



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Resisting fascist creep within degrowth

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Abstract

As degrowth gains mainstream traction, it risks becoming fertile ground for far-right co-option. This brief article confronts the fascist creep—the strategic infiltration or co-option of leftist discourse—within degrowth spaces. We identify three key points of vulnerability: superficial critiques of growth that leave capitalism unchallenged; neo-Malthusian population discourses that racialise ecological destruction; and a naïve localism that may align with far-right ethno-nationalist visions of land. By tracing connections between capitalism, imperialism, and the contemporary far right, we expose its roots in the violent maintenance of capitalist growth regimes. To counter this, we present a concrete antifascist intervention: *the Revolutionary Antifascist Degrowth Reporting Tool*, a digital platform for monitoring the risk of far-right co-option. As well as preventing far-right co-option, antifascist theory and practice can inform and inspire effective degrowth strategies.

1. Introduction: Fascist creep

In their early stages, fascists often build support by joining popular social movements, co-opting mainstream discourses, and exploiting crossover points between the left and the right. These “little entry points that allow fascists to infiltrate or co-opt a discourse” are called *fascist creep* (Bergman, 2021, pp. 3–4). So far, degrowth proponents have paid little attention to the ways the discourse could be co-opted by the far right, leaving the movement vulnerable (Eversberg, 2019). These risks are accentuated as far-right movements in Europe increasingly deploy ecological arguments. For example, recent studies have documented far-right ‘ecobordering’ narratives that falsely cast migration as a key cause of environmental damage (Benoist et al., 2024; Cable Collective, 2025; Forchtner & Lubarda, 2023; Turner & Bailey, 2022). In this article, we will outline potential avenues for fascist creep within degrowth, with the aim of alerting the movement to the threat of far-right co-option. However, we also emphasise that fascism cannot be understood in isolation, but only in relation to the

structures that produce it. Finally, we present an online reporting tool for monitoring far-right co-option of degrowth.

2. The potential for fascist creep in degrowth

2.1. Far-right critiques of growth

Growth scepticism exists beyond degrowth. The far-right party Schweizer Demokraten (Swiss Democrats), for example, has long expressed scepticism towards economic growth. They have argued that “growth can never be ‘sustainable’” and that “zero growth” is “urgently needed” (Forchtner & Gruber, 2024, p. 9). The far-right German magazine *Die Kehre* also rejects economic growth, which, according to contributors, “can only be realized by transgressing every boundary,” driving “an exorbitant increase in energy and raw material consumption” (Forchtner & Olsen, 2024, p. 2084). Thus, one *Die Kehre* contributor writes, “a consistent ecological idea must necessarily be anti-capitalist or generally critical of growth” (Forchtner & Olsen, 2024, p. 2090).

In a video entitled *The genocidal cult of GDP*, the British neo-Nazi Mark Collett (2020) comfortably draws on several critiques of growth and GDP present in the degrowth literature. He claims that “elites” “worship GDP” to “line their own pockets,” and leave everyone else to suffer the negative social consequences, “seen as nothing more than units of production.” In other words, Collett portrays growth as an ideology that produces socially harmful and alienating results—a perspective common amongst degrowth proponents (Schmelzer et al., 2022). However, as the video continues it becomes clear that this fascist critique of GDP is built on the racist and antisemitic Great Replacement conspiracy.¹ He claims that growth has forced the viewer “to live in a crowded, crime-ridden city” where “no one spoke the same language as you,” and that the viewer “can and will be replaced without a second thought when they are no longer increasing the wealth of their masters.” Collett’s growth criticism thereby becomes a vehicle to spread white-supremacist, anti-immigration propaganda.

¹ The conspiracy claims that Jewish elites are plotting to replace white people with People of Colour.

It is possible to critique growth from both the left and the right because the concept is underdetermined: identifying growth as a problem is compatible with a range of diagnoses and “solutions,” including fascist ones (Eversberg, 2019). If degrowth proponents fail to communicate the underlying drivers of growth (see Section 3; Hofferberth, 2025) or articulate just futures (e.g., Bergman & Montgomery, 2017; Gelderloos & subMedia, 2025; People’s Agreement of Cochabamba, 2010), there is a risk of setting the stage for far-right co-option. Superficial critiques of growth not only create space for fascists to frame growth within their own oppressive narratives but also fail to address the engine of ecological destruction (Spash, 2020). To fight co-option, antifascist degrowth communication must centre the underlying oppressive mechanisms that underpin growth, rather than solely critiquing the negative impacts of growth. In the next section, we address another crossover point between degrowth thought and the far right: the claim that population growth drives ecological destruction.

