Caring:

A solution for our societies in crisis

Background paper

Hot or Cool

Suggested citation

Lorek, S., Iran, S., and Power, K. (2023). Caring: a solution for our societies in crisis. Hot or Cool Institute, Berlin.

Copyright

Hot or Cool Institute, Berlin. 2023

More information on the Hot or Cool Institute is available online: https://hotorcool.org/

ISBN (PDF)

978-3-98664-011-8

Editing and proofreading

Lisa Mastny

Design

Mahya Hashemi

Caring Societies is a project carried out by Hot or Cool Institute, in partnership with SERI, Climate Outreach and Global Action Plan UK.

This work is possible thanks to the generous support from Partners for a New Economy and the ClimateWorks Foundation, with operational support from the Stanley Center for Peace and Security.

Contents

Acknowledgements **4**

Figures, Tables And Boxes **5**

Summary **6**

1 Introduction **7**

2 Unveiling the problems **10**

2.1 The ecological perspective 10

2.2 The care work perspective 11

2.3 The gender inequality perspective 12

2.4 The social and environmental justice perspective 14

2.5 The post-colonial perspective 16

2.6 The post-anthropocentric perspective 17

2.7 Where these perspectives are already merging 18

3 Exploring the solutions **22**

3.1 Mainstream approaches to solving the crises, and their limitations 22

3.2 Summarising the limits 27

4 Caring societies as a radical approach **28**

5 Summary **29**

6 References **31**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Authors

Sylvia Lorek (Sustainable Europe Research Institute, Germany)
Samira Iran (Hot or Cool Institute, Germany)
Kate Power (Hot or Cool Institute, Germany)

Project Coordination

Samira Iran (Hot or Cool Institute, Germany)
Beatrice Meo (Hot or Cool Institute, Germany)

External reviewers

Richard Bärnthaler (Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria)
Raúl Velasco-Fernández (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain)

Commission on care-centred transformation to equitable, low-consumption societies

The development of this work is supported by the valuable contribution of the Commission on care-centred transformation to equitable, low-consumption societies. This report does not necessarily reflect the ideas and positions of every member involved. The findings, conclusions, and recommendations presented in this report are based on a synthesis of diverse viewpoints but should not be interpreted as a unanimous endorsement by all members as individual perspectives and opinions may vary.

The commission members are listed below in alphabetical order of their first name.

Andreas Chatzidakis (Royal Holloway University of London, United Kingdom)
Aurélie Deckers (European Federation for Services to Individuals, Belgium)
Berit Ehmke (Economiefeministe – Platform for Feminist Economy, Switzerland)
Bhumika Muchhala (Third World Network, Switzerland)
Catia Gregoratti (University of Lund, Sweden)
Channe Lindstrom Oguzhan (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Thailand)
Christine Corlet Walker (University of Surrey, United Kingdom)
Clare Coffey (Oxfam, United Kingdom)
Corinna Dengler (Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria)
Deepta Chopra (Institute of Development Studies, United Kingdom)
Feline Tecklenburg (Economy is Care, Germany)
Gabriele Winker (Care Revolution, Germany)
Gulnaz Anjum (University of Oslo, Norway)
Ina Praetorius (Economy is Care, Switzerland)
Jana Vasil'eva (Yo Cuido, México)
Julia Kim (Gross National Happiness Centre, Bhutan)
Julie Thekkudan (Gender and Development Practitioner, India)
Kersty Hobson (Cardiff University, Wales)
Laurence Godin (Laval University, Canada)
Lina Hansen (Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie, Germany)
Margarita Olivera (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
Mary Murphy (Maynooth University, Ireland)
Max Koch (Lund University, Sweden)
Meera Ghani (Amnesty International, Belgium)
Merike Blofield (University of Hamburg, Germany)
Mikko Laamanen (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)
Nomkhitha Gysman (Researcher, analyst, advocate of women's rights, South Africa)
Philippe Seidel (AGE Platform Europe, Belgium)
Raúl Velasco Fernández (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain)
Rebekah Diski (Women's Budget Group, United Kingdom)
Richard Bärnthaler (Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria)
Riya Raphael (Lund University, Sweden)
Sherilyn MacGregor (University of Manchester, United Kingdom)
Thera van Osch (World House Wetten, Germany)
Uta Meier-Gräwe (Economy is Care, Germany)
Zahrah Nesbitt-Ahmed (Centre for Disaster Protection, United Kingdom)

FIGURES, TABLES AND BOXES

FIGURES

Figure 1. Time spent daily in unpaid care work, paid work and total work, by sex, region and income group, latest year available 13
Figure 2. Share of carbon dioxide emissions by word population 14
Figure 3. Links between race and environmental pollution 15
Figure 4. The growing opportunity to engage care users globally 25

TABLES

Table 1. Overview of the six perspectives 17

BOXES

Box 1. Care 8
Box 2. Care work 8
Box 3. Care work and environmental benefits 8
Box 4. Upholding the rights of nature in the Global South 16
Box 5. Gender-based differences between unpaid and paid work In Germany 19
Box 6. How women's empowerment programmes can worsen conditions for woman 20
Box 7. Informal waste recycling as emblematic of exploitative labour conditions 26

Summary

This document is a background paper for the report ***Economies That Dare to Care: Achieving social justice and preventing ecological breakdown by putting care at the heart of our societies***, released by Hot or Cool Institute in July 2023. The paper establishes the basis for understanding the inter-related nature of the multiple crises that human societies confront today, from climate change to growing social inequality. To address rising global complexity, the authors advocate for holistic approaches that generally are not adequately recognised among diverse communities that are busy perceiving these crises from their own specific viewpoints.

The paper places special emphasis on six perspectives: ecological, care work, gender equality, social and ecological justice, post-colonial, and post-anthropocentric. After describing the issues central to these viewpoints, the authors offer examples illustrating the interconnected nature of diverse crises and underscore why the disregard for care is central to both the problem and the potential solutions. Subsequently, the paper highlights the fundamental origin of the multiple crises being faced today: an economic system based on capital accumulation kept in force by patriarchical structures and the vested intersts of a white supremacy rooted in colonialism.

The authors then explore remedies for these crises, elucidating why conventional solutions often encounter constraints, and outlining the rationale behind the imperative for radical approaches. They explain how approaching a caring society can be helpful in this regard.

In sum, the paper explains why the transformation to equitable, low-carbon societies cannot be achieved within the current paradigm of growth, competition and patriarchy. This paradigm is founded on exploitation. Without addressing the various crises that this implies, it will not be possible to fully transform the systemic exploitation that threatens the world today. If the problem is addressed only piecemeal, then the dominant capitalist system will be able to appropriate the various parts in order to continue the exploitation. The authors show that care is a value that can guide humanity to set up systems in a different way – if care is translated into mindset, practice, policy, infrastructure and economic systems.

1 Introduction

Could a caring society be an approach to address the multiple global challenges we face? With escalating ecological crises and social pressures, increasing society's capacity for care will be essential in cushioning our world against the mounting impacts and in maintaining planetary well-being.

Building on decades of knowledge and research from environmentalists, ecological economists, feminists, Indigenous communities, and others, the importance of care work has gained visibility in recent years.[1] Due to this research and practical initiatives, as well as to the unfolding crises, care has risen on the social and political agendas. The inclusion of care in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 5 on gender equality) was an important step. The COVID-19 pandemic amplified the contributions of paid and unpaid care work to security and well-being, as the "essential jobs" in the formal economy were largely the caring ones that provided health, food and safety.[2]

In addition to **caring for humanity**, efforts to tackle the wider ecological crisis and to create a more-equal society will require rapid and profound changes. The lifestyles of the most affluent populations, especially in the Global North, will need to shift from consumerist norms towards low-consumption living in order to enable a good life for all.[3] While it is possible for everyone to live well within the Earth's limits, this will require substantial societal and political readjustments of the dominant economic order.[4]

This transformation entails promoting more sustainable ways of living characterised by adequate (but not excessive) resource consumption, which necessarily involves adjustments to production. Excess production of unnecessary goods will need to be reduced dramatically.[5]

Meanwhile, it is still important to consider that a very high share of the population in the Global South lives at low levels of consumption and does not have access to the resources needed to live a decent life. The Global South is also characterised by very unequal income distribution, with the richest segment of the population consuming at levels similar to those in the Global North. This makes it necessary to discuss both the restructuring of consumption and the redistribution of income among and within countries.

Caring is also of underestimated importance in an economic sense. Without a healthy environment and the availability of unpaid care, the current economic system would collapse. Yet both nature and care work are devalued and often ignored in today's policy making and economic analysis. The current system also perpetuates exploitative practices, particularly in the Global South, where resource extraction and the exploitation of workers persist within a hierarchical global relationship.

"Care, in its core sense, is the basis of the social-ecological transformation." [6]

1. Care

To "care" involves a deep empathy for humans, non-humans and nature.[7] It encompasses at least three dimensions: ethical, emotional and relational.[8] It also entails a wide range of activities that contribute to human well-being and quality of life, from improving one's own living conditions through the well-being of a particular group or its members, to caring for the local, regional, national or international community.[9] In addition to human well-being, care activities contribute to the well-being of non-humans and the natural world and to the quality of materials and the built environment.

2. Care work

"Care work" (both paid and unpaid) provides an essential social service that underpins human well-being and standards of living, enabling people to participate in society.[10] It includes physical as well as emotional and mental activities. Care activities differ depending on the circumstances and can range from subsistence farming to thoughtful consumption choices.

3. Care work and environmental benefits

Care work also offers environmental benefits. Because it is non-extractive work, it tends to be less harmful to the environment than the production of goods and services. A "care-full" society seeks to prevent dis-welfares from occurring in the first place, thus reducing the pressures on health systems as well as related greenhouse gas emissions and resource use.[11] Placing care at the core of our society is essential for a socially just and sustainable world, providing potential sources of low-carbon, socially useful employment. To achieve this, care work must be recognised as socially necessary labour, redistributed, and valued as high-status and crucial work.

This background paper lays the groundwork for a basic understanding of why the various crises that our societies are facing are inter-connected. To address rising global complexity, the authors call for holistic approaches that generally are not adequately recognised among diverse communities that are busy perceiving these crises from their own specific viewpoints. The insights gathered here are based on a broad literature review, on interviews with experts in various fields and on extensive feedback from a commission set up for this project consisting of more than 30 researchers and practitioners from around the globe. the following definitions shall help to grasp the intentions of our care approach.

The first part of the paper focuses on 1) the ecological perspective on global crises, 2) the perspective of care work and 3) the related perspective of gender equality. It also throws light on 4) the social and ecological justice perspective – which is related to 5) a post-colonial perspective – and on 6) the pespective of broader non-human well-being, thus linking back to ecological questions. The paper provides examples of how the different crises are interlinked and why the neglect of caring is central to the problem and must be addressed as a key part of the solution. The paper highlights the root cause of the crises: namely, white male supremacy in an economic system based on capital accumulation.

