside the solutions FEAs are offering. These are framed around the potential opportunities for civil society that flow from these entry points.

Methodology

This narrative literature review was compiled with the objective to broadly inform members of the Power Up! Consortium about the field of feminist economic alternatives (FEA) in order to shape their thinking in developing a consortium FEA strategy. It integrates and summarises bodies of literature covering a variety of fields that all fall under the umbrella of FEAs.

The literature review was scoped through four processes:

I. **The Terms of Reference**, which requested a literature review to "analyse what specific feminist economic justice issues (problems) key FEA actors are addressing and what solutions are they adopting/advocating for" and as a means for "PU! Executive, Coordination and MEL group members to encourage learning, reflections and strategic discussions".

II. **Four key informant interviews** (KII) with two JASS, three Gender@Work, and one PEKKA colleague. The objective of the four KIIs was to better understand the PU! consortium members' perspectives on what FEAs are and what they would like to learn from a literature review.

III. **The consultants' knowledge** of existing FEA documentation, papers and reports, other literature, and feminist economists.

IV. **A snowball sampling approach** leading from known FEA reports and papers, key actors, blogs, and other relevant documentation.

Table 1: Summary of knowledge gaps identified by PU! Consortium members during KIIs

Gap Identified	G@W	JASS	PEKKA
Definition of FEAs	x	x	
Definitions of terms similar to FEAs	x		
Examples of alternatives to neo-liberal models that are working and conditions that make them work	x	x	
Political principles/underlying aspects that underpin theories		x	
Understanding what FEAs look like within the macroeconomic space	x		x
How to close the gap between the microeconomic and macroeconomic space	x		x
Transforming power at microeconomic and macroeconomic levels			x
Building FEA communities of practice			x
Understanding and engaging with the political economy			x
What makes economic justice work feminist		x	

Limitations

There are several key limitations to this literature review. First and foremost, it is not a fully comprehensive systemic or meta analysis of all literature that could be relevant to FEAs. Because of the diversity of approaches that are bound up within the definition of FEAs, the potential for different sources is vast. As a result, there are potentially more approaches and alternatives that could fall under the umbrella of FEAs and many more relevant case studies. In particular, there are likely case studies that are not well documented in the literature and therefore could not be captured during this endeavour. As many examples of alternatives are led by communities in the global South and rural locations, these may not be documented at all or are only documented in local sources/languages. Therefore, the review primarily focuses on examples of actors, initiatives, and cases that are global in nature or are reflected/captured by actors that have a global reach through their publications or knowledge sharing practices. Relatedly, the study team only reviewed sources in English. There are likely many relevant sources in other languages that are not reflected in this analysis, which indicates a bias in this review toward sources that are created by Anglophone writers (e.g., often those in the global North). For these reasons, there are some other gaps such as a lack of case studies about specific sub-groups including LBT+ womxn, HIV+, and other specific groups.

PART 1:
Theoretical Underpinnings of FEAs

The Economic System and its Justice Dilemmas

The Current Economic System

Feminists and social and labour movement actors have highlighted a range of ways in which the current globalised economic system is predicated on exploitation and exclusion, especially of the majority of the world's women. The current economic system is deeply intertwined with embedded systems of patriarchy, racism, (neo)colonialism, and heteronormativity, further exploiting and isolating women (especially Black and brown women), LGBTQI+ persons, and people living in the Global South (Noble et al., 2020). This was made glaringly evident in 2020, as the wealth of the world's 22 richest men surpassed the combined wealth of all 325 million women in Africa (Coffey et al., 2020). The current economic system distances our production processes, shrouding the conditions in which the products and services we consume are made and making their social and environmental costs invisible to the average consumer (Federici, 2011). In many cases, the natural environment and women are being actively depleted to feed our current economic system (Rai et al., 2014).

Our modern day exploitative systems stemmed largely from European capitalism's trajectory driven by elite power holders as a means to dominate resources and consolidate wealth. Capitalism compounded as the demand for mineral and agricultural resources, the push for new markets, the desire for cheap/free labour, and and accumulation grew in the wake of huge land enclosures and the rise of waged, urban labour on the back of those dispossessions (Hickel, 2021). This led to European colonialisation across the globe and systemic genocide of indigenous peoples in the Americas and the Carribean and African people in the colonies of Africa (Otros Mundos, 2019) and beyond. Colonial appropriation subsequently fueled the industrial revolution, intrinsically tying capitalist growth to extraction and uncompensated labour.

After four centuries, colonial empires started to unravel as more countries gained independence in the decades following World War II and the period from 1945-1980 was marked by independence movements. This happened synergistically and in tandem with key strides in the labour movement, growing global social movements especially

those around civil and women's rights, vast social welfare policies, and regulations on corporate growth (Noble et al., 2020). This began to shift in the mid-to-late 1970s with the introduction of neoliberal capitalism, triggering a regression to more expansive exploitative systems that deeply segregate the capitalist from the worker (Kotz, 2015). It was further propagated throughout the Global South through the policies of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in the 1980s, which emphasised market mechanisms to privatise and grow the economy and minimised the role of the state in the provision of public goods and services (Sibeko et al., 2021).

Neoliberal Capitalism

Neoliberal capitalism emerged as the predominant form of capitalism in the global economy between 1973-1979 in the United Kingdom and United States. It is defined as a "mutually reinforcing set of economic and political institutions" – including the global economy, State economy, labour market, and corporate sector – that are coherent based on "their support for the predominant role of market relations and market forces in the regulation of economic activity" (Kotz, 2015). Neoliberal capitalism is a system where capital fully dominates labour, and the dominating institutional structures prioritise the process of capital accumulation.

In a system of neoliberal capitalism, domestic and international deregulation of business and finance enables a dominating 'free market' economy. To support such an economy, businesses and the wealthy experience a reduction of taxes and state social spending is kept low. As a result, public goods and state services are increasingly privatised, corporations attack trade unions, and temporary and part-time workers are prioritised over full-time workers. These institutions have resulted in growing inequalities between the capitalists and the workers, especially amongst specific population groups such as women (Kotz, 2009). These assumptions about 'trickle-down' economics through privatisation, deregulation, market liberalisation have underpinned the growing inequalities and inequities we see today.

Over time the above set of institutions gave rise to three important developments, which together promoted a series of long economic expansions but also contained the seeds of an eventual systemic crisis. These three developments are the following: 1) growing inequality, within the capitalist process between wages and profits, and within society as a whole among households; 2) a financial sector that became increasingly absorbed in speculative and risky activities; and 3) a series of large asset bubbles (Kotz, 2009).

Institutions of Neoliberal Capitalism (Kotz, 2015)

Globalisation Deregulation Weakening of social regulation Marginalisation of collective bargaining	Cutbacks in social programs Financialisation Privatisation and contracting out of public goods and services	Casualisation of jobs Unrestrained competition Market principles penetrate inside corporations Tax cuts for business and the rich

ActionAid – learning from the work of AgenjoCalderón and GálvezMuñoz 2015; Elson 2002; Young, Bakker, and Elson 2011; Gálvez and Torres 2009 – summarised the following neoliberal economic policies and biases, and their impact on women (Noble et al., 2020):

I. **Individualism.** The focus on individuals and individualism and a belief in the primacy of rational self interest as the determining force of human behaviour.

II. **Economic-social divide.** The artificial separation of economic life from nature and social relationships.

III. **Prioritisation of economic growth.** The subordination of all other goals to the pursuit of economic growth.

IV. **Deflationary bias.** When market activity is kept below its potential, the first ones to be expelled from it are women, who are then consigned to unpaid work.

V. **Privatising bias.** When the private sector is promoted over the public sector (e.g., privatisation of public goods such as health and education), the indebtedness of the working class increases and firmly entrenches intergenerational economic inequality.

VI. **Male breadwinner bias.** Neoliberal policies reinforce the traditional distribution of roles of male breadwinner and female caregiver, further negating the value of care work and increasing the amount of unpaid or ill-paid care.

VII. **Risk bias.** The individualization of risk affects women in a particularly negative way by reducing social support in case of accidents, misfortune, and other events perpetuated by mainstream economic models.

VIII. **Credit bias.** Financialization, the increasing size of the financial sector, exacerbates the asymmetry between debtors and creditors and has a markedly negative impact on women.

IX. **Knowledge bias.** When economic interests determine the forms of knowledge taught in universities, neoliberal policies are legitimized, feminist history and feminist economic alternatives are silenced, and the predominant language represents men.

X. **Cisheteronormative bias.** When it is assumed that the majority of households, as economic 'units of production' reflect the cis-heterosexual nuclear family, with policies developed accordingly.

XI. **Formal economy bias.** When government policy responses favour the formal economy and disregard the informal economy, which is disproportionately comprised of women, rather than codifying more expansive social protection measures (Chettri et al., 2022).

Given the history of and institutions within neoliberal capitalism, power continues to sit in the hands of the wealthy elite and predominantly the corporations. While corporations were always powerful, the rise of neoliberalism has favoured corporations not only economically, but also socially and politically worldwide. Corporations have been granted new rights, mobilised and organised to influence policy, and diminished their responsibilities to their workers (Hathaway, 2020). Powerful global institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other influential donors have largely embraced this model, contributing to its false perception as being apolitical (Kelleher, 2020). Critically, the unfettered market economics that neoliberalism requires has created a set of unequal rules that developing countries are now expected to follow, even though countries of the global North did not develop with the same restrictions on regulation and state intervention (Chang, 2002). Thus, neoliberal capitalism has been deliberately set up to concentrate resources in the hands of some and not others. This is not a failing of neoliberal capitalism, but rather its intended purpose. Fundamentally, as power sits in the hands of corporations, institutions, and wealthy elites, the working class and capitalism's most vulnerable – women, black and brown communities, trans people, etc. – struggle to obtain meaningful power in the system.

COVID-19 and the Call for Economic Alternatives

Since the emergence of neoliberal capitalism, we have witnessed the inherent structural flaws in capitalism such as the inequities embedded within production processes and global finance as exposed through (most recently) the 2006-2008 Global Food Crisis and the COVID-19 global pandemic. Both have induced shocks to both economic supply and demand. Inequities have been further enforced. Research by Oxfam found that the wealth of billionaires globally increased by $3.9 trillion simultaneously as workers lost $3.7 trillion (Tamale, 2021). The inequities have occurred both on a global scale between the Global North and the Global South, and on individual and community levels for groups such as women, HIV+, LGBTQI+, sex workers – due to socio-economic policy decisions that did not protect the most vulnerable. The impacts overall have been most deeply felt in the global South, where debt burdens and the absence of social protection mechanisms (resulting from the externally imposed neo-liberal dogma over the last 40 years) meant states were also unable to respond.

For example, COVID-19 stimulus packages did not account for neoliberal economic structures within the household and were generally gender dismissive. Predominantly, these stimulus packages did not attempt to address the structural inequities responsible for the devastating, disproportionate impacts of the pandemic on populations that already

experienced instability and vulnerabilities, including women (Smee & Woodroffe, 2021). Heavy job losses due to a strongly privatised economy forced a diversification of livelihood strategies for survival, especially in the Global South. Most of these included some degree of subsistence agriculture, requiring access to land and nature. While most experienced loss during the pandemic, the ten richest people in the world (unsurprisingly, nearly all white men) grew their wealth by five trillion USD (Nichols, 2021). This amount would have been enough to provide no-cost vaccines worldwide and ensure no one on the planet would fall into poverty (Yahaya, 2021).

Austerity measures – required fiscal budget tightening – from international financial institutions (IFIs) have not been suspended or altered despite the pandemic. The pandemic has heightened vertical dependencies as economic activities were suppressed. IFIs have continued business as usual, though. IMF loans, for example, are pushing the Global South deeper into crisis and a cycle of debt since the pandemic because of requirements to pay back (insufficient) loans without a means for recovery. For instance, "26 governments, primarily in Africa and the Latin American and Caribbean regions, had plans to commence or resume fiscal consolidation as early as 2020 and 2021" (Tamale, 2021). Oxfam uncovered that 85% of the COVID-19 loans (73 out of 85 countries) that were negotiated by governments with the IMF will resume austerity measures (e.g., public expenditure cuts, wage bill cuts and feezes, and increases to or addition of value added tax (VAT)) when the crisis abates (as of March 2021, Tamale, 2021). The most commonly proposed austerity measures in the IMF loans include wage bill cuts and freezes (31 countries), increases to or the introduction of value-added tax (VAT) (14 countries), and general public expenditure cuts (55 countries). Such austerity measures have been shown to fall on the backs of women and others most marginalised rather than stimulate economic growth, as promised. In 2020, globally, women lost $800 billion in income (Tamale, 2021). Women are more dependent upon public services and social protection due to the social and cultural constructs that shape their social and economic life, and women have taken up a greater burden of unpaid care since the onset of the pandemic.

COVID-19 has strengthened the call to look for alternatives to our current macroeconomic system from a feminist perspective to mitigate the uneven impacts of the pandemic on different groups of women worldwide. Policy responses to the pandemic have proven inadequate to mitigate the systemic economic, social, and public health failures that resulted from the pandemic. More than two years into the pandemic, policies remain unevenly implemented, the care economy is still undervalued, informal workers are increasingly exploited, and women's rights groups continue to fill the gaps left by public service delivery failures. Recovery policies continue to be simplistic in their attempts for improvements and demonstrate preference toward maintaining an inequitable status quo and curtailing the transformative potential of inclusive, feminist policies and decision-making (Chettri et al., 2022).

For example, criminalised populations such as sex workers are excluded from social protection and crisis response systems and experienced not only a total loss of income,

but also increased criminalisation, stigmatisation, and compounded health inequalities (NSWP, 2021). The structural, social, and economic barriers sex workers experienced before the pandemic have been exacerbated. The negative impact of COVID-19 on livelihoods was closely followed by emerging evidence of the increasingly negative impact on inequalities, long-term HIV and other health outcomes. This shone a light on the structural barriers to social protection for sex workers and how states failed to include or consult with sex workers in their COVID-19 responses.

A timeline of capitalism (see Annex 2) helps us to understand that as capitalism has a beginning and can shift through different forms, it can also move toward an end (Otros Mundos, 2019). A shift away from capitalism can give way to a more inclusive, collective-minded, and nurturing economic system that values women's work and the environment. The call from women human rights defenders and feminists for economic alternatives that value the care economy, address problems in the global supply chain, invest in small businesses, narrow the digital divide, expand civic space, and provide social protections is becoming more urgent (Woodroffe, 2020).

