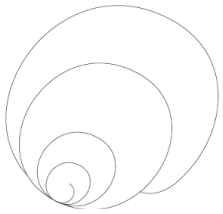
Degrowth Journal Volume 2 (2024) 00032
http://doi.org/10.36399/Degrowth.002.01.08

degrowth
JOURNAL



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Why degrowth needs Black ecology

Anthony T. Fiscella [a]

[a] Independent researcher
Email address: anthony.fiscella@gmail.com

Information
Received 31 June 2022
Accepted 12 June 2024
Online 23 July 2024

Keywords
degrowth spirituality
environmental justice
critical race theory
anarchist economics
animal liberation

Abstract
Developed in the early 1970s, the concept of "Black ecology" addressed the experienced realities of separate and unequal sets of ecological vantage points and environmental concerns both within the United States and around the world. As a predominantly European movement, degrowth has given relatively little attention to questions of racism and racial barriers, not just globally, but also within Europe and the United States. While some attention has gone toward discussing Indigenous models (e.g., Buen Vivir, Ubuntu), questions of race seem largely relegated within degrowth literature to the coverage of the Environmental Justice movement. In doing so, degrowth scholars and activists have missed a broader view of Black ecology, a more critical analysis of racism, and additional opportunities for inspiration and practical alliance. Ecological priorities within degrowth have also largely missed several areas related to Black ecology such as prison abolition, addiction/sobriety, and intersections of sanctity, animals, and health. Black ecology (exemplified here with womanism, Rastas, MOVE, and others) may help degrowth address some of its glaring omissions, heal debilitating colorblindness, better navigate complex socio-ecological issues, and build more balanced and effective alliances. Situated on the frontlines of both ecological vulnerability and an alternative life-centered economics, Black ecology offers a fertile opportunity for degrowth to develop a bridge between unsustainable "imperial modes of living" and the sustainable "original model" of many stateless Indigenous societies.

1. Introduction

Racism not only contributes to eco-crises; it fuels and organizes them. People of color do not merely exist as victims of pollution and climate change; they fuel and organize solutions on the frontlines (and typically with only a fraction of the resources available to their "whiter" counterparts). If advocates of degrowth want to effectively address questions of sustainability and social equality, we could learn to see these dynamics and respond accordingly by reaching out, listening, (un)learning, organizing across racial boundaries, and, perhaps most

importantly, by building relationships (Mailhot & Perkins, 2022, p. 153; Rodríguez-Labajos et al., 2019, p. 182; Rossing, 2021).

This article suggests that one key step on that path involves recognizing the significance of—and connecting with—Black ecology.[1] Building on Nathan Hare's article "Black ecology" (1970), the term here refers not only to the *situational* ecologies that characterize many neighborhoods of color in the African diaspora, Africa, and elsewhere, but also the *proactive* responses and legacies of various, Black-led groups and organizations, as well as Indigenous and other people living under similar situations.[2] By grasping the extent to which racism permeates and structures local and global relations, we have an opportunity to challenge assumptions that new technology will resolve ecological challenges and, instead, work through more simple and social means to build egalitarian ecological responses from the bottom-up. One cannot, however, build from the bottom while living close to the top—especially if colorblindness hinders one from even seeing the pits that keep many people disadvantaged and at risk their entire lives. In the words of Corinna Dengler and Lisa Marie Seebacher: "Those that are benefiting from a system are less likely to see its injustices" (2019, p. 247). For this reason and others, advocates of degrowth need Black ecology to help us see what its European vantage point continues to obscure.

a. Background to Black ecology

Black Americans and Latinos breathe in 56% and 63%, respectively, *more* pollution than they generate (they also have correspondingly higher rates of cardiovascular disease mortality and asthma), while "whites" breathe in 17% *less* air pollution than they cause (Bullard, 2021, p. 246; Mikati et al., 2018, pp. 481, 484). People of color tend to produce the least amount of pollution and climate-changing emissions (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). At the same time,

[1] In line with increasingly common convention, this article capitalizes "Black" (representing a racialized class and culture) but not "white" (representing a largely unspoken background of racial domination). "White" appears here in quote marks to signify its top-down imposition of a fabricated, ever-shifting label that serves to demarcate spoken and unspoken identities of power, property, and exclusivity. "White" does not signify a culture or an ethnic group, but a class of racialized power at the exclusion and expense of others racialized as "non-white" (Allen, 1997, pp. 45, 162, 246; Ignatiev, 1995, pp. 1, 6, 51, 210).

[2] While "people of color" (a broader term) includes here Black people, the term "Black ecology" (a narrower term that centers Blackness), shall also include to some degree "people of color" as the shared "non-white" distinction holds most weight here: how various racialized communities live in and respond to the confines of racism.

people of color remain on the frontlines of exposure to ecological hazards and environmental racism (Austin & Schill, 1991; Bullard et al., 2008, 2014; Cole & Foster, 2000; Roberts & Toffolon-Weiss, 2001). Those on the absolute frontlines across the world even risk their lives for organizing defense of local habitats and communities. Paramilitary, landowners, business security, gangs, and others have killed approximately 2,000 environmental activists, largely Indigenous peoples, within the last 20 years, and the rate has not slowed down (Bille Larsen et al., 2021; Scheidel et al., 2020). Still, climate change discourse remains "inaccessible to most people who need to have a voice in decision making and governmental actions to protect the environment" (Harlan et al., 2015, p. 147). Native voices have critiqued settler-colonialist culture (and even anarchists and anti-capitalists) of "despiritualizing the universe" because, while Natives "experience and relate to a living universe, […] Western philosophy, especially science, reduces things to objects, whether they're alive or not" (e.g., Vine Deloria, Jr. quoted in Jensen, 2008, p. 246; Means, 1991, pp. 72-73). The social norms of limits facilitated by conceptions and practices of sanctity remain largely absent or impotent within the mainstream environmental discourse in Europe and the US. Ultimately, voices of those most affected by pollution, biodiversity loss, and the consequences of climate change (e.g. Black, Latinx, working class, and Indigenous) tend to get the least representation within policymaking, activism, and academia (Mohai, 1990; Pulido, 2016; Taylor, 2014; Wright, 2021).

Racist power imbalance has furthermore permeated various aspects of environmentalist activism and ecological research in terms of, for example, priorities, participants, and platform (i.e., what gets studied, who studies it, and where or how the research gets presented): "African thought has largely been disregarded as a potential source of Indigenous ecophilosophical values. […] The presumption that African thought is essentially strongly anthropocentric and thus unable to make any meaningful contribution to an environmental ethic is widespread" (Behrens, 2014, pp. 63-64).

A sizable minority portion of research has addressed racial gaps and tensions in environmentally oriented academic and activist currents (Byrnes, 2014; Clarke & Agyeman, 2011; Delaney, 2002; Hare, 1970; Jones, 1975; Lohmann, 2020; Mahtani, 2014; Murphy et al., 2021; Opperman, 2019, 2020a; Pulido & De Lara, 2018; Rusert, 2010; Slocum, 2018; Taylor,

2000). Rather than negate the claim that race has received too little attention within environmental and ecological contexts, these studies point toward a need for much more attention to dynamics of race in these areas. "White" dominant environmentalism "has historically left out the pressing environmental priorities of Black communities as well as the labor of Black environmentalists leaving Black communities to continue to be disproportionately harmed by environmental issues, but also characterized as disinterested in understanding the problem or forming a solution" (Compton, 2021, p. 12). Steward Pickett and J. Morgan Grove wrote: "Ecologists have largely avoided race and racism as ecological factors […] the time has come for the science to more fully acknowledge the existence and impact of systemic racism, especially in the US" (2020, p. 535).

Advocates of degrowth, in research and activism, strive toward ecological harmony and economic justice. Subsequently, we see considerable discussion of Environmental Justice (EJ) in degrowth literature (e.g., Akbulut et al., 2019; Anguelovski, 2015; Domazet & Ančić, 2019; Frost, 2019; Martínez-Alier, 2012; Rodríguez-Labajos et al., 2019; Singh, 2019). Nonetheless, beyond EJ, degrowth scholarship does not devote much attention to race and racism (Demaria et al., 2019, p. 445; Gilmore, 2013, p. 1287; Hanaček [3] Degrowth literature therefore falls in line with mainstream "white" environmentalism when it ignores both Black ecology and related concerns ranging from racism to sobriety, and from incarceration to traditions of sanctity. As a largely European-based movement, degrowth may retain at least some of the racial [4] inherited from the broader overt and colorblind racist cultural contexts from which it arose. This article builds and expands on a theme addressed elsewhere that seeks to lift the

[3] We see a similar pattern in political ecology and environmental studies in general (Bratman & DeLince, 2022). In the Francophone world, we hear that the "question of racism is almost entirely absent from French political ecology" (Ferdinand, 2020, p. 53). There, Malcom Ferdinand has developed "decolonial ecology" to bring discussions of racism out from the marginalized enclaves of Environmental Justice and tie them in directly to ecology. This article on Black ecology engages in a similar project to reach beyond EJ and toward broader questions of colonialism, Black ecological legacies, related concerns (e.g., incarceration, addiction, etc.), and proactive alternatives.

[4] See Medina (2013, pp. xi-xiii; 211-213) for a discussion on potentially ableist language and an explanation of the legacy of blindness and invisibility in relation to the social reality of racism, colorblind racism, and anti-racist discourse. Also, see Ignatin (1967) for a discussion on "the white blindspot" rooted in analysis from Marx ("Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded," 1872/1948, p. 301) and Du Bois (referring to Black reconstruction after the Civil War: "It is only the blindspot in the eyes of America, and its historians, that can overlook and misread so clean and encouraging a chapter of human struggle and human uplift," 1935, p. 577). Ignatin, later writing as Noel Ignatiev, would go on to found the antiracist journal *Race Traitor* and author the book *How the Irish became white* (1995).

term “decolonization” from “degrowth jargon” (Deschner & Hurst, 2018) toward a clearer term in definition and praxis that can better facilitate more constructive exchanges and alliances (Arora & Stirling, 2021; Feola, 2019, pp. 981-983; Roy, 2022, p. 7; Silva, 2022, p. 375; Varvarousis, 2019, pp. 493-494).

Colonialism has shaped society so thoroughly that many in so-called “privileged” sectors do not even see its impacts, while the marginalized majority of the world struggle with them daily. It can feel difficult sometimes to even grasp the disparities. Rabih Bashroush estimated that a single music video (“Despacito”), which streamed five billion times, produced over 250,000 tons of carbon emissions and consumed as much electricity as Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and the Central African Republic collectively consumed in an entire year (Griffiths, 2020). Likewise, while people in Europe and the United States produce a vastly disproportional amount of electronic and hazardous waste, those who live in Africa (where 600 million people remain off-grid), shoulder a similarly disproportional burden of receiving and storing toxic waste from Europe and the US as well as its ecological and personal health consequences (Kelbessa, 2022; Logan 1991; Moore, 2011; Okafor-Yarwood & Adewumi, 2020; Petrlik et al., 2019; Pilkington, 2022; United Nations, 2010).

Much like the great disparities that exist globally, so too do we see racial gaps among Blacks and “whites” in the United States. In his groundbreaking article published in correspondence with the first celebration of Earth Day, Nathan Hare (1970) argued that “black ecology”[5] arose in the hearts, minds, and environs of Black people due to their specific living conditions which created certain concerns and posed particular risks that “white” people did not face to the same degree or in the same way (such as industrial pollutants, vermin, overcrowding, antisocial violence, fire hazards, sanitation, traffic congestion, personal health, etc.). Later that year, Carolyn Burrow (1970) described similar conditions in St. Louis and coined the term “environmental racism”. More recently, building on Hare, Romy Opperman (2020b) traced “radical Black ecology” to Black Panther Party’s co-founder Huey P. Newton, Silvia Wynter,

[5] Hare did not capitalize “Black.” In line with increasingly common convention, this article capitalizes “Black” (representing a racialized class and culture) but not “white” (representing a largely unspoken background of racial domination; in quote marks to signify its top-down imposition of a fabricated, ever-shifting label that serves to demarcate spoken and unspoken identities of power, property, and exclusivity).

Alice Walker, and their respective descriptions of ecological resistance against racism, capitalism, and the plundering of nature. All seem to agree that "white" environmentalism has failed to address the often different and distinct ecological concerns of Blacks.

Hare based his conception of Black ecology on three points: (i) Black and "white" environments differ not only in degree but also in type; (ii) the causes and solutions to ecological problems in the suburbs and ghettos likewise differ fundamentally; (iii) conventional solutions proposed for the "ecological crisis" seem reformist or regressive (such as emphasis on population growth) and they ignore the social and political revolution which Black ecological justice demands. Describing Blacks as "a kidnapped and captive nation," further constrained by the domination of wealth by the United States globally and corporate power nationally, Hare argued that the "real solution to the environmental crisis is the decolonization of the black race" (1970, p. 8).

Terry Jones described the same phenomenon as "apartheid ecology" that consisted of "at least two ecological systems—one Black and one white"—wherein dilapidated buildings, polluted air, and crowded living conditions characterized the former and "more pleasant" environments characterized the latter (1975, p. 6). Jones cited a contemporary study that found 87% racial segregation in more than half of US cities and more than 91% racial segregation in a quarter of US cities (Ibid, p. 8). During the 20th century, large cities in the US declined and suburbs grew. This brought a massive sprawl of shopping centers malls on the outskirts of cities across the country while leaving industrial production in the largely Black urban areas or relocated to economically disadvantaged rural areas. Supported with federal funding, this process exacerbated existing racial segregation by enabling "whites" to commute and live farther away from Blacks. Between 1945 and 1975, "less than five percent of $120 billion worth of federal subsidies for new housing went to nonwhite families" with private enterprise following the same pattern, "if not even more so" (Ibid, p.15). The 1938 Federal Housing Administration Underwriting Manual and institutions such as the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Home Owners Loan Corporation "explicitly encouraged racial segregation […] for the sake of 'stability'" (Ibid, p. 12). Practices such as "redlining" embodied

structural racism as the government and banks funded "white" suburbia and refused to fund Black neighborhoods (Taylor, 2011, p. 285; also, see Zhong & Popovich, 2022).[6]

In 1987, a groundbreaking study, "Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States", showed evidence of race as the most reliable predictor of residence near hazardous waste sites in the US (United Church of Christ, 1987). Combined with protests around, for example, plans to dump 120 million pounds of toxic soil contaminated by polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) in Warren County, North Carolina in 1982 (a predominantly Black area and one of many similar instances), this study helped spark the Environmental Justice movement (Mohai et al., 2009, p. 406).