The second part explores solutions for the diverse crises confronting humanity, arguing why mainstream solutions frequently have faced limitations and outlining why radical approaches are necessary. It discusses how approaching a caring society can be helpful in this regard.

This background paper aims primarily to widen the horizon for individuals and communities that are preoccupied with only one, or perhaps a few, of the outlined perspectives. How well these perspectives can be interlinked, and what kinds of common actions could be taken through a "Forum for Caring Societies", is laid out in the full Hot or Cool Institute report, *Economies That Dare to Care*.

2 Unveiling the problems

Multiple crises – political, security, environmental and social – are forcing an epochal shift. Resources are becoming more expensive even as median incomes are falling. In affluent countries in the Global North, disposable incomes and thus private household consumption spending are expected to decline, except for powerful groups that are able to defend their privileges.[12] Under current political-economic arrangements, stagnating economic growth and development will have major implications for social justice policies, including the welfare state and state-funded provisioning for care. Poverty levels in the Global South are linked with increased vulnerability to environmental disasters and a related risk of social instability – particularly if a shift away from growth policies is not accompanied by social compensation for vulnerable groups and the provision of essential services for all.[13]

Yet still today, different groups are observing the many crises that we face through different lenses. These varied perspectives – ecological, care work, gender equality, social and ecological justice, post-colonial and post-anthropocentric – have a rich, nuanced and engaged context of societal, political and academic debate. But they remain largely disconnected.

2.1 The ecological perspective

Most of our planetary boundaries have already been crossed.

The concept of planetary boundaries, introduced in 2009, sought to establish the ecological thresholds within which human activities can proceed without harm. More recently, Richardson et al. (2023) developed a renewed and expanded evaluation of the planetary boundaries framework.[14] Among the initial nine boundaries suggested, they highlight three (including climate change) that, if exceeded, could transition Earth's systems to an unfamiliar state. These boundaries also strongly impact the other remaining limits. The framework does not prescribe the path that societies should take in their development. These choices are political in nature and must encompass factors related to human aspects, such as equity, that are not currently covered in the framework.[15]

A sustainable society is one that ensures that everybody can live well within planetary boundaries.[16] However, six out of nine planetary boundaries have already been crossed.[17] The restoration of sustainable living conditions requires not simply returning to threshold levels, but going well below them, to make up for past overshoot of Earth's capacity to supply resources and assimilate waste.

Greenhouse gas emissions need to be urgently reduced.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), established in 1988, has called for a much-needed U-turn in both climate politics and economic policies.[18] However, the recommended steps have largely not been implemented. The climate crisis is under way globally: already, 89% of the planet's total global area has experienced changes in surface temperature, and 58% has experienced

changes in precipitation.[19] To increase awareness, climate researchers have started referring to the "climate endgame", noting that exceeding the threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius (°C) of global warming could trigger multiple climate tipping points, and that passing the 1.0°C threshold may already have done irreversible damage.[20] Existing global hotspots of negative impacts demonstrate the elevated risks to developing countries in particular.

In numerous countries, the 2050 threshold for lifestyle-related carbon footprints has already been surpassed, necessitating rapid and drastic reductions.

The extent to which societies change their predominant ways of living, particularly in societies with high consumption patterns, will determine humanity's ability to uphold the emission reduction commitments outlined in the Paris Agreement and avert the most severe impacts of climate change. Achieving overall reductions in consumption levels is imperative, while also addressing the rising social tensions that are emerging.

The disparities between current lifestyles and more sustainable benchmarks set for 2050 underscore the need for substantial reductions. The data show that high-income countries, for example, must curtail their lifestyle-related carbon footprints by 91-95% by 2050, while upper-middle income nations should target reductions of 68-86%.[21] Even lower-middle income countries must strive for a significant 76% reduction in lifestyle carbon footprints to align with the 2050 target.[22]

We are in the midst of the sixth great mass extinction.

Climate impacts are a main driver of biodiversity loss. For example, wildlife populations globally have declined 70% in just under 50 years.[23] The International Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services found that 1 million species are at acute risk of extinction, and every 24 hours an estimated 150 to 200 species become extinct.[24] Nearly one-third (30%) of the biodiversity loss worldwide is linked to the extraction and processing of raw materials, while another 30% is linked to global trade, according to an analysis that connected 25,000 species threats to 5 billion supply chains and the consumption of commodities such as coffee, tea, sugar, textiles and fish.[25]

Large-scale environmental challenges such as ocean acidification, land degradation, overfishing and biodiversity loss continue largely unchecked, with increasingly severe consequences. Microplastics are now everywhere, most recently detected in every single sediment sample from exploration at 9,000 metres depth in the Western Pacific Kuril-Kamchatka Trench.[26] Every year, 3.3 million people die from air pollution, and 842,000 deaths globally are linked to the overconsumption of red meat.[27]

2.2 The care work perspective

"Individuals are a cost factor in a standardised system built on economic logic. And if you try and improve labour productivity in the care sector, you end up often reducing the quality of care." [28]

Paid professionals in health care and childcare, as well as those who provide personal services to the elderly, disabled, and other individuals, experience high workloads and low pay.[29] As a result, there is a global shortage of care workers, and the services that society receives suffer. This "care crisis" – as described in the media and in political discussions, and as experienced by those who give and receive care – is expected to only increase in the coming decades as societies in most industrialised countries continue to age.[30]

Low pay for care work is justified under the logic that care is unproductive work and even has a "cost", because it is paid mostly by taxes generated through the supposedly "productive" segment of the economy. This mentality, however, reflects a blind spot in current economics. The presumed productive parts of the economy would not exist without the activities defined as unproductive. Rather, this unproductive work should be seen as "reproductive", as it reproduces healthy workers, etc.

Sectors such as education, research, police forces and the military are also funded in this way, but they are not under as much pressure to be increasingly cost-efficient, as the care sector is. This is highly problematic, since care work requires social skills and empathy, and shortages of these skills cannot easily be replaced with technology. Accordingly, pressures for care to be "more efficient" tend to result in lower-quality services, since high-quality care work requires factors such as time and human compassion, which are not conducive to "efficiency".

Paid care is characterised by low pay, long hours, low social status and few benefits. This makes care work unattractive and vulnerable to skills shortages. The "care crisis" is exacerbated in systems (such as in the United Kingdom) where the care sector is largely in the hands of profit-seeking organisations that draw money out of the system for their (often offshore-based) owners.[31]

Nearly all countries globally face a deficit of care work, both unpaid and paid. As long as the value of the unpaid care sector is ignored – underserved with public support and taken for granted by economists and politicians – there is a risk that cuts in public funds for the professional care sectors (health, education, etc.) will be shifted to the unpaid care sector. However, this shift remains invisible in mainstream economic accounting.

For the calculation of gross domestic product (GDP), only paid work is counted as "work." Unpaid work that is undertaken to care for others is not considered to be of productive value. Thus, care work is seen as valuable only if it is being pursued by someone who is being paid to do it. Those who provide unpaid care are invisible to the economy and are encouraged to prioritise paid work over their unpaid care responsibilities. The invisibility of care leads to both income poverty and time poverty.

The United Nations and others have undertaken efforts and made recommendations to measure the weight of unpaid care in GDP calculations, through a "fictitious" valuation in satellite accounts. However, controversy has arisen around which valuation method to use.[32] Given that a large share of care work is unpaid, most countries, especially the least developed ones, have not been able to formalise this practice, especially due to a lack of data on time use. In Argentina, the Ministry of Economy recently estimated that, if unpaid domestic work were included in GDP, it would be a key economic sector of the country.[33]

2.3 The gender inequality perspective

"The recognition of unpaid care work has been a feminist battle for the past 100 years. And it [is] really interesting that now the global community has recognised it as a goal worth pursuing." [34]

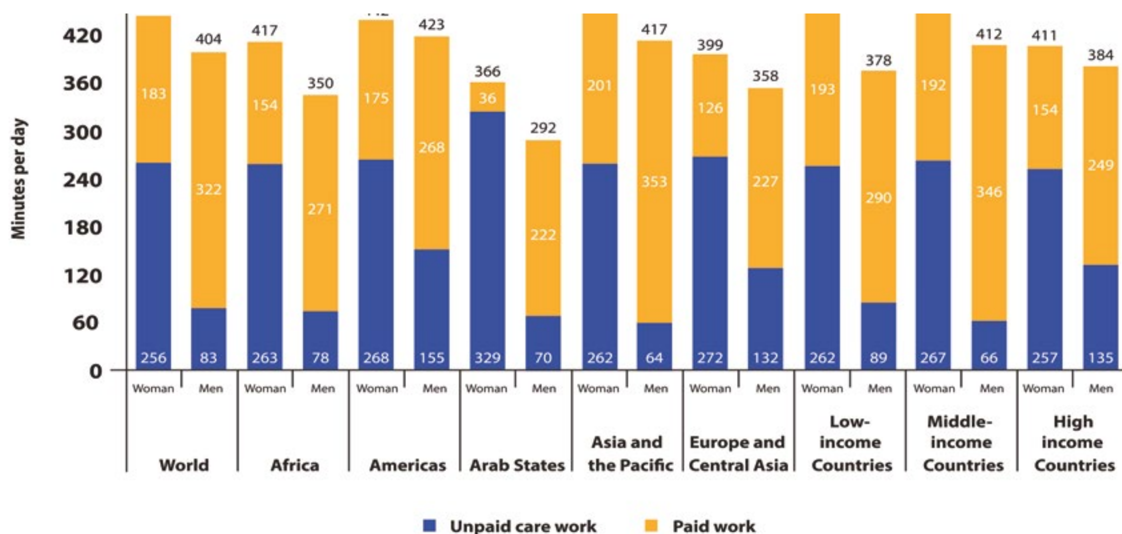
The work each of us does to maintain everyday life for ourselves and our family might include raising children, cooking, cleaning, fetching water and firewood, caring for our immediate environment, engaging in subsistence livelihoods, conserving water and forests, caring for elderly relatives, shopping, and managing the household, in addition to daily mental tasks such as planning schedules and emotional labour such as tending family relationships.[35] Factors that determine individual care practices are economic and social status, the personal family situation, and the habits and traditions of the societies we live in. Across the globe, however, one aspect remains stable: in the dominant economic system of capitalism, women and girls are disproportionately responsible for doing care work.