Feminist Economic Rights and Justice Issues

In neoliberal economies, the poorest and most vulnerable – oftentimes women – are in a near constant state of economic limbo. Women often end up carrying the risks associated with market fluctuations; they are overwhelmingly "owed" due to their economic precarity and elasticity of their paid and unpaid labour. They risk losing their livelihoods, their homes, or their land due to corporate greed and government corruption. Rarely do these types of violations get prosecuted, leaving the burden to those who suffer. Access to justice ensures all citizens can hold equal footing with power holders when it comes to participating in their society, a vital component toward building more equitable economies (Open Society Foundations, n.d.).

Feminist economic rights and justice recognises that "economic activity as just one of the means towards achieving women's human rights and gender equality, but not the end in itself" (Yahaya, 2021). A feminist economic justice approach prioritises human rights and challenges anthropocentrism over profits. It prioritises a world in which humans live in balance with and within the ecological limits of nature, upon which we depend for our collective survival. Economic rights and justice are deeply feminist issues as building an economy that works for everyone – including those historically and traditionally left behind – is best for the vast majority of the world's population. Neoliberal economies are one of the predominant roots of gender equality; women's rights are violated without justice for the price of profit for a powerful minority.

Women's rights are influenced by the economic systems and structures in which they live. Rights to food, shelter, decent wage and working conditions, education, healthcare, bodily autonomy, and exercising their voice – amongst other rights – are all influenced by women's economic statuses. Undoubtedly, in nearly all contexts, having an independent

income source enables women greater access to and control over these rights for themselves and for their families (Womankind Worldwide, n.d.). However, the systems and structures in which women live also impact their ability to have an adequate livelihood. For instance, privatised and exclusionary healthcare, abortion laws, and insufficient or unobtainable education all play a role in women's earnings opportunities. Thus, feminist economic rights also encompass rights to equitable access to and enjoyment of necessary goods and services.

As women are more likely to take on no-wage or low-wage work, they suffer under poorly regulated industries with unsafe or unjust working conditions. Unpaid care work, for example, offers no social protections: a grave injustice. Informal labour or exploitative industries such as garment factories that are founded by patriarchal systems view women as expendable and low cost, which can even compromise their right to life (Tejpar et al., 2021). For women whose livelihoods depend on land, many are not lawfully or culturally entitled to own their land or they may find their land taken over or spoiled by corporate practices. These are not the makings of a feminist economy built upon equality.

In sum, a feminist economic vision does not see social reproduction and the production economy as separate, but instead as closely interlinked. A feminist solution to economic justice is systemic and structural at both macroeconomic and microeconomic levels. It interlinks issues of trade, taxation, debt, deregulation, and privatisation as these are irrevocably linked to women's economic rights and justice. What truly separates feminist economic justice from other movements for economic justice, however, is the strong focus on discrimination and criminalisation and the fight against such policies and practises led by those who are most impacted. Feminist economic justice requires an end to the neoliberal economic model (Yahaya, 2021).

Defining Feminist Economic Alternatives

"Feminist economic alternatives" as a concept is an umbrella term for multiple expressions of resistance, imaginings, and solutions that address the need for just economic transformation. A variety of actors have approached defining FEAs and have found that FEAs are a broad spectrum of approaches that seek to address patriarchal power relations and structural oppressions through multifaceted approaches for systems change with economic and gender justice at their heart. FEAs therefore have a pluralist underpinning, framed by their juxtaposition and resistance to the neoliberal capitalist system.

A comprehensive approach to defining FEAs comes from ActionAid in their compendium *Another World is Possible: Advancing feminist economic alternatives to secure rights, justice and autonomy for women and a fair, green, gender equal world* (2020). This publication uncovers a plethora of theories and practices that have a primary common denominator of attempting to disrupt and provide viable alternatives to the dominant

neoliberal capitalist economic system. In their report, ActionAid acknowledges that feminist economists and activists have been "imagining, developing, advocating for and implementing economic models, frameworks, strategies and approaches as ways of organising economies and engaging in economic activity as alternatives to mainstream, orthodox approaches for decades" (ActionAid 2020, Volume 1, p.7). Similarly, GADN also recognises the plurality of FEAs, expressing that FEA are derived from an "array of definitions and from different angles". Similarly, in the anthology *In Search of Economic Alternatives for Gender and Social Justice: Voices from India*, the editor notes a jigsaw of alternative economics from contributing authors that encompass a range of positions (Wichterich, 2010).

The concept and importance of alternative "imaginings" that lead to transformation have started to become increasingly dominant as the pandemic has progressed. As part of their creative visioning piece *In a time not so far away (Abate, 2022)*, the Nawi Afrifem Macroeconomics Collective draws partially on alternative propositions developed as part of an African feminist vision for macroeconomic system change by members of the Collective in the wake of COVID (Kinoti and Kelleher, 2022), positing "dreams" that speak of everything from collective care, fair and decent work, respect for commons and indigenous knowledge, rights-based health and other services, food sovereignty and a wealth of other areas that together encompass multiple aspects of the FEA lexicon. Within this piece - written as creative prose - there is an homage to the multiplicity of approaches that can be found within FEAs. AWID - in their priority area on Building Feminist Economies - speak about the importance of "clean air to breathe and water to drinkwhere all can enjoy our economic, sexual and political autonomy" (AWID, ND). As part of their Feminist Economic Transformation project, Oxfam argues that the world needs a feminist economic transformation that places "gender, economic, and climate justice and feminist leadership at the heart and transforms the economic model into one that is equitable, inclusive, and sustainable" (Oxfam, 2021)." Across all, a key takeaway in defining FEAs is its plurality and contextuality.

At their core, FEAs are presenting an alternative to the wider economic system. In other words, FEAs must be disruptive to oppressive systems, most notably the current orthodoxy of neo-liberal capitalism. They address the structural causes of oppression within systems rather than the symptoms by challenging and changing structural power. As such, no localised micro-economic FEA activity can occur that does not stem from a macro-economic viewpoint aimed at shifting systems and structures.

Framing feminist alternatives: common themes

Looking at FEAs with a birds eye view, some initial common themes appear that hold them together as approaches with a shared understanding of the problems and the emerging solutions:

Challenging the exploitation of people and planet within the current system

Feminist economic justice for both people and planet has emerged as dominant framing in the quest to understand FEAs. In her 1986 work, Maria Mies outlined how the subordination and exploitation of women, nature, and colonies are the precondition for the global division of labour and capital accumulation. This intricately links feminism, national liberation struggles / dismantling neo-coloniality, and ecological movements within a framing for alternative futures.

Valuing women's work

Women's work as exploited and oppressive – both within the formal and informal spaces – is an inherent starting point of this framing. The acknowledged appropriation of women's disproportionately low wages and baked-in precarity that are integral to capitalist profit provides the initial point of resistance. The decent and dignified work agenda is therefore an FEA, particularly when underpinned by principles that go beyond a focus on the right to work and on work as production, centring instead on the importance of work as safe, satisfactory, and just in its remuneration and security. Valuing women's unpaid work is also critical. Here,Utilising the "3 R's" – recognition, reduction, and redistribution (Elson, 2011) – to describe care work has been critical in providing a framework for alternative initiatives and programmes that seek to address care at a systemic level, encompassing not only the household, but also the community and the state.

Centering care work

Care work - both paid and unpaid - has a major focus within FEAs, perhaps unsurprisingly given that this has been a major pillar of feminist economic thought from the outset. Initially, feminist economics argued to value care work in the form of recognising its contribution to GDP, but advocacy has grown for a different economic system that values those who do upaid care and domestic work activities, contributing to the ongoing search for alternative measurements to GDP as an indicator of economic progress (ActionAid, 2020). While alternative measures have not yet been decided upon, a number of actors are exploring this topic; for example, Oxfam is currently undergoing research to unpack this idea. Feminist economics argue how household production has enabled capitalists to expect the reproduction of labour in the absence of a living wage and under inadequate social welfare prorammes (Sibeko et al, 2021).

FEAs that centre on care have a strong theoretical frame, but care also serves as a clear jump-off point for policy engagements. Care work also provides an entry point for the creation of practical interventions by feminist movements, often in the realm of rights-based public provisioning goods and infrastructure. As indicated by Yahyah (2021): "A feminist economic justice agenda will require a long-term, sustained and scaled up public investment strategy focusing on an extensive range of multiple and intersecting objectives centred around delivering public services and infrastructures (or public commons) needed to facilitate peoples' enjoyment of their rights and coverage of their needs."

Protecting the commons and traditional knowledge systems in defence of the planet

Solutions that challenge anti-privatisation globalisation and reclaiming the commons have been heavily informed by movements - led by or often with women at the heart - are FEAs. Food sovereignty, land defence, seed banks, medicinal plant protection, and water rights have all been part of women's activism to protect their economies on their land and within their ecosystems. Defence of the commons and preservation of traditional knowledge systems – inherently aligned to the defence of ecological and planetary boundaries – are a solution to counter the encroachment of neoliberal corporatisation and the commodification of nature. These speak to the importance of decoloniality through anti-capitalism and corporate capture as integral to FEAs and their approach to addressing the climate crisis and ecological breakdown. For example, recognising that most of the global North carries the historical responsibility of climate degradation and the current crisis through the legacy of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and industrialisation, FEAs are also framed by the disproportionality of the divide between rich countries and the majority world. A feminist economic justice agenda, "while focusing on the way our economic system could be restructured and transformed in its overall consumption and production patterns into one that is more equitable, will also focus on the excessive consumption levels of the world's richest people and richer countries" (Yahyah, 2021).

Questioning growthism, austerity, and the dominance of market economics

Feminist economists have long argued that GDP is a deeply flawed indicator that does not take into account the social reproductive dimensions of the economy (Folbre, 1991. in Sibeko, B., Phalatse, S., & Ossome, L. 2021, June). The supremacy of GDP growth within the capitalist system and the accumulation that results in an automatic de-centring the health and wellbeing of both people and planet results in those in the global south carrying the majority of the impacts, and women and the most marginalised often at the coalface of the devastation (Dengler and Seebacher, 2019) FEAs are therefore also framed by a questioning of the credibility of GDP growth as a marker of successful economic and societal development, making their starting point an inherent critique of the idea of infinite growth that neoliberal capitalism proposes, and an intrinsic asking of the questions "growth for what?".

Another important counter marker for FEAs – intrinsically tied to the quest for growth – is the pervasiveness of austerity policies as economic orthodoxy. Over the last 25 years, the capitalist system has witnessed varied economic crises. These have created opportunities for alternative propositions to become more visible, especially in the wake as austerity policies have deepened some of the core tenets of the neoliberal economic system. Challenging and creating resistance to those tenets – such as rollback of the state and cuts to rights-based services and welfare, privatisation of public goods, and deregulation of markets and labour laws – frames what many FEAs have in common.

Agenjo-Calderón and Galvez-Muñoz (2019) for example have highlighted the multiple proposals feminist economists have made as alternatives to austerity in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, including but not limited to:

- restoring public resources for public welfare;
- the creation of benefits and services historically provided by unpaid work such as care;
- defence of and restoration of the commons in contrast to accumulation and dispossession; and
- the implementation of gender-sensitive policies and budgets which consider impacts on different social groups.

Similarly, the 2011 anthology Harvesting Feminist Knowledge for Public Policy (Jain & Elson 2011), offers a range of feminist policy alternatives to the increasing push for austerity policies that were already taking hold at the start of the decade following the financial crisis of 2008. Such policies – often imposed through conditionalities attached to loans provided by International Finance Institutions following economic crises – include significant cuts to public spending, including on public services and goods such as education, health, water, transport, and electricity. To address the shortfall in needed investment that follows, private sector companies are often engaged – increasingly through public private partnerships (PPPs). However, far from addressing the inequality of access already prevalent in provision, the introduction of user fees, along with a shift of accountability from public opinion to shareholder power, has been seen to exacerbate disparities. For example, Yassine Fall challenged and called for an end to the privatisation of water in Senegal and the detrimental impacts this has had on women, households and the community more broadly as the affordability of water decreased, diminishing access to safe water sources increasing ill-health and women's care burdens. Sarmiento offered alternative propositions to women's employment based on the experience of Cuban women. As a means of maintaining economic solvency, the promotion of women in the workforce by using an informed gender perspective is offered as a socially and economically just and sustainable alternative to the use of women's low wage labour and increased informalisation.

The importance of macroeconomic engagement towards systems change

FEAs are also framed quite heavily by their engagement with the macroeconomic sphere. As such, they move the conversation away from a singular framing of gender and economy primarily at the micro level, where women's individual empowerment as a contributor within a growth-focused economy is prioritised. However, it is important to stress that this is not a macro vs. micro issue, but rather about the importance of the two working fluidly together in order for FEAs to be realised and sustained. Just as self-led initiatives are, rooted in local communities' needs, so their engagement with the larger decision-making structures in order to ensure that those initiatives can flourish require activism at the macroeconomic level. A feminist macroeconomic approach is a call to

use fiscal and monetary policy to fundamentally restructure our economies to be more fair, inclusive, and just [] Feminist macroeconomic policy in this regard recognises the historically gendered and structural exclusions that economic policy must address, as well as a social reorientation towards economies of care" (Sibeko, Phalatse, and Ossome, 2021). FEAs therefore tend to look at the deeper systemic issues that are controlled at the levels of macroeconomic decision making, more specifically those that pertain to fiscal policy, although increasingly in relation to monetary policy. However, rather than this being a dismissal of micro-level engagements, it can perhaps be seen as a recognition that without the structural shifts needed at the macro-level, micro engagements will perpetually suffer in terms of their impacts.

For example, GADN's work on FEAs centres firmly on macro-level economics as part of their Feminist Reframing of Macro-Level Economics (REFRAME) Project, recognising that this is where the "most fundamental questions are asked – about the relationship between the state and its citizens, about what the economy is for and who it should serve, about how we value work and social protection." They choose to focus on macro-level economics as a means to combat the systemic perpetuation of patriarchy, inequality, and the abuse of rights that is embedded within how economies are structured. As a result, fiscal justice, debt justice and trade justice are all areas that fall within the wide umbrella of FEAs, although with the very important caveat that for each of these to be delivered as an FEA, deliberate and extensive feminist, intersectional analysis and engagement must be at the heart.