It may feel tempting to attribute ecological disparities solely to class (and, indeed, class *does* matter). Yet, "Black households with incomes between $50,000 and $60,000 live in neighborhoods that are more polluted than neighborhoods in which poor white households with incomes below $10,000 live" (Bullard, 2021, p. 246). Most people in the US, however, do not know that "race, rather than poverty, is the primary factor behind environmental inequality," an ignorance that Dylan Bugden has referred to as *colorblind environmental racism* (2022, p. 2).

Differences in environs and experiences has led to "somewhat of a language barrier between the races in the environmental movement" (Mock, 2014, para 30). As Amanda Baugh wrote in *The Green Divide:* "Historically, African American communities did not participate widely in mainstream environmentalism, in large part because the movement was associated with the concerns of white elites" (2017, p. 9). Blacks and "whites" have tended to place differing degrees of emphasis or take different stances on various issues such as population growth (Dyett & Thomas, 2019; Sinnette, 1972; Smith, 1996), spirituality (Arp & Boeckelman, 1997; Taylor, 2000), veganism (Harper, 2010), degrees of radicalism (Opperman, 2020a, 2020b), as well as anti-militarization, workers' safety, support for Native treaties, and the rights to clean air and water (Taylor, 2000, pp. 543-545). Far from having less concern for the environment

[6] Similar patterns of discrimination appeared in other areas, such as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (aka the "GI Bill"), which provided financial services to "whites" but not the 1.1 million Blacks who had served in the US military (Woods, 2013).

than “whites,” a recent Yale poll concluded that “African Americans (57%) are more likely to be Alarmed or Concerned about global warming than are Whites (49%)” (Ballew et al., 2020, para 4). Yet, higher risk, lower pollution rates, and high concerns for the environment have not translated into more power or higher visibility within environmental movements. As Berlin-based activist Imeh Ituen of Black Earth stated: “The reality is that many times these activist spaces do not feel safe, despite good intentions of the organisers [because] BIPoC [Black, Indigenous, People of Color] activists who join are often faced with microaggressions or clear denial of their lived realities” (Blasingame, 2021, para 3).

b. (Re)defining Black ecology in relation to degrowth

For the purposes of this article, “Black ecology” signifies the environmental *circumstances* and socio-ecological *responses* of (i) an ethnic/cultural minority; (ii) with a relatively strong sense of community; (iii) living on environmentally sustainable levels of consumption; (iv) subject to disproportional ecological hazards; (v) subject to structural racism; (vi) proportionally less economic power and political representation; and (vii) that strives toward ecological harmony and economic justice.[7] Here, too, in Black ecology as with the Native voices cited above, we can hear laments of Western “despiritualization of the universe” (Riley, 2004, p. 371).

Black ecology, in proactive senses, began with original models in Africa and continued through countless stateless hunter-gatherer societies who largely lived sustainable, egalitarian lives and “had more leisure time than farmers” (Fagan, 1992, p. 66; also, see Turnbull, 1968). Black ecology, more recently, developed new dimensions of resistance through the mass kidnapping, torture, and enslavement of more than 12 million Africans between the 1500s and 1800s (nearly 2 million people died in the Middle Passage alone during transit across the Atlantic; see Sluyter, 2020, p. 3).

Situationally and historically, I conceive of Black ecology as something in between the original model of Indigenous societies and the imperial mode of living of globalized industrial society

[7] Conceptualizing “Black ecology” may help center any people that fit such criteria, even in contexts such as Brazilian favelas, Native reservations in the mid-West, or immigrant-dominant suburbs in Northern Europe, where residents may not necessarily identify as “Black.”

(Brand & Wissen, 2017; Ecosocialist Horizons, 2023).[8] As such, Black ecology provides a critical link for degrowth advocates striving toward similar goals.[9]

Recently, we have heard calls among degrowthers to build larger social alliances (Abazeri, 2022, p. 5; Barca, 2019, p. 213; Kallis, 2019a, p. 268; Kothari, 2020). By engaging with Black ecology, advocates of degrowth may simultaneously help to build larger alliances and find complementarity in several key but under-prioritized areas critical for social and ecological justice work, such as racism, prisons, addiction, health, boundaries of the sacred, and veneration of life—including nonhuman animals.

Matthias Schmelzer (2015) identified five sub-currents in degrowth: conservative, social-reformist, sufficiency-oriented, anti-capitalist, and feminist (also see Eversberg & Schmelzer, 2018, p. 246). This means that, while sub-currents in degrowth explicitly focused on class and gender, no sub-current focused on race or anti-racism. Subsequently, this article aims to complement other work that expands alternative perspectives on degrowth such as feminism (e.g., FaDA Writing Collective, 2023; Gregoratti & Raphael, 2019), militarism (e.g., Liegey, 2022; Tipping Point North South, 2023), and class (e.g., Leonardi, 2019).

To those ends, this article aims to "pay more attention, and be written, from the 'margins'—from the perspective, that is, of the marginalized" (Hanaček et al., 2020, p. 11). This article assumes a centrality of anti-racist work at the core of any ecological and social justice movement and research field. However, due to limitations of space and scope, it remains unable to address every non-prioritized issue in degrowth contexts (e.g., language status, militarism, A.I., etc.). Rather than provide definitive conclusions, this article aims to raise questions and initiate a conversation about how advocates of degrowth might better

[8] Other degrowth scholars have discussed the "original model" (Tyberg, 2020) and the "imperial mode of living" (Dengler & Seebacher, 2019; Hanaček et al., 2020; Ramcilovic-Suominen, 2023; Schmelzer et al., 2022). "Black ecology" has received the least attention of the three in degrowth contexts. A GoogleScholar search on 13/11/2023 for "degrowth," "black ecology," and "Nathan Hare" pulled up only two hits: Fiscella (2022), and a recent book, Bresnihan & Millner (2023), that only mentioned both topics briefly.

[9] Categories such as "Black" and "Indigenous" disguise more complex realities such as the social, cultural, and biological overlaps between African and Native Americans (Mays, 2021). Or, on the other side, in Scandinavia, we find Indigenous Sami who neither pass nor identify as people of color (Kuhn, 2020).

understand Black ecology and related, but critical, omissions to the current work on degrowth.

This article begins by noting degrowth's social context and gaps in scholarship, following up with a presentation of concepts such as race, whiteness, and colorblind racism. It continues by discussing Black ecology and how matters such as incarceration, addiction/sobriety, and sanctity/animals/health figure as related concerns and why they also seem important to degrowth. As examples of activist-oriented Black ecology, this article discusses a few embodiments of Black ecology such as Dick Gregory, Alice Walker, Rastafari, and John Africa's MOVE Organization. This article concludes with a series of specific questions designed to spur further research and dialogue in order to recognize and repair existing omissions.

2. Degrowth's racial starting point and gaps in scholarship

Degrowth theory typically aims toward equitable wealth distribution and reorganizing economics toward less consumption and more effective use of our time. Degrowth literature often traces its lineage to European and Euro-American thinkers who challenged growth-oriented economics and overconsumption in the 1970s, such as the Club of Rome, Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, Ivan Illich, and André Gorz (D'Alisa et al., 2015).

In the context of degrowth and in light of its predominantly European supporters, many pressing matters such as climate change, commodification, capitalism, and the commons can easily distract from and overshadow the centrality of whiteness in the question of organizing social and ecological justice. Then, even when attempting to "decolonize the imaginary" (Latouche, 2015), degrowth advocates may inadvertently affirm "white" dominance by failing to challenge it. After all, "a school of thought based on degrowth needs to carefully define its own defining elements so as to not perpetuate race-blind theorizing" (Baker, 2019, p. 35).

As observed elsewhere, degrowth scholars "from around the globe contribute to the academic degrowth discourse; yet the majority of articles originate from Europe, with a clear dominance of contributions from Spain" (Weiss & Cattaneo, 2017, p. 221). Some scholars have argued that "the degrowth movement represents the values, concerns and interests of

a particular social class, namely the 'green' European middle class" and this, in turn, has led to "a dearth of engagement with ontological, epistemological, and cultural difference as well as gender, class, ethnic, racial, religious, and colonial differences" (Muradian, 2019, p. 257; Nirmal & Rocheleau, 2019, p. 466).[10] Even prominent degrowth scholars have acknowledged that questions involving race "have received limited attention" (Demaria et al., 2019, p. 445). Brian Gilmore wrote that the logic of addressing ecological problems would not likely convince "black Americans and many other nations and communities of color to accept 'degrowth' alone without also answering how historical economic inequality, racial bias and the existing vestiges of colonialism are to be addressed" (2013, p. 1287).

A recent study about degrowth wrote that "whiteness is, of course, another limitation upon broadening the appeal of degrowth in the Anglosphere" and that, among activists the authors approached in English-speaking Canada, "[u]nsurprisingly, the issue of racial justice was primarily raised by the activists of colour" (O'Manique et al., 2021, p. 260).

Yet, degrowth need not inherently restrict itself to "white" middle class advocates and concerns. Indeed, one finds an active interest among degrowthers in building alliances across national, class, ethnic, gender, and linguistic divides. In regard to related "non-degrowth" movements, we see interactions with feminism (Abazeri, 2022; Dengler & Seebacher, 2019; Gregoratti & Raphael, 2019; Picchio, 2015), Buen Vivir and Indigenous traditions (Gudynas, 2015; Kothari et al., 2014; Perkins, 2017; Thomson, 2011; Ziai, 2015), Gandhian economics (Corazza & Victus, 2015), Ubuntu (Hoeft, 2018; Ramose, 2015; Ziai, 2015), Cooperation Jackson (Kallis, 2019a; Schmelzer et al., 2022), and MOVE, as well as the Red Nation/Red Deal (Tyberg, 2020).

Such overtures within degrowth studies do not suffice, however, to address racial blind spots. A number of non-degrowth scholars have directly connected analysis of racism to studies of environmental justice and/or political ecology in the United States (e.g., Brownlow, 2006;

[10] Similarly, as Ekaterina Chertkovskaya noted that this stigma stymies degrowth's "marketing": "If not explained exactly what is meant, it comes across as an individualist middle class western notion, as if you should basically reduce your consumption. And this is a critique that I have come across very often from leftist communities" (2017, p. 194).

Kurtz, 2009; Pellow, 2004; Pulido, 1996; Vasudevan, 2021). Yet, we see little corresponding focus on—or even acknowledgement of—racism in its various forms (structural or colorblind racism, whiteness, etc.) in the realm of degrowth studies. Recent work by Hickel (2021) and Schmelzer et al. (2022) does, however, address racism as a significant factor more so than degrowth predecessors. More prominently, one tends to find a more general discourse of decolonization and, more specifically, "decolonization of the imaginary" (Latouche, 2015).[11] Elsewhere, Serge Latouche credited the origin of the idea of degrowth "paradoxically" to Africa, and cited Beninese scholar/politician Albert Tévoédjrè and former heads of state Houari Boumédienne (Algeria) and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) as pioneers in this regard (Latouche, 2009, pp. 56-58).[12]

In *Limits* (2019b), Giorgios Kallis advocated self-imposed limits, critiqued Malthusianism, and discussed population growth, yet devoted less than a paragraph to the implicit racism associated with population growth alarmism.[13] This seems standard for degrowth literature that typically adopts "neo-Malthusian" positions and advocates education and grassroots reproductive rights rather than campaigning for zero-population growth.

This dearth of scholarship on racism (and non-acknowledgment of pervasive colorblind racism) characterizes the general type of discussion of race within degrowth: emphatic, anti-

[11] One may note that Latouche's brief chapter on decolonization of the imaginary in *Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era* (2015) included only six works in his reference list: one to Malian author, politician, and activist Aminata Traoré; one to himself; and four to Greek-French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis.

[12] Latouche wrote "Nyerere's Kenya" where he presumably intended Tanzania. He did not focus on this claim of degrowth originating in Africa, he did not return much to the theme in later work, and nor has the idea of an African origin to degrowth taken root within the larger degrowth movement. Gilmore (2013, p. 1292) repeated the claim of an African origin to degrowth but provided neither source nor evidence for the claim.

[13] Kallis wrote in a single sentence: "Behind claims of Malthusian apocalypse in Africa, empirical research has revealed racism in the form of concerns with overpopulation that justify encroachment on the rights and bodies of poor women, or the violence against minorities legitimated in the name of limiting human presence in protected parks" (2019b, p. 63). For an example of population growth alarmism, see Erlich (1968). This influenced proto-degrowth forerunners, such as the Club of Rome, Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, Ivan Illich, and *The Ecologist*-authored *A Blueprint for Survival,* who all voiced support for checks on human population growth (see Georgescu-Roegen, 1975, p. 378; Goldsmith et al., 1972, pp. 6, 8; Illich, 1973, p. 100; Meadows et al., 1972, p. 33). While current advocates of degrowth have since then adopted neo-Malthusian positions more akin to that of Emma Goldman. Demaria et al. distanced themselves from Malthusiansim and acknowledged the connection between population growth concerns and racism (2013, pp. 200, 206). On the other hand, Joan Martínez-Alier depicted the population alarmism of Erlich's *The Population Bomb* as justified for its time period and only lost relevance as global population growth seems to have eased toward a leveling off and eventual decline (2015, p. 125).

racist, underexamined, and overtly decolonialist (in largely metaphorical senses) without closer examination or analysis of racial dynamics. In other words, degrowth—as "white" scholars and activists typically frame it and its priorities—seems ill-suited to building meaningful, effective, and sustainable collaborations with Black America. Subsequently: "It is thus most important that 'degrowth' […] be presented to black Americans as a chance to address racial inequality and racial bias as well" (Gilmore, 2013, p. 1298).