The care crisis has a strong gender component. Although care-taking might be evenly distributed by gender, caregiving is not. Across nearly all world regions, women are by far the main workforce in the care sector, providing up to 80% of this work in the Americas, Central Asia and Europe.[36] The outdated notion that care is linked to the "nature of woman" and that women essentially serve as men's property led to the long-standing perception that a woman's work is "natural" and "for free".[37]

"Caring is seen as this natural thing that women are supposed to do. The one thing that unites countries, whether it's wealthier countries, or middle-income or low-income countries, is this notion that women and girls are naturally responsible, naturally able to do care, and they're primarily responsible for it – that women or girls are naturally more loving, more giving, more altruistic." *[38]*

In addition to their dominance in paid care work, women and girls are responsible for 75% of unpaid care and domestic work globally in homes and communities every day.[39] The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that, on average, women around the world perform 4 hours and 25 minutes of unpaid care work every day, compared with 1 hour and 23 minutes for men.[40] Care for the domestic environment is also conducted mainly by women.[41] Gender researchers have long argued that women undertake the majority of care work because of the socially constructed perception of women as "natural carers".[42]

Figure 1. Time spent daily in unpaid care work, paid work and total work, by sex, region and income group, latest year available
Source: See endnote 42.



The unequal social organisation of care and the enormous difference in time dedicated to unpaid care work generates a huge time gap between genders, as well as time poverty for women.[43] This affects numerous aspects of women's lives, including their ability to participate in the labour market, pursue education and engage in politics; it also affects their social life and their personal time for leisure, pleasure and self-care. Time poverty, together with the sexual division of labour and gender roles, contribute to women having lower wages and incomes and to being more exposed to poverty.

The association of women with care has various repercussions for the labour market, including:

- the feminisation of sectors generally associated with care, resulting in worse remuneration and hiring conditions (characterised by the informality of contracts and precariousness of jobs);
- difficulties for women in accessing hierarchical and decision-making positions, which typically are better paid;
- wage discrimination, as women are paid less on average than their male counterparts in most jobs; this is furthered by excuses about women's lower productivity due to household responsibil ities, and by culturally embedded sexism that precludes recognition of the value of the work, even when it requires a high level of education and skill;

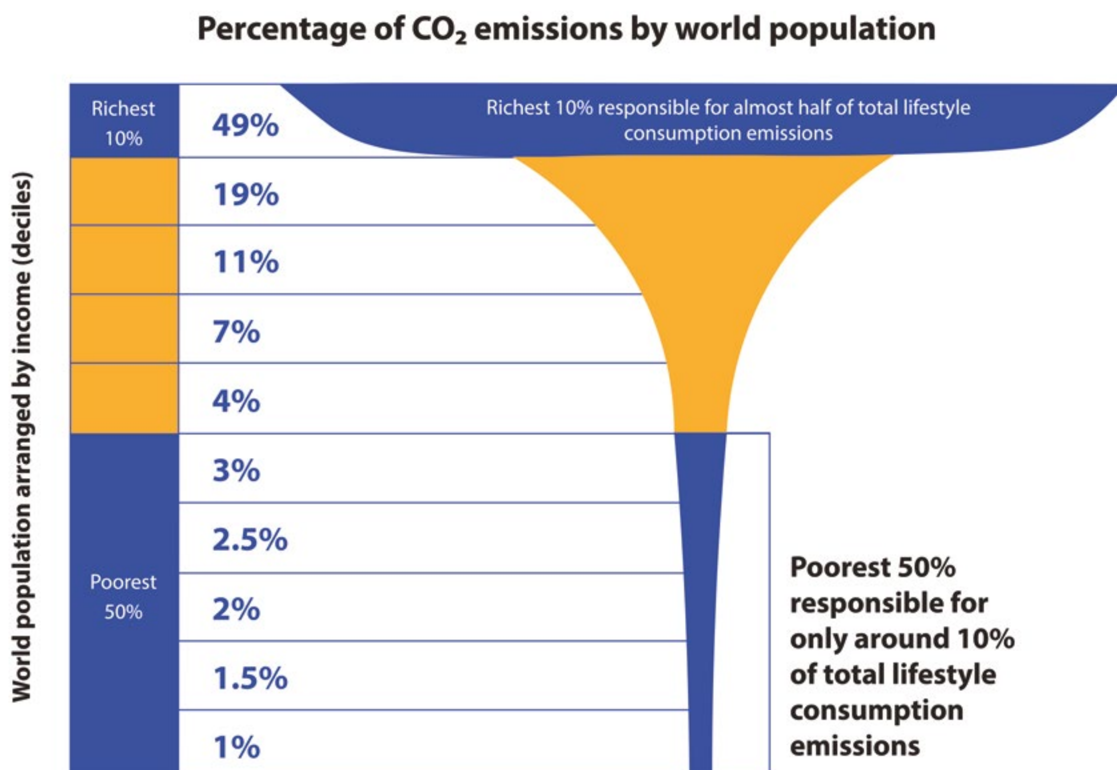
- the need for women to have flexible schedules and part-time jobs; and
- in many cases, the reality of women remaining out of the labour force due to the impossibility of having a job (in Brazil, 46.8% of working-age women were out of the labour force in 2019, versus 28.2% of working-age men, and this situation worsened during the COVID-19 pandemic).[44]

In addition to low wages, women lack access to social security systems such as health insurance and pension funds and may not be able to exercise labour rights.

2.4 The social and environmental justice perspective

Social justice and environmental justice are intertwined.[45] Income is the main driver of consumption: the more money that people (or countries or institutions) have, the more environmental harm (including climate-related emissions) they typically cause (see Figure 2).[46] Poverty, in turn, increases vulnerability to environmental disasters. Disadvantaged groups suffer the most from the care crisis and the climate crisis, as well as from climate policies.

Figure 2. Share of carbon dioxide emissions by world population
see endnote[47]



People with the highest consumption levels continue to pollute at the highest rates. In the European Union, between 1990 and 2015, the consumption-related emissions of the poorest 50% of citizens fell by nearly a quarter (24%), and the emissions of those with "middle incomes" fell by 13%; meanwhile, the consumption emissions of the richest 10% grew by 3%, and of the richest 1% by 5%.[48]

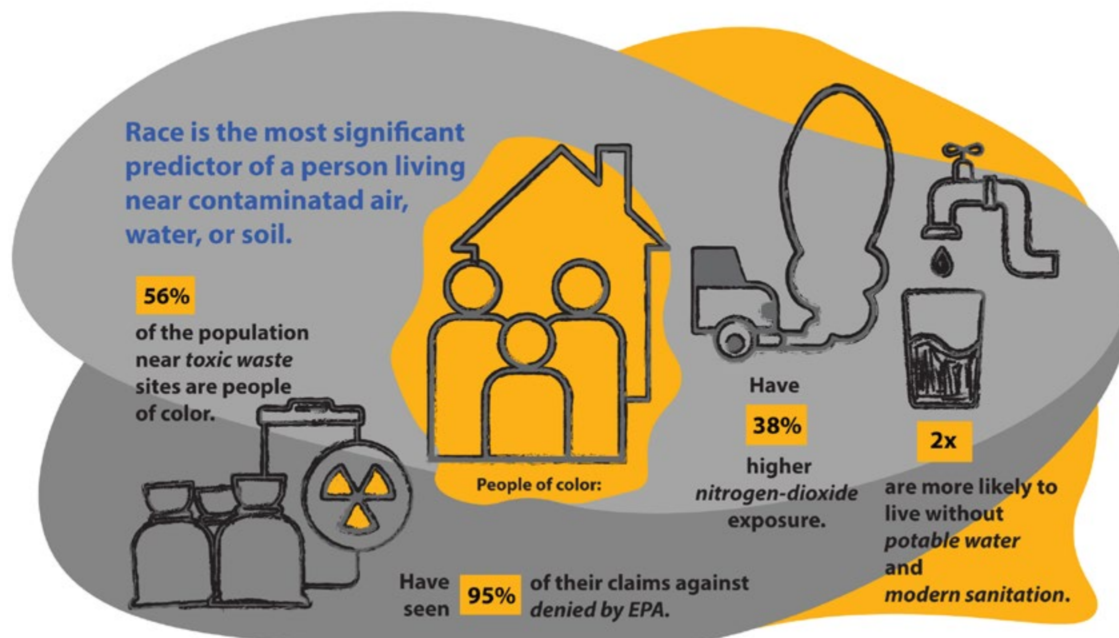
Richer members of society often perpetuate the status quo, not only through high consumption levels, but also through investments, social and political influence, and leadership of businesses and institutions. Oxfam's recent research on "carbon billionaires" reveals that the investments of just 125 billionaires emit 393 million tonnes of carbon dioxide (CO2) equivalent each year – equal to the annual emissions of France – at an individual average that is a million times higher than someone in the bottom 90% of global income levels.[49] The oversized influence of these carbon billionaires creates even deeper global problems, for example through their investments in high-carbon fossil fuel infrastructure, which locks economies into high emission levels for decades to come.[50]

The effects of the climate crisis impact different social groups differently. Intersecting systems of oppression strongly determine a person's exposure to the consequences of climate change, as well as their ability to benefit from the available mechanisms for adaptation and mitigation. Markers such as gender, ethnicity/race, class, caste, geographic location, sexual orientation, migrant status, disability, and religion, among others, influence the extent to which an individual will feel the negative effects of climate change.[51]

This means that people who contributed least to ecological destruction (including from climate change) face the worst consequences from the damage (see Figure 3).[52] Inequality can be observed between the Global North and the Global South, as well as at a national and local level through racial inequality within multi-racial societies, where people of colour tend to suffer from systemic racism and prejudice.[53] Racial minorities and immigrants tend to have limited or no social security protections such as comprehensive or employment insurance, and have been shown to receive lower-quality health care; therefore, their mitigation and adaptation capacity in the face of extreme climatic events is very limited. Examples of racial disparities in mixed-race societies include disproportionately more people of colour dying during the COVID-19 pandemic, and African-Americans being more likely to die from cancer, during childbirth and from complications from surgery.[54]

Climate change and biodiversity loss can no longer be prevented entirely, and the impacts are being felt increasingly. The combined pressure from environmental stress, poverty and inequality is causing rising social tension even in richer countries. This situation is leading to greater risk of the breakdown of democratic societies.[55]

Figure 3. Links between race and environmental pollution
See endnote[52]



2.5 The post-colonial perspective

"Through climate finance or other ways of global redistribution of wealth, there needs to be a deliberate investment and transfer of wealth from Global North to the Global South, so that governments in the Global South can invest in those necessary infrastructures." [56]

Social and environmental justice deserve special attention in the "post"-colonial context (although in most places, historical colonial structures are still active).[57] The current political and economic systems and international institutions continue to impoverish some countries while enriching others.[58] A defining characteristic of trade relations between the Global North and the Global South is the pervasive colonial approach to resource extraction from the South to the North, and the shifting of the burden of this activity from North to South.[59]

The climate crisis is the ultimate example of this colonial legacy. The Global North bears historical responsibility for the greenhouse gas emissions that are causing climate change, whereas the impacts are much higher in countries of the Global South that have contributed very little to the problem.[60]

Continuing colonialist global regimes still force the Global South into the near-impossible juggling of inter-twining problems. As these countries seek to lift their populations out of poverty, they also must address the impacts of climate change caused by the Global North while servicing opaque, debilitating debts owed to the North. The most marginalised populations bear the burden of increasing care requirements caused by the violation of land rights, displacement and rehabilitation. Commercial and development projects such as mining, extractive industries, hydropower plants and others are contributing to involuntary displacements and migrations, as climate change creates extreme hardships for the most marginalised. Networks in Latin America, Africa and Asia have led strong critiques of these practices (see Box 4).[61]

Box 4. Upholding the rights of nature in the Global South
source: see endnote[61]

The World Trade Organization's Smart Economy Programme, designed to empower women, measured success outcomes only in terms of variables such "women have their own income" or "number of women entrepreneurs". However, the programme took no account of how to better share the caring responsibilities of families and how men could assume caring responsibilities in order to empower women outside the household. As a result, children and the elderly ended up in worse conditions.
Similar experiences resulted from the "structural adjustment programmes" of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s. People involved in unpaid care work do not always feel "empowered" when they take on paid work on top of their duties of care at home. Qualitative research has found that when no support is provided to help with caring responsibilities, many women feel ambivalent about economic empowerment programmes.