In FEMNET's *The Audacity to Disrupt: an Introduction to Feminist Macro-Level Economics*, the authors offer a range of feminist alternatives that engage at the macro-level of economic decision making. They echo things such as increased expenditure on public services and social protection, but also include other areas of feminist economic engagement on the issues, including alternatives to the current orthodoxies around debt, trade, and foreign investment, including cancellation, and reform of global economic institutions to rebalance power between the North and South.

Again,these initiatives are not focusing on the macro because it is better than the micro, but because it is important to address a gap that exists at the macro level and challenge frameworks at the policy level. It is important to note that they do not say the micro is unnecessary or unproductive. By framing the macro and micro as complementary, it ensures a space for affected communities, not just academics and policy-makers, to participate in creating this economic vision.

Affirmations of What FEAs are Not

Feminist propositions have often been appropriated when they start to gain traction in mainstream spaces, sometimes resulting in a watering down and "pink washing" (Ghosh, 2010) of the radical progressive agendas underpinning them. Feminists have warned of this in various ways for some years such as Batliwala's 2007 essay how "power had been taken out of empowerment", and McFadden tasking us to ensure that gender is not used

as a neoliberal "tool" to reinvent the status quo in 2016. This gives us some markers for how to separate what are not FEAs, but also underscores the importance of the need to accompany any analysis of FEAs with a power analysis that informs strategy and action.

Mainstream gender and development programmes and advocacy that speak of women's economic empowerment (WEE) within an exclusive market logic – with no reference to pervasive issues of unpaid care and lack of access to adequate services and social protection. WEE programmes that entrench privatisation and a commodification of public goods are problematic, as these lead to an increased "financialisation of everyday life as people have to borrow in order to consume, and the public provision of health, education, and housing has been replaced by private provisioning of these public goods" (Sibeko, Phalatse, Ossome, 2021).

Ultimately, empowerment approaches that focus on simply bringing women into the existing economic system, exploiting their productivity in pursuit of GDP growth, and placing the onus of "entrepreneuring their way out of poverty", fall short of the transformative progressive frameworks that FEAs require. These tend to move the focus away from the need for challenges to the patriarchal system itself, deflect from a conversation on systems shifting, and ultimately place a programmatic and policy focus on women's entrepreneurialism /engagement with markets, atomising women's economic struggles as a panacea for poverty (Kelleher, 2018). A feminist economic justice agenda must therefore "extend to strengthening women's capacity to exercise real power and control over their own lives and the terms on which they engage with social and economic structures, and this is not possible without the recognition of the many roles of women within the economy which are often not tied to the market, the substantive equality for women and the fulfilment of their human rights" (Yahyah, 2021).

Approaches, Models, Movements

This section identifies some of the approaches, models, and movements that FEAs encompass at different levels of alignment and synergy. These are also a combination of both conceptual and theoretical endeavours that are nonetheless often informed and underpinned by – or continuously evolving in tandem with – practical action coming from organising and movement building. Due to the very essence of the plurality of FEAs, each of these complex approaches, models, and movements are FEAs in their own right. The narrative that follows for each explains how they align and synergise with the concept of FEAs.

Ecofeminism / Ecological feminism

Ecofeminism can be defined as an activist and political movement based on the idea that "ecology is a feminist issue and that feminism is an ecological issue" (Warren, 1997). Ecofeminism takes insights from ecology, feminism, and socialism. It is based on the ideas that human beings are not separate from or more important than the natural world around them, and a system that oppresses people because of their gender, race, class, sexuality and physical ability is the same one that oppresses nature (Randromario,

2021). Ecofeminism encompasses a wide variety of feminist economic alternative themes as part of its resistance and solution offerings, from anti-extractivism and defence of the commons, traditional knowledge systems, and ongoing engagments with the wider climate justice space. Ecofeminism is a term or identifier does carry some contention and not all feminist ecological activists use it, largely due to what are considered the biological essentialist origins of the movemen. However, ecofeminism is predominantly recognised as a political movement, and one that calls for systemic change, particularly across the global south. Notable organisations like WoMin and individuals like Vandana Shiva and Ruth Nyambura are furthering the movement in different ways.

Buen Vivir

Buen Vivir is a pluralistic worldview that is prevalent among indigenous communities across Latin America and whose principles are shared by different cultures around the world. Similar to the concept of *ubuntu* from South Africa, it holds that an individual's well-being can only be achieved through harmonious relationships with the wider community – including people, the environment, other living beings, their ancestors, and the cosmos. There are also similarities with *chacha warmi*, a concept used in the Andean worldview in general and especially in the Aymara, Quechua, and Uru cultures, referring to the code of conduct based on the principle of duality and complementarity between all living things. Practically speaking, it encompasses themes like food sovereignty, land rights, environmental justice, economic solidarity and the protection of local biodiversity. As such, it can be seen as also closely aligned / integral with ecofeminist / ecological feminism.

Agroecology, Food Sovereignty, Seed Sovereignty

Agroecology is a sustainable approach to farming that produces healthy food and preserves natural resources. It applies social, biological, and agricultural sciences and integrates these with traditional, indigenous, and farmers' knowledge and cultures. Farmer and community autonomy is a key principle within agroecology. Women farmers, as custodians of more diverse food crops within communities, play a critical role in the preservation of biodiversity (ABN, Gaia, AWDF, 2015). Agroecology offers an alternative to the detrimental impacts of commercialised agriculture on the environment and the climate crisis, which women in the global South find themselves at the coalface of.

Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods. It defends their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. Food sovereignty is closely aligned with the agroecology movement as it focuses on farmer autonomy. Seed sovereignty is the farmer's rights to save, breed, and exchange seeds, and to have access to diverse open source seeds that can be saved. This means the seeds are not patented, genetically modified, owned, or controlled by seed companies and corporations. In practice, seed sovereignty is realised through farmer controlled seed banks – often a collectivist approach – preserving diverse local seed varieties.

Agroecology, food sovereignty, and seed sovereignty are closely aligned and often interdependent approaches that all address ecological breakdown and climate crisis, farmer rights and autonomy, and the right to food. All three of these approaches are encapsulated with many eco-feminist / ecological feminists movements and struggles, given that women are at the coalface of each of these struggles, particularly in the global South.

The Wellbeing Economy

The Wellbeing Economy is a conceptual and theoretical approach that places primary emphasis on ensuring economic policies are focused on delivering outcomes that are in the interests of humanity and the planet. Not only does this directly challenge the system of values that neoliberal capitalism uses to measure successful development (e.g., GDP growth), but it also presents alternative systems where economic value is measured in terms of human and ecological wellbeing. Care is therefore inherently a central theme. Like FEAs, there is no one definition of the wellbeing economy. However, the relationship between the wellbeing economy and feminist economics is a close one, primarily through the joint focus on inequality and a call for new measurements of economic success. However, it is important to view them not as synonymous, but as "mutually supporting"; as argued by Katherine Trebeck of the Wellbeing Economy Alliance. The pursuit of a wellbeing economy alone will not deliver on all feminist needs. A feminist wellbeing economy – informed by intersectional analysis of the patriarchal structures it seeks to replace – is therefore needed.

Social and Solidarity Economy

The Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) is not profit driven, rather it is based on principles of solidarity, common good, social reproduction, self-management, and collective wellbeing (ActionAid, 2020). It is synergistic with the cooperative movement and other models and systems of community-based economic organising that are focused on ensuring access and control over economic resources. The collective wellbeing principle specifically means that there are often overlaps with the wellbeing economy. A wide variety of community-based approaches can fall under the SSE umbrella, so the practice of SSEs often begins localised and micro-focused. Included within the wider SSE umbrella are collectivism and more specifically cooperativism (see below). However, SSEs ultimately seek to challenge and seek to shift the mainstream macroeconomic model. They are still reliant on the legal operational frameworks decided at a macroeconomic level, such as the space given for cooperatives to be constituted and do business in comparison to more capital -oriented private sector entities. SSEs therefore also require advocacy at macro-levels to protect the enabling environment they need to survive and thrive.

Collectivism

Collectivism broadly refers to a worldview in which is guided largely by goals that are shared by a collective, such as a family, tribe, work group, or political or religious

association. Interdependence and group solidarity are valued. As a result, there is a value in collaboration, communalism, and constructive interdependence, with a greater emphasis on the importance of social harmony, respectfulness, and group needs. There are many different manifestations of collectivism, but where economic alternatives are concerned it offers women and other marginalised groups an opportunity to overcome patriarchal barriers through participation in collective groupings including cooperatives, women's associations, and self-help groups. Traditional women's savings and loans groups - found under different names across the world (e.g. asusu in West Africa) and often using a rotational system are one example of this. Collectivist strategies have encouraged thousands of women from poor communities to engage in autonomous income generation and fight social exclusion.

Cooperativism

Cooperatives are a type of collectivism and have been an important part of economic organising for decades, with many cooperatives organised and led by women across the world. Cooperatives are enterprises controlled by and run for the benefit of their members, where profits are used to develop the business or are returned to the members. They not only create employment for members but can ensure that the work is decent and stable, and can also help protect traditional sectors and knowledge. Collectivism, solidarity, and collective voice are key principles. Cooperatives cannot only combat the precarity of neoliberal employment and markets, but can also help guard against the precarity of jobs emerging in the gig economy. However, it is also important to note that there are all kinds of cooperatives, and cooperativism itself does not guarantee feminist outcomes on its own. Indeed, many cooperatives are dominated by men and can exclude or diminish women's power within them. So while the tenets of cooperativism mean it is an approach that can become an FEA, as with all the other movements and approaches that are not inherently drawing on feminist foundations (such as ecofeminism / ecological feminism), a concerted, feminist direction is needed in terms of intersectional analysis and engagement to drive it successfully as an FEA.

Degrowth and Post-growth

Degrowth is a theory and activist position that calls for a planned reduction of energy and resource use as a means of reducing inequality and improving human wellbeing by bringing global Northern economies back into balance with the living world (Hickel, 2021). Degrowth therefore rejects neoliberal growth as a social objective (Mastini, 2017) and calls for a new paradigm that specifically requires high-income countries to slow down material production and consumption, reducing energy demand and addressing climate change. By also challenging the extraction of the global south by the north, degrowth may also be considered a call for decolonisation. Some feminists have argued that an intersectional approach to degrowth will allow the field to "dismantle the elite growth-driven enclaves in the global north and south to a realise a post-extractivist world" (Nirmal and Rocheleau, 2019).

Post-growth also seeks to reimagine economic development without growth as the dominant indicator of success. Specifically, it calls to move away from the fixation with GDP. Degrowth and post-growth are overlapping, but with key differences. While degrowth focuses on a downscaling of production and consumption, post-growth is a broader concept that is centred on a different kind of economic development, and more critically, a societal shift towards alternative values that contest the capitalist focus on accumulation. According to the Post-Growth Institute, it proposes "that widespread economic justice, social well-being and ecological regeneration are only possible when money inherently circulates through our economy", rather than focusing on the demand of constant economic growth itself (i.e., the creation of more money). As a vision beyond capitalist accumulation, post-growth aligns with FEAs. But, like the wellbeing economy, SSEs, and degrowth, there is the supplemental need for intersectional feminist engagement if they are to genuinely be FEAs.

Doughnut Economics

Doughnut Economics proposes an "economic mindset" and way of thinking that aims to bring about regenerative and distributed dynamics. It draws on divers schools of economic thought, including ecological, feminist, institutional, behavrioural and complexity economics, and sets out ways to transform economies from the local to the global. The Doughnut consists of two concentric rings: a social foundation, to ensure that no one is left falling short on life's essentials, and an ecological ceiling, to ensure that humanity does not collectively overshoot the planetary boundaries (boundaries at which the planet can sustain itself) that protect Earth's life-supporting systems. Between these two sets of boundaries lies a doughnut-shaped space that is both ecologically safe and socially just: a space in which humanity can thrive.

Drawing on feminist economics, Doughnut Economics recognises the critical importance of the reproductive economy (Raworth, 2012). As with degrowth and postgrowth, it aims to change the goal from endless GDP growth to a future of thriving within the Doughnut. Although it recognises that growth may be a healthy phase of life, it also recognises that nothing can grow forever. In this vein, Doughnut Economics is heavily synergised with Post Growth theory. Doughnut Economics recognises that human behaviour can be nurtured to be cooperative and aring, just as it can be competitive and individualistic. It also recognises that economies, societies, and the rest of the living world are complex, interdependent systems.

Circular Economy

The circular economy been called a variety of different names: "the collaborative economy" (Owyang, 2014 in Phillips, 2015), "the mesh" (Gansky, 2010 in Phillips, 2015), "collaborative consumption" (Botsman & Rogers, 2010 in Phillips, 2015), "the sharing economy" (Schor, 2014 in Phillips, 2015). The circular economy is a model of production and consumption that involves sharing, gifting, swapping, leasing, renting, reusing, repairing, refurbishing, and recycling existing materials and products as long as possible.

In this way, the life cycle of products is extended. In practice, it implies reducing waste to a minimum. In the linear economy, raw natural resources are taken, transformed into products, and disposed of. A circular economy model, on the other hand, aims to close the gap between the production and the natural ecosystems' cycles on which humans ultimately depend upon. However, little agreement upon where the line between recycling/sharing and capitalism is drawn. Indeed, businesses capitalise upon public enthusiasm for the circular economy (e.g., Airbnb) and find ways to profit (Phillips, 2015). This once again underscores the need for a clear power analysis on whether certain initiatives give more power to women. There are also question marks regarding the limitations of this within contexts of extreme poverty.

As of yet, there is very little to be found on what would be considered a feminist circular economy. 'Freecycling' and 'Buy Nothing' may be considered two such models. In freecycling and buy nothing models, people in a local area connect – often over digital platforms – to gift items for reuse with their neighbours (Bretos, Errasti, and Soetens 2021, 256). These models have been found by women to not only improve their economic wellbeing, but also help them to build stronger communities (Reinicke, 2021). However, in some readings, women are seen as being at the heart of driving the circular economy, while in others there is a call for it to be more gender responsive and gender inclusive.

FEA solutions and case studies

Despite the commonality of the framings surrounding FEAs, their plurality means that many of the economic justice solutions that FEAs offer overlap and intersect with one another. This section therefore attempts to simplify this by presenting FEAs firstly in the main themes, then providing some examples as case studies. Many of the case studies straddle one or more themes because FEAs inherently have an interconnectedness of economic issues. For this reason also, some case studies demonstrate the intersections across both the micro and macro level.