In the influential anthology, *Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era* (D'Alisa et al., 2015), we see that, among the 51 chapters, some topics did not receive their own section (e.g., racism, whiteness, sanctity, addiction, sobriety, health, militarism, veganism, speciesism, and prisons) and others did not even receive a mention (e.g., prison abolition, animal liberation, Black liberation, anarchism, meat, and diet). Of these topics, some scholars have already noted degrowth's lack of attention to sanctity (Nirmal & Rocheleau, 2019, p. 469),[14] animal liberation (Demaria et al., 2019, p. 445; Díaz Carmona & Merino De Diego, 2018, p. 2),[15] militarism (Weiss & Cattaneo, 2017, p. 228),[16] and, in particular, racial inequality (Demaria et al., 2019, p. 445; Gilmore, 2013). Although it seems that race remains an understudied factor in degrowth literature, the implicit (and sometimes explicit) anti-racist positions of degrowth scholars offers a promising note for future work.

[14] According to Nirmal and Rocheleau, "Degrowth proponents based in political economy or scientific ecology often disparage talk of 'Mother Earth' as irrational and backward" (2019, p. 469). While degrowth literature commonly cites Buen Vivir as an ally or an example of degrowth-like thinking in a separate cultural context, depictions of nature as sacred do not figure largely in degrowth literature. In fact, "anti-sanctity" bias may inhibit scholars from recognizing or exploring degrowth-oriented faith communities such as the Catholic Worker movement. Originating in the 1930s, Catholic Workers, with Jesus as their guide in more than a hundred communes around the world, strive to live collectively by modest means, in service to those in need, and in opposition to militarism and structural inequity (McKanan, 2008).

[15] Demaria et al. wrote that "non-human actors" have remained "a blind spot in degrowth research until now" (2019, p. 445). Only very recently do we see degrowthers give any attention to animal liberation and, even then, only in relatively small online contexts (Gertenbach et al., 2021; Leitinger, 2020). That said, various degrowth works have addressed the ecological impact of meat, such as Max Koch et al. who wrote that "a vegetarian diet is not only more sustainable than diets that include meat, it can also feed a far larger population [and] the example of food production serves to illustrate why the satisfaction of basic needs is a more realistic degrowth objective than aspirations to increase well-being" (2017, p. 23).

[16] Although degrowthers have occasionally mentioned militarism (e.g., Georgescu-Roegen, 1975, p. 377; Liegey, 2022), the topic seems grossly under-prioritized in degrowth circles. As noted elsewhere, "the cases of positive environmental benefits that have been achieved by use of military equipment and hardware [even in environmentalist contexts such as thwarting poachers] are far outweighed by ongoing and increasing negative environmental harms caused by militarism" (Gay, 2015, p. 51). Furthermore: "Even prior to the industrial revolution, centuries of building ships for war and territorial conquest was a cause of widespread deforestation in Europe. Animals have fared little better with almost a million horses killed during and after World War I […] Animal testing for military purposes has killed millions more" (Branagan, 2013, p. 10).

3. Race, whiteness, and colorblind racism

Due to the legacy of European colonialism, race continues to function as a primary means of creating and sustaining unequal power relations in the world today. Race in general, and whiteness specifically, as social constructions, function as powerful tools for organizing and sustaining hierarchies. They do so in part because they maintain and disguise arbitrary power structures (Feagin, 2010). Specifically, they help to hide power from the social class that materially and socially benefits from it, portraying an essentially rigged game as a fair game. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva has described "colorblind racism" as a specific ideology, developed in the late 1960s, that explains "contemporary racial inequality as the outcome of nonracial dynamics" (2010, p. 2). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the expansion of European colonialism in the 1700s coincided with the development of "race" as a concept, the rise of "science," and the foundation for the structural inequalities that persist through today. Protected by the myth of detached "objectivity," science quickly served the purposes of warfare, domination, and commodification as it supplied settler colonialists and invaders both the material and social knowledge required to overthrow and fracture Indigenous systems of thought and practice. As Elonda Clay pointed out: "'Religion' and 'ecology' as concepts are not ahistorical or value-neutral" (2011, p. 166).[17]

Significantly, colorblindness acts as a vital caveat through which people predominantly viewed as and/or identifying as "white" maintain racial hierarchies. Denying that one sees race also enables predominantly "white" people to deny seeing the effects of racism on people of color:

> *While it has shattering effects for people of colour, institutional racism continues to provide tangible material advantages for white people. In South Africa, whites are less than 9 per cent of the population, but own over 80 per cent of the land and economy as well as 90 per cent of the companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). In the United States, the median white household had $111,146 in wealth holdings in 2011, while the median Black household only had $7,113. In Britain, the*

[17] One might add that the person who coined the very term "ecology" in 1866, Ernst Haeckel, propagated racist ideas and social Darwinism, which later inspired the Nazis (see Rusert, 2010, pp. 153-154).

> *average white household had circa £221,000 in assets in 2009, compared to £21,000 for Bangladeshi and £15,000 for Black African households. Yet despite the visible consequences of white supremacy in our time, many white people portray racism as exceptional rather than structural, minimise its effects, or deny its existence altogether. The dominant discourse in the United States, South Africa, Europe, and beyond—in US scholarship generally termed* colourblindness*, in South Africa* nonracialism*, and in Europe* new racism*—is pernicious because it aims to render institutional racism invisible (Milazzo, 2017, p. 559).*[18]

In effect, saying "race doesn't matter" can result in Black lives not mattering as much as "white" lives because one refuses to take seriously the disproportionate violence and disadvantage subjected upon Blacks. The reality of anti-Black violence and systemic racism sparked the Black Lives Matter movement in 2013 (Moise, 2021; Pellow, 2018).

Blacks have faced more than four times the risk of death by a police officer as "whites" (McCarthy & Popovich, 2015). Although "white" youth engage in illicit drug use as much or more than Blacks, Blacks more likely risk arrest: "as many as 80 percent of young African American men now have criminal records and are thus subject to legalized discrimination for the rest of their lives" (Alexander, 2011, p. 7; Human Rights Watch, 2009). These disparities correlate to a lack of political representation and adequate health care. In 2022, Blacks constituted more than 12% of the US population but only 3% of the US Senate. Black people typically receive worse health care than their "white" counterparts and live, on average, nearly four years less (Fiscella & Sanders, 2016; Masters et al., 2014).

At the same time, racial exclusion has permeated academia, and it has privileged "whites" at the expense of people of color in areas such as sociology, political science, and medicine (Go, 2017; Dotson, 2011; Newsome, 1979). Philosopher Charles Mills has argued that European settler occupation made the invisibility of entire peoples and racial categories—Black, Red, Yellow, and Brown—a central feature of the colonial project. Mills attributed "white

[18] According to the US Census Bureau, African Americans had close to half of the average income and only one-seventeenth of the average wealth of their European American counterparts (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014; Vornovitsky et al., 2014).

ignorance", in part, to biased concepts (such as "savage" or "slave") and their subsequent associations that have aprioristically steered perceptions: "So if Kant famously said that perceptions without concepts are blind, then here it is the blindness of the concept itself that is blocking vision" (Mills, 2017, p. 63; also, for more on race and the Enlightenment, see Eze, 1997). As Eduardo Bonilla-Silva said: "Race and racism were part and parcel of the social sciences from their inception" (2017, p. 179). Hence, even a prominent sociologist such as W.E.B. Du Bois has gotten "rarely included in discussions of the development of scientific sociology" and "[s]ociologists of religion routinely discuss the contributions of Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel while virtually ignoring Du Bois" (Wortham, 2005, pp. 433-434).[19]

As the authors of *Racial Ecologies* wrote, "race is inextricable from our understandings of ecology, and vice versa" (Nishime & Hester Williams, 2018, pp. 3-4). Yet, as various scholars have observed, ecological questions related to African Americans, race, and privilege typically get "categorized as environmental justice" in a sort of conceptual ghettoization (Ibid, p. 7). This both means that the majority of research which privileges "white" perspectives and concerns seems misleadingly devoid of racial implications, and it also means that even concerns which affect a majority of the world's population may get racialized (and thereby reduced in perceived significance) as a mere *subcategory* of environmentalism dubbed "environmental justice."

4. Black ecology and related concerns

Much like how structural racism tends to render the whiteness of mainstream ecology and environmentalism invisible, it also tends to render the lives, experiences, and concerns of Blacks and people of color as less significant even while such people constitute the majority of the world and the disproportionately vulnerable. As Romy Opperman wrote, we need a way to think about "the relationship of racism and the environment that does not presuppose that they are initially distinct and only incidentally linked" (2019, p. 58).

[19] Although W.E.B. Du Bois did not use the term "black ecology" in works such as *The Philadelphian Negro* (1899/2007), the term could have applied as recent research finds ecological implications implicit in his work (Bhardwaj, 2023; Heynen, 2018, p. 244; Hunter, 2013; Ramanujam, 2023; Taylor, 2011, p. 284).

Addressing concerns of Black ecology entails also addressing those widespread and interwoven areas of social life wherein Black people experience disproportionate disadvantage such as economics, addiction, punishment, incarceration, diet, and the commodification of formerly sacred nature.

Any comprehensive discussion of such omissions remains far beyond the scope of this article, yet brief summaries can indicate the relevance of the following topics: incarceration, addiction/sobriety, and sanctity/animals/health.

a. Incarceration

Due to their social and often geographic marginalization, many people might think of prisons as a marginal issue yet, one may also consider prison design as an essential model for society rather than a tiny and discrete component of society. In this regard, one might recount Michel Foucault's remark: "Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?" (1977, p. 228). Contrary to the stated intentions to serve as "correctional facilities," prisons generally function as giant human disposal bins producing social and material waste of resources. These processes demand a great deal of unproductive energy usage and cause damage socially and ecologically through their normal functioning (e.g., Bernd et al., 2017; Bradshaw, 2018; Braz & Gilmore, 2006; Perdue, 2021). While incarceration disproportionately affects people of color as outlined above by Michelle Alexander (2011) and Human Rights Watch (2009), toxicity disproportionately affects people in prison. One study found more than 500 prisons in the US located within three miles of toxic waste sites (Bernd et al., 2017). Another scholar observed that "prisoners are experiencing severe health effects from their forced exposure to environmental hazards while incarcerated" and "the environmental injustices occurring behind the prison walls have gone largely unnoticed by the general public and criminologists alike" (Bradshaw, 2018, p. 408). Prisons operate at the margins of society with most people rarely feeling forced to recall that they actually exist. This holds true as well for regulatory constraints where prisons, "as small cities […] produce massive amounts of waste while being notoriously difficult to regulate" because of their location "in isolated areas" even while "numerous accounts of prison-related pollution of waterways and ecosystems have been reported" (Perdue, 2018, p. 178; also, see Brisman, 2007, pp. 777, 785; Davis, 2003, p. 15).

At the same time, incarcerated populations serve as an artificial and toxic lubricant in the machine of economic growth. Whether incarcerated by economic constraints or physical prisons, the end result amounts to a huge, coerced, cheap labor force producing goods and services to profit those whose standard of living evolved from the privileges accrued through colonialism and unequal labor conditions:

> *Inmates also constitute a cheap and exploitable workforce unable to unionise. With wages below $0.32 per hour inmates outcompete the "free workforce" leading to an intimate connection between the growing prison industry and the stagnating U.S.-economy […] The link to slavery is particularly ominous given the overwhelming "racialisation" of incarceration masked by a race-blind but coded rhetoric about street crime, gangs, neighbourhoods, or drugs—all synonymous with coloured (Zoellick, 2018, p. 4).*

The invisibility of prisons and the seeming utopianism of prison abolition seem to mirror neglect of other similarly radical moves. Theorizing that racism has hindered progressive action, one scholar has lamented the lack of mobilization that, "following the example of prison abolition, […] advocates for de-growth" could ostensibly support a carbon tax "within a framework that demands global north fossil fuel abolition" (Slocum, 2018, p. 2). However, a relatively new research current, *abolition ecology*, has connected prison abolitionism and the abolition of police brutality to "property and environmental relations" (Heynen, 2018, pp. 243-244; also, see Pitts et al., 2022). Jillian Fields-Hirschler (2023) specifically tied abolitionism and abolition ecology to degrowth work.

In sum, prison industries form a toxic industry that profits by polluting social and material environments through labor made extraordinarily cheap through coercion. Lower costs, of course, enable more consumption that depends upon such coercive environments and social inequality to continue. An effective degrowth movement that aims for an equitable society will not only remember but also emphasize and aid the cause of currently imprisoned populations.

b. Addiction and sobriety

Addiction-based industries play a key role in growth-based economies in large part due to their very nature of fostering dependency and therefore consistent consumption. Yet, they also contribute immensely toward the harmful types of GDP such as car wrecks, domestic violence injuries, unnecessary hospitalizations, overdoses, arbitrary pollution, mental instability, and other means of disrupting communities that might otherwise organize for justice and sustainability. One cannot easily separate colonialist domination and ecological destruction from the manufacture and targeted distribution of addictive substances in general and alcohol in particular which served to divide and undermine traditional Indigenous institutions and norms (Eeyore, 2022a). Frederick Douglass, formerly enslaved abolitionist, testified how enslavers mandated alcohol consumption during "holidays" among enslaved Africans in the 1800s in order to destroy personal and social stability. Enslavers instilled an association between destructive drunkenness and "liberty": "It was about as well to be a slave to *master*, as to be a slave to *rum* and *whisky*. When a slave is drunk, the slaveholder has no fear that he will plan an insurrection […] It is the sober, thinking slave who is dangerous" (1855/1994, p. 292). Walter Rodney later seemed to allude to the intersection of dependency and industrialization when he critiqued the logic of equating "development" with building "a beer factory" (1972, p. 33).