Migration-related problems are another clear example of the unfairness of the colonial legacy, as the global "brain drain" brings workers from poorer to richer areas to work in low-paid industries.

2.6 The post-anthropocentric perspective

The post-anthropocentric perspective challenges the dominant viewpoint that ecosystem change has contributed positively to human well-being. It posits that humanity's welfare gains are being made at the expense of other species that share the same ecosystems. To slow species extinction, environmental degradation, and injustice, what is needed is a radical transformation of what is considered "well-being". Achieving the well-being of non-humans is a crucial step towards a world of sustainable well-being for all life on Earth. This goes beyond viewing non-humans as direct contributors to human well-being (such as through ecosystem services). This broader concept of well-being exists independently of human well-being, although it is inextricably entangled with it.[62]

Table 1. Overview of the six perspectives

Perspectives	Key themes	Selected references
Ecological perspective	- Planetary boundaries - greenhouse gas emissions - Biodiversity loss	*Rockström et al. 2009; Steffen et al. 2015; IPBES 2019; IPCC 2023*
Care work perspective	- Unpaid care work - Low-paid care work - Structural blindness towards unpaid care - Privatisation of care institutions	*Chatzidakis et al. 2020; Dowling 2022*
Gender inequality perspective	- Care work as women's nature and duty - Care trap disadvantaging women financially	*Folbre 1994; Praetorius 2005; ILO 2018*
Social and environmental justice perspective	- Disconnect between causing environmental problems and suffering from them, depending on income level	*Chancel 2020; Oxfam 2020; Olivera, Vieira and Baeta 2021; Romanello et al. 2021; Oxfam 2022; Romanello et al. 2022*
Post-colonial perspective	- Ongoing social and ecological disruption in the Global South profiting Global North companies	*Sovacool and Scarpaci 2016; Hickel et al. 2022; Sultana 2022*
Post-anthropocentric perspective	- Non-human well-being - Respecting ecosystems beyond their service for humans	*Brevik et al. 2020*

2.7 Where these perspectives are already merging

Care is the glue that holds society together. Young children, the elderly and the sick cannot live without care from others, and neither can non-human beings and the living environment. In general, people of healthy working age are the ones who need to provide the necessary care. The COVID-19 pandemic exposed how reliant societies are on paid and unpaid care. Many of the professions defined as "essential" during the pandemic were directly or indirectly linked to care work, and the visibility of care during this time led to widespread outbursts of appreciation such as "clap for carers".

Care must be recognised as a collective necessity that is foundational for societies to function.[63] Policies should be transformative, recognising the importance of care and identifying how care can be shared fairly in households and other spheres of society.[64] A caring society would require high investments of public money for public services, including housing, education, health, transport and parks.[65]

The infrastructure for caring is unlikely to be developed under neo-liberal economic policies that favour deregulation, privatisation and tax avoidance. The current, dominant economic system is rooted in neo-classical theory, which was developed in Western Europe in the 19th century in the context of nationalistic state-building, neo-colonialism and patriarchy. Progress towards care-centred societies is hindered by this dominant economic logic, despite estimates suggesting that if the contribution of care were included in global GDP, it would contribute more than USD 10 trillion annually.[66]

Interlinkages among various perspectives

Care, gender and post-colonialism

The amount of care work, and its importance to the economy and society, is heavily underestimated. In Germany, for example, significant gender-based differences continue to exist between unpaid and paid work (see Box 5).[67] Post-colonial structures in various forms make it possible to continue to ignore the underlying structures of care. However, this plays out differently in the Global North and the Global South.

In the Global North, people's ability to maintain middle-class lifestyles and rates of consumption depend in large part on the unseen and undervalued work of marginalised groups; meanwhile, the impacts on the families of migrants are insufficiently acknowledged.[68] Many women from the Global South have migrated to the Global North in search of better economic opportunities, particularly in the care sector. Migrant and racialised care workers play a critical role in maintaining the continuous flow of workers necessary for a functioning economy in the Global North. Care jobs are essential for many industries and sectors – including cleaning, repair and maintenance work; healthcare, eldercare and childcare; and domestic work – providing crucial support to families, households and the broader economy. However, these women often face precarious working conditions, both in their home countries and in their destination countries, in the context of so-called Global Care Chains.[69]

The symptoms of the care drain do not only occur between countries and regions. They also may appear within a country, where patterns of inequality based on colonial roots persist.

In the Global South, carers suffer both time poverty and financial poverty, and everyday life can be extremely hard for those living on scarce resources and low incomes. Policies that increase access to paid employment for women can further entrench inequality if care work in the home is not taken into account (see Box 6).[70] The right to have "time to care" is often ignored and deprioritised compared to the right to work, with devastating consequences for those who need care.

To exemplify gender-based differences on the macroeconomic level, the team #CloseEconDataGap calculated three figures for Germany:

Box 5. Gender-based differences between unpaid and paid work In Germany
Source: See endnote[67]

EUR 380 billion

This is how much less income women in Germany have each year than men, even though women work one hour more per week.

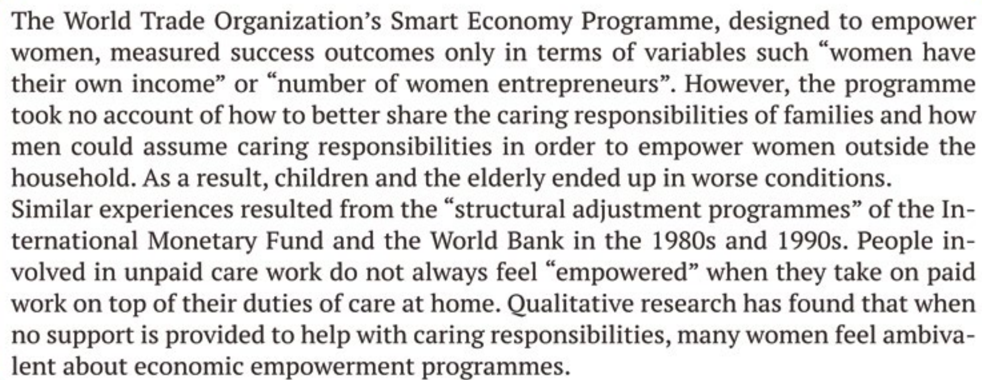
60 billion hours

This is how much unpaid work women do every year just to take care of the household. It amounts to more hours than men work in manufacturing and business-related services.

EUR 825 billion

This is the monetary value of the unpaid work of women in Germany per year. That is almost as much as all the expenditures made by the federal, state and local governments in the same period.

Box 6. How women's empowerment programmes can worsen conditions for women
Source: See endnote[70]



The World Trade Organization's Smart Economy Programme, designed to empower women, measured success outcomes only in terms of variables such "women have their own income" or "number of women entrepreneurs". However, the programme took no account of how to better share the caring responsibilities of families and how men could assume caring responsibilities in order to empower women outside the household. As a result, children and the elderly ended up in worse conditions.
Similar experiences resulted from the "structural adjustment programmes" of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s. People involved in unpaid care work do not always feel "empowered" when they take on paid work on top of their duties of care at home. Qualitative research has found that when no support is provided to help with caring responsibilities, many women feel ambivalent about economic empowerment programmes.

Climate, care and gender

The care crisis and the environmental crisis suffer from the same problem. There is a false impression that both the ecosystem and unpaid care work are infinite, simply because they are not visible in conventional monetary terms. The standard economic assumption is that negative consequences can solve themselves or be dealt with through market adjustments, such as technology or marketised care services. The failure to include unpaid care work (and the role of ecosystems) in mainstream economic models and analyses leads to bias. It leads to the prioritisation of recommendations that favour "the commercialization of agricultural land over subsistence production and smallholder farming, dam construction over livelihoods and cultural heritage of indigenous communities, road widening ports, export processing zones, and highway construction over development of public transport, health centres and better sanitation".[71]

Because much care work is invisible in society, current strategies to mitigate and adapt to climate change pay relatively little attention to how care work is affected by climate impacts, or fail to consider whether interventions improve or intensify the situation of carers.[72] Climate impacts, such as droughts and water scarcity, make caring even more time-consuming and difficult. Care work in areas affected by climate impacts continues to occur in a largely unsupported context and under ever-worsening conditions.

The focus of policies has largely been on women's economic empowerment, without considering how to alleviate or redistribute care. Climate policies that do not take into account women's additional burden of care responsibilities are often doomed to fail. For example, research in Bangladesh, Ghana and Uganda found that women failed to take up new climate-friendly farming techniques because these practices were more labour-intensive and took time away from caring responsibilities.[73]

The lifestyle changes required to live more sustainably are often linked to caring activities that people undertake within common routines for looking after their own well-being and that of their families – such as cleaning, cooking, heating, washing, etc. However, the new habits needed for sustainable lifestyles are often more time-consuming – for example, using re-usable nappies, buying from local stores, growing your own food, or mending and repairing.

Actions connected to care – such as driving children to school and providing family meals – are often managed by women. Thus, there is a risk that the burden of switching to sustainable behaviours falls to women who are already over-stretched.[74] The constant squeeze on time leads to unsustainable behaviours, such as driving the car for short journeys, buying new instead of hunting for second-hand items, and purchasing convenience food. Similarly, the urban planning of cities (including transport systems) rarely considers the mobility needs for care, which often involves travelling to multiple stops and not simply to a single location for work.[75]

From a Global South perspective, time constraints often play out differently. For poor people in particular, the rising cost of food products increases women's time poverty, since they have to spend more time going to various markets to seek out better prices.