FEA themes come out of the framings that define FEAs. Most FEAs have fluid movement between the macro and micro levels. This is arguably because feminist activism (often emerging organically at localised levels) evolves as an interchangeable process between the two. However, as noted in the preceding section, the common denominator in each of these is that systems shift and transformation – a macro level endeavour – is part of the final FEA proposition at its core.

Demanding decent, dignified work and labour rights

The future of women's work (formal, informal, paid and unpaid) is a key theme within FEAs. Included within this is sex work, where women are also organising for decent, dignified conditions (NSWP, 2021). In this vein, the call for alternatives to be both anti-patriarchal and decolonial is a clear tenet. In their vision of a Just Transition, PSI

International call for a feminist transformation of the sexual division of labour, the revalorisation of the work of women and feminised sectors, and the elimination of the patriarchy of the wage (Montufar, 2022). Within this framework, the decent work agenda is an FEA that recognises that not all work leads to empowerment and demands an end to labour deregulations that trigger the "race to the bottom" that has come to characterise the current system. A focus on care work – both paid and unpaid – is also a part of this theme. Care work encompasses both domestic workers and those in the sectors such as health that already provide care through formal institutions within societies, which globally are consistently "feminised".

FEAs in Action:
Demanding decent pay and conditions for domestic / household workers

International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) is a membership-based global organisation of domestic and household workers. IWDF aims to build a strong, democratic, and united domestic/household workers' global organisation to protect and advance domestic workers' rights everywhere. As of March 2020, the IDWF has 74 affiliates from 57 countries (in Africa, Asia Pacific, Caribbean, Europe, Latin America, and North America), representing over 500,000 domestic/household workers' members. Most are organised in trade unions and others in associations, networks and workers' cooperatives. As a global union, it played a pivotal role in securing the landmark ILO Convention 189 that recognizes the contribution of domestic work to the global economy and commits states to introduce urgently needed measures to protect and promote their rights.

A national example is Home Based Workers Federation Pakistan. This Federation played a critical role in organising and articulating the demands of a scattered and isolated group, successfully getting their work recognised and brought under the ambit of the minimum wage law (Manicandan, 2019).

Similarly, the Guatemalan Asociación de Trabajadoras del Hogar, a Domicilio y de Maquila (Association of Domestic, Home Based and Maquila Female Workers, ATRAHDOM) has become a leader in the struggle for Guatemalan women workers' rights in the domestic work, garment, agricultural, and home-based industry sectors. In 2010 ATRAHDOM secured a commitment from the Guatemalan Ministry of Labour for a minimum wage standard for domestic workers. In the same year, it was invited to join members of the Ministry and Parliament in creating a national social security programme for domestic workers (Vonk, 2015)

A live and urgent issue within the quest for decent and dignified work is the fourth industrial revolution and the rise of the digital gig economy. The "uberisation" of domestic labour through app technologies is one example of this (Ernst, 2017; ILO, 2018), a phenomenon moving in tandem with the proliferation of digital technologies. Although women continue to use mobile and smart phones at a lower rate than men, there are projections of a 134% growth in overall subscriptions between 2015 and 2030 in Africa (Sivi-Njojo, 2017). As digital proliferation increases, a greater individualization of women's work and the "shifting of economic risk" onto workers as independent contractors dominates company business models. This could lead to an accepted and unchallenged formalisation of precarious work (Kelleher, 2020), hitting women and the most marginalised most harshly. Aside from the gender inequities that already exist in the digital divide, it brings to the fore a crucial question about how feminist movements will be able to respond to the growing shareholder power of the gig economy even as it potentially reinforces the social relations that exploit women's labour through precarity (Chimedza, 2018).

In many ways these issues relating to the future of work and the digital economy are ones that have always existed and continue to persist for women and non-binary people and other marginalised peoples - working without decet contracts and carrying all the economic risks. The proliferation of these new mediums have therefore migrated these gender injustices onto a virtual platform. Critically, who is controlling digital technologies and how it is resourced all pertains to both accessibility and the power dynamics that play out within it. It is important to note that digital technologies have enabled access to policy and decision-making spaces in unprecedented ways (as seen very explicitly during the pandemic).

Today, most information is stored and shared online. When communities have not had access to the internet, they are excluded from the "information superhighway". For example, when the Government of Colombia introduced satellite digital kiosks that provide information about public services, connectivity proved to be an issue. In response, the NGO Colnodo implemented a gender-focused ICT and community wireless network appropriation project to help women access this infrastructure.

Finding ways for women to counter exploitation – and eventually benefit in a fair and just manner – from the digital economy is now crucial. Harnessing women's collective power around economic rights is one way. While digital work platforms pose a risk of formalised exploitation, they can also provide opportunities for structural change if women themselves are able to collectively control the technology, which at the moment is not automatically guaranteed. Community and worker-owned and run tech cooperatives – built around solidarity economy approaches that emphasise mutual cooperation, common ownership, and pluralism – are one example of this.

FEAs in Action:

Collective power to counter exploitation within the platform gig economy

Platform Cooperativism Consortium (PCC) works in the United States, Brazil, China, South Africa, Germany, Canada, and Australia. PCC has adopted a feminist digital economics perspective 'to figure out what a feminist ethical on-demand, platform might look like' (Faith, 2018). This organisation opposes the development of the online economy primarily for growth and short-term profits for the few. Instead, it offers an alternative to platform capitalism through economic fairness, training, and democratic participation in the running of online businesses to people who are invisible to customers in sectors such as home cleaning. Such spaces where the online economy is proliferating especially impact women of colour that see fewer benefits, lower pay, and hardly any opportunity for meaningful on-the-job skills training.

To fully appreciate the impact of the digital on women's lives, it is important to note that the digital divide also manifests geographically and the kinds of exclusions it generates for women around the world. In fact, what is called the fourth industrial revolution has been very localised. This probably explains why the PCC works in the United States, Brazil, China, South Africa, Germany, Canada and Australia. Most countries in the global south have a low level of digitalization of their economies and are grappling with the provision of basic digital literacy. The question of how far women's digital agency is expanding in line with digital technologies (even as smartphones proliferate across the Global South) is therefore important (Kelleher, 2013).

Building economic collectivism and autonomy

The power of collective organising is a foundation within feminist thinking and practice, and can be considered a cornerstone of FEAs (ActionAid 2020). FEAs often have collective power as an inherent thread within them, more commonly as a matter of processes for achieving the alternative propositions. Collectivisation itself as an FEA both addresses existing oppressions and creates new realities. For example, farming collectives that can potentially reduce women's labour and address inequalities may help farmers increase their collective bargaining power (Sugden, 2016; Agarwal, 2018). Similarly, workers' collectives, including cooperative movement building across varied economic sectors, fall into this category.

FEAs in Action:
Collectivism across livelihoods

Farming: Agarwal (2018) studied collective farming in Kerala and Telangana where groups were constituted only by women, leasing land collectively, sharing labour, input costs, and profits. There were, however, vastly different outcomes in the different states which varied in the technical support provided, group composition, land access and cropping patterns. Agarwal compares the collectives' productivity and profitability compared to family farms in the same states, finding that the farms largely outperform mainly men-managed farms in Kerala but not in output in Telangana, although similarly in returns. Agarwal finds that groups do much better in commercial crops compared to traditional foodgrains, where mainly men-managed individual farms have access to better quality land and have longer farm management experience.

Sex work: Empower Chiang Mai is part of Empower Foundation, a sex worker organisation established in 1985 to ensure that women sex workers enjoy safe and fair working conditions. An estimated 300,000 people work as sex workers in Thailand. Sex work is a significant source of income for the country: it has been estimated that $300 million is transferred annually to rural families by women working in the sex sector in urban areas, a sum that in many cases exceeds the budgets of government-funded development programmes. Despite its importance for the Thai economy and for employment, sex work is illegal and not recognised as legitimate work. For many years, Empower called on the Thai government to give sex workers access to the national social security system. Despite their economic contribution to the country, sex workers were excluded from the scheme. This meant that if they fell ill or retired, they lacked a source of income for themselves and their families. Moreover, they were often unable to access or afford appropriate health care and received no child care support. In 2011, Empower achieved a major victory when sex workers gained access to the system. Sex workers are now entitled to compensation if they become sick or take maternity leave. They have access to free health care and a choice of health care facilities. Significantly, it was stipulated that anyone who has been employed for a year and has paid their dues can stay in the social security system even if they go on to work for themselves. This is an important feature for sex workers, who often make use of this opportunity. Empower itself can employ up to 30 sex workers per year at its Can Do Bar through which the workers can gain entry into the system (Vonk, 2015-2).

The importance of autonomy from the economic system is partially related to economic collectivism, as through collective power to oppose capitalist means of production, such as the isolation and lack of agency that can come from being an individual waged labourer within a company. Cooperativism - through collective power - allows individuals to be less beholden to capitalist systems of oppression. Cooperative movements and trade union movements often have partnerships as a result. Several models and movements that fall within the pluralist FEA umbrella such as cooperatives, social solidarity economy, seed sovereignty and food sovereignty all sit easily in these interrelated themes.

FEAs in Action:
The Mundo Alameda Cooperative in Argentina

Mundo Alameda from Argentina first emerged as a soup kitchen in 2001 during Argentina's severe economic crisis. Now, the Mundo Alameda cooperative is a cooperative founded in Buenos Aires by undocumented Bolivian immigrants who escaped garment industry sweatshops, and local workers. In the sweatshops where they worked before creating the cooperative, the workers spent long days toiling without rest to produce clothing for top international brands like Puma, Bensimon, or Kosiuko. They were crowded into workshops where they also lived, in many cases with their families, had no documents or money, and were rarely allowed to leave the premises.

With the support of a non-governmental foundation AVINA, a few labourers together formed a textile co-operative, and started selling their own brand, Mundo Alameda. Argentina's social context of worker resistance and organising over the last 20 years has arguably provided an enabling environment for the flourishing of collective worker organising of this nature. Over the last 10 years, the cooperative has partnered with a similar cooperative in Thailand and have launched their own clothing brand "No Chains". Prior to the pandemic, there were plans for further global partnerships towards expansion.

Creating and investing in care economies / economies of care

Feminist economics recognise care as a subsidy to the wage economy and as the primary productive and reproductive economy that creates the very conditions for all other forms of economies, including a green economy (Yahyah, 2021). Incorporation of unpaid and domestic care work (i.e., the care economy) into economic analysis has been a process over time that has included time use surveys, which influence the design of social and care policies at various levels. However, outside of the global North, care within the rubric of FEAs must also recognise the complex interaction between extended families, communities, underpaid work and scarce public resources (Sibeko, Phalatse, Ossome, 2021).

Some regions have been more successful at developing this theme at both theoretical and practical levels. In Latin America, the care agenda has gained significant traction. It is going beyond making visible and recognising women's unpaid contributions to the economy by proposing policies for redistributing care not only between men and women, but also between households and society. In some examples from those regions, care policies are framed from a rights perspective and include both women and men as caregivers. They are galvanised by the strength of the women's movement and other social movements that sustain the demand, and have led to the incorporation of care into the political agendas of the governing parties). This has been accompanied by the identification of care workers as a particular group of workers (Esquivel, 2012).

Case Study:
The Bogota CARE System

Following activism around the issue of gendered care work in Bogota (where 3.6 million out of 4 million women carry out unpaid care work), the Government of Bogota developed the Bogota CARE System aimed at bringing the city and its services to women unable to travel far from home. The system encompasses psychosocial support professional and skills training, legal aid, exercise, dance, and well-being courses.Considered a radical "ease of access" model, it required re-organising how the city is planned and operates, centring the women whose lives and work have previously been invisibilized. The wellbeing of both the caregivers and the cared-for is centred, allowing women to take care of themselves knowing that their loved ones are receiving the best possible care. Components of the system include the CARE Block (creating spatial areas of care), the CARE Bus, and the CARE Home Delivery.

Shifting attitudes is a major part of the system's work toward sustainability, and this not only includes changing gender norms at the household level but also at the societal level. The CARE System includes programmes for mobilising societal level change through campaigns that show the value of care, and the creation of the CARE Alliance – a growing network of NGOs, private actors, academia and civil society. More critically, enshrining the CARE System into the Urban Master Plan for Bogota - designed in a consultative manner with inputs from over 23,000 people - will be critical for sustainability. The aim is to entrench the CARE system so deeply in the city that it is a part of how the city is governed, making it a permanent and essential part of Bogota's services regardless of political shifts. As the system is new, its impact has not yet been documented. However, it has the hallmarks of a meaningful FEA, demonstrating such alternatives can be viably created at a high level.

(Arenas, n.d.)

Case Study:
Costa Rican National Network for Childcare and Development

Costa Rica offers one of the most promising and progressive examples of economically centred care. Costa Rica has well-established care networks for two populations: children during their early childhood and the elderly. These are the National Network for Child Care and Development (REDCUDI) and the Progressive Care Network for the Comprehensive Care of the Elderly. These networks do not form a unified system of care among themselves, but operate autonomously. REDCUDI - which is running as a planned initiative from 2018 - 2022 - establishes a system of child care and development that is publicly and universally accessible through publicly subsidised organisations, some of which are solidarity associations, that coordinate the modalities of public and private provision of services. It is coordinated by the Joint Institute for Social Assistance through the REDCUDI Technical Secretariat, although it operates under a logic of intersectoral management with the participation of various national ministries and institutes alongside the municipalities. Costa Rica is one of the longest-running democracies in Latin America since 1949, and has a civil society that participates in policy processes through participatory mechanisms in institutions and / or through peaceful negotiations. However, civil society drivers within the adoption of these policies - including the role of women's movements - are only one of multiple streams that have arguably led to their adoption (Leon-Espinoza, 2021). Similar to the Bogata CARE system, an evaluation has yet to be completed

Fighting for ecological justice through challenges to extractivism, defence of the commons and anti-privatisation

Ecological justice as an FEA theme is drawn largely from the engagement of activist movements in direct response to ecological and extractive oppression. Ecological justice is deeply aligned with economic justice, with most land defenders defending land, waters, and natural goods that they depend on for their livelihoods and ways of life. This theme is an integral part of the movement for a just transition where feminist academics and movements are deeply involved that not only goes beyond energy transition but also addresses (and does not exacerbate) inequalities, transforms systems to work for people, nature and climate, ensures inclusiveness and participation (ActionAid, 2020).