The question of drug and alcohol addiction (such as density of liquor store locations in Black inner-city neighborhoods) has retained particular relevance for African American communities and environmental injustice (Chitewere et al., 2017; Francis, 2020; Romley et al., 2007). Some researchers have argued that the need to address "problems of concentrated disadvantage and disorder" implies "policy implications beyond substance use and addiction," such as "addressing racial and ethnic inequities in environmental risk due to technological and other hazards." This position pivots addiction squarely "as an environmental justice issue" (Mennis et al., 2016, pp. 8-9). Indeed, in terms of "raw material consumption, alcohol production is the largest biotechnological production in the world" (Havryshko et al., 2020, p. 108). We can hear from scholars about the need to address our "addiction to growth" (e.g., Booth, 2004; Costanza et al., 2017).

Yet, the topic of more obvious and concrete forms of addiction have not garnered similar attention except in regard to small subcultures, such as vegan straight edge and Hardline (e.g., Eeyore, 2022b; Kuhn, 2010), and more specific studies targeting specific substances or addictions. Take cigarettes as a case in point. Each year tobacco use and exposure kill more than 7 million people—at least twice the number killed per year by the corona pandemic (World Health Organization, 2017, p. xii). At the same time, cigarette butts constitute "the most common form of litter in the world" and "an estimated 30% of the total litter (by count) on US shorelines, waterways and on land" (Slaughter et al., 2011, p. 25). Cigarette butts contain a cocktail of chemicals and smoked butts, in particular, and "can be acutely toxic to aquatic organisms" (Ibid, p. 29). Nonetheless, it seems that relevant "ecology research on [tobacco] product lifecycle analysis […] has yet to adequately address the tobacco industry's considerable contribution to environmental pollution and degradation" (Hendlin & Bialous, 2020, p. 18). Similar dynamics of understudied ecological impacts related to addictive substances apply to other industries such as alcohol, coffee, cell phones, or cocaine (Austin, 2012; Colman & Päster, 2009; Hicks, 2018; Russell, 2018; Smith et al., 2014).

In general, addiction interacts and intertwines with systems of colonial domination that have benefited from the destruction of independent Black and Indigenous institutions, and profited from the development of compulsive and habit-forming modes of consumption. If advocates of degrowth aim to develop alternatives to growth-based economics, then addressing addiction industries, promoting sobriety, and exposing the disproportionate burden shouldered by communities of color would seem a vital step.

c. Sanctity, animals, and health

With the advent of a world colonialized globally by racial domination and property-based economics, profit replaced sanctity as the primary principle for social order (or lack thereof). This rendered all of life and nature susceptible to commodification. In most human societies throughout history, sacred rites, norms, stories, places, and perceptions facilitated taboos which constrained human exploitation of animals and natural resources. For example, as in southern Africa, "one cannot cut down a tree for aesthetic reasons, i.e. to make a place look nice or to see a few feet away" (Sindima, 1991, p. 6, 8).

Sanctity too seems to play a role in ecological sustainability and forest management. Studies suggest that land controlled by Indigenous peoples tends to thrive at least twice as well as land controlled by nontribal civilization (FAO & FILAC, 2021; Waller & Reo, 2018). Some scholars have emphasized the importance of sanctity in the ecological worldview of Indigenous peoples, in part, because the concept and practice of "sacred lands" in Indigenous cultures often imply unoccupied and/or undeveloped land, as well as the will and determination to fight to keep it that way (e.g. Bakht & Collins, 2017; Hornborg, 1994; Lorenzo, 2017). This effect can diminish radically, however, when authorities or industry force Indigenous peoples to relocate to a new area (Colchester, 1994).

Beyond the mere concept of sanctity, perceptions of non-duality do not recognize any severance between humans and nature, so this leads to viewing the life of people and the life of air/habitats/animals, etc. as intertwined (Brown & McCowan, 2018). Arguing that Blacks constituted "ecological agents" prior to the emergence of American nature writing, Kimberly Ruffin wrote that, due to hardships "at the bottom of human hierarchies, African Americans have a keen knowledge of the ecological implications of social systems" and "their closeness to nonhuman nature, both forced and voluntary, gives them an opportunity to reflect on how these social systems have ecological impacts for nonhumans" (Ruffin, 2010, p. 20). To this, Lindgren Johnson added that African American literature testified to the "beauty" of this closeness "even while caught within the dangers and burdens of that closeness" and, furthermore, that African Americans "were *animal agents* long before animal rights or even animal welfare movements existed in the United States, and their perspectives are essential to understanding the full scope of thinking on both human and animal liberation" (2017, p. 14). Rather than *advocacy* (speaking for), Ruffin and Johnson use the term *agency* (speaking with) to illustrate shared location and identity. This recalls Indigenous traditions that locate human identity and experience as embedded *with* rather than separate *from* nature. One might even view such approaches that venerate "downward" (to the Earth and animals) rather than "upward" (to the sky and abstractions) as an inherently "degrowth" form of spirituality. As Angela Davis explained her approach to veganism in 2012, it "would really be revolutionary to develop a habit of imagining the human relations and non-human relations behind all of the objects that constitute our environment" (Hochschartner, 2014, para 4). Or, as fruitarian Dick Gregory framed it in 1976, we can heal our disconnection from "the

universe," by cleaning up our diet and recognizing Mother Nature as a mother that consists *of* us (and everything else) rather than *separate* from us (Harris, 1982, pp. 143-144). We also saw a move in this direction through the Environmental Justice declaration of 1991 that, in the first of 17 points, affirmed "the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction" (First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, 1991, p. 647). These views seems consistent with calls from within degrowth (and elsewhere) for a non-dualist approach to the human-nature relationship and to see it as an intertwined union rather than as an interaction between separate entities (Arora & Stirling, 2021; Brand & Wissen, 2013, p. 689; Brown & McCowan, 2018; Dengler & Seebacher, 2019, p. 250; Escobar, 2015, pp. 459-460; Ramcilovic-Suominen, 2023, p. 715; Rodríguez-Labajos et al., 2019, p. 179).

Dismantling anthropocentric dominance and re-centering a sense of sanctity of not only nature but of interdependence (or even existential unity) with nature often leads to a greater concern, not only for natural habitats and eco-systems, but also for animals. From the Jains in India to Rastas in Jamaica to MOVE in Philadelphia, conceptions of existential unity coincide with vegetarian/vegan diets and/or support for animal liberation. From such a perspective, treating one's body as a temple entails treating the world, and its inhabitants, as both body and temple. Subsequently, it has direct implications for degrowth and ecology.

Research has long exposed the numerous harms that meat and dairy industries have on the environment, human health, and, of course, the welfare of animals (e.g., Anomaly, 2015; Fitzgerald, 2010; Hargreaves et al., 2021; Laier, 2020).[20] In general, shifting from unhealthier, cheaper fast food produced by industrial agriculture to localized agroecology and less meat consumption empowers an ecologically sustainable alternative (Cederlöf, 2016; McGreevy et al., 2022, p. 1011). Despite this, "Animal agriculture has experienced 'warp speed' growth over the last 50 years, with intensification resulting in an almost logarithmic increase in numbers" (PCIFAP, 2008, p. 7). In the US, a meat-based diet requires 4,200 gallons of fresh water per day compared to a vegan diet that requires 300 gallons a day; and while livestock

[20] According to one study, people who consumed a vegetarian diet, compared to those who ate meat, reduced their risk of moderate to severe Covid disease by 73% (Kim et al., 2021, p. 261).

feed production requires 56 million acres of land, vegetable production for human consumption requires only 4 million acres (World Watch Institute, 2004). Greenhouse gas emissions caused by the meat industry account for an estimated 14.5% of the total global emissions, "more than direct emissions from the transport sector" (Bailey et al., 2014, p. 2).

Speciesism, the idea of human superiority and subsequent right to dominate other species, functions as ideological justification for animal exploitation. In 1973, Peter Singer published his article *Animal Liberation* (later as a book), which served as a catalyst for the animal liberation movement, including the Animal Liberation Front (founded in 1976) (see Best & Nocella, 2006, p. 17; Johnston & Johnston, 2017). Singer called on humans to "cease to regard the exploitation of other species as natural and inevitable, and that, instead, we see it as a continuing moral outrage" (Singer, 1973/1996, p. 7). Rather than basing the equality of humans and animals on intelligence, we could base it on sentience—the fact that they can *feel*. This change does not come easy. According to one study, "people, especially those highly committed to eating meat, willfully disregard solutions targeting animal agriculture and global meat consumption to prevent future pandemics precisely because such solutions implicate their dietary habits" (Dhont et al., 2021, p. 2). Contrary to popular assumptions, we find a much higher prevalence of vegetarianism in Africa and the Middle East (16%) than in Europe and the United States (5-6%) (Hargreaves et al., 2021, p. 2). African Hebrew Israelites opened some of the first vegan restaurants in the United States, with Soul Vegetarian remaining the largest Black-owned vegan restaurant chain in the world (Heq-m-Ta, 2016, pp. 159-160). Nonetheless, popular stereotypes tend to portray vegans and vegetarians as "white" (Greenebaum, 2018).

Scholars and activists working with *total liberation* and Critical Environmental Justice (CEJ) studies have attempted to address the intersectionality of various liberation struggles and ecological issues (Best & Nocella, 2006; Colling et al., 2014; Pellow, 2014, 2018). In Pellow's words, "as scholarship from the fields of environmental sociology and political ecology reveals, there is nothing that humans do that is entirely isolated from influence and guidance from other species, ecosystems, and inanimate objects" (2014, p. 4; see also Ko & Ko, 2017, pp. 45, 47, 90, in regard to animal liberation and racism).

In summary, sanctity seems key to a transition to a degrowth society precisely because it can help sustain norms that revere animal, fungi, plant life, as well as human health for their inherent (non-market) value and thereby dethrone profit and property as society's highest values.

5. Embodiments of Black ecology

When Romy Opperman (2020b) wrote, "We need histories of radical Black ecology now," she did not mean that those histories did not exist, only that we have not learned them. This could refer to any number of proactive Black ecological histories from the communities of maroons (1600s–1800s) to the regenerative agriculture of George Washington Carver in the early 1900s (Chesney, 2007; Favini, 2018; Reddix-Smalls, 2022). It could range from underappreciated environmentalist work by W.E.B. Du Bois to Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) as pioneered by Booker T. Whatley and Fannie Lou Hamer in the mid-1900s (Bhardwaj, 2023; Heynen, 2018, p. 244; Jordan et al., 2009; McCutcheon, 2019; Penniman, 2018; Ramanujam, 2023; Taylor, 2011, p. 284; White, 2019). We could even include the Black Panther's free breakfast program and work by the largely Puerto-Rican based organization, Young Lords, founded in 1969, who engaged in campaigns around urban health and lead poisoning in New York within the purview of Black ecology (Enck-Wanzer, 2010; Heynen, 2009; Patel, 2012).

Black ecological history also extends to the present day with Detroit's Black Community Food Security Network, the unified mobilization of Indigenous, Black, and "white", activists against "Cop City" in Georgia, or the Black-led federation of eco-socialist cooperatives in Jackson, Mississippi, Cooperation Jackson (Akuno & Meyer, 2023; Akuno & Nangwaya, 2017; DBCFSN, 2023; Lartey, 2023; Pratt, 2023). Regardless of racial status, we share those histories, and they affect the world we live in. Yet, until we tell those histories that have impacted or paved the paths that we walk today, we remain ignorant about ourselves and *all our relations*. This section therefore illustrates a few living examples and why they matter.

a. Dick Gregory, Alice Walker, and womanism

During the early 1970s, Black authors such as Dick Gregory and Alice Walker began speaking about health, justice, and environmental issues. In his *Natural diet* book (1973), Gregory advocated a vegan-fruitarian diet which he saw as a solution to both health and social problems: "Two of the great problems facing America today are alcoholism and drug addiction. And I am sure a change in diet and a cleansing of the body are the way to treat both addictions" (1973, p. 157).[21] He imagined a future diet rich in "sea vegetation, like dulse and kelp" and saw a vegan diet as an important way to help improve the health and rehabilitation of people in prison (Ibid, pp. 59, 159). His legacy has continued through, amongst others, contemporary vegan scholars and activists (e.g., Harper, 2010; McQuirter, 2010).

The same year that Gregory published *Natural diet*, Alice Walker wrote that "the frenetic rate of economic growth is likely to ugly up the landscape here as elsewhere" (Walker, 1973/1984, p. 167). In "Everything is a Human Being," she described the misery of trees poisoned by toxic chemicals and characterized logging trucks as a funeral procession (1988, pp. 139-152). Elsewhere Walker wrote: "The good news may be that Nature is phasing out the white man, but the bad news is that's who She thinks we all are" (Walker, 1973/1984, p. 146).

Walker eventually conceptualized *womanism*—a spiritual, ecological, and justice-oriented worldview "rooted in Black women's and other women of color's everyday experiences and everyday methods of problem solving" (Phillips, 2006, p. xx; also, see Harris, 2017). Walker's womanism also served as a primary inspiration for the Womanist Working Collective (WWC) who have organized for mutual aid and time banking (akin to local currency) in Philadelphia, The Gathering faith community in Dallas, and Romy Opperman's conception of "radical Black ecology" (Johnson, 2018; Opperman, 2020b; Session, 2020). Both Walker and Gregory have lent support to various campaigns for People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) arguing that "rejecting the consumption of animals through food was part of the Black freedom struggle" and that both improving personal health and avoiding the oppression of

[21] Around this same period and influenced by "the emerging ecology movement and the 'limits to growth' consciousness", Frances Moore Lappé wrote the influential 1971 book *Diet for a small planet* (1971/1991, p. 18), where she insisted that a vegetarian diet and fair distribution of resources could help resolve global hunger and restore ecological balance.

animals “created a stronger, more holistic liberation movement that considered human and non-human bodies” (McCarthy, 2019, p. 15).

b. Rastas

An early and collectivist example of radical Black ecology appears in the form of Rastafaris who typically engage in simple living, vegetarian diets, and a sacred conception of Earth and nature. Originating in Jamaica in the 1930s through charismatic co-founders such as Leonard Howell and inspired largely by Marcus Garvey, Rastas established communes and social justice movements based on the messianic centrality of Ethiopian king Hailie Selassie as divine liberator of African people (Edmonds, 2003, pp. 36-37). The Rastafari *Ital* diet consists of organic and vegetarian food, as well as respecting “the sacredness of the earth by refusing to pollute and commercialise it” (Sibanda, 2012, p. 68). As Fortune Sibanda noted through direct observation of Rastas in Zimbabwe, “the majority of Rastafarians pursue a socially and economically committed livity that is characterised by attributes of self-reliance, peaceful co-existence and natural organic living” (Ibid, pp. 72-73). Sibanda observed Rastas reusing and recycling scrap material into forms of livelihood, entertainment, sustenance, and art.

c. John Africa and MOVE

John Africa and the multi-ethnic group he founded, MOVE, seem to deserve particular attention here because they tied together a number of relevant issues including prison abolition, animal liberation, Earth liberation, the commons, simple living, sobriety, concrete utopianism, anti-capitalism, anti-racism, anti-militarism, sanctity, and degrowth (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1990; Evans, 2020; Fiscella, 2022; Floyd-Thomas, 2002; Holland, 2023; Moise, 2021; Roane, 2020; Taylor, 2022). Though seemingly complex, he wove them together into a single principle: the unity and equality of life. This meant that we all exist, not conceptually but factually, as one single life (signified by “Momma Nature”). The false belief in separation (“black,” “white,” “man,” “woman,” “human,” “animal,” etc.) has led to racism, war, inequality, animal exploitation, and the industrial poisoning of air, land, and waterways.