The common roots of the diverse crises

"All these multiple crises are linked. The crisis in care, the climate crisis, the inequality crisis, the pandemic. They're all linked because we don't value people, we don't value land, we don't value care. We value profits – the people in charge of our systems value profit at the cost of our environment, our health and our sanity." [76]

What has become clear through analysis of the diverse crises we face – through both literature review and expert interviews – is that the underlying root cause of these challenges is the current economic system mainly concerned about growth and monetarisation.

3 Exploring the solution

3.1 Mainstream approaches to solving the crises, and their limitations

Mainstream approaches to solve the crises are broadly based on monetary solutions. This is rooted in the believe that economic growth and market forces – supported by technological solutions – will cure all problems.

Valuation through monetarisation to cure all problems

Recent attempts to allocate value to systems and services that exist outside of the market – such as ecosystem services – suffer from basic flaws. For example, mainstream approaches to reducing greenhouse gas emissions are regressive and fail to consider equity. This is an environmental problem as well as a social and moral failing. It results in the inability to constrain the rising consumption emissions of wealthier populations, thereby precluding the possibility of living within planetary boundaries for all.[77] Value is allocated based on the preferences of the current generation, and the most frequently used measurement method – willingness to pay – is biased towards the wealthy, as they usually are willing to offer more in absolute terms (but less in terms of shares of their income).

Monetary quantities are still the dominant unit for measuring value, but this does not capture the quality of social relations or the health of an ecosystem. Value is accounted for only in the here-and-now, and the value for future generations is discounted. Hence, modifications of the current system that seek to account for the value of ecosystems are fundamentally flawed. They can lead only to incremental improvements, while they maintain (and are intended to safeguard) the basic systemic structure.

The deep transformation required to safeguard a liveable future is ignored. We still focus on nature as an "externality" rather than applying a lens of society-nature relations. Nature is not external to us – we are part of it.[78] In particular, there is no attempt to overcome the growth dependency of the current system. Instead, the offer is to modify the kind of growth, with a focus on discourses of "qualitative growth" (in the 20th century) or "green growth" (in the 21st century).
The current economic system does not contain measures to allocate resources equitably, nor is it able to put limits on the production and consumption of goods. As a consequence, inequality and ecological destruction are baked into its design. The obsessive preoccupation with growth in mainstream economics ignores and undermines the care requirements of human maintenance, social reproduction, and the sustainability of ecosystems; it also actively contributes to the creation and intensification of crises.[79]

Green growth: The false promise of growing within ecological limits

Green growth claims to achieve the ultimate goal of decoupling ecological destruction from GDP growth, so that economies can continue to "grow sustainably". This approach promises to conserve nature, overcome poverty and create jobs based on eco-design, technological improvements and a

structural shift towards a service-based economy. It claims to deliver solutions to ecological and social problems without requiring substantial changes in attitudes, consumer behaviour, business models and power structures. Green growth is both an economic and a political strategy. The failure of sustainable development is deemed to be a market failure – leading to calls for the internalisation of externalities, without challenging the role of markets.

From the late 1970s to the mid-2010s, there were many attempts to include environmental concerns into economic strategy. These efforts assumed that if the value of natural (and sometimes social) capital was properly reflected in prices, the market would continue to deliver an optimal result. "Optimal" was understood as economic growth, which would provide the desired social and environmental development. However, willingness to internalise environmental costs in order to "make the prices tell the truth" has waned, because it would lead to high eco-taxes, which are considered politically unfeasible. This results in the surprising phenomenon of pro-market advocates shying away from market instruments to promote green growth. Instead, they rely on market interventions, such as subsidies and innovation funding, combined with regulatory elements.

As a result, solutions such as technology-driven gains in efficiency and shifts to renewable energy and a circular economy are promised as ways to reduce ecological damage. These approaches offer a potential for reduction in CO2 emissions by a factor of 4 to 5 up to 2050; however, a continuation of GDP growth rates of 3% globally would eliminate these efficiency gains within 50 years. A major criticism of green growth approaches is that, at best, they slow the rate of ecological destruction. However, they do not ultimately reduce it: efficiency gains are lost as the economy grows.

The key hypothesis of green growth – that economic growth and environmental impact can be decoupled at sufficient rates – has been proven false. A review of more than 800 articles analysing the empirical evidence for decoupling – that is, decreasing resource use and emissions at the required rate and scale while growing GDP – shows that reported decoupling is often driven by substituting domestic production with imports.[80] In other words, what appears to be decoupling is in fact relocating production (and thus the consumption of primary resources) to other countries, without necessarily reducing this consumption overall.

Resource use may even be increasing through this relocation, due to lower standards and inadequate abatement technologies in developing countries.[81] A 2023 analysis showed that to achieve the decoupling of resource use and GDP in 11 countries – on the basis of their 2013-2019 achievements – it would take between 73 years and 369 years (on average, 223 years) to reduce their respective 2022 emissions by 95%.[82] In the process, these countries would burn between 5 times and 162 times (on average, 27 times) their respective remaining post-2022 national fair-shares of the global carbon budget required to keep planetary warming below 1.5°C.[83]

Twenty years of high growth has been accompanied by a worldwide increase in environmental degradation and economic inequality.[84] Studies show that the future potential for green growth based on absolute decoupling is highly implausible.[85]

Moreover, the strategy for the worldwide energy transition rarely includes perspectives on gender and race. In the Global South, most green sectors have low representation of female or other marginalised genders as well as racialised workers. There is also little analysis of the need for social reorganisation of care, so that women enter the labour market with more equal opportunities.[86] Finally, the lower number of women in STEM fields (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) must also be considered in the context of the energy transition, but it is largely ignored.

Commodifying care: The false promise of making profit to overcome the care crisis

"There is no shortage of documents, statements and proposals out there. What is lacking is the political will to really make a difference and to physically put in place what is needed." [87]

Demand for care is expected to increase dramatically over the coming decades, driven by ageing populations and worsening environmental crises. Welfare systems (health care, pensions, etc.) will be under increasing pressure to meet this demand and will face many combined challenges. In the Global North, the total number of hours worked in unpaid care within families and communities is decreasing.[88] Under current trends, the threat of a society with less care than today is looming.

In those regions of the world where systems for public care and health care exist (largely in the Global North), it is imperative to consider how these systems will cope with the challenge of maintaining funding in an economy that is no longer growing profit. As the relative costs of health and care services increase, how will these systems overcome the inherent structural and behavioural growth dependencies that result? These problems differ substantially from contexts (many in the Global South) where public care and healthcare systems are non-existent or have limited capacities, where the needs of large segments of the population are unmet.[89]

Payment for the provision of care services has long been a key part of the recognition called for by trade unions and feminist movements. Payment for care has resulted in a diversity of care systems, from locally determined systems via public efforts, to privatised systems. Some of these have had tangible benefits for care workers, including poverty reduction and improved status of women. However, paid care work and higher rates of female employment cannot claim to be universally beneficial for women and carers. While state provision of childcare has enabled more women to enter the paid workforce, it has not generally resulted in a redistribution of care tasks between men and women (although this differs among countries, social classes, ethnic/race groups and families).[90]

Commodifying care has not proven to be successful in solving the care crisis. In many countries, a focus on neoliberal commodification led to the deregulation and privatisation of health and care services, which has often been problematic for workers and service users.[91] The characteristics of care work call into question the suitability of the neoliberal market principles of competition, consumer choice and profit.[92] Care work tends not to benefit from competition and price cutting because it is labour and time intensive and thus not amenable to increases in productivity. It is not always possible to squeeze more care into an hour of a care worker's day, and trying to do so usually results in a lower quality of care and in increased stress for the care worker.

Moreover, service users tend to be "sticky", in the sense that they generally do not want to change care providers. Changing services can be emotionally and physically stressful for the person receiving care. In a 2022 study, researchers call for a rejection of neoliberal market principles within the care sector and suggest the need for a new set of guiding principles – fit for a caring economy – that are developed by workers, residents, policy makers and providers in each country.[93]

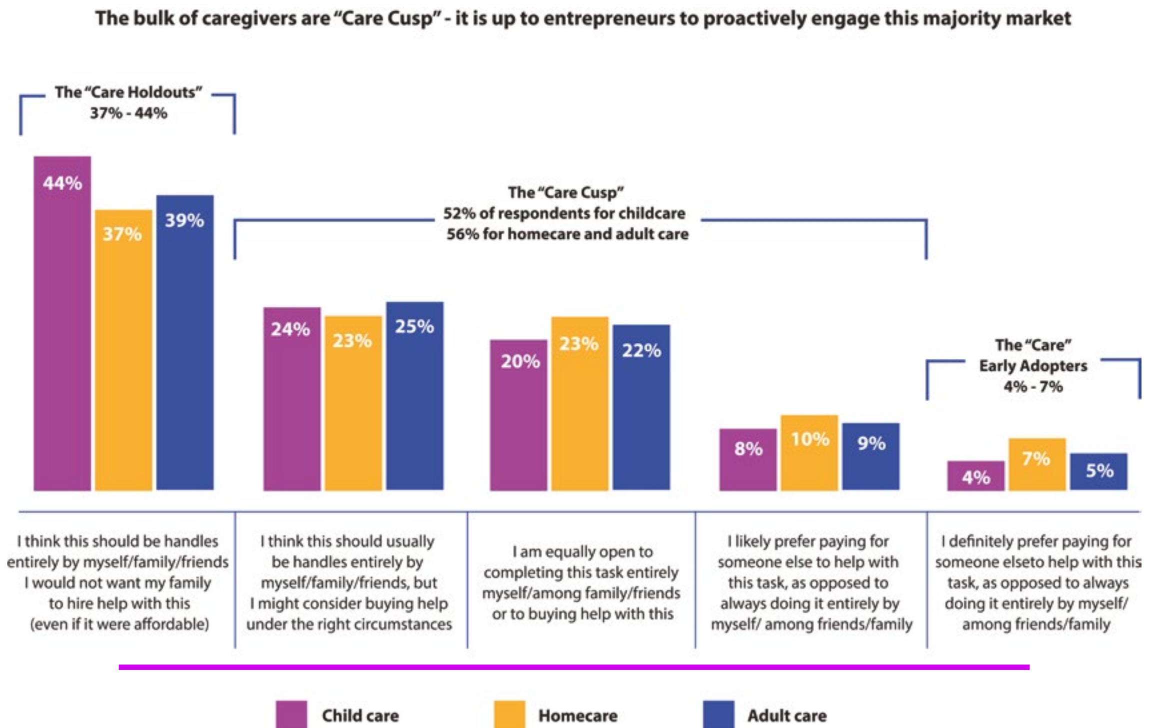
Investments in the commodification of care can be lucrative, with financial analysts noting that investments in health care have outperformed equities and offer "attractive long-term growth".[94] For example, a 2020 UBS report on billionaires notes that health care, in particular, has been an incredibly valuable investment.[95] During 2018, 2019 and the first seven months of 2020, the total wealth of healthcare billionaires increased by 50.3% to USD 658.6 billion; this is staggering even in comparison with the increase in wealth for the billionaire class as a whole, which rose by 19.1% to USD 10.2 trillion over this period.[96]

Researchers at the Centre for Understanding Sustainable Prosperity (CUSP) have highlighted the challenges facing the adult social care sector in the United Kingdom. As the country's population ages, this creates an increasing demand for health and social care services. Yet care work is time intensive, and as costs rise, companies need to increase their revenues. In addition, the predatory and rent-seeking financial practices of investment firms place unmanageable financial and human costs on large parts of the sector.[97]

A recent entrepreneur's guide to the care economy frames unpaid care work as a "massive opportunity to court consumers" (the so-called care cusp) who are in growing need of childcare, homecare, and adult care (see Figure 4), which could be offered through the private sector.[98] Even in publicly run care

institutions, many care contracts go through a public tender system, which encourages providers to undercut each other and thus to provide the service at the lowest possible price.[99] The management ideals of productivity are prioritised over the needs of the people receiving care.[100] This reflects specific societal values and a worldview in which capitalism is truly internalised – where the standard for care is rooted in individualism, perfectionism, and being able to "do it all", without relying on community.