The disproportionate impact on women of the climate crisis means that they are at the forefront of those struggles, particularly challenging extractivism. The theme embodies the FEA starting point of resistance to a patriarchal and oppressive status quo, and is also inherently tied to corporate accountability (DAWNWorkshop on Corporate Accountability). Resistance can take place at the localised level, such as direct resistance to mining

and deforestation within communities, and expands to the wider macro level such as contestations and feminist critiques to regional policy frameworks. Localised efforts must be accompanied by macro-level advocacy if the resistance (and any victories incurred) is to be sustainable. An example of this would be WoMin's ecofeminist critique of the African Mining Vision (Valiani, 2017).

FEAs in Action:
The Amadiba Crisis Committee of Pondoland

In the Eastern Cape region of South Africa, the iconic case of the Amadiba Crisis Committee of Pondoland provides a powerful testimony of the effective realisation of the '*Right to say No*'. The community rejected extractivism and came up with its own development alternatives, namely ecotourism and renewable energy projects. As community activist Nonhle Mbutuma explains:

"We know who we are because of the land. We believe that once you have lost the land, you have lost your identity. We also believe that it is our right to live in a healthy environment, an environment which is not harmful to us, that has clean air with no air pollution, no pollution of the land and no contamination of the water. To make all these things happen, we believe that women must be a part of decision making." (In ActionAid, 2022)

The promotion of the 'Right to say No' concept builds on the FPIC concept (Free Prior and Informed Consent), which goes further to affirm the rights of affected communities to say 'No' to proposals from transnational corporations (TNCs) when they are not satisfied with negotiation outcomes. As such, the 'Right to say No' gives communities a greater voice and puts them in a more equitable position in the negotiating processes, while putting pressure on TNCs to respect indigenous and customary rights.

(ActionAid, 2020).

Defense of the commons - cultural and natural resources accessible to all members of society such as water, air, and a habitable earth – can be found at the activist levels within the broad family of FEAs, examples of which are drawn on to inform feminist economic scholarship. Feminist thought has systematically unpacked the commons over the years as an anti-capitalist alternative (Nightingale 2019). Caffentzis and Federici (2014) define anti-capitalist commons as both autonomous spaces from which to reclaim control over how we work and live, and as bases for challenging the removal of free access to common goods, therefore increasingly resisting control from both market and the state. Furthermore, as resources such as land and water have been commodified, it has limited access to women and poor households not only for livelihoods, but also for public health purposes. The pandemic clearly exposed the vitality of natural resources in

the fight against disease, availability of sustenance, and dependency for income, which demonstrates our need to protect and care for these resources (Sibeko et al., 2021).

FEAs in Action:
Women challenging tribal land privatisation in Morocco

Morocco has been liberalising its economy since the 1990s. The threat to tribal land intensified, though, following a 2004 trade agreement with the United States that opened-up privatisation through liberalisation. The legislative frameworks in relation to removing commonly-owned tribal land rights followed. Women's inability to inherit land in their own right (such as single women, widows, divorcées, and those without sons) led to thousands of women being forced from their homes as the state subsequently confiscated parcels without compensation. The Sulaliyyates women of Morocco began their protests against the state-sanctioned privatisation of traditional tribal lands in 2007, which has become and today have assembled a powerful grassroots organisation - The Soulaliyate Movement - fighting not only for the tribal lands but for women's equal ownership rights. Their actions have included organising for direct protests and education on constitutional land matters. This has resulted in an abeyance in the privatisation push, although the struggle continues. Lawmakers have yet to fully respond to their demands beyond stating that women should benefit from the sale of communal lands, ignoring the call for an end to privatisation of the land in the first place.

(Alami, 2017)

Reclaiming and defending traditional knowledge systems

Reclamation and revaluing of traditional knowledge systems has a strong alignment within this and constitutes an important act of resistance and proposition to neoliberal capitalism. This principle is well captured in the concept of *Buen Vivir*.

These approaches and movements such as agroecology and ecofeminism that this theme cuts across, as with many FEAs, move fluidly between theoretical and activist spaces, interchangeably informed both by live social movements led by women defenders and reclaimers and feminist scholarship. Women's seed bank movements for example, are FEAs in action at the most localised of levels, but these move and intersect in tandem both with feminist eonomist scholarship or agrarian movements as well as calls from the Food and Agriculture Organisation to address the rapid loss of biodiversity experienced through industrialisation.

FEAs in Action:
Navdanya Seedbank Movement

Navdanya is an earth-centred, women-centric and farmer-led movement for the protection of biological and cultural diversity. Over the last 40 years, the movement has conserved seed heritage in more than 150 community seed banks by freely saving, sharing, and breeding native varieties of seeds (for food nutrition as well as climate resilience) across 22 states in India. The movement challenges the dominant orthodoxy of industrialised, commercialised agriculture, and believes that "food is life, food is health, growing food ecologically is care for the Earth and regeneration of soil, water, and biodiversity". Navdanya means "nine seeds", symbolising protection of biological and cultural diversity, and also the "new gift", representing the idea of seed as commons, based on the right to save and share seeds. In today's context of biological and ecological destruction, seed savers are the true givers of seed.

Demanding fiscal, debt, and trade justice

Fiscal justice looks at fiscal policy within macroeconomic decision making at national, regional, and global levels and refers to how governments raise and spend money. Within this, two areas – budgets and taxation – have had feminist engagement at theoretical and practical levels.

Feminist budgeting

Initially brought into the mainstream as gender responsive budgeting (GRB) by the Commonwealth and UNICEF over 30 years ago during the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) era, budgets have been a direct and immediate means of addressing gender equality considerations at the national macroeconomic level. The work of Budlender and Hewitt is considered a seminal piece that galvanised this forward (2002). This analysis looked at cuts to social spending and the differentiated impacts on men and women. Over time, these evolved into frameworks and toolkits for addressing fiscal policy through a gender lens (how budgets are raised and spent), with the aim of using the budget to promote gender equality (Sibeko, Phalatse, and Ossome, 2021).

There has been criticism of GRBs (Ghosh, 2010) and whether they are genuinely transformative, especially as they have been increasingly taken-up by mainstream actors who have used the movement as a tick-box exercise. However, the push for a more explicitly feminist budgeting movement has started to gain traction. For example, in South Africa with the South African Feminist Budgeting Alliance(Nagarajan and Kelleher, 2021), and in Zambia in 2018 when civil society organising spearheaded by women's rights movements

were able to challenge the country's budget allocations that shortchanged education spending (Mwillima, 2019). Meanwhile, progressive shifts from some regions such as Latin America have shown how a women's rights / feminist focus on budgets can influence fiscal policy decision making in the region, contributing significantly to the debate on the allocation of resources. However, analysis of public spending still remains the mainstay within that.

FEAs in Action:
Fighting for a feminist Budget in Zambia

In 2019, women organised around the presentation of a People's Budget in Zambia and challenged decreases in education spending while defence spending was increased. Citizen empowerment around the budget process is one example of how to realise an economy that places the feminist concerns and the welfare of persons at the centre by using the institutional apparatus already in place. The Fight Inequality Alliance Zambia, which is part of the Fight Inequality Alliance coalition - an apex organisation of varied civil society organisations with a strong youth-led movement building component - were major actors in the organising that led to creation of an alternative budget: "The People's Budget". The underpinning of this movement was not a traditional gender responsive budgeting initiative delivered by national women's machineries, but instead broad-based and people-led. FIA conducted trainings on the budget cycle, mainly in rural Zambia, working with grassroots activists on how and when they can get involved with the budget process and how to make a submission. This arguably allows for a greater synergy with more radical feminist demands of the budget in a way that some gender responsive budgeting initiatives are no longer capable of.

Tax justice

Taxation is a feminist issue, working at the macroeconomic level, with feminist analysis within the women's economic justice space offers economic alternative propositions to the taxation status quo. First is the importance of addressing tax avoidance by the wealthiest, and transnational corporations in particular. Ensuring that current practices within the neoliberal logic, such as companies being able to go "tax shopping" for the best tax breaks, is one of these (FEMNET, 2017). Challenging the gendered impacts of value added tax (VAT) where tax is placed on consumer goods (that women are often more likely to purchase, but with less financial capacity and in greater precarity) is another approach. Basic food items, fuel, and other essential items being exempt from VAT is one simple example, with the removal of VAT from menstrual items as an immediate gender-responsive policy consideration. However, neoliberal policies tend to favour VAT while avoiding progressive taxation of the wealthiest. Other examples are targeted income

tax approaches that can support the most vulnerable within society, such as individual tax filing that allows women to claim allowances (Sharpe, 2017), providing tax relief on women's incomes, or introducing laws that allow child care payments to be tax-deductible (FEMNET, 2017).

Debt, reparations, and trade justice

Debt justice, trade justice and reparations are FEAs that are also part of the wider macroeconomic condition-setting (alongside feminist budgeting and tax justice). The strictures of debt, particularly when accompanied by neoliberal conditionalities are a facilitator of the injustices that persist within the economic system. Calls for debt justice are a part of the fiscal justice agenda and inherently related. The implementation of feminist domestic resource mobilisation (DRM) strategies, premised on progressive and gender transformative tax policies similar to those outlined above, are an example of this (Sibeko, 2022). The reform of the global financial system by calling for debt restricting and relief that is not premised on conditionalities and prioritises favourable terms to protect state sovereignty and increase fiscal space so that the debt cost borne by women are reduced is another feminist position (Ibid). The call for debt justice, including full cancellation is also closely linked to the wider call for reparations and reparative justice, which recognises the power-imbalances within the geopolitical order as a holdover of coloniality, as manifested by IFIs and other global institutions where global Northern countries hold greater leverage and constrain the policy sovereignty of global Southern governments. Within this imbalance, the issue of trade justice also surfaces, with the orthodoxy of free market economics embodied within trade liberalisation also constraining Southern powers. Here GADN (2020) promote alternatives that include the democratisation of trade policy where corporate interests are not placed above the interests of governments, the use of impact assessments. More radically, a call for a complete overhaul of the World Trade Organisation - again as one of those centres of geopolitical power imbalance.

PART 2:
From Theory to Practice

Actors and Initiatives Engaging with FEAs

Key Actors

The following table presents select key actors explicitly (explicit in their commitment to FEAs, use FEA terminologies), implicitly (implicitly aligned by using different terminology, but working on FEA core tenets), or FEA-adjacent (working on women's economic issues more broadly that have elements of macroeconomic work). The table indicates if the actors are working on funding, knowledge generation, mobilisation, advocacy, and/or capacity development along with a brief description of their relevant work.

These actors have been identified as those that have the widest reach and are similar in their reach or style to PU! consortium members. The list of actors here skews toward more global and regional groups and networks primarily to serve as exemplars for the PU! Consortium in the development of its global strategy. However, this list is by no means representative of the list of all actors – from local to international – who work on topics that relate to the feminist economic alternative movement. Many local actors are working on issue areas and initiatives related to FEAs that are not captured by this list purely due to the limited scope and scale of this literature review.