MOVE arose in Philadelphia in the early 1970s and advocated a comprehensive program for social change that, if employed, would have amounted to radical degrowth, anarcho-

primitivism, and social equality.[22] Known formally as The MOVE Organization (hereafter MOVE), they took in stray dogs and cats to live in their commune and furthermore advocated animal liberation by demonstrating outside of circuses, zoos, and pet stores (Evans, 2020). They also demonstrated against pollution, war, and racist police violence. John Africa, the main founder and "Coordinator" of the group, encouraged all members to exercise regularly, maintain good health, and abstain from intoxicants, cooked food, and technology (as much as possible). Sociologist Carole Yawney described MOVE as "a comprehensive model of Primary Health Care in the revolutionary sense" (1997, p. 1). MOVE women gave birth at home without medication or painkillers (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1990). Already in the early 1970s, John Africa addressed key elements of degrowth including the "mythology" of constant economic growth and the corresponding inequality of wealth distribution:

> *If the standard of economics is based on the rise of prosperity, at what point does it reach the top, how high does it have to go before the people addicted to this mythology by the reformed world system are satisfied? […] You cannot continue to make allowances for this reformed world system that is to blame for distorting global distribution (James, 2013, p. 59-60).*

In its stead, John Africa advocated *life* as the standard and *necessity* as the principle for behavior, organization, and consumption.[23] MOVE members, who adopted the last name "Africa", lived communally, composted food scraps in the yard, and refused to use any form of pesticide on the increasing numbers of rats and cockroaches. Although most members of MOVE wore dreadlocks and they bore certain similarities to Rastas (such as their naturalist philosophy), MOVE initiated their own independent belief and faith tradition (Evans, 2020; Fiscella, 2016). Juan Floyd-Thomas wrote that "MOVE and Rastafarianism represented

[22] MOVE members, including John Africa, had personal interactions with Dick Gregory and Alice Walker. Both Gregory and Walker knew of MOVE. Gregory learned of the teaching straight from John Africa in 1972 and later attempted to mediate the conflict between MOVE and police in 1978 (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1990, p. 66; Evans 2020, pp. 24-25). Soon after the bombing of MOVE in 1985, Alice Walker wrote an article and poem wherein she cited the description of MOVE as "radical, black, back-to-nature" revolutionaries, remarked about the deafening silence over the bombing, and wrote: "The people of MOVE are proof that poor people […] are capable of intelligently perceiving and analyzing American life, politically and socially, and of devising and attempting to follow a different—and to them, better—way" (Walker, 1987, pp. 211-213).

[23] This aligns with the degrowth contention that economies "must be needs-driven not profit-driven" (Trainer, 2021, p. 1114).

similarly powerful land subversive forms of cultural rebellion, naturalist philosophy, and African-centered utopianism among dispossessed people of color" (2002, p. 13). Sharon Patricia Holland later added: "MOVE allows us to see […] the condition of enslavement for *all* beings" and she bemoaned animal studies for overlooking MOVE (2023, pp. 56, 59, 65, 87).

Confrontations with the police, however, eventually led to 30-100 year jail sentences for nine MOVE members (released after 40 years of incarceration). In 1982, acclaimed journalist, former Black Panther, and MOVE supporter, Mumia Abu-Jamal received the death penalty for the 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner (Abu-Jamal remains incarcerated today on a life sentence). In 1985, Philadelphia police bombed MOVE's home and headquarters, killing 11 people, including 5 children, as well as John Africa (Ebram, 2019). Despite these tremendous setbacks, the organization continues to the present day, most publicly through the podcast "On a Move with Mike Africa, Jr." (Africa, 2021).[24]

The examples of Black ecology presented here organized themselves from the bottom-up and aim to rectify the damage done by imperial modes of living. Minimal harm to ecologies and animals helps protect both the most vulnerable forms of life and the most vulnerable humans. Sobriety, in its broadest sense, helps provide a guideline for personal and communal limitations, as well as the clarity to recognize and utilize opportunities. Many Rastas, womanists, and the people in MOVE may have turned to communal and cooperative projects out of necessity and under conditions of economic deprivation. One cannot describe their choices wholly as "voluntary simplicity", but the fact that they have often maximized the use of minimal resources demonstrates the vitality of Black ecology. Research need not limit itself to people such as Alice Walker, MOVE, or the Rastas, but the principles of valuing Black lives, animal lives, and the sanctity of all life can serve as a guide for degrowth praxis.

[24] While MOVE does continue in some form(s) today, the organization suffered a major rupture in 2021 when about a dozen members left MOVE and accused the leadership of various abuses, including child marriages, anti-homosexuality, and the murder of Alberta Africa's ex-husband, John Gilbride, whom police found murdered in the midst of a custody dispute with her (see Africa, 2021; Nark, 2021; Price, 2021). It can feel difficult yet vital to "hold the tension of addressing the external violence against MOVE and the internal violence within MOVE" (Aishah Shahidah Simmons quoted in Burnley, 2021). Yet, John Africa's philosophy of life and nature, as well as MOVE's accomplishments and historical importance, all seem to merit long-underappreciated attention regardless of apparent abuses committed by MOVE people.

6. Concluding thoughts

If histories of Black ecology tell us anything, they speak of both the harsh reality of exclusion and the vitality of resistance. If sustainable change comes from bottom-up approaches more than top-down ones, then it comes primarily from Black ecology, Indigenous traditions, working classes, and the Global South. A conception of Mother Earth, *life*, as sacred has seemed central to such traditions, including Black ecology, and their struggles against colonialism, industry, and environmental injustice. Decolonizing daily life and interrogating questions of sanctity press us to look at activity rather than belief, asking what we treat as sacred by virtue of our habitual priorities within often-imperial modes of living: What do we prioritize in terms of time and relationship? Do we touch plants more than we touch products? Do we listen to animals more than devices? Do we reach out to people in prisons and elsewhere who have no access to plants or animals? How do addictions comfort us from stress and/or distract us from our intentions? Do we as people and communities devote ourselves more to the very money system we aim to transform (through choice or obligation) or to building relationships with a specific habitat?

European-based movements such as degrowth stand to learn much: about race, prison, sobriety, how to replace the sanctity of profit with the sanctity of life, and how they all interrelate with existing degrowth priorities. This article has highlighted the significance of Black ecology, revealed some of degrowth's blind spots, and aimed to begin a dialogue on how to address socio-conceptual blockages and the perspectives that they obscure.

Why does degrowth need Black ecology? Summarizing here we can list five basic reasons: (i) Black ecology can help illustrate a "degrowth spirituality" that provides a positive vision and practical means of drawing social and ecological limits that degrowth's "negative" anti-growth approach tends to lack; (ii) Black ecology can help highlight otherwise under-emphasized but critical issues (such as prisons, militarism, animals, and sobriety); (iii) Black ecology centers the question of racism which functions as a key pillar upholding colonialist structures; (iv) Black ecology lifts the voices and concerns of those people, animals, plants, and habitats most excluded from decision-making today; (v) Black ecology points toward intersectionality of

issues in ideas and praxis—a critical means of engaging with the type of total transformation of economics that degrowth implies.

Future research can tend to critical questions of militarism, racism, and ecology or other movements, such as Catholic Workers, that combine anti-militarism, sanctity, communal living, and voluntary simplicity in ways compatible with the spirit of degrowth and Black ecology. We might ask questions such as: what could Black ecology help inform us about the Internet or AI as imperial modes of living, and which communities suffer in order to sustain them? More significantly, degrowth research can explore the results of developing cross-racial relationships, building alliances, and engaging in collaborative projects. This could manifest, for example, in demanding reparations for enslavement; opposing new polluting industries, mining projects, and the militarization of police (such as in "Cop City"); and joining together to prevent the displacement of people from their land whether in Congo, Sweden, the United States, or Gaza.

The imperial mode of living seems unsustainable yet, for most people in the Global South, unattainable. The original model of Indigenous stateless societies seems sustainable yet, for most people in the Global North, unattainable. Black ecology, however, seems to provide a pathway toward the sustainable *and* the attainable for many people on both sides of the global and racial divide. In addressing critical issues that affect all of us in some way, and people of color disproportionately so, degrowth advocates can build bridges not only across racial boundaries, but toward sustainable lifestyles, values, and institutions that we all so urgently need.

Conflict of interest

The author has no conflicts of interest to disclose.

Funding

The author did not receive any funding for this research.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Lydia Von Gertten, Gabriel Kuhn, and the anonymous peer reviewers for their very helpful feedback.

References

Abazeri, M. (2022). Decolonial feminisms and degrowth. *Futures, 136*, 1–6.

Africa, M., Jr. (Host). (2021, August 26, September 2, September 9, September 16). My life in MOVE: The good, the bad, and the ugly, parts 1–4 (E35-38). *On a Move with Mike Africa Jr*. [Audio podcast]. https://on-a-move-with-mike-africa-jr.simplecast.com

Akbulut, B., Demaria, F., Gerber, J. F., & Martínez-Alier, J. (2019). Who promotes sustainability? Five theses on the relationships between the degrowth and the environmental justice movements. *Ecological Economic*s, *165*, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2019.106418

Akuno, K., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2023). *Jackson rising redux: Lessons on building the future in the present*. PM Press.

Akuno, K., & Nangwaya, A. (Eds.). (2017). *Jackson rising: The struggle for economic democracy and Black self-determination in Jackson, Mississippi*. Daraja Press.

Allen, T. W. (1997). *The invention of the white race. Volume 2: The origin of racial oppression in Anglo-America*. Verso.

Alexander, M. (2011). *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. The New Press.

Anomaly, J. (2015). What's wrong with factory farming? *Public Health Ethics, 8*(3), 246–254. https://doi.org/10.1093/phe/phu001

Anguelovski, I. (2015). Environmental Justice. In G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 33–36). Routledge.

Arora, S., & Stirling, A. (2021, May 5). Degrowth and the pluriverse: Continued coloniality or intercultural revolution? *STEPS-Centre*. https://steps-centre.org/blog/degrowth-and-the-pluriverse-continued-coloniality-or-intercultural-revolution/

Arp, W., III, & Boeckelman, K. (1997). Religiosity: A source of Black environmentalism and empowerment? *Journal of Black Studies, 28*(2), 255–267. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193479702800207

Assefa, H., & Wahrhaftig, P. (1990). *The MOVE Crisis in Philadelphia*. University of Pittsburgh Press. (Original work published 1988).

Austin, K. (2012). Coffee exports as ecological, social, and physical unequal exchange: A cross-national investigation of the java trade. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 53*(3), 155–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715212455350

Austin, R., & Schill, M. (1991). Black, brown, poor and poisoned: Minority grassroots environmentalism and the quest for eco-justice. *Kansas Journal of Law & Public Policy, 1,* 69–82.

Bailey, R., Froggatt, A., & Wellesley, L. (2014). *Livestock: Climate change's forgotten sector*. Chatham House.

Baker, R. E. (2019). Racial capitalism and claims to space in post-bankruptcy Detroit. [Ph.D dissertation, York University].

Bakht, N., & Collins, L. (2017). 'The Earth is our Mother': Freedom of religion and the preservation of Indigenous sacred sites in Canada. *McGill Law Journal, 62*(3), 777–812. https://doi.org/10.7202/1042774ar

Ballew, M., Maibach, E., Kotcher, J., Bergquist, P., Rosenthal, S., Marlon, J., & Leiserowitz, A. (2020). *Which racial/ethnic groups care most about climate change?* Yale Program on Climate Change Communication. https://climatecommunication.yale.edu/publications/race-and-climate-change/

Barca, S. (2019). The labor(s) of degrowth. *Capitalism Nature Socialism, 30*(2), 207–216.

Baugh, A. (2017). *The green divide: Religious environmentalism in Black and White*. University of California Press.

Behrens, K. G. (2014). An African relational environmentalism and moral considerability. *Environmental Ethics, 36*(1), 63–82.

Bernd, C., Loftus-Farren, Z., & Mitra, M. N. (2017, June 1). America's toxic prisons: The environmental injustices of mass incarceration. *Truthout*. https://truthout.org/articles/america-s-toxic-prisons-the-environmental-injustices-of-mass-incarceration/

Best, S., & Nocella, A. J., II (Eds.). (2006). *Igniting a revolution: Voices in defense of the Earth*. AK Press.

Bhardwaj, A. (2023). The soils of black folk: W.E.B. Du Bois's theories of environmental racialization. *Sociological Theory*, *41*(2), 105–128.