2.2. Population degrowth: Camouflaging the causes of ecological destruction

In 2019, a gunman murdered 51 Muslims in Christchurch. Amongst pages of islamophobia, antisemitism, and conspiracy, his manifesto declared that “Europeans are one of the groups that are not overpopulating the world. The invaders are the ones overpopulating the world. Kill the invaders, kill the overpopulation and by doing so save the environment” (Moore & Roberts, 2022, p. 91). This quotation is an extreme example of neo-Malthusian logic, which incorrectly blames environmental problems on there being too many people. Neo-Malthusianism reasoning gained fresh popularity in the 1960s, coinciding with the rise of Third World national liberation projects that had threatened the Global North’s access to the Global South’s resources (Tilley & Ajl, 2023). Today, it has become a common sensibility shared by both the far right and many mainstream environmentalists (Iossifidis, 2024).

These narratives can also be found in the wider degrowth space. For example, in 2022, the Centre for the Advancement of the Steady State Economy stated that, “When it comes to sustainability, nothing matters more than population” (Czech, 2022). Meanwhile, Herman Daly, an influential ecological economist for the degrowth movement, has proposed state-regulated pregnancy in the form of one-child policies or tradable birth permits (Kallis, 2018). Although most prominent degrowthers rightly reject these narratives, in our experience,

overpopulation anxiety is often present in degrowth Facebook and WhatsApp groups. While this may be uncomfortable, it is important to recognise that some people do see population control as a degrowth goal. We must actively combat this.

A key problem with this narrative is that “talk about problematic population dynamics immediately conjures up images of non-white crowds in the Global South and of brown or black female bodies,” rather than, say, affluent white men with far larger environmental footprints (Schultz, 2021, p. 494). ‘Overpopulation’ generally blames the most marginalised people for social and ecological disasters, which they contributed to the least. For example, the British ruling class used overpopulation arguments to legitimise avoidable colonial famines in India and Ireland (Davis, 2017). These narratives are also a staple of far-right environmentalism. In recent years, for example, the far-right Alternative für Deutschland’s youth wing backed a one-child policy for the Global South in order to “counter one of the greatest climate problems, overpopulation” (Aronoff, 2019). And in France, the far-right politician Eric Zemmour argued that “the problem with the climate is demography and the explosion of natality in Africa and Asia” (Benoist et al., 2024, p.9).

However, these neo-Malthusian claims are wrong even on their own terms. They thrive on “the homogenizing tendencies of an undifferentiated ‘we’” so common in environmental discourse (Sultana, 2022, p. 5). In reality, most Global South countries remain within their fair shares of the 1.5°C carbon budget, whereas Global North countries are responsible for 91% of emissions overshoot (Fanning & Hickel, 2023). This disparity is also evident in class inequality, for instance, in France, the richest 10% control 84% of emissions from capital (Chancel & Rehm, 2023). Blaming ‘overpopulation’, therefore, hides the responsibility of Northern states and ruling classes, justifying racist population control in the process (Tilley & Aji, 2023). As Peter Gelderloos (2022, p. 37) remarks, “People in the Global South—people dehumanized by Western slavery, colonialism, and racism—finally get included in the category ‘human,’ just in time to share the blame for the devastation caused by a social system that has ravaged them far more than they have profited from it.”

Overpopulation logic has also given rise to ‘ecobordering’ narratives which claim migrants increase pressure on the local environment (Cable Collective, 2025; Turner & Bailey, 2022). In

the words of the French far-right party Rassemblement National, “Ecology is incompatible with open borders and infinite mobility” (Benoist et al., 2024, p. 9). Similar arguments exist within degrowth. For example, Herman Daly (2015, p. 131) also wrote that “[a] stationary population is part of the definition of a steady-state economy, and in the U.S., Western Europe, and Canada, population growth is almost entirely due to net immigration.” Just as with far-right ecobordering, the implication of Daly’s article is that migration is a threat to national sustainability.

Lastly, in addition to shifting the blame onto racialised groups, overpopulation narratives camouflage the very systems that drive environmental destruction (Cable Collective, 2025; Turner & Bailey, 2022). They cast humans as inherently destructive rather than acknowledging that our impact, whether positive or negative, depends on how we organise our societies (Schultz, 2021). For example, in our current capitalist economy, people are compelled to spend their lives “working to produce things that may not be needed simply to access things that clearly are needed” (Olk et al., 2023, p. 2), mobilising ever-greater quantities of materials and energy in the process. The overpopulation narrative, by contrast, “distracts attention away from the social relations which produce environmental breakdown” and, in doing so, justifies means of racist population control which underpin growth (Tilley & Aji, 2023, p. 211).

2.3. Naïve localism

Degrowth often emphasises decentralised decision making combined with localised production and consumption. For example, degrowth proponents celebrate small-scale farming; local, direct democracy; and eco-communes (Fitzpatrick et al., 2022). The far right also advocates many of these ‘localist’ approaches—but argues that these local actions can only be performed effectively by “naturally-rooted inhabitants who dwell on this land in culturally homogenous communities” (Benoist, 2023, p. 116). For Rassemblement National, only “populations united by being long-term on a territory are the ones which can claim their complicity with nature” (Benoist et al., 2024, p. 