Table 2: Select key actors' engagement with FEAs

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
ActionAid	Federated INGO	Global	Explicit		ActionAid are leaders in the feminist economic alternatives space at a global level, having published four significant publications on the topic. Also, ActionAid UK hosts the Bretton Woods Project.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)	Regional network	Global South	Implicit		While economic alternatives specifically are not one of their strategic priorities or thematic areas, shifting power and women's leadership are and they have been collaborators on feminist economic alternative projects such as REFRAME. They also host the African Feminist Macroeconomic Academy (AFMA), a space for feminist and women's rights groups to become familiar with feminist economics, including alternatives.
Articulation of Brazilian Women (AMB)	Movement	Brazil	Explicit		AMB is a feminist, anti-racist, anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal and non-partisan movement fighting for the radical democratisation of the Brazilian State and of social life. They are organised in networks, forums, articulations and women's collectives. They work toward women's rights, anti-racism, protection of indigenous women, against violence against women, socio-environmental justice, economic justice, public policies, economic policies, democratisation of power, and legalisation of abortion.
Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA)	Alliance	Asia	Adjacent		AFWA is labour-led global labour and social alliance across garment producing countries (such as India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Bangladesh) and consumer regions (USA and Europe) for addressing poverty level wages, gender discrimination, and freedom of association in global garment production networks.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
AWID	INGO	Global	Explicit		They were among the first to talk seriously about co-creating feminist futures (2016 forum). Their actions are: advocacy to counter corporate power and impunity for human rights abuses; mobilization of solidarity actions to strengthen the links between feminist and tax justice movements; building of knowledge and strategic information to challenge corporate power and extractivism; and to create and amplify alternatives through engaging and mobilizing members and movements.
Barro do Turvo Women Farmers Agroecolog-ical Network (RAMA)	Local Network	Brazil	Explicit		Composed of groups of female agroecological farmers in Barra do Turvo, Brazil, they are transitioning to feminist agroecology as an ongoing process that seeks to value women's work and promote economic autonomy. The women in this network are broadening access to healthy food, ensuring the maintenance of diverse ecosystems, renegotiating the domestic division of labour, and fighting against gender violence.
Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)	Regional network	Global South	Explicit		Through research, analyses, advocacy and, more recently, training, DAWN seeks to support women's mobilization within civil society to challenge inequitable social, economic and political relations at global, regional and national levels, and to advance feminist alternatives.
EQUALS Global Partnership for Gender Equality in the Digital Age	Network	Global	Adja-cent		EQUALS is a group of corporate leaders, governments, businesses, not-for-profit organisations, academic institutions, NGOs and community groups around the world dedicated to promoting gender balance in the technology sector by championing equality of access, skills development, and career opportunities.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC)	Alliance	Philip-pines	Implicit		The Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) is the world's oldest debt-watch monitor and as the only coalition in the world working on the Philippines' debt problem. FDC has developed alternatives for national and human development while campaigning against unjust and unsustainable neoliberal economic policies. The program aims to lead efforts in increasing the integration of the feminist economics framework in advocacy.
Gender and Development Network (GADN)	Regional network	UK	Explicit		They build consensus around alternative economic policies through their Gender Equality and Macroeconomics (GEM) project, develop and host a large suite of relevant resources, facilitate the Women's Economic Justice Working Group, and host webinars.
Global Affairs Canada (GAC)	Donor	Canada	Adja-cent	X	Canada has issued a Feminist Internationtional Policy. To foster 'Growth that Works for Everyone', the policy aims to increase women's access to economic opportunities and resources to help them achieve economic independence.
Global Fund for Women	Donor	Global	Adja-cent	X	They prioritize getting core, flexible funding and resources to feminist activists / movements to drive gender equality around the world through movement-led approaches, crisis and innovation grants, and advocacy. Most of the movements they support relate to (S)GBV and women's rights.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
Hewlett Foundation	Donor	Global	Implicit	X	Hewlett Foundation is a neutral player that isn't advocating for one specific solution over another. It frames itself as explicitly agnostic as to what the paradigm replacing neoliberalism should be, seeking only to spur on the continuation of an idea-generation process. Their recent gender strategy announced an explicit focus on Africa. However, it funds the Feminist Reframing of Macro-level Economics (REFRAME) Project. They have also funded the ActionAid Valuing Women's Work Project for the last 8 years, out of which came the compendium on FEAs in 2020.
Humanitarian Organization for Migration Economics (HOME)	National NGO	Singa-pore	Adja-cent		HOME is dedicated to supporting and empowering migrant workers who experience abuse and exploitation. It empowers and supports mostly women migrant workers, provides hotline services and immediate crisis intervention, and long-term support through outreach projects and public education.
International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific (IWRAW)	Regional NGO	Asia Pacific	Explicit		IWRAW AP is an NGO in Special Consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations that facilitates and monitors CEDAW implementation. Their Transforming Economics and Development through a Feminist Approach (TrEAD) seeks to critically analyse and challenge dominant global macroeconomic and development discourses by mobilising women's rights organisations around a feminist agenda rooted in the priorities of marginalised groups of women. Also, they are soon launching the Global Tribunal of Women Workers.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
La Via Campesina	Move-ment	Global	Implicit		La Via Campesina is an international movement bringing together millions of peasants, landless workers, indigenous people, pastoralists, fishers, migrant farmworkers, small and medium-size farmers, rural women and peasant youth to defend peasant agriculture for food sovereignty. They mobilise and advocate for agrarian reform and in defence of land, water, seeds, and forests.
National Association for Women's Association in Development (NAWAD)	National NGO	Uganda	Adja-cent		NAWAD promotes women's entrepreneurship knowledge and skills for improved livelihood through research, training, establishment of community women scholars, community based enterprises, policy advocacy planning and monitoring.
Nawi Afrifem Macroeco-nomics Col-lective	Collec-tive/ Move-ment	Africa	Explicit		The Nawi Afrifem Macroeconomics Collective (Nawi Collective) is a Pan-African Feminsit initiative launched in 2020. The collective is building a community in Africa of individuals and organisations working on influencing, analysing, deconstructing and reconstructing macroeconomic policies narratives, and understanding of the same through an intersectional Pan African feminist lens.
For Women Farmers' Rights (MAKAAM)	National network	India	Implicit		MAKAAM is a nationwide forum of farming women, women farmers' collectives, civil society organisations, researchers, and activists. They work to visibilise women farmers – especially smallholder marginalised women – and to create and secure rights over productive livelihood resources, entitlements over support systems, equal participation in decision-making, and to ensure self-reliant and sustainable women's livelihoods.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO)	Donor	Nether-lands	Adja-cent	X	The RVO aims to contribute to women's economic empowerment worldwide by undertaking efforts to promote women entrepreneurship, create jobs for women, and improve their working conditions.
Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Donor	Nether-lands	Adja-cent	X	The government has committed to pursuing a feminist foreign policy and it is currently under consultation. It has also committed to giving particular attention to women's rights and gender equality in its International Responsible Business Conduct (IRBC) policy, and is working through the Building Bridges programme (fosters partnerships between women's funds and companies).
Open Society Foundation	Donor	Global	Implicit	X	They support an array of groups working to advance systemic reform of fiscal systems, corporate governance, and labour rights and protections. Similar to Hewlett, they are very keen to fund organisations in the global south directly who are working on progressive economic trajectories.
Oxfam Canada	Federat-ed INGO	Canada	Implicit		Oxfam Canada advocates for Canada to become a global leader in transformative programming for women's economic empowerment. They develop skills and technical training programs, and advocate for fair wages and decent working conditions to help achieve economic justice. They work through social norms change, men engage, amplifying women's movements' voices, and lobby and advocacy. They lead the Feminist Economic Transformation Project.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
Oxfam	Federated INGO	UK	Implicit		Oxfam UK helps women step into leadership roles, speak out against harmful laws and policies, and stand up for their rights. They also prioritise helping women create and build sustainable businesses. They have commissioned work to feminist thinkers on macroeconomic alternatives.
Platform Cooperativism Consortium (PCC)	Global platform	Global	Adjacent		PCC offers an alternative to platform capitalism by introducing economic fairness, training, and democratic participation in the running of online businesses to people who are invisible to customers in sectors such as home cleaning, especially women of colour.
Prospera	Network	Global	Adjacent	X	The Prospera Network brings together 44 autonomous and independent women's funds working in all continents and regions with scopes that can be national, regional, or international. Women's funds are public fundraising foundations that work to realise the power of grassroots women, girls, and trans* people by providing them with financial and other resources to realise their visions.
Public Services International (PSI)	Union	Global	Implicit		PSI supports women to challenge patriarchal systems, focusing on equal pay, tax justice, female trade union activists, global gender policies, and gender-based violence and harassment in the workplace. PSI provides the link between these levels by developing and sharing the research, campaigns and political influence needed for public service unions.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)	Donor	Sweden	Adja-cent	X	The Swedish Government pursues a feminist foreign policy, established in 2014, followed by a feminist trade policy includes six focus areas of focus to ensure that trade policy and trade promotion activities benefit women and men equally. SIDA's grantmaking under the "Employment" theme prioritises social security systems. The "Gender equality" theme, regarding economics, is focused predominantly on WEE.
United Sisterhood Alliance (Us)	Alliance	Cambo-dia	Adja-cent	X	Us is an alliance of four social groups working together to ensure the women are influencing at policy levels. Members include Social Action for Change (SAC), which supports grassroots movements, workers, and women activists; Messenger Band (MB), which includes former garment workers who compose original songs about the situation faced by the working class; Women's Network for Unity (WNU), which strengthens the network of sex workers; and Worker's Information Center (WIC), which empowers women garment workers.
WIDE+	Regional network	Europe	Explicit		A European network of feminist activists, scholars, and women's rights organizations; WIDE+ coordinates advocacy and analysis with civil society, unions, and experts for a feminist EU trade policy and facilitates a working group to develop feminist economic literacy.
WoMin	Move-ment	Africa	Explicit		WoMin considers that as ideas and concepts that can bind progressive anti-capitalist and feminist movements together across sectors and borders, climate justice and the just transition from an African Ecofeminist perspective are also important alternatives to the hegemonic development model.

Actor	Type	Location	FEA focus	Funder	Description
World March of Women	Network	Global	Explicit		The World March of Women (WMW) is an international, feminist action movement connecting grass-roots groups and organisations working to eliminate the causes at the root of poverty and violence against women. It is an anti-capitalist movement struggling against all forms of inequality and discrimination faced by women. WMW is committed to securing common goods and access to public services, peace and demilitarisation, ending violence against women, and women's economic autonomy.

Key Initiatives

Like the key actors, the following list of key initiatives is not an exhaustive list. Rather, it is an exploration of the variety of different types of initiatives and efforts ongoing by collaborations of different actors. While the initiatives are grouped into four primary categories, the reality is that all of the initiatives cross between two or more of the different categories. Nearly all of the initiatives have components of advocacy and influencing as well.

Empowerment and capacity strengthening

African Feminist Macroeconomic Academy (AFMA): AFMA was formed to address the capacity gap for influencing macroeconomic policies in Africa and globally. The academy is an intensive capacity development initiative targeting gender advocates, activists, movement leaders, journalists and networks working towards achieving women's rights and gender equality. The aim of AFMA is to deepen their understanding of how macroeconomic policies shape the lived realities of the women whose lives they are working to transform. This in turn will translate to their ability to influence mainstream macroeconomic policy processes and outcomes all the way from local to global levels.

Feminist Economic Literacy Working Group: This Working Group aims to develop concrete projects to implement feminist economic literacy training, currently planned for Latin America and Western Balkans. Feminist Economic Literacy is non-formal education that all women can benefit from as a tool of empowerment to publicly participate in debating and setting economic policy. It aims to help people challenge destructive myths and create positive policy or community alternatives. A main activity of this Working Group is to function as a project group that aims to raise funds and implement these two related

projects. This Working Group welcomes WIDE+ members, academics, activists and professionals to join in a voluntary capacity in order to develop this project. The group meets up through zoom around 6 times a year and works through ad-hoc collaboration supported by WIDE+ staff in implementation in between meetings.

Feminist thought leadership

Feminist Economic Transformation (FET) Advisory Group: The group is the global Advisory Group for the Feminist Economic Transformation Project, which is convened by Oxfam Canada. Composed of feminist thought leaders and advocates from across the globe, it facilitates an inclusive and participatory visioning journey, bringing together feminist and equality-seeking leaders in a series of global conversations to develop key elements of a feminist economic transformation that lays the ground for a more equal, inclusive and sustainable economic model. The series of conversations focus on macro and micro economic realities and hone in on specific policies that would be required for a feminist economic transformation.

South Feminist Futures: South Feminist Futures (SFF) is an international/transnational association of feminist individuals and networks from across the Global South committed to building solidarity between feminists across borders and networks to shape collective visions and agendas for action for the future based on shared experiences. The ambition of SFF is collective South-South feminist collaboration, networking, educating, learning, theorising, analysing, informing and solidarity. It is focussed equally on strengthening South feminist movements to enact transformative and radical changes at global, regional and local levels. SFF aspires to work across issue-based silos by focussing on what movements need to do to overcome systemic/structural obstacles to change and positioning to push forward and realise alternatives.

Women's Economic Justice Working Group: The Women's Economic Justice Working Group provides a forum for GADN members and other like-minded organisations to build alliances and consensus on the structural nature of women's economic inequality. The Women's Economic Justice Working Group: develops recommendations to influence the UK Government's development and international policies; builds understanding and consensus among INGOs and decision makers on the structural nature of women's economic inequality; promotes alternatives, in the context of current UK and global development policies and programmes; and provides a forum for GADN members and other like-minded organisations to build alliances for women's economic rights and justice.

Research, documentation, and information dissemination

Bretton Woods Project: Hosted by ActionAid UK, it focuses on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to challenge their power and open space for civil society and social movements to contribute to the development of policies that are gender transformative, equitable, environmentally sustainable and consistent with international human rights norms. Since its establishment, the Bretton Woods Project has acted as a

key World Bank and IMF watchdog by maintaining a critical information and evidence base that challenges their narrative of the developmental impact of their operations, policies and programmes on the countries they work in and globally. Creating and disseminating knowledge and information, and actively engaging with officials, civil society, and academia, the Project has established itself as an important and credible critical voice, taken seriously by officials and trusted by partners.

GenderIT.org: A project of the Women's Rights Program of the Association for Progressive Communications, this site is run by internet rights activists, academics, journalists and advocates for women's rights, sexuality, sexual rights from a feminist and intersectional perspective, privileging voices and expressions from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Arabic-speaking countries and Eastern Europe. It provides a space for reflection, influence and advocacy on internet policy in relation to the rights and demands of women across the globe. Economic issues are not a focal topic, however they may be covered under global or women's rights concerns, for example.

Gender and Trade Coalition (GTC): The Gender and Trade Coalition was initiated by feminist and progressive activists to put forward feminist trade analysis and advocate for equitable trade policy. The coalition will actively shape a trade justice agenda by increasing consciousness, capacity, research, and advocacy for policy alternatives which promote a more just and sustainable world. We stand in opposition to neoliberal co-optation of women's rights as a means to open markets and expand an unjust trade system which exploits the global South as well as workers and oppressed peoples worldwide.

International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE): IAFFE is a continually expanding group of scholars, policy professionals, students, advocates and activists interested in empowering and improving the well-being of women and other under-represented groups around the world. IAFFE is a non-profit organisation that seeks to advance feminist inquiry of economic issues and to educate economists and others on feminist points of view on economic issues.

Project-based/associated

Feminist Reframing of Macro-level Economics (REFRAME): A core project of GADN and FEMNET, it explores the way in which macro-level economic policies undermine gender equality. It created a collaborative space where feminist advocates could step back and consider how our work is contributing to longer-term goals – and whether it is truly transformative. REFRAME works with allies globally to influence decision-makers and promote alternative policies. REFRAME works on care; decent work; raising resources: tax, trade and debt; government spending: austerity, public services, social protection; and corporate accountability.

Gender Equality and Macroeconomics (GEM) project: GEM is coordinated by the Bretton Woods Project and carried out in partnership with the Gender and Development Network, International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific and the Latin American Network for Economic and Social Justice. It is aimed at challenging the ways in which

macroeconomic policies currently promoted by international financial institutions (IFIs) undermine gender equality and women's rights. To change this, the project, initiated in 2015, examines the implications of current macroeconomic policy approaches in relation to gender, engages in direct advocacy and works to support a wide range of civil society groups and organisations towards building an enabling macroeconomic environment for women's rights and gender equality.

Nous Sommes la Solution (NSS)/We are the Solution: A women farmer led campaign based on agroecological practices and food sovereignty across West Africa that directly challenged agro-industrial policies and commercialised agriculture. Comprising 800 rural women's associations across seven countries. For example, Senegal's agricultural transition to agroecology (where We Are the Solution originated) is about women's led alternative economic positions. They promote local food economies and use creative communications strategies to reach local communities to national policymakers.

The Future is Feminist: A project by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) to work and discuss common issues between the labor movement and feminists around a space for new powerful alliances for social change with feminists from all regions. The focus of its works is on a) care work & reproduction; b) feminist alternatives beyond old development models; and c) a feminist framework for digitization. The project is working together with feminists worldwide, particularly from the Africa, Asia & Pacific, MENA, Latin America & the Caribbean region, discussing common concerns of the feminist and labour movement in order to create space for new powerful alliances aiming at social change.

Win-Win Strategies: An initiative by Women Win, Win-Win Strategies strives for holistic approaches to address the multiple structural barriers that women and girls face every day that restrict their economic resilience. They do this by fostering partnerships between women's organisations and businesses, making the case for investment in women's economic resilience through the building block approach, and catalysing solutions that lead to systemic change for women working in international value chains.