Bille Larsen, P., Le Billon, P., Menton, M., Aylwin, J., Balsiger, J., Boyd, D., Forst, M., Lambrick, F., Santos, C., Storey, H. & Wilding, S. (2021). Understanding and responding to the environmental human rights defenders crisis: The case for conservation action. *Conservation Letters, 14*(3), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12777

Blasingame, S. (2021, March 18). Tools for a post-growth society: An interview with Imeh Ituen. *Ecosia.* http://blog.ecosia.org/post-growth-society-imeh-ituen/

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without Racists*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2017). What we were, what we are, and what we should be: The racial problem of American sociology. *Social Problems, 64*(2), 179–187.

Booth, D. E. (2004). *Hooked on growth: Economic addictions and the environment*. Rowman and Littlefield.

Bradshaw, E. (2018). Tombstone towns and toxic prisons: Prison ecology and the necessity of an anti-prison environmental movement. *Critical Criminology, 26*(3), 407–422. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-018-9399-6

Branagan, M. (2013). *Global warming, militarism and nonviolence: The art of active resistance*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Brand, U., & Wissen, M. (2013). Crisis and continuity of capitalist society-nature relationships: The imperial mode of living and the limits to environmental governance. *Review of International Political Economy, 20*(4), 687–711.

Brand, U., & Wissen, M. (2017). The imperial mode of living. In C. Spash (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Ecological Economics* (pp. 152–161). Routledge.

Bratman, E. Z., & DeLince, W. P. (2022). Dismantling white supremacy in environmental studies and sciences: An argument for anti-racist and decolonizing pedagogies. *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences, 12*(2), 193–203.

Braz, R., & Gilmore C. (2006). Joining forces: Prisons and environmental justice in recent California organizing. *Radical History Review, 96*, 95–111. https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2006-006

Bresnihan, P., & Millner, N. (2023). *All we want is the Earth: Land, labour and movements beyond environmentalism*. Policy Press.

Brisman, A. (2007). Crime-environment relationships and environmental justice. *Seattle Journal for Social Justice, 6*(2), 727–817.

Brown, E., & McCowan, T. (2018). Buen vivir: Reimagining education and shifting paradigms. *Compare, 48*(2), 317–323.

https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2018.1427342

Brownlow, A. (2006). An archaeology of fear and environmental change in Philadelphia. *Geoforum, 37*(2), 227–245.

Bugden, D. (2022). Environmental inequality in the American mind: The problem of color-blind environmental racism. *Social Problems*, *71*(1), 106–127. doi: 10.1093/socpro/spac005

Bullard, R. (2021). Environmental Justice: Once a footnote, now a headline. *Harvard Environmental Law Review, 45*(2), 243–248.

Bullard, R., Mohai, P., Saha, R., & Wright, B. (2008). Toxic wastes and race at twenty: Why race still matters after all of these years. *Environmental Law, 38*, 371–411.

Bullard, R., Johnson, G. S., King, D. W., & Smith, S. L. (2014). People of color on the frontline of environmental assault. In J. Hall (Ed.), *Underprivileged school children and the assault on dignity* (pp. 19–47). Routledge.

Burnley, M. (2021, August 4). Former MOVE members are speaking out about abusive behavior within the organization. *Billy Penn*. https://billypenn.com/2021/08/04/move-philadelphia-abusive-behavior-child-marriage-leaving-members/

Burrow, C. A. (1970). Environmental racism. *Proud, 1*(10), 6–9.

Byrnes, W. (2014). Climate justice, hurricane Katrina, and African American environmentalism. *Journal of African American Studies, 18*, 305–314. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-013-9270-5

Díaz Carmona, E., & Merino De Diego, A. (2018, September 18-19). *The elephant is still in the room: Animals and the degrowth movement* [Paper presentation]. The Institutionalisation of Degrowth & Post-growth: The European Level, Brussels, Belgium.

Cederlöf, G. (2016). Low-carbon food supply: The ecological geography of Cuban urban agriculture and agroecological theory. *Agriculture and Human Values, 33*, 771–784.

Chertkovskaya, E., Paulsson, A., Kallis, G., Barca, S., & D'Alisa, G. (2017). The vocabulary of degrowth: A roundtable debate. *Ephemera, 17*(1), 189–208.

Chesney, C. (2007, May 22-24). *African-American environmentalism: Issues and trends for teaching, research and extension* [Paper presentation]. The Conference on Black Environmental Thought: Land, Power and Sustainability, Tuskegee, AL, United States.

Chitewere, T., Shim, J. K., Barker, J. C., & Yen, I. H. (2017). How neighborhoods influence health: Lessons to be learned from the application of political ecology. *Health & Place, 45*, 117–123. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2017.03.009

Clarke, L., & Agyeman, J. (2011). Shifting the balance in environmental governance: ethnicity, environmental citizenship and discourses of responsibility. *Antipode, 43*(5), 1773–1800.

Clay, E. (2011). How does it feel to be an environmental problem? Studying religion and ecology in the African diaspora. In W.A. Bauman, R. R. Bohannon, & K. O'Brien (Eds.), *Inherited land: The changing grounds of religion and ecology* (pp. 148–170). Pickwick Publications.

Colchester, M. (1994). *Salvaging nature: Indigenous peoples, protected areas and biodiversity conservation*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Cole, L., & Foster, S. R. (2000). *From the ground up: Environmental racism and the rise of the Environmental Justice movement*. New York University Press.

Colling, S., Parson, S., & Arrigoni, A. (2014). Until all are free: Total liberation through revolutionary decolonization, groundless solidarity, and a relationship framework. *Counterpoints:* 448, 51–73. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42982377

Colman, T., & Päster, P. (2009). Red, white, and 'green': The cost of greenhouse gas emissions in the global wine trade. *Journal of Wine Research, 20*(1), 15–26.

Compton, K. S. (2021). Pro-environmental behaviors among Black environmentalists: A critical race perspective. [Ph.D. dissertation, Virginia Commonwealth University].

Corazza, C., & Victus, S. (2015). Economy of permanence. In G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: a vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 205–207). Routledge.

Costanza, R., Atkins, P. W., Bolton, M., Cork, S., Grigg, N. J., Kasser, T., & Kubiszewski, I. (2017). Overcoming societal addictions: What can we learn from individual therapies? *Ecological Economics, 131*, 543–550.

D'Alisa, G., Demaria, F., & Kallis, G. (Eds.). (2015). *Degrowth: a vocabulary for a new era*. Routledge.

Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?* Seven Stories Press.

DBCFSN. (2023). FAQ. *Detroit Black Community Food Security Network*. https://www.dbcfsn.org/faq.

Delaney, D. (2002). The space that race makes. *The Professional Geographer, 54*(1), 6–14.

Demaria, F., Schneider, F., Sekulova, F., & Martinez-Alier, J.. (2013). What is Degrowth? From an Activist Slogan to a Social Movement. *Environmental Values, 22*, 191–215.

Demaria, F., Kallis, G., & Bakker, K. (2019). Geographies of degrowth: Nowtopias, resurgences, and the decolonization of imaginaries and places. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space, 2*(3), 431–450.

DeNavas-Walt, C., & Proctor, B. (2014). *Income and poverty in the United States: 2013 current population reports*. United States Census Bureau.

Dengler, C., & Seebacher, L. (2019). What about the Global South? Towards a feminist decolonial degrowth approach. *Ecological Economics, 157*, 246–252.

Deschner, C., & Hurst, E. (2018, February 1). Decolonisation and degrowth. *Degrowth.info*. https://www.degrowth.info/en/2018/02/decolonisation-and-degrowth/

Dhont, K., Piazza, J., & Hodson, G. (2021). The role of meat appetite in willfully disregarding factory farming as a pandemic catalyst risk. *Appetite, 164*, 1–38.

Domazet, M., & Ancˇić, B. (2019). Complementarity between the EJ movement and degrowth on the European semiperiphery: An empirical study. *Ecological Economics, 157*, 120–128.

Dotson, K. (2011). Tracking epistemic violence, tracking practices of silencing. *Hypatia, 26*(2), 236–257.

Douglass, F. (1994). *Autobiographies: Narrative of the life/My bondage and my freedom/life and times*. Library of America. (Original work published 1855).

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). *Black Reconstruction: An essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860–1880*. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (2007). *The Philadelphia negro: A social study*. Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1899).

Dyett, J., & Thomas, C. (2019). Overpopulation discourse: Patriarchy, racism, and the specter of ecofascism. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology, 18*(1–2), 205–224.

Ebram, T. (2019). 'Can't jail the revolution': Policing, protest, and the MOVE Organization in Philadelphia's carceral landscape. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 143*(3), 333–362.

Ecosocialist Horizons. (2023). *The cry of Mother Earth: Plan of action of the Ecosocialist International*. PM Press.

Edmonds, E. B. (2003). *Rastafari: From outcasts to culture bearers*. Oxford University Press.

Eeyore, P. X. (Ed.) (2022a). *Addiction and ecology: How intoxication culture kills our planet and what to do about it*. Arc of Justice Angel Press.

Eeyore, P. X. (2022b). *Total Revolution? An outsider history of Hardline*. Warcry Communications.

Enck-Wanzer, D. (Ed.). 2010. *The Young Lords: A reader*. NYU Press.

Erlich, P. (1968). *The population bomb*. Ballantine Books.

Escobar, A. (2015). Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: A preliminary conversation. *Sustainability Science, 10*, 451–462.

Evans, R. K. (2020). *MOVE: An American religion.* Oxford University Press.

Eversberg, D., & Schmelzer, M. (2018). The degrowth spectrum: Convergence and divergence within a diverse and conflictual alliance. *Environmental Values, 27*(3), 245–267.

Eze, E. C. (Ed.). (1997). *Race and the Enlightenment*. Blackwell Publishers.

FaDA Writing Collective. (2023). Why are feminist perspectives, analyses, and actions vital to degrowth? *Degrowth Journal, 1*(1), 1–16.

Fagan, B. (1992). *People of the Earth: An introduction to world prehistory*. HarperCollins Publishers.

FAO & FILAC. (2021). *Forest governance by Indigenous and tribal peoples: An opportunity for climate action in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Favini, J. (2018). Caring for nature: Anonymity, conservation, and Jamaican Maroons. *Social and Economic Studies, 67*(1), 7–31.

Feagin, J. R. (2010). *The white racial frame.* Routledge.

Feola, G. (2019). Degrowth and the unmaking of capitalism: Beyond 'decolonization of the imaginary.' *ACME International Journal of Critical Geography, 18*(4), 977–997.

Ferdinand, M. (2020). Why we need a decolonial ecology (Interview by Chaillou, A. & Roblin, L.). *Revue Projet, 375*(2), 52–56.

Fields-Hirschler, J. (2023). Conviviality and conscience: How degrowth and abolition theory critique and re-envision welfare states. [Master's thesis, Lund University].

First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. ([1991] 2004). Principles of Environmental Justice. In R. S. Gottlieb (Ed.), *This sacred earth: Religion, nature, environment* (pp. 647–648). Routledge.

Fiscella, A. T. (2016). Removing MOVE: A case study of intersectional invisibility within religious and legal studies. *International Journal for the Study of New Religions, 7*(1), 3–41.

Fiscella, A. T. (2022). Forgotten Pioneers in Degrowth: John Africa and the MOVE Organization. *Journal of Political Ecology, 29*(1), 405–429.

Fiscella, K., & Sanders, M. (2016). Racial and ethnic disparities in the quality of health care. *Annual Review of Public Health, 37*, 375–394.

Fitzgerald, A. J. (2010). A social history of the slaughterhouse: From inception to contemporary implications. *Human Ecology Review, 17*(1), 58–69.

Floyd-Thomas, J. M. (2002). The burning of rebellious thoughts: MOVE as revolutionary Black humanism. *The Black Scholar, 32*(1), 11–21.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (Alan Sheridan, trans.). Pantheon.

Francis, G. (2020). 'We must not let these stores that trade on human misery proliferate': Black activism, spatial justice, and liquor stores in South Central Los Angeles, 1984–94. *Journal of Civil and Human Rights, 6*(2), 1–25.

Frost, K. (2019). First Nations sovereignty, Environmental Justice, and degrowth in Northwest BC, Canada. *Ecological Economics, 162,* 133–142.

Gay, W. (2015). Negative impacts of militarism on the environment. In A. Fiala (Ed.), *The peace of nature and the nature of peace* (pp. 51–59). Brill.

Georgescu-Roegen, N. (1975). Energy and economic myths. *Southern Economic Journal, 41*(3), 347–381.

Gertenbach, L., Lamla, J., & Laser, S. (2021). Eating ourselves out of industrial excess? Degrowth, multi-species conviviality and the micro-politics of cultured meat. *Anthropological Theory, 21*(3), 386–408.

Gilmore, B. (2013). The world is yours: 'Degrowth', racial inequality and sustainability. *Sustainability, 5*, 1282–1303.

Go, J. (2017). Decolonizing sociology: Epistemic inequality and sociological thought. *Social Problems, 64*, 194–199.

Goldsmith, E., Allen, R., Allaby, M., Davoll, J., & Lawrence, S. (1972). A blueprint for survival. *The Ecologist, 2*(1), 1–43.

Greenebaum, J. (2018). Vegans of color: Managing visible and invisible stigmas. *Food, Culture & Society, 21*(5), 680–697.

Gregory, D. (1973). *Dick Gregory's natural diet for folks who eat: Cookin' with Mother Nature*. Harper & Row.

Gregoratti, C., & Raphael, R. (2019). The historical roots of a feminist 'degrowth': Maria Mies's and Marilyn Waring's critiques of growth. In E. Chertkovskaya, A. Paulsson, & S. Barca (Eds.), *Towards a political economy of degrowth* (pp. 83–98). Rowman & Littlefield.

Griffiths, S. (2020, March 6). Why your internet habits are not as clean as you think. *BBC*. https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20200305-why-your-internet-habits-are-not-as-clean-as-you-think

Gudynas, E. (2015). Buen vivir. In G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 201–204). Routledge.

Hanaček, K., Roy, B., Avila, S., & Kallis, G. (2020). Ecological economics and degrowth: Proposing a future research agenda from the margins. *Ecological Economics, 169*, 1–13.

Hare, N. (1970). Black ecology. *The Black Scholar, 1*(6), 2–8.