Figure 4. The growing opportunity to engage care users globally
Source: See endnote[104]



Finally, the socialisation and tertiarisation of care tasks is often carried out at the expense of other processes that affect the most vulnerable members of society. This includes the super-exploitation of poor, racialised, and/or migrant women, who work informally for low wages and who must leave their own children and dependent family members in the charge of other women who are even more underprivileged.[101] The case of waste recycling in the Global South highlights the intersection of environmental issues, poverty and labour exploitation (see Box 7).[102]

Box 7. Informal waste recycling as emblematic of exploitative labour conditions
Source: See endnote[108]

Informal waste recycling as emblematic of exploitative labour conditions

Recycling is essential for reducing pollution. However, it often takes place in less-developed countries where recycling workers engage in informal and manual labour, with exposure to precarious conditions and exploitation. For example, in Argentina, since the 2001 crisis, the recycling of urban solid waste has become a means of subsistence for the most vulnerable populations. Many women have been leading these initiatives. Although some efforts have been made to formalise the sector, such as through the formation of co-operatives like Las Madre Selvas, the conditions of precariousness and super-exploitation persist.

Care, at its core, is an intrinsic value that cannot be replaced by the market value.

Research on values shows most people value fairness, kindness, nature, health, peace and safe societies. In nearly all cultures, the most highly prioritised values are benevolence values (care for our friends and family) and universalism values (care for wider society and for nature).[103] Beyond science, caregivers and receivers experience these care values as an underlying part of human nature and human society that gives meaning and purpose. In contrast, commodifying care can promote opposing values of competition, material wealth and self-interest. Marketing, advertising and even news, focused on economy and growth, permanently trigger extrinsic values and promote "rational choice", thus weakening people's openness to concentrate on the more social values.[104]

Governmental position: Ongoing neglect of the scale and urgency of required changes

"We need to bring investment back inside the limits of the planetary boundaries." [105]

The United Nations introduced discussions on care in the 1990s, as exemplified by the 1996 publication *Caring for the Future* from the Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life, which presented a transformative agenda. Perhaps the most visible appreciation of care and its value at the intergovernmental level is found in SDG 5, "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls", and the inclusion in target 5.4 of the need to "Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family".[106]

However, how such public recognition and valuation of care should be done is left quite open in SDG 5, and the target ends with concerning language on the need to take action only "as nationally appropriate".[107] While SDG 5 acknowledges the significance of unpaid care and domestic work, its approach

has been criticised for being vague and open-ended. For example, the renewed attention to unpaid care and domestic work is viewed as a dual enclosure process. This process simultaneously involves integrating women into the paid labour force, while also establishing a foundation for the increased commodification of domestic and care-related labour.[108]

The planetary boundaries' approach has proved impactful and can offer a valuable contribution to decision makers as they navigate favourable routes for societal advancement. The framework defines a secure range of operation for humanity on Earth and has been used and referred to in various governmental plans. For example, it was prominent in the drafting of the SDGs.[109] SDG 12 commits to "Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns".[110] However, the associated targets lack the needed ambition to drive the reductions in consumption (and underlying production) within the global consumer class that are required to meet climate objectives. Although care, gender and resource reduction are addressed in the SDGs, these concepts are situated under a broader mindset of green growth and ecological modernisation, which primarily emphasises technological solutions and traditionally masculine work approaches.

Action by governments and businesses has so far been inadequate, as evidenced by the 2022 UN Emissions Gap report, which reveals that no single country is on track to meet its pledges towards net zero greenhouse gas emissions.[111] The report also notes the failure to stop the exploitation of new gas and oil fields, especially in Africa. Plans for short-term expansions among four companies alone – Total Energies in France, Sonatrach in Algeria, Eni in Italy and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation – total more than 6 billion barrels of oil equivalent.[112] The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reported that subsidies for fossil fuels nearly doubled in 2021.[113]

Action that is commensurate with the scale and urgency of the problem is likely lacking because powerful forces are at work to maintain the current system. Many political and business leaders use their various forms of power to benefit from, and thus support, the continuation of extractivist economies that undermine the carrying capacity of our planet as well as the caring capacity of our societies; by relying on "market-friendly" developments, they enable the status quo to persist.[114]

3.2 Summarising the limits

Despite the ecological harm that the current system causes, it remains reluctant to constrain economic growth. This is not least because the most powerful economies have become dependent on economic growth to deliver social welfare; thus, they are under specific threat in an era of no or low growth.[115] On the other hand, capitalism's pursuit of the accumulation of financial capital fuels social and environmental problems, and it measures success based on GDP growth, which leads only to increased resource use and emissions.[116] The pressure to maximise production leads to pressure on the time left to provide care for each other, let alone the time and energy needed to provide care for the environment.[117] As a consequence, social and ecological damage are perpetuated, increasing the unmet needs for the care of people and of nature. In short, the current economic paradigm locks us into a systemic conflict between care responsibilities and paid work, forcing us to subordinate caring for each other and caring for nature to working for money, while ultimately reducing care for both people and the planet.

Further on, the dominant economic system is built on a colonial, patriarchal power structure, which re-inforces white and male supremacy, ableism, extractivism, and the exploitation of human labour, women's bodies and territories.[118] The result is a broad attack on life. This system disproportionately affects women and other marginalised genders, particularly those from racialised backgrounds and the Global South, who carry the majority of care responsibilities and face disadvantages due to inequalities and lack of public policies.[119]

4 Caring societies as a radical approach

It has become evident that focusing solely on a single perspective is inadequate for tackling the complex challenges presented by the ongoing multi-crises. We need to focus more on shaping our collective structures. Collective crises require collective solutions.

What is required is a novel societal framework that not only respects the boundaries of nature, but also shuns discrimination and fosters interconnectedness among all life forms. This framework should lead towards a nurturing and liveable world. A convergence of diverse perspectives and theories has consistently criticised the prevailing system for its disregard of care within societies, prompting an array of strategies to address these issues.

A fresh model must eliminate all forms of bias, while placing value on socially beneficial, low-carbon, and resource-efficient work, such as care activities, rather than relying solely on GDP growth.[120] This model should be cultivated through a socio-economic structure grounded in society-nature relations that is, an understanding that human beings share interdependence with one another and with the entirety of life on our planet; such an understanding is widely acknowledged in various indigenous knowledge systems.[121]

Surmounting the ongoing multi-crises hinges on the establishment of a caring society.

At its core, a caring society is based on the recognition that everything in the world is interconnected, and that the well-being of one part of the system is intimately tied to the well-being of the whole. This implies that caring for the planet and its inhabitants requires a deep understanding of the complex relationships among different species and ecosystems, as well as a commitment to nurturing those relationships in ways that promote equity, reciprocity and balance.

The caring perspective critically assesses capitalist industrialism as a disruptor of this balance, leading to ecological stress and multi-faceted crises.[122] Additionally, it opposes gender, sexual, and racial-based violence, as well as environmental violence faced by activists and marginalised groups due to resource exploitation, leading to biodiversity loss, environmental pollution and destruction of Indigenous habitats. The concept of “meta-industrial labour” encompasses caring, regenerative, productive and reproductive work beyond the dominant global economy.[123] It considers the importance of care in a broad sense, highlighting the interconnectedness of all living beings.[124]

Social movements in the Global South have long urged movements in the Global North to work holistically to understand that the broad variety of separate movements can be seen as a single, wider struggle for eco-social transformation. Recently, the Global North has shown increasing interest in more comprehensive approaches, particularly concerning climate justice, acknowledging the existence of lifestyle inequalities both within and between countries and the need to create a fair consumption space.[125] To achieve a fair ecological transformation, social and political organisations must redistribute paid and unpaid care work and re-assess social care arrangements, considering the roles of the state, families, private sector and communities as well as redistribution of wealth, resources and participatory power as a path to a fair ecological transformation.

Care-centred action for social and environmental justice is gaining momentum worldwide, from individual advocates to collectives. Examples include Intersectional Environmentalist, The Care Collective, the Feminism(s) and Degrowth Alliance, Indigenous groups in many countries, think tanks such as the Women’s Budget Group, large civil society organisations such as Oxfam, and inter-governmental organisations as the International Labour Organization.

While the links between care, justice, and ecological transformation are increasingly recognised by scholars and social justice advocates, they are still not widely understood or acted on in mainstream movement building and policy advocacy. Decision makers tend to focus on greening the economy without resolving the gender, race and class injustices present in the current production system, which make it unsustainable. More work is needed to clarify the synergies between care and environmental concerns and to create opportunities for unified agendas and platforms.

This paper intends to contribute to this in the following way:

• It establishes the basis for understanding the inter-related nature of the multiple crises that human societies confront today, from climate change to growing social inequality. Special emphasis is given to six perspectives: ecological, care work, gender equality, social and ecological justice, post-colonial, and post-anthropocentric. Examples are provided illustrating the interconnected nature of diverse crises and why the disregard for care is central to both the problem and the potential solutions.

• Subsequently, the paper highlights the fundamental origin of the multiple crises being faced today: namely, white male supremacy in an economic system based on capital accumulation. Doing so, the paper intends to broaden the horizon for scholars and activists mainly concerned with one perspective of the problems so far.

• Further on, the paper explores remedies for these crises, elucidating why conventional solutions often encounter constraints, and outlining the rationale behind the imperative for radical approaches. They explain how approaching a caring society can be helpful in this regard.

• Finally, the paper provides the arguments why the transformation to equitable, low-carbon societies cannot be achieved within the current paradigm of growth, competition and patriarchy. Without addressing the various crises that this implies, it will not be possible to fully transform the systemic exploitation that threatens the world today. If the problem is addressed only piecemeal, then the dominant capitalist system will be able to appropriate the various parts in order to continue the exploition. The authors show that care is a value that can guide humanity to set up systems in a different way – if care is translated into mindset, practice, policy, infrastructure and economic systems.