Gaps and Opportunities

Based upon the key actors, initiatives, and case studies collated in this literature review, there are areas of work that emerge as gaps (and potential opportunities) as it relates to the issues identified in Chapters III-V.

Thematic

First and foremost, there are several themes of FEAs that are already well-studied with actors actively working toward solutions. These include women's rights (generally), gender social norms, labour rights, care work (especially caring for the young), and climate change. Many actors are already taking great strides to improve conditions in all of these themes – including PU! partners – and are making notable advancements in FEA-adjacent areas. However, actors should not be discouraged to continue to make progress on these

themes, especially through the very specific lens of FEAs, as breakthroughs in these themes from an FEA perspective are still marginal.

Outside of those themes that are better covered, there is another subset of themes that are represented by fewer actors or initiatives. Notably, few actors and initiatives are working explicitly to dismantle the harmful institutions of neoliberal capitalism such as globalisation, deregulation, privatisation of public goods, casualisation of jobs, etc. These institutions have been heavily researched as to their impact on the economy, but less-so on their impact on women and other especially marginalised groups such as LBQ+, HIV+, etc. This speaks to the knowledge bias inherent within neoliberal capitalism whereby neoliberal policies are legitimised, feminist history and feminist economic alternatives are silenced, and the predominant language represents men. Also, fewer initiatives are taking on these institutions in terms of their advocacy and mobilisation efforts.

A specific gap, as noted by the African Women's Development Fund, is on extractives, although some organisations such as WoMIN in Africa are dedicated to it. But much more is needed. In much of the economic development literature and through most capitalistic initiatives, the economic development across the African continent centres around harmful extractive industries. But little work has been done related to whether this type of development is actually good for women and how different populations integrate within these developmental propositions. More conversations around how these developmental models of extractivism are actually affecting the population and destroying the land (AWEF, 2018).

Populations

Gaps are also apparent when it comes to specific populations. Namely, LBQ+, HIV+, and sex worker and other criminalised populations. Organisations working with these groups are typically funded through public health or justice mechanisms and are rarely given space to lead or design FEA solutions. Again, this is in part due to the cisheteronormative bias that assumes that the majority of households, as economic 'units of production' reflect the cis-heterosexual nuclear family. Economic policies are developed according to that assumption, and they miss a large sub-section of this population which disproportionately represents these groups. These groups are also those who have been overwhelmingly impacted by COVID-19, so there is an opportunity to learn from their experiences of exclusion and poor social protection to reimagine a more inclusive economic alternative.

While there are many actors who work with people working in the informal economy and with migrant workers, an opportunity remains to engage informal and migrant workers in FEAs. Most work being done with this population is centred on labour rights within the existing system and does not aim to disrupt the structures that got them into a precarious labour situation in the first place. The informal economy is disproportionately comprised of women, so the formal economy bias that guides government economic policies rejects the codification of more expansive social protection measures (Chettri et al., 2022).

Programmatic

From a programmatic perspective, opportunities exist to build upon the work already being done by other actors and initiatives. For instance, joining feminist thought groups, networks, and alliances will help to strengthen the movement and bring new voices into the fold. While the FEA movement is not nascent, it is newly gaining in popularity and momentum. It is an ideal time in the FEA ecosystem to amplify messages and leverage work that has already been done by feminist economists and local movement leaders.

Many actors and initiatives work on climate and land issues, but there is an opportunity to work on FEAs from a strongly anti-anthropocentric perspective. Centring research, mobilisation, advocacy, and influencing in a way that prioritises the natural world upon which humans depend for collective survival can shape an economy that works better for the planet and its citizens. Documenting and promoting traditional knowledge systems – inherently aligned to defence of the commons and defence of ecological and planetary boundaries – are also part of this solution. For example, build upon radical work being done by "Rights of Nature" actors to protect the planet legally.

The Beginnings of an Approach for PU!: Entry Points for FEA Movement Building and Programming

The following list of solutions and entry points is derived based on the findings of the literature review. It explores the solutions and entry points that have been tested by a variety of actors (from local to international), initiatives, activities, etc. It is not all-encompassing nor is it a list specifically tailored to any one consortium or organisation (such as the Power Up! Consortium or its members). Rather, it is an introductory exploration of potential activities that could contribute to feminist economic alternatives and solutions.

Entry points for promoting feminist economic alternatives are centred on the solutions identified in Section V of this literature review: concepts of care, fair and safe work, respect for public welfare and commons, protection of natural goods and the environment, food sovereignty, indigenous knowledge and practices, amongst other areas as relevant in each unique the context.

Table 3: Entry points for promoting feminist economic alternatives

Solutions	Entry Point
Demanding decent, dignified work and labour rights: FEAs support an anti-patriarchal and decolonial division of labour, including the elimination of the patriarchy of the wage (Montufar, 2022).	• Advocate for labour rights that affect women such as wage transparency with the private sector to close the gender pay gap, anti-discrimination policies, decriminalisation of sex work, etc. • Collaborate with workers' collectives to protect women workers in both formal and informal sectors, helping to shield them from low pay and unsafe work conditions. • Work to secure international protections and recognitions (e.g., ILO conventions). • Strengthen the technological capacities of women to help to close the digital divide. • Analyse the impacts of the gig economy on the precarity of women and work with feminist movements to advocate for regulation to protect gig economy workers.
Building economic collectivism and autonomy: Promotion of shared land rights (land commons) and collective worker groups (e.g., farming collectives) can reduce gender inequalities by pooling women's collective resources and capacities, increasing their bargaining power, and improving their overall productivity (Sugden, 2016; Agarwal, 2018).	• Support women to organise into farming collectives that collectively lease land and share labour, costs, and profits. • Set up seed banks in rural communities run by indigenous women. For example, a network of women's collectives in Uttarakhand in the Himalayas in India revived tribal and indigenous seed varieties through the support of ActionAid's Gene Campaign (Wijeratna, 2018). • Share knowledge that has historically been held by men about farming and managing traditional crops. For example, women's farming collectives in India (Kerala and Telangana) typically outperform male-managed farms when working with crops that do not require prime quality land – as that land is mostly owned by men – or long-held knowledge that has been overwhelmingly been held by men (Agarwal, 2018).

Solutions	Entry Point
Formally and informally organised workers' collectives – oftentimes organised as unions – help to build movements that support workers' rights. They help to mitigate the impacts of neoliberalism, which exploits the working class. Connecting with workers' collectives and unions provides a means to walk alongside workers in (re)imagining and developing a more just work environment.	• Support initiatives by workers organising collectively for change, within or outside of traditional union structure. • Support the leadership of workers' collectives to be legitimate representatives of the needs and interests of those they represent, particularly the most vulnerable women whose inputs are less likely to be solicited. • Facilitate capacity strengthening from within workers' collectives to address skills gaps identified by their members including technical skills, negotiations, leadership, etc. • Amplify the messages of workers' collectives to decision-makers in support of measures to protect and promote workers' rights.
Creating and investing in care economies / economies of care: Care is foundational to FEAs; it must be centred in the approach to dismantling neoliberal, capitalist, and colonialist economies. Collective care is a means to distribute care responsibilities amongst the community, freeing individual women from the sole responsibility, thus opening up more of their time for economic, leadership, or other activities.	• Incorporate care centres within cooperatives and collectives. For example, an early childhood development centre was established by the women of Abishyizehamwe, a smallholder farmers' cooperative in Rwanda. It has saved time for the women and improved their individual and collective economic and leadership capacities (Wijeratna, 2018). Also, the Landless People's Movement of Brazil (MST) built their homes as a compound so care work could be communal. This also helped to mitigate incidents of violence (Federici, 2011). • Advocate for new or better State infrastructure for care of the eldery and the young. • Incorporate unpaid and domestic care work into economic analyses. • Visiblise and recognise women's unpaid contributions to the economy through stories, campaigns, and advocacy. • Utilise the "3 R's" – recognition, reduction, and redistribution (Elson, 2011) – to provide a framework for alternative initiatives encompassing the household, the community, and the state.

Solutions	Entry Point
Fighting for ecological justice through challenges to extractivism, defence of the commons: To combat climate change, the transition away from natural resource extraction is essential. However, economies – especially in the Global South – are organised around the extraction of natural resources. Thus, a careful, strategic transition must bridge the divide between the climate crisis movement and economic concerns of governments, private sector, and workers dependent upon the extraction economy (WoMin, 2020).	• Analyse the opportunities and challenges for making the just transition and how it affects women, especially vulnerable groups. • Convene leaders from the climate change movement and workers' collectives that depend on extraction economies in an effort to find common ground by discussing their separate interests and mutual concerns; this common ground can be used to lobby and advocate to government and private decision-makers. • Hold accountable through public campaigns and other justice efforts the actors (predominantly corporations in the Global North) responsible for the majority of the harm to the planet. • Identify and promote means for reducing consumption across all communities, reducing the need for extraction. • Promote the circular economy to close the gap between the production and the natural ecosystems' cycles upon which humans depend. • Join the "Rights of Nature" fight to lobby for recognised legal rights of natural spaces and bodies.
Movements are utilising approaches such as mass mobilisation and occupation to fight for their rights, especially supporting initiatives by communities to resist corporate takeovers by exercising the right to say no to land and resource extraction. Occupation of land, for example, can be a means to reject extractivist companies and/or to get land back to its rightful owners.	• Provide support and resources to leaders who are defending and/or reclaiming land. For example, the Landless People's Movement of Brazil (MST) is a movement by rural workers and supporters to fight for land reform, justice, and social equality. Through occupying estates, they have won back 7.5 million hectares of land for 370,000 families and have gotten schools, homes, and healthcare facilities to be built. • Work with communities to identify economic alternatives to extractivist industries trying to enter their area. For example, the Amadiba Crisis Committee of Pondoland, South Africa rejected extractivism by coming up with its own alternatives of ecotourism and renewable energy. • Support initiatives by communities to resist corporate takeovers exercising their right to say no.

Solutions	Entry Point
Centring traditional knowledge systems: Strengthen indigenous knowledge systems that value the environment, safeguard agro ecological processes and practices, and promote women and girls' autonomy and dignity. Keeping land in indigenous hands – and getting it back when necessary – is a means to decolonialise neoliberal capitalist economies.	• Use participatory research methods to collect oral history and traditional knowledge about farming, ecological management, and natural goods/resources. • Protect and defend indigneous autonomy and rights, including their right to their territories and the natural goods on that land. • Document and disseminate traditional knowledge into the public sphere – with permission of traditional knowledge owners.
Demanding fiscal justice: Address macroeconomic gender equality issues that are foundational to causing differentiated economic outcomes for women including public budgets that do not account for their gendered impacts and equitable taxation that is characteristic of neoliberal capitalism.	• Promote gender responsive budgeting that goes beyond a 'tick-box' exercise, holding policymakers accountable for assessing their budgets through a gender lens (e.g., through social accountability initiatives, public reporting). • Alongside national feminist actors, challenge national level budgets that shortchange priorities that disproportionately affect women. • Analyse public spending – both budgeting, allocation, and implementation. • Create and publicise 'alternative budgets' and 'alternative taxation' that showcase how public spending and taxation could be adjusted to be more equitable. • Advocate for tax justice-focused fiscal policies such as individual tax filing that allows women to claim childcare deductions and other allowances Sharpe, 2017 and FEMNET, 2017).

Opportunities for Civil Society

The literature review uncovered at least six vital elements that must be present in economic alternatives to be considered an FEA:

1. **Feminist:** FEAs must have gender justice and feminist leadership at the heart of the work. Therefore, economic transformation approaches must incorporate intersectional feminist analysis and response towards genuine equitable and inclusion.

2. **Antagonistic:** FEAs start from a point of resistance to the status quo. They seek to disrupt and change the structural inequalities and patriarchal oppressions within the system. They do not conform to the logic of the current economic system and neoliberal capitalism.

3. **Pluralistic:** FEAs encompass a broad spectrum of approaches that seek to address patriarchal power relations and structural exploitation; meaning, two or more frames or themes often come together to trigger equitable economic transformation.

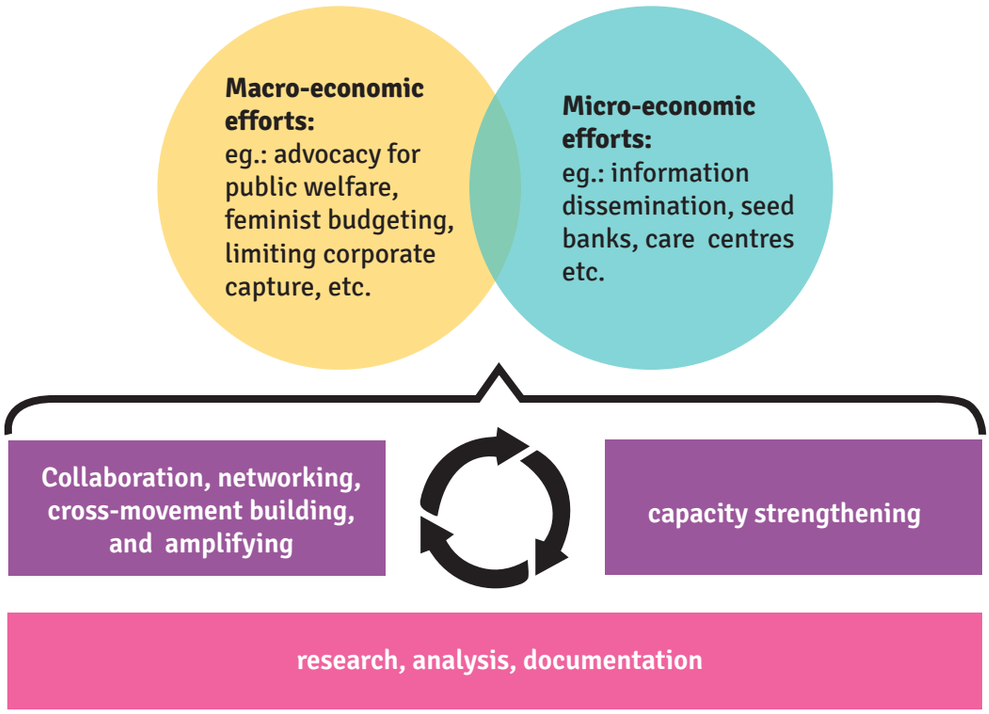
4. **Macro- and microeconomic:** At its core, FEAs are presenting an alternative to the wider economic system. In other words, FEAs must be disruptive to oppressive systems, most notably the current orthodoxy of neo-liberal capitalism. They address the structural causes of oppression within systems rather than the symptoms by challenging and changing structural power. As such, no localised micro-economic FEA activity can occur that does not stem from a macro-economic viewpoint aimed at shifting systems and structures.