Hargreaves, S., Raposo, A., Saraiva, A., & Zandonadi, R. P. (2021). Vegetarian diet: An overview through the perspective of quality of life domains. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 18*(8), 1–23.

Harlan, S. L., Pellow, D. N., Roberts, J. T., Bell, S. E., Holt, W. G., Nagel, J., Dunlap, R. E., & Brulle, R. J.. (2015). Climate justice and inequality. In R. E. Dunlap & R. J. Brulle (Eds.), *Climate change and society: Sociological perspectives* (pp. 127–163). Oxford University Press.

Harper, A. B. (Ed.). (2010). *Sistah vegan: Black female vegans speak on food, identity, health, and society*. Lantern Books.

Harris, E. P. (1982). An afrocentric view of the rhetoric of Dick Gregory. [Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University].

Harris, M. (2017). *Ecowomanism: African American women and Earth-honoring faiths*. Orbis Books.

Havryshko, M., Popovych, O., & Yaremko, H. (2020). Ecological problems of enterprises of alcohol industry. *Environmental Problems, 5*(2), 107–112.

Hendlin, Y., & Bialous, S. A. (2020). The environmental externalities of tobacco manufacturing: A review of tobacco industry reporting. *Ambio, 49*(1), 17–34.

Heq-m-Ta, H. S. (2016). *Ankh, Ujda, Seneb (life, strength, health): An epistemic examination on the genealogy of the Africana holistic health tradition in Philadelphia, 1967 to the Present*. [Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University].

Heynen, N. (2009). Bending the bars of empire from every ghetto for survival: The Black Panther Party's radical antihunger politics of social reproduction and scale. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 99*(2), 406–422.

Heynen, N. (2018). Toward an abolition ecology. *Abolition, 1,* 240–247.

Hickel, J. (2021). The anti-colonial politics of degrowth. *Political Geography, 88*, 1–2.

Hicks, A. L. (2018). Environmental implications of consumer convenience: Coffee as a case study. *Journal of Industrial Ecology, 22*(1), 79–91.

Hochschartner, J. (2014, January 24). Vegan Angela Davis connects human and animal liberation. *CounterPunch*. https://www.counterpunch.org/2014/01/24/vegan-angela-davis-connects-human-and-animal-liberation/

Hoeft, T. (2018). Towards the Pluriverse: How to connect Degrowth and Ubuntu. [Master's thesis, Lund University].

Holland, S. P. (2023). *an other: a black feminist consideration of animal life*. Duke University Press.

Hornborg, A. (1994). Environmentalism, ethnicity and sacred places: Reflections on modernity, discourse and power. *Canadian Review of Sociology, 31*(3), 245–267.

Human Rights Watch. (2009). *Decades of disparity: Drug arrests and race in the United States*. Human Rights Watch.

Hunter, M. (2013). A bridge over troubled urban waters: W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro* and the ecological conundrum. *Du Bois Review, 10*(1), 7–27.

Ignatin, N. (1967). The white blindspot. *The Sojourner Truth Organization*. http://www.sojournertruth.net/whiteblindspot.html

Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How the Irish became white*. Routledge.

Illich, I. (1973). *Tools for conviviality*. Harper & Row.

James, L. L. (2013). *John Africa...Childhood untold until today.* Xlibris.

Jensen, D. (2008). *How shall I live my life? On liberating the earth from civilization*. PM Press.

Johnson, E. (2018, June 11). Womanist Working Collective's LaTierra Piphus on navigating systems in order to dismantle them. *Generocity*. https://generocity.org/philly/2018/06/11/womanist-working-collective-latierra-piphus-radical-black-womanhood-reciprocity-time-banking/

Johnson, L. (2017). *Race matters, animal matters: Fugitive humanism in African America, 1840–1930*. Routledge.

Johnston, G., & Johnston, M. (2017). 'We fight for all living things': Countering misconceptions about the radical animal liberation movement. *Social Movement Studies, 16*(6), 735–751.

Jones, T. (1975). Apartheid ecology in America: On building the segregated society. *Black World, 24*(7), 4–17.

Jordan, J. L., Pennick, E., Hill, W. A., & Zabawa, R. (2009). *Land and power: Sustainable agriculture and African Americans*. SARE.

Kallis, G. (2019a). Capitalism, socialism, degrowth: A rejoinder. *Capitalism Nature Socialism, 30*(2), 267–273.

Kallis, G. (2019b). *Limits: Why Malthus was wrong and why environmentalists should care*. Stanford University Press.

Kelbessa, W. (2022). Environmental injustice and disposal of hazardous waste in Africa. In R. Brinkmann (Ed.), *The Palgrave handbook of global sustainability* (pp. 1958–1975). Palgrave Macmillan.

Kim, H., Rebholz, C. M., Hegde, S., LaFiura, C., Raghavan, M., Lloyd, J. F., Cheng, S., & Seidelmann, S. B. (2021). Plant-based diets, pescatarian diets and COVID-19 severity: A population-based case–control study in six countries. *BMJ Nutrition, Prevention & Health, 4*(1), 257–266.

Ko, A., & Ko, S. (2017). *Aphro-ism: Essays on pop culture, feminism, and black veganism from two sisters.* Lantern Books.

Koch, M., Buch-Hansen, H., & Fritz, M. (2017). Shifting priorities in degrowth research: An argument for the centrality of human needs. *Ecological Economics, 138*, 74–81.

Kothari, A., Demaria, F., & Acosta, A. (2014). Buen Vivir, degrowth and ecological Swaraj: Alternatives to sustainable development and the green economy. *Development, 57*(3–4), 362–375.

Kothari, A. (2020). Earth Vikalp Sangam: Proposal for a global tapestry of alternatives. *Globalizations, 17*(2), 245–249.

Kuhn, G. (Ed.). (2010). *Sober living for the revolution: Hardcore punk, straight edge, and radical politics*. PM Press.

Kuhn, G. (2020). *Liberating Sápmi: Indigenous resistance in Europe's far north*. PM Press.

Kurtz, H. (2009). Acknowledging the racial state: An agenda for environmental justice research. *Antipode, 41*(4), 684–704.

Laier, C. (2020). The power of environmental vegetarianism. [Master's thesis, Uppsala University].

Lartey, J. (2023, June 24). What the fight over Atlanta's 'Cop City' reveals about policing of protests. *The Marshall Project*. https://www.themarshallproject.org/2023/06/24/atlanta-cop-city-protest-police

Latouche, S. (2009). *Farewell to growth*. Polity Press.

Latouche, S. (2015). Imaginary, decolonization of. In G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 117–120). Routledge.

Leitinger, L. (2020, June 1). Degrowth and domesecration: A historical view on nonhuman and human violence. *Degrowth.info*. https://www.degrowth.info/en/2020/06/degrowth-and-domesecration-a-historical-view-on-nonhuman-and-human-violence/

Leonardi, E. (2019). Bringing class analysis back in: Assessing the transformation of the value-nature nexus to strengthen the connection between degrowth and environmental justice. *Ecological Economics, 156*, 83–90.

Liegey, V. (2022, March 10). *La décroissance ou la guerre*. [E-mail newsletter] Un Projet de Décroissance.

Logan, B. I. (1991). An assessment of the environmental and economic implications of toxic-waste disposal in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of World Trade, 25*(1), 61–76.

Lohmann, L. (2020). White climate, white energy a time for movement reflection? *The Corner House*. http//:www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/resource/white-climate-white-energy

Lorenzo, J. L. (2017). Spatial justice and Indigenous peoples' protection of sacred places: Adding Indigenous dimensions to the conversation. *Justice Spatiale/Spatial Justice, 11*, 1–17.

Mahtani, M. (2014). Toxic geographies: Absences in critical race thought and practice in social and cultural geography. *Social & Cultural Geography, 15*(4), 359–367.

Mailhot, S., & Perkins, P. E. (2022). Social equity is the foundation of degrowth. In N. Barlow, L. Regen, N. Cadiou, E. Chertkovskaya, M. Hollweg, C. Plank, M. Schulken, & V. Wolf (Eds.), *Degrowth & Strategy* (pp. 145–159). MayFly Books.

Martínez-Alier, J. (2012). Environmental justice and economic degrowth: An alliance between two movements. *Capitalism Nature Socialism, 23*(1), 51–73.

Martínez-Alier, J. (2015). Neo-Malthusians. In G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 125-128). Routledge.

Marx, K. (1948). *Capital*. *Vol. 1*. Macmillan Company of India. (Original work published 1872).

Masters, R. K., Hummer, R. A., Powers, D. A., Beck, A., Lin, S. F., & Finch, B. K. (2014). Long-term trends in adult mortality for U.S. Blacks and whites: An examination of period- and cohort-based changes. *Demography, 51*, 2047–2073.

Mays, K. T. (2021). *An Afro-Indigenous history of the United States*. Beacon Press.

McCarthy, C., & Popovich, N. (2015, September 7). California police killings database reveals 'clear racial disparities'. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/sep/07/california-police-shootings-database-racial-disparity

McCarthy, L. M. (2019). Recovering a Black American tradition of animal advocacy. [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leeds].

McCutcheon, P. (2019). Fannie Lou Hamer's Freedom Farms and Black agrarian geographies. *Antipode, 51*(1), 207–224.

McGreevy, S. R., Rupprecht, C. D. D., Niles, D., Wiek, A., Carolan, M., Kallis, G., Kantamaturapoj, K., Mangnus, A., Jehlicˇka, P., Taherzadeh, O., Sahakian, M., Chabay, I., Colby, A., Vivero-Pol, J.-L., Chaudhuri, R., Spiegelberg, M., Kobayashi, M., Balázs, B., Tsuchiya, K., Nicholls, C., Tanaka, K., Vervoort, J., Akitsu, M., Mallee, H., Ota, K., Shinkai, R., Khadse, A., Tamura, N., Abe, K., Altieri, M., Sato, Y-I., & Tachikawa, M. (2022). Sustainable agrifood systems for a post-growth world. *Nature Sustainability, 5*(12), 1011–1017.

McKanan, D. (2008). *The Catholic Worker after Dorothy: Practicing the works of mercy in a new generation*. Liturgical Press.

McQuirter, T. L. (2010). *By any greens necessary*. Chicago Review Press.

Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. L., Randers, J., & Behrens, W. W. (1972). *The limits to growth*. Universe Books.

Means, R. (1991). Fighting words for the future of the Earth. In J. Zerzan & A. Carnes (Eds.), *Questioning Technology* (pp. 71–82). New Society Publishers.

Medina, J. (2013). *The epistemology of resistance: Gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice, and the social imagination*. Oxford University Press.

Mennis, J., Stahler, G. J., & Mason, M. J. (2016). Risky substance use environments and addiction: A new frontier for environmental justice research. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 13*(6), 607.

Mikati, I., Benson, A. F., Luben, T. J., Sacks, J. D., & Richmond-Bryant, J. (2018). Disparities in distribution of particulate matter emission sources by race and poverty status. *American Journal of Public Health, 108*(4), 480–485.

Milazzo, M. (2017). On white ignorance, white shame, and other pitfalls in critical philosophy of race. *Journal of Applied Philosophy, 34*(4), 557–572.

Mills, C. W. (2017). *Black rights/white wrongs: The critique of racial liberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Mock, B. (2014, July 31). Are there two different versions of environmentalism, one 'white,' one 'Black'? *Grist.* https://grist.org/climate-energy/are-there-two-different-versions-of-environmentalism-one-white-one-black/

Mohai, P. (1990). Black environmentalism. *Social Science Quarterly, 71*(4), 744–765.

Mohai, P., Pellow, D., & Roberts, J. T. (2009). Environmental justice. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources, 34,* 405–430.

Moise, G. (2021). MOVEing beyond anti-state to anti-civ: Black Lives Matter and the MOVE Organization through the Critical Environmental Justice lens. *Environmental Justice, 15*(1), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2021.0026

Moore Lappé, F. (1991). *Diet for a small planet*. Ballantine. (Original work published 1971).

Moore, S. A. (2011). Global garbage: Waste, trash trading, and local garbage politics. In R. Peet, P. Robbins, & M. Watts (Eds.), *Global political ecology* (pp. 133–144). Routledge.

Muradian, R. (2019). Frugality as a choice vs. frugality as a social condition: Is de-growth doomed to be a Eurocentric project? *Ecological Economics, 161*, 257–260.

Murphy, M. W., Weddington, G., & Rio-Glick, A. J. (2021). Black ecology and critical environmental justice. *Environmental Justice, 14*(6), 393–397.

Nark, J. (2021, August 27). Ex-MOVE members say they were raised in a 'cult' where abuse and homophobia ran rampant. *Philadelphia Inquirer.* https://www.inquirer.com/news/move-bombing-philadelphia-africa-podcast-blog-abuse-20210827.html

Newsome, F. (1979). Black contributions to the early history of Western medicine: Lack of recognition as a cause of Black under representation in US medical schools. *Journal of the National Medical Association, 71*(2), 189–193.

Nirmal, P., & D. Rocheleau (2019). Decolonizing degrowth in the post-development convergence: Questions, experiences, and proposals from two Indigenous territories. *Environmental and Planning E: Nature and Space, 2*(3), 443–470.

Nishime, L., & Hester Williams, K. D. (Eds.). (2018). *Racial ecologies*. University of Washington Press.

Okafor-Yarwood, I., & Adewumi, I. J. (2020). Toxic waste dumping in the Global South as a form of environmental racism: Evidence from the Gulf of Guinea. *African Studies, 79*(3), 285–304.

O'Manique, C., Rowe, J. K., & Shaw, K. (2021). Degrowth, political acceptability and the Green New Deal. *Journal of Human Rights and the Environment, 1*, 1–23.

Opperman, R. (2019). A permanent struggle against an omnipresent death: revisiting environmental racism with Frantz Fanon. *Critical Philosophy of Race, 7*(1), 57–80.

Opperman, R. (2020a). *Race, ecology, freedom: Climate justice and environmental racism*. [Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University].