Hot or Cool Institute's 2023 report, *Economies That Dare to Care*, explores how the centring of care in our societies could promote social justice and prevent ecological breakdown. The report builds on decades of global efforts that value care for both people and nature. In particular, previous endeav ours have drawn attention to the domination of women and the degradation of the environment as consequences of patriarchy and capitalism.[126] Accordingly, the report notes that caring societies envi sion not only the care and well-being of both non-human and human life, but also equal rights and a fair distribution of power. It recognises that human justice is not achieved at the expense of the eron-ment, nor must environmental improvements be gained at the expense of minority groups.

The report calls for a reversal of current values, promoting care and co-operation over competition and domination, for the benefit of both society and the environment.[127] It also encourages collabora-tive efforts among various organisations to forge common change agendas and platforms for a fair and sustainable care for people and the planet.

Further work to the common goal of caring societies is expected to come from the Forum for Caring Societies. https://hotorcool.org/event/forum-for-caring-societies/

6 References

1 V. Shiva. 1993. Monocultures of the Mind: Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology. Palgrave Macmillan; S.O. Funtowicz and J.R. Ravetz. 1994. The worth of a songbird: Ecological economics as a post-normal science. Ecological Economics 10(3): 197-207; J.C. Tronto. 1993. Beyond gender difference to a theory of care: Feminist and interdisciplinary perspectives. An Ethics of Care: Feminist and Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Routledge. 240-257; W. Topa and D. Narvaez. 2022. Restoring the Kinship Worldview: Indigenous Voices Introduce 28 Precepts for Rebalancing Life on Planet Earth. North Atlantic Books; A.H. Neely and P.J. Lopez. 2022. Toward healthier futures in post-pandemic times: Political ecology, racial capitalism, and black feminist approaches to care. Geography Compass 16(2): e12609.

2 A. Mezzadri. 2020. A crisis like no other: Social reproduction and the regeneration of capitalist life during the COVID-19 pandemic. Developing Economics; K. Power. 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic has increased the care burden of women and families. Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy 16(1): 67-73; A. Krisch et al. 2020. Die Leistungsträgerinnen des Alltagslebens: Covid-19 als Brennglas für die notwendige Neubewertung von Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Leistung. Foundational Economy.

3 E. Alfredsson et al. 2018. Why achieving the Paris Agreement requires reduced overall consumption and production. Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy 14(1): 1-5.

4 J. Millward-Hopkins et al. 2020. Providing decent living with minimum energy: A global scenario. Global Environmental Change 65: 102168.

5 C. Schildberg (ed.). 2014. A Caring and Sustainable Economy: A Concept Note from a Feminist Perspective. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; R. Bärnthaler and I. Gough. 2023. Provisioning for sufficiency: Envisaging production corridors. Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy 19(1): 2218690.

6 T. Bell and J.W. Goudriaan. 2022. Who cares for the carers? Social Europe. https://www.social-europe.eu/who-cares-for-the-carers.

7 Tronto, op. cit. note 1.

8 Ibid.

9 J.H. Spangenberg and S. Lorek. 2022. Who cares (for whom)? Frontiers in Sustainability 23.

10 P. Nirmal and D. Rocheleau. 2019. Decolonizing degrowth in the post-development convergence: Questions, experiences, and proposals from two Indigenous territories. Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space 2(3): 465-492.

11 A. Cooty and M. Harris. 2013. Upstream investment and early action to prevent harm: Building knowledge and breaking down barriers. The Prevention Papers. New Economics Foundation.

12 D. Bassens et al. 2023. Market Entitlement and the Foundational Economy. Working Paper 11. Foundational Economy Collective.

13 Oxfam. 2020. Confronting Carbon Inequality in the European Union.

14 K. Richardson et al. 2023. Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. Science Advances 9(37).

15 W. Steffen et al. 2015. Planetary boundaries: Guiding human development on a changing planet. Science 347(6223): 1259855.

16 D.W. O'Neill et al. 2018. A good life for all within planetary boundaries. Nature Sustainability 1(2): 88-95.

17 J. Rockström et al. 2009. Planetary boundaries: Exploring the safe operating space for humanity. Ecology and Society 14(2); Steffen et al., op. cit. note 15.

18 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2023. About. https://www.ipcc.ch/about. Accessed [10.10.2023].

19 Kim, S. K., Shin, J., An, S. I., Kim, H. J., Im, N., Xie, S. P., ... & Yeh, S. W. (2022). Widespread irreversible changes in surface temperature and precipitation in response to CO2 forcing. Nature Climate Change, 12(9), 834-840.

20 L. Kemp et al. 2022. Climate endgame: Exploring catastrophic climate change scenarios. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 119(34); D.I. Armstrong McKay et al. 2022. Exceeding 1.5° C global warming could trigger multiple climate tipping points. Science 377(6611); Concern USA. 2023. Ten of the countries most affected by climate change. https://concernusa.org/news/countries-most-affected-by-climate-change. Accessed [24.10.2023].

21 L. Akenji et al. 2021. 1.5-Degree Lifestyles: Towards a Fair Consumption Space for All. Berlin: Hot or Cool Institute.

22 Ibid.

23 IPBES. 2019. The IPBES Global Assessment on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. Bonn: Secretariat of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services.

24 Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES).

2019. The IPBES Global Assessment on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. Bonn; United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). 2010. Integrated Solutions for Biodiversity, Climate Change and Poverty. UNEP Policy Series: Ecosystem Management. Policy Brief 1-2010. Nairobi.

25 X. Bai et al. 2022. How to stop cities and companies causing planetary harm. Nature 609: 463-466.

26 S.M. Abel et al. 2022. Human footprints at hadal depths: interlayer and intralayer comparison of sediment cores from the Kuril Kamchatka trench. Science of the Total Environment 838: 156035.

27 M. Romanello et al. 2021. The 2021 Report of the Lancet Countdown on Health and Climate Change: Code Red for a Healthy Future. The Lancet 398(10311): 1619-1662.

28 Interviewee #26.

29 European Federation for Services to Individuals. 2019. 10 Proposals for High Quality, Accessible and Affordable PHS. Brussels; A. Chatzidakis et al.

30 F. Williams. 2018. Care: Intersections of scales, inequalities and crises. Current Sociology 66(4): 547-561.

31 Ibid.; E. Dowling (2022). The Care Crisis: What Caused It and How Can We End It? Verso Books; L. Plank et al. (2023). Shareholder-orientierte transnationale Investoren in der kritischen sozialen Infrastruktur. England, Deutschland und Österreich im Vergleich. Vienna: Verlag Arbeiterkammer Wien; Interviewees #10, #16.

32 H.P. Melo and L. Morandi. 2021. Mensurar o trabalho não pago no Brasil: Uma proposta metodológica. Economia e Sociedade 30: 187-210.

33 Ministry of Economy of Argentina. 2022. The Value of Care: A Strategic Economic Sector – A Measurement of Unpaid Care and Domestic Work in the Argentine GDP. https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/2022/09/cuidados-sector-economico-estrategico-ingles.pdf.

34 Interviewee #11.

35 Power, op. cit. note 2.

36 International Labour Organization (ILO). 2018. Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work. Geneva.

37 I. Praetorius. 2015. Wirtschaft ist Care-oder: Die Wiederentdeckung des Selbstverständlichen. Schriften zu Wirtschaft und Soziales (16). Berlin: Heinrich Böll Stiftung.

38 Interviewee #23.

39 J. Moreira da Silva. 2019. Why You Should Care about Unpaid Care Work. OECD Development Matters.

40 ILO, op. cit. note 38. Figure 1 from idem.

41 C. Farbotko. 2018. Domestic Environmental Labour: An Ecofeminist Perspective on Making Homes Greener. Routledge; L. Godin and J. Langlois. 2021. Care, gender, and change in the study of sustainable consumption: A critical review of the literature. Frontiers in Sustainability 92.

42 J. Lorber and S.A. Farrell (eds.). 1991. The Social Construction of Gender. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

43 N. Folbre. 2006. Measuring care: Gender, empowerment, and the care economy. Journal of Human Development 7(2): 183-99. N. Folbre. (1994). Who pays for the kids? Gender and the structures of constraint (Vol. 4). Taylor & Francis US.

44 C. Rodríguez Enríquez. 2015. Economía feminista y economía del cuidado. Aportes conceptuales para el estudio de la desigualdad. Revista Nueva Sociedad 256: 30-44; M. Olivera, C. Vieira and F. Baeta. 2021. Mulheres no mercado de trabalho brasileiro: Uma análise das segregações e discriminações a partir da economia feminista. TD Instituto de Economia 18. Rio de Janeiro: IE/UFRJ; A. Levanon, P. England and P. Allison. 2009. Occupational feminization and pay: Assessing causal dynamics using 1950-2000 U.S. Census Data. Social Forces 88(2): 865-891; P. England and N. Folbre. 1999. The cost of caring. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 561(1): 39-51.

45 L. Chancel. 2020. nsustainable Inequalities: Social Justice and the Environment. Harvard University Press.

46 S. Kleinhückelkotten, H.P. Neitzke and S. Moser. 2016. Repräsentative Erhebung von Pro-Kopf-Verbräuchen natürlicher Ressourcen in Deutschland (nach Bevölkerungsgruppen).

47 Figure 2 from Oxfam. 2015. Extreme Carbon Inequality: Why the Paris Climate Deal Must Put the Poorest, Lowest Emitting and Most Vulnerable People First.

48 Oxfam, op. cit. note 48.

49 Oxfam. 2022. Carbon Billionaires: The Investment Emissions of the World's Richest People.

50 Ibid.

51 K. Crenshaw. 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum 1989(1): 139-167; A. Kaijser and A. Kronsell. 2014. Climate change through the lens of intersectionality. Environmental Politics 23(3): 417-433.

52 Figure 3 from the Nation. 2016. Race Best Predicts Whether You Live Near Pollution

Environmental racism extends far beyond Flint.

53 Interviewee #18.

54 Zavala, V. A., Bracci, P. M., Carethers, J. M., Carvajal-Carmona, L., Coggins, N. B., Cruz-Correa, M. R., ... & Fejerman, L. (2021). Cancer health disparities in racial/ethnic minorities in the United States. British journal of cancer, 124(2), 315-332. Canty, L. (2022). The lived experience of severe maternal morbidity among Black women. Nursing Inquiry, 29(1), e12466. American

Society of Anesthesiologists. 2023 Black and Hispanic patients much more likely to die after surgery than white patients. Accessed [24.10.2023].

55 M. Romanello et al., op. cit. note 27; M. Romanello et al. 2022. The 2022 Report of the Lancet Countdown on Health and Climate Change: Health at the Mercy of Fossil Fuels. The Lancet 400(10363): 1619-1654.

56 Interviewee #16.

57 Interviewees #3, #10, #14, #18, #20, #22, #25.

58 H.J. Chang. 2002. Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective. Anthem Press; F. Sultana. 2022. The unbearable heaviness of climate coloniality. Political Geography 99: 102638; E.S. Reinert (2019). How Rich Countries Got Rich… and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor. Hachette UK; N. Smith. 2010. Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space. University of Georgia Press.

59 J. Hickel et al. 2022. Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990-2015. Global Environmental Change 73: 102467.

60 R. Warlenius. 2018. Decolonizing the atmosphere: The climate justice movement on climate debt. The Journal of Environment & Development 27(2): 131-155.

61 Box 4 from B.K. Sovacool and J. Scarpaci. 2016. Energy justice and the contested petroleum politics of stranded assets: Policy insights from the Yasuní-ITT Initiative in Ecuador. Energy Policy 95: 158-171.

62 K. Brevik et al. 2020. Wellbeing in the more-than-human world. Sustainable Wellbeing Futures: A Research and Action Agenda for Ecological Economics, 151-166.

63 R. Bärnthaler, A. Novy and L. Plank. 2021. The foundational economy as a cornerstone for a social–ecological transformation. Sustainability 13(18): 10460.

64 R. Bärnthaler and C. Dengler. 2023. Universal basic income, services, or time politics? A critical realist analysis of (potentially) transformative responses to the care crisis. A critical realist analysis of (potentially) transformative responses to the care crisis. Journal of Critical Realism 22(4).

65 Interviewees # 3, #10, #14, #18, #20, #22, #25.

66 M. Lawson et al. 2020. Time to Care: Unpaid and Underpaid Care Work and the Global Inequality Crisis. Oxfam.

67 Box 5 from #CloseEconDataGap. 2023. https://www.closeecondatagap.de. Accessed [01.10.2023].

68 D. Cooray. 2017. The care drain and its effects on the families left behind: A case study of Sri Lanka. Comparative Sociology 16(3): 369-392; H. Lutz and E. Palenga-Möllenbeck. 2012. Care workers, care drain, and care chains: Reflections on care, migration, and citizenship. Social Politics 19(1): 15-37.

69 A.R. Hochschild and B. Ehrenreich. 2002. Love and gold. In: H. Bertram and N. Ehlert (eds.). Family, Ties and Care: Family Transformation in a Plural Modernity. Verlag Barbara Budrich.

70 Box 6 from the following sources: S. Bradshaw. 2010. Women, poverty and disasters: Exploring the links through Hurricane Mitch in Nicaragua. In: S.H. Chant (ed.). International Handbook of Gender and Poverty. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar; E. Pozzan and U. Cattaneo. 2020. Women Health Workers: Working Relentlessly in Hospitals and at Home. Geneva: ILO.

71 M.S. Floro. 2012. The crises of environment and social reproduction: Understanding their linkages. Journal of Gender Studies 15: 13-31.

72 S. MacGregor, S. Arora-Jonsson and M. Cohen. 2022. Caring in a Changing Climate: Centering Care Work in Climate Action. Oxfam. 129.

73 C. Jost et al. 2016. Understanding gender dimensions of agriculture and climate change in smallholder farming communities. Climate and Development 8(2): 133-144.

74 Godin and Langlois, op. cit. note 43.

75 M. Olivera et al. 2021. A dimensão de gênero no Big Push para a Sustentabilidade no Brasil: as mulheres no contexto da transformação social e ecológica da economia brasileira. São Paulo: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; R. Heffernan et al. 2021. A Feminist European Green Deal. Towards an Ecological and Gender Just Transition. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

76 Interviewee #23.

77 J.A. Dearing et al. 2014. Safe and just operating spaces for regional social-ecological systems. Global Environmental Change 28: 227-238.

78 R. Bärnthaler. 2023. Towards eco-social politics: A case study of transformative strategies to overcome forms-of-life crises. Environmental Politics, 1-22.

79 M.S. Floro. 2012. The crises of environment and social reproduction: Understanding their linkages. Journal of Gender Studies 15: 13-31.

80 H. Haberl et al. 2020. A systematic review of the evidence on decoupling of GDP, resource use and GHG emissions, part II: Synthesizing the insights. Environmental Research Letters 15(6): 065003.

81 R. Weber, G. Aliyeva and J. Vijgen. 2013. The need for an integrated approach to the global challenge of POPs management. Environ Science and Pollution Research International 20: 1901-1906.

82 J. Vogel and J. Hickel. 2023). Is green growth happening? An empirical analysis of achieved versus Paris-compliant CO2–GDP decoupling in high-income countries. The Lancet Planetary Health 7(9): e759-e769.

83 Ibid.

84 S. Borghesi and A. Vercelli. 2003. Sustainable globalisation. Ecological Economics 13.

85 J. Hickel and G. Kallis. 2020. Is green growth possible? New Political Economy 25(4): 469-486.

86 Olivera et al., op. cit. note 76.

87 Interviewees #7; #12, #21.

88 Spangenberg and Lorek, op. cit. note 9.

89 C. Dengler et al. 2023. Towards Feminist Development Policy: Prioritizing the Foundational Economy and Universal Basic Services. Oxfam.

90 E. Samman et al. 2016. Women's Work: Mothers, Children and the Global Childcare Crisis. London: Overseas Development Institute.

91 K. Schwiter and J. Steiner. 2020. Geographies of care work: The commodification of care, digital care futures and alternative caring visions. Geography Compass 14(12); T. Vaittinen, H-K. Hoppania and O. Karsio. 2018. Marketization,K. Hoppania and O. Karsio. 2018. Marketization, commodification and privatization of care services. In: J. Elias and A. Roberts (eds.). Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender. Edward Elgar Publishing.

92 C. Corlet Walker, A. Druckman and T. Jackson. 2022. A critique of the marketisation of long-term residential and nursing home care. The Lancet Healthy Longevity 3(4).

93 Ibid.

94 UBS. 2021. Health care outperformance set to continue. https://www.ubs.com/global/en/wealth-management/our-approach/marketnews/article.1543612.html.

95 UBS. 2020. Riding the Storm: Market Turbulence Accelerates Diverging Fortunes. Billionaires Insights. https://www.ubs.com/content/dam/static/noindex/wealth-management/ubs-billionaires-report-2020-spread.pdf.

96 Ibid.

97 APPG on Limits to Growth. 2021. Tackling Growth Dependency: The Case of Adult Social Care. https://limits2growth.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/APPG-Policy-Briefing-No-4-1.pdf; Bradshaw, op. cit. note 71.

98 Invest in Care. The 'Care CUSP' and five ways of reaching them. https://www.investin.care/entrepreneurs-guide-to-the-care-economy/the-care-cusp. Accessed [15.09.2023]. Figure 4 from Idem.

99 Interviewee #27.

100 Interviewee #8.

101 B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. 2004. Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy. New York: Metropolitan/Owl Books; S. Federici. 2012. Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle. Oakland CA: PM Press.

102 Box 7 from Las Madreselvas. 2023. https://www.facebook.com/lasmadreselvas.cta. Accessed [01.09.2023].

103 Schwartz, Shalom. H. 2012. An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. Online Readings in

Psychology and Culture, 2(1).

104 J. Martinez-Alier, G. Munda and J. O'Neill. 1998. Weak comparability of values as a foundation for ecological economics. Ecological Economics 26(3): 277-286.

105 Interviewee #16.

106 UN. 2015. Resolution A/Res/70/1. 2015. Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015. New York: United Nations.

107 Ibid.

108 F.Beier. 2018. Marxist perspectives on the global enclosures of social reproduction. Triple C. https://www.triple-c.at/index.php/tripleC/article/view/980.

109 UN. 2015. Resolution A/Res/70/1. 2015. Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015. New York: United Nations.

110 Ibid.

111 UNEP. 2022. Emissions Gap Report 2022. Nairobi.

112 H. Schücking et al. 2022. Who Is Financing Fossil Fuel Expansion in Africa? Sassenberg: Urgewald e.V.

113 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2022. Support for fossil fuels almost doubled in 2021, slowing progress toward international climate goals, according to new analysis from OECD and IEA. https://www.oecd.org/newsroom/support-for-fossil-fuels-almost-doubled-in-2021-slowing-progress-toward-international-climate-goals-according-to-new-analysis-from-oecd-and-iea.htm.

114 D. Fuchs. 2007. Business Power in Global Governance. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

115 Interviewee #1.

116 C. Carrasco. 2006. La economía feminista: Una apuesta por otra. Estudios sobre género y economía 15: 29-62; N. Fraser. 2022. Cannibal Capitalism: How Our System Is Devouring Democracy, Care and the Planet – and What We Can Do About It. London: Verso.

117 S. Gerold, M. Hoffmann and E. Aigner. 2023. Towards a critical understanding of work in ecological economics: A postwork perspective. Ecological Economics 212: 107935; M. Manfroni et al. 2021. The profile of time allocation in the metabolic pattern of society: An internal biophysical limit to economic growth. Ecological Economics 190: 107183.

118 M. Olivera and L. Pereira. 2023. A economia feminista e a sustentabilidade: capitalismo patriarcal extrativista ou a vida no centro? (in press).

119 M. Mies and V. Shiva. 1993. Ecofeminism. Zed Books.

120 G. Di Chiro. 2019. Care not growth: Imagining a subsistence economy for all. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations 21(2): 303-311.

121 L. Cabnal. 2010. Acercamiento a la construcción de la propuesta de pensamiento epistémico de las mujeres indígenas feministas comunitarias de Abya Yala. In: Asociación para la cooperación (eds.). Feministas siempre. Feminismos diversos: el feminismo comunitario: 11-25. Madrid: Acsur Las Segovias.

122 J.P. Clark. 2012. Political ecology. In: R. Chadwick (ed.). Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics (Second Edition), 505-516. San Diego: Academic Press; N. Fraser. 2017. Behind Marx's hidden abode: For an expanded conception of capitalism. In P. Deutsche and C. Lafont (eds.). Critical Theory in Critical Times, 141-159. Columbia University Press.

123 A. Salleh. 2010. From metabolic rift to "metabolic value": Reflections on environmental sociology and the alternative globalization movement. Organization & Environment 23(2), 205-219.

124 Ibid.; V. Shiva. 2020. ONENESS vs the 1%: Shattering Illusions, Seeding Freedom. Chelsea Green Publishing.

125 M. Mellor. 1997. Feminism and Ecology. Polity Press; Interviewee #23.

126 G. Winker. 2022. Care Revolution als Klimagerechtigkeitspolitik. Bundesnetzwerk Bürgerschaftliches Engagement.

127 L. Dean, B. Churchill and L. Ruppanner. 2022. The mental load: Building a deeper theoretical understanding of how cognitive and emotional labor overload women and mothers. Community, Work & Family 25(1): 13-29.

HotorCool