5. **Durable:** One of the biggest differences between FEAs and WEE is macro-level thinking and disruption. The macroeconomic focus is to guarantee sustainability of the alternative; FEAs must not be dependent upon singular actors or streams of funding for their durability; rather, they are transforming systems for sustaining change that does not end when external funding stops.

6. **Contextual:** FEAs are rooted in their wider context. They are informed by the needs and issues of local women and the natural environments. Solutions to economic transformation must be in response to contextual policies, norms, and practices in harmony with the needs and resources of the planet. As such, local FEAs must be uplifted and resourced (not necessarily upscaled) as replication or standardisation of FEAs from one context may not be useful in another.

With these in mind, in practical terms, civil society organisations and movements must utilise a variety of approaches and interventions to shape a future for FEAs. The following graphic is based on the findings of this literature review:

Diagram 1: Civil society organisations and movements must utilise a variety of approaches and interventions to shape a future for FEAs



Foundational activities

Research, analysis, and documentation: A shared, singular definition of what "feminist economic alternatives" is as a concept does not exist; creating such a definition would muddle the very essence of the plurality and contexual natural FEAs. Feminist actors have been (re)imagining, creating, organising, implementing, and advocating for a variety of different alternatives, strategies, frameworks, models, and activities that all contribute to the nuanced texture of FEAs for decades or more. Extensive research exists on the separate components of the FEA lexicon (e.g., care work, ecofeminism, etc.). However, research and documentation on 1) how these components act together as FEAs (especially at the intersection of micro- and macroeconomic initiatives), and 2) how elements of the neoliberal economy affect women, 3) indigenous knowledge systems, and 4) specifics of regional examples and success factors within their enabling environments are four key knowledge gaps that could strengthen the case for FEAs. To address these gaps:

- Gather regional examples of FEAs that have succeeded and did not succeed; document the contextual factors that contributed to their success/failure, scale, and impact on women and communities.
- Document the common principles that FEAs share, regardless of the differences.

- Collect robust gender disaggregated data on FEA components (e.g., care work) to make more accurate economic and inequality assessments.
- Document and disseminate stories from women and other community members engaged in FEAs so their realities can be told in their own words.
- Collect oral histories from indigenous women to compile information about natural goods and agriculture, while also providing unique insights into their cultures, value systems, governance processes, social structures, and economic alternative practices. This draws on women's historical memory and can enable traditional knowledge to infiltrate existing mainstream knowledge systems, changing accepted narratives for understanding history and the world.
- Integrate research within other initiatives by utilising action/participatory research methodologies and promoting (cross/mutual) learning, research uptake especially for evidence-based decision making, communication of findings, and evidence-based influencing.

Collaboration, networking, and amplifying: Collectivism is a cornerstone of FEAs (ActionAid 2020). This approach must also be foundational to the work of civil society in promoting FEAs. As such, civil society – from local groups such as women farmers' collectives and WROs to INGOs and multilateral organisations – must approach FEAs as a collective endeavour, even if each partner utilises their own distinctive approaches when working toward shared goals. For example:

- Join existing feminist economic spaces and the FEA community. Feminist economists and other movement leaders have been working in this space for more than four decades. Stand on the shoulders of those who pioneered this knowledge base by joining in with existing theoretical movements to not only learn from them, but also to share examples and learnings, and strengthen and amplify our collective messages.
- Utilise community-level knowledge when framing issues to make the theoretical practical, especially in local or national contexts. Localised framing of concepts and issues will prevent the language from being exclusionary or inaccessible.
- Learn from different groups pursuing similar FEA approaches nationally or internationally to share lessons learned and document the learnings to share widely.
- Network with other actors who are associated with FEA activities locally to form allies and grow collective power.
- Collaborate with diverse actors who share common interests to compound the reach and scale of advocacy efforts.
- Amplify messages of autonomous groups through wider movements and networks.
- Sign-on to existing declarations and letters from different groups that support issues that would contribute to FEAs such as the African Ecofeminist Declaration on the Just Transition.

Advocacy: Advocacy is a clear jump-off point for civil society to engage in policy. Advocacy must be happening hand-in-hand with other micro- and macro-economic efforts as it is core to systems change and sustainability. Critical advocacy topics include, but are not limited to:

- **Public welfare:** By privatising aspects of public welfare and financialising everyday life such as healthcare, child and elderly care, housing, education, food, and water, as many people have become dependent upon loans to fund their living expenses. Saddled with debts, people are trapped into intergenerational poverty (Sibeko et al., 2021). A feminist economy would require substantial, long-term public investment in public goods that would break this cycle. Advocating for public investment would support the equitable fulfilment of people's rights and needs (Yahaya, 2021).
- **Valuation of unpaid care work:** Create benefits and services for care work that is traditionally unpaid. Currently, the care economy is the greatest subsidy for the wage economy (Yahaya, 2021). Options for valuing care work could be advocating for a public benefit for care work, the creation of comprehensive and holistic care systems that effectively redistribute care, and establishing policies that protect and fairly remunerate domestic workers.
- **Gender-sensitive policies and responsive budgets:** Advocating for the creation and implementation of gender-sensitive policies and feminist budgets that consider impacts on different social groups would address many of the shortcomings of neoliberalism outlined by feminist economists. Feminist budgets are the enabling environment needed to action FEAs, such as the creation of a care economy.
- **Climate justice:** The environment and natural goods are bound to FEAs. Protecting these through climate advocacy is vital. However, what's more is climate justice as those who contribute least to the climate crisis are often those most affected by it. Hold Northern governments and corporations to account for their overwhelming contribution to climate change and their continued investment in extractive industries around the Global South. Advocate for these stakeholders to acknowledge the disproportionate impacts of climate change and extraction on vulnerable communities and women and take steps to mitigate future harm and and reconcile for their damages. Work with grassroots movements where possible who are fighting climate justice in different ways - whether against extractivism or the harmful effects of industrial agriculture on biodiversity - towards amplifying and inter-connecting their struggles.
- **Tax policy:** First, tax avoidance by the wealthiest individuals and corporations must be addressed. This includes closing tax loopholes that can be exploited, which take money directly out of public investments. It also includes ending or minimising tax breaks where corporations can "shop" for the places (and politicians) that provide them with the most financial incentives to set up in their location – another way that the general population loses funds for public investments (FEMNET, 2017). Secondly, the universal value added tax (VAT) on vital, everyday consumer goods affects the poorest the most. A progressive wealth tax is an alternative to VAT. Work with tax justice bodies across

the world such as the tax justice alliance and their regional hubs, along with feminist tax activists working independently or within organisations.

- **Local development planning:** Advocating for a long-term view in local development planning will structurally contribute toward building FEAs. By re-organising how localities are planned and operated, they can better address the needs of those who have been previously neglected but are critical to the society, oftentimes unpaid female carers. For example, when the Government of Bogota brought the city and its services to women unable to travel far from home (e.g., psychosocial support, professional and skills training, legal aid, peer support, exercise, dance, and well-being courses), it created a radical "ease of access" model.
- **Trade policy:** Trade can be a tool for poverty reduction and breaking down inequalities, or it could enhance both. The modern day liberalisation of trade has reinforced the disproportionate favouring of power holders and marginalisation of the working class. Trade policies rarely solicit the input of women or those that represent workers, farmers, or indigenous landholders (Tejpar et al., 2021). As a result, trade policy favours large multinational companies and overwhelmingly men. Trade agreements could be amended to protect women's and workers' rights and acknowledge indigenous rights.

Positioning: The literature review finds that actors working on FEAs tend to define their work in a variety of ways from economic transformation, to decolonisation, to women's economic empowerment, and more. The shift to a more egalitarian, feminist economy requires visibility. Organisations should make their work on FEAs explicit to generate more momentum for the movement. Being vocal and explicit about positioning themselves as organisations that work toward feminst economic alternatives with stakeholders from local to international levels will increase the visibility of FEAs and make the concept more widely known and accepted. For example, organisations can put their positioning on their organisational websites, in reports, in donor messaging, during events, etc.

Language justice: Actively pursue language justice as a means to decolonise the development space. Build movements that are inclusive and multilingual, where speakers of all languages have equal opportunities and are equally valued when it comes to information dissemination and decision-making. Speakers of western languages, especially English, dominate the neoliberal capitalist economies, jeopardising the rights of those who do not speak these languages. This is especially damaging for indigenous groups, further isolating them from decision-making spaces. Related, jargon and terminology that directly or indirectly excludes some groups must be kept out of the FEA dialogue. This includes jargon and terminology that are not well understood outside of specific circles, words that hold different meanings for different groups, and terminologies that are not widely agreed upon across cultures. Even words such as "feminism" may be contentious in many spaces. As a movement, civil society actors must be cognisant and compassionate about these differences.

Supplemental programmatic activities

Capacity strengthening: Strengthen women's capacities to exercise real power and control over their own lives, helping them to shape the terms on which they engage with social and economic structures, exercise their rights, and engage in decision-making. Simultaneously engage other power holders at the local to national levels to raise their awareness and on women's capacities. Likewise, strengthen men's capacities in the skills traditionally held by women so they may be equal participants in those arenas, most significantly in the care economy. For example:

- Awareness raising on economic and human rights, leadership, etc. that incorporates the intersectionality of economic rights, violence, bodily autonomy, and voice.
- Mobilisation and networking skills and resources to support women to come together with each other and with like minded organisations that can resource FEAs.
- Care transformation workshops for men that teach technical skills that enable the redistribution of 'women's' work and address the harmful social and cultural norms that devalue this work.
- Digital literacy skills training for rural or poorly connected communities to support them, especially rural women, to overcome the digital divide.
- Inclusive governance training for local government to national government authorities that provide skills, tools, and knowledge on making governance (and associated economic systems) more inclusive of, responsive to, and representative of women and their needs.

Information dissemination: Civil society actors may be especially well placed to disseminate information widely. One of the shortcomings expressed by especially rural and indigenous WROs and local movements is a lack of timely, relevant, and comprehensible information. Civil society actors could prioritise:

- Mobilise networks of national to local groups that can rapidly share pertinent information. For example, if there is a meeting about rezoning land to be used for extractive activities, information about that meeting should make it to local women, especially indigenous women if relevant, quickly enough that they will be able to attend the meeting if they choose.
- Make information comprehensible. This looks like translating documents, reports, news bulletins, and the like into the local language or providing consolidated and easy to understand briefs from the findings of longer reports.
- Conduct research or gather information to fill knowledge gaps that are relevant to decision-making processes.

Conclusions

The key takeaway from the literature is that "feminist economic alternatives" do not have one set definition. Rather, they are a collection of alternative approaches to building a more equitable economy that holistically priotitises feminist principles, including disrupting oppressive systems and better protecting the planet along the way. Macro- and micro-economic policy must come together hand-in-hand in context to deliver systemic solutions that will be sustainable without intervention from external groups (e.g., civil society).

This analysis contributes to a wider objective of building a strategy around approaching FEAs as civil society. It can be considered the first step in a journey toward shaping a future for FEAs programmatically. It cannot stand alone: it must be accompanied by an iterative co-creation process to inform future strategic planning and/or advocacy actions.

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Annex 2:
Brief Timeline of Capitalism

The following highlights key moments in the timeline of capitalism that was collectively created by members of the Economic Policy Working Group of ESCR-Net in February 2019 during a workshop to "build a shared critique of the dominant economic system, drawing on the human rights framework and centering the analysis of indigenous peoples and social movements, as well as strong feminist members and members working at the intersection of climate and ESCR" (Otros Mundos, 2019). The workshop was organised by Otros Mundos, and timeline co-creators included: AbM, AIPP, APWLD, CWGL, EIPR, FUNDEPS, JASS, Kairos, MUFRAS-32, NAFSO, Magali Brosio and Mela Chiponda:

1058-1111: Modern hints of capitalism were formed through the writings of Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazaly, an influential Arab philosopher, who was a critical opponent of forced income and wealth equality.

1492: Christopher Columbus landed in the Bahamas, opening up economic and political opportunities for European colonialisation and systemic genocide of indigenous peoples in North American and Latin American regions.

1500: Following approximately one thousand of years of the Feudal System in Europe, it transitioned to an end over the course of 200 years and laid the groundwork for capitalism.

1776: 'Liberalism' and the 'Age of Enlightenment' began with the U.S. Declaration of Independence, which promoted liberty, freedom, and democracy over monarchy and religious doctrine. However, liberalism has been marred by struggles of systematically marginalised groups including women, migrants, enslaved people, landless, and poor.

May 5, 1818 — March 14, 1883: Karl Marx, a Prussian economist and revolutionary theorist, influenced the move toward socialism through his writings about class struggles – such as between capitalists who extract from the working class – and that a worker-led society will replace capitalism.

1884: The 1884 Berlin Conference formalised the colonisation of Africa, which stemmed from European capitalism's failures such as the demand for mineral and agricultural resources, the desire for new markets, and need for African labour.

1944-1945: The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were created. Both are key institutions that govern global macroeconomic policy, although neither has a democratically elected leader; instead, leaders are appointed by the United States and Europe.

1963: As more African countries gained independence and the era of colonisation was ending, the Organisation of African Union was formed to finance and support liberation movements in Africa and uphold Africa's sovereignty, self-determination, and independence through fighting colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism.

1970-1990s: Digital computing started ramping up in the 1970 and exploded in the 1990s with the introduction of the World Wide Web. This shifted the labour industries dramatically and labour-replacing technologies have emerged.

2006-2008: The Global Food Crisis saw a worldwide rise in food prices, triggering a food crisis especially in developing nations where food prices are heavily determined by global markets. The Crisis demonstrated deep, structural issues regarding corporate monopolisation of the world's food system through political and economic levers such as unfair trade agreements and genetically modified foods, which continue to hamper food sovereignty.

2019-2021: When the COVID-19 virus swept the globe, leading to a global pandemic, inherent structural flaws in capitalism such as the inequities embedded within production processes and global finance were exposed. Inequities were further enforced – both on a global scale between the Global North and the Global South and on an individual level for groups such as women, HIV+, LGBTQI+, etc. – due to socio-economic policy decisions that did not protect the most vulnerable.