Opperman, R. (2020b, August 3). We need histories of radical Black ecology now. *Black Perspectives*. https://www.aaihs.org/we-need-histories-of-radical-black-ecology-now

Patel, R. (2012). Survival pending revolution: What the Black Panthers can teach the US Food Movement. *Food First Backgrounder, 18*(2), 1–3.

PCIFAP. (2008). *Putting Meat on the Table: Industrial farm animal production in America*. Washington DC: Pew Commission on Industrial Farm Animal Production.

Pellow, D. N. (2004). *Garbage wars: The struggle for environmental justice in Chicago*. MIT Press.

Pellow, D. N. (2014). *Total liberation: The power and promise of animal rights and the radical earth movement*. University of Minnesota Press.

Pellow, D. N. (2018). *What is Critical Environmental Justice?* Polity Press.

Penniman, L. (2018). *Farming while black: Soul Fire Farm's practical guide to liberation on the land*. Chelsea Green Publishing.

Perdue, R. T. (2018). Linking environmental and criminal injustice: The mining to prison pipeline in central Appalachia. *Environmental Justice*, *11*(5), 177–182.

Perdue, R. T. (2021). Trashing Appalachia: Coal, prisons and whiteness in a region of refuse. *Punishment & Society, 8,* 1–21.

Perkins, P. E. (2017, January 30–31). *Degrowth, commons and climate justice: Ecofeminist insights and Indigenous political traditions* [Paper proposal]. Proceedings of the Climate Ethics and Climate Economics, Manchester, UK.

Petrlik, J., Puckett, J., Bell, L., & DiGangi, J. (2019). *Weak controls: European e-waste poisons Africa's food chain*. IPEN and Basel Action Network (BAN). https://ipen.org/sites/default/files/documents/final_ghana-egg-report-v1_6-web_copy.pdf

Phillips, L. (2006). *The womanist reader*. Routledge.

Picchio, A. (2015). Feminist economics. In G. D'Alisa, Demaria, F., & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 208–210). Routledge.

Pickett, S., & Grove, J. (2020). An ecology of segregation. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment, 18*(10), 535.

Pilkington, C. (2022). Access to energy: Inequality between Europe and Africa, and between African countries. Africa Europe Foundation. https://www.africaeuropefoundation.org/stories/access-to-energy:-inequality-between-europe-and-africa-and-between-african-countries/

Pitts, A. K., Trost, B., Trost, N., Hand, B., & Margulies, J. (2022). Learning with the seed bomb: On a classroom encounter with abolition ecology. *Journal of Political Ecology, 29*(1), 302–308.

Pratt, T. (2023, February 9). 'Cop City' opposition spreads beyond Georgia forest defenders. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/feb/09/cop-city-opposition-georgia

Price, K. (2021, July 2). Leaving MOVE Group Statement. *Leaving MOVE*. https://leavingmove2021.blogspot.com/2021/07/leaving-move-group-statement.html

Pulido, L. (1996). A critical review of the methodology of environmental racism research. *Antipode, 28*, 142–159.

Pulido, L. (2016). Flint, environmental racism, and racial capitalism. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, *27*(3), 1–16.

Pulido, L., & De Lara, J. (2018). Reimagining 'justice' in environmental justice: Radical ecologies, decolonial thought, and the Black Radical Tradition. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space, 1*, 76–98.

Ramcilovic-Suominen, S. (2023). Envisioning just transformations in and beyond the EU bioeconomy: Inspirations from decolonial environmental justice and degrowth. *Sustainability Science, 18*(2), 707–722.

Ramanujam, A. (2023). Climate scholarship needs Du Bois: Climate crisis through the lens of racial and colonial capitalism. *Sociological Inquiry*, *93*(2), 273–295.

Ramose, M. (2015). Ubuntu. In G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, & G. Kallis (Eds.), *Degrowth: A vocabulary for a new era* (pp. 212–214). Routledge.

Reddix-Smalls, B. (2022). Maroons, the law and degrowth: A sustainable people in a sustainable environment. *Duke Environmental Law & Policy Forum, 32*(1), 109–166.

Riley, S. S. (2004). Ecology is a sistah's issue too: The politics of emergent Afrocentric ecowomanism. In R. S. Gottlieb (Ed.), *This sacred earth: Religion, nature, environment* (pp. 368–381). Routledge.

Roane, J. T. (2020, January 15). Mothers 4 Housing and the legacy of Black anti-growth politics. *Black Perspectives (AAIHS).* https://www.aaihs.org/mothers-4-housing-and-the-legacy-of-black-anti-growth-politics/

Roberts, J.T., & Toffolon-Weiss, M. M. (2001). *Chronicles from the environmental justice frontline*. Cambridge University Press.

Rodney, W. (1972). Problems of Third World development. *Ufahamu, 3*(2), 27–47.

Rodríguez-Labajos, B., Yánez, I., Bond, P., Greyl, L., Munguti, S., Ojo, G. U., & Overbeek, W. (2019). Not so natural an alliance? Degrowth and environmental justice movements in the global south. *Ecological Economics, 157*, 175–184.

Romley, J. A., Cohen, D., Ringel, J., & Sturm, R. (2007). Alcohol and environmental justice: The density of liquor stores and bars in urban neighborhoods in the United States. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, 68*(1), 48–55.

Rossing, B.E. (2021, August 24–28). *A decolonial race-centered case analysis of bottom-up system change* [Conference session]. 8th International Degrowth Conference, The Hague, Netherlands.

Roy, B. (2022). Foreword. In N. Barlow, L. Regen, N. Cadiou, E. Chertkovskaya, M. Hollweg, C. Plank, M. Schulken, & V. Wolf (Eds.), *Degrowth & Strategy* (pp. 5–7). MayFly Books.

Ruffin, K. N. (2010). *Black on Earth: African American ecoliterary traditions*. University of Georgia Press.

Rusert, B. (2010). Black nature: The question of race in the age of ecology. *Polygraph, 22*, 149–166.

Russell, C. L. (2018). 5G wireless telecommunications expansion: Public health and environmental implications. *Environmental research, 165*, 484–495.

Scheidel, A., Del Bene, D., Liu, J., Navas, G., Mingorría, S., Demaria, F., ... & Martínez-Alier, J. (2020). Environmental conflicts and defenders: A global overview. *Global Environmental Change, 63*, 1–12.

Schlosberg, D., & Collins, L. (2014). From environmental to climate justice: Climate change and the discourse of environmental justice. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change, 5*(3), 359–374.

Schmelzer, M. (2015). Gutes Leben statt Wachstum: Degrowth, klimagerechtigkeit, subsistenz—eine einführung in die begriffe und ansätze der postwachstumsbewegung. In *Le Monde Diplomatique, Atlas der Globalisierung: Weniger wird mehr. Der Postwachstumsatlas.* In B. Bauer, D. d'Aprile, S. Jainski, N. Kadritzke, S. Liebig, & P. Thorbrietz (pp. 116–121). Le Monde Diplomatique.

Schmelzer, M. et al. (2022). *The future is degrowth: A guide to a world beyond capitalism*. Verso Books.

Session, I. L., Sharp, K. H., & Aldredge-Clanton, J. (2020). *The Gathering: A womanist church*. Wipf & Stock Publishers.

Sibanda, F. (2012). The impact of Rastafari ecological ethic in Zimbabwe: A contemporary discourse. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 5*(3), 59–76.

Silva, G. T. (2022). An overview of strategies for social-ecological transformation in the field of trade and decolonialization. In N. Barlow, L. Regen, N. Cadiou, E. Chertkovskaya, M. Hollweg, C. Plank, M. Schulken, & V. Wolf (Eds.), *Degrowth & Strategy* (pp. 375–382). MayFly Books.

Sindima, H. (1991). Bondedness, Moyo and Umunthu as the elements of Achewa spirituality: Organizing logic and principle of life. *Ultimate Reality and Meaning, 14*(1), 5–20.

Singer, P. (1996). Animal liberation. In R. Garner (Ed.), *Animal rights: The changing debate* (pp. 7–18). Palgrave Macmillan. (Original work published 1973).

Singh, N. M. (2019). Environmental justice, degrowth and post-capitalist futures. *Ecological Economics, 163*, 138–142.

Sinnette, C. H. (1972). Genocide and black ecology. *Freedomways*, *12*(1), 34–46.

Slaughter, E., Gersberg, R. M., Watanabe, K., Rudolph, J., Stransky, C., & Novotny, T. E. (2011). Toxicity of cigarette butts, and their chemical components, to marine and freshwater fish. *Tobacco Control, 20*(Suppl 1), i25-i29.

Slocum, R. (2018). Climate politics and race in the Pacific Northwest. *Social Sciences, 7*(10), 1–25.

Sluyter, A. (2020). Death on the Middle Passage: A cartographic approach to the Atlantic slave trade. *Esclavages & Post-esclavages. Slaveries & Post-Slaveries, 3*, 1–19.

Smith, A. (1996). Malthusian orthodoxy and the myth of ZPG: Population control as racism. In J. Weaver (Ed.), *Defending Mother Earth: Native American perspectives on environmental justice* (pp. 122–143). Orbis Books.

Smith, C., Hooks, G., & Lengefeld, M. (2014). The war on drugs in Colombia: The environment, the treadmill of destruction and risk-transfer militarism. *Journal of World-Systems Research, 20*(2), 182–203.

Taylor, D. E. (2000). The rise of the environmental justice paradigm: Injustice framing and the social construction of environmental discourses. *American Behavioral Scientist, 43*, 508–580.

Taylor, D. E. (2011). Introduction: The evolution of environmental justice activism, research, and scholarship. *Environmental Practice, 13*(4), 280–301.

Taylor, D. E. (2014). *The state of diversity in environmental organizations: mainstream NGOs, foundations & government agencies.* Green 2.0. http://orgs.law.harvard.edu/els/files/2014/02/FullReport_Green2.0_FINALReducedSize.pdf

Taylor, K. (2022). False profits: An analysis of planning's cult of growth and the demands of justice. [Master's thesis, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill].

Thomson, B. (2011). Pachakuti: Indigenous perspectives, *buen vivir*, *sumaq kawsay* and degrowth. *Development, 54*(4), 448–454.

Tipping Point North South. (2023). Placing the military in the degrowth narrative. *Degrowth Journal, 1*(1), 1–10.

Trainer, T. (2021). What does degrowth mean? Some comments on Jason Hickel's 'A few points of clarification'. *Globalizations, 18*(7), 1112–1116.

Turnbull, C. M. (1968). *The forest people*. Simon & Schuster.

Tyberg, J. (2020, July 3). Unlearning: From degrowth to decolonization. *Rosa Luxembourg Stiftung.* https://rosalux.nyc/degrowth-to-decolonization/

United Church of Christ (1987). *Toxic wastes and race in the United States.* New York: United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice.

United Nations. (2010). *Trends in sustainable development*. United Nations. https://www.un.org/esa/dsd/resources/res_pdfs/publications/trends/trends_sustainable_consumption_production/Trends_in_sustainable_consumption_and_production.pdf

Varvarousis, A. (2019). Crisis, liminality and the decolonization of the social imaginary. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space, 2*(3), 493–512.

Vasudevan, P. (2021). An intimate inventory of race and waste. *Antipode, 53*(3), 770–790.

Vornovitsky, M., Gottschalck, A., & Smith, A. (2014). *Distribution of household wealth in the U.S.: 2000 to 2011*. United States Census Bureau.

Walker, A. (1984). *In search of our mothers' gardens*. Harvest Books. (Original work published 1973).

Walker, A. (1987). 'Nobody was supposed to survive': The MOVE massacre of '85. In M. Harry (Ed.), '*Attention, MOVE! This is America!*' (pp. 209–215). Banner Press.

Walker, A. (1988). Everything is a human being (1983). In A. Walker (Ed.), *Living by the Word: Selected writings 1973–1987* (pp. 139–152). Phoenix.

Waller, D. M. & Reo, N. J. (2018). First stewards: Ecological outcomes of forest and wildlife stewardship by Indigenous peoples of Wisconsin, USA. *Ecology and Society, 23*(1), 45–61.

Weiss, M., & Cattaneo, C. (2017). Degrowth: Taking stock and reviewing an emerging academic paradigm. *Ecological Economics, 137*, 220–230.

White, M. M. (2019). *Freedom farmers: Agricultural resistance and the black freedom movement*. University of North Carolina Press.

Woods, L. L., II. (2013). Almost 'no negro veteran… could get a loan': African Americans, the GI bill, and the NAACP campaign against residential segregation, 1917-1960. *The Journal of African American History, 98*(3), 392–417.

World Health Organization. (2017). Tobacco and its environmental impact: An overview. *World Health Organization.*

World Watch Institute. (2004). Meat. Now, it's not personal! But like it or not, meat-eating is becoming a problem for everyone on the planet. *World Watch, 17*(4), 12–20.

Wortham, R. A. (2005). Du Bois and the sociology of religion: Rediscovering a founding figure. *Sociological Inquiry, 75*(4), 433–452.

Wright, W. J. (2021). As above, so below: Anti-Black violence as environmental racism. *Antipode, 53*(3), 791–809.

Yawney, C. (1997, January 29-31). *Stories of change: The MOVE Organization as a primary health care model* [Paper presentation]. International People's Health Council (IPHC) Conference, University of the Western Cape-Cape Town, South Africa.

Zhong, R., & Popovich, N. (2022, March 9). How air pollution across America reflects racist policy from the 1930s. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/09/climate/redlining-racism-air-pollution.html

Ziai, A. (2015). Post-Development Concepts? Buen Vivir, Ubuntu and Degrowth. In B. de Sousa Santos & T. Cunha (Eds.), *Epistemologies of the South* (pp. 143–154). CES.

Zoellick, J. C. (2018). Lock them up! Lock them up? A critique of the prison mosaic. *Futures, 101*, 1–9.

The author

Anthony T. Fiscella has a Ph.D. (Lund University) in the history of religion. He has written about MOVE, Unitarian Universalists, taqwacore, Lynyrd Skynyrd, decolonizing the concept of “freedom” and spiritual anarchism. In light of currently extreme ecological crises, he has, since 2017, begun to gradually shift emphasis from academia to pragmatic degrowth-oriented work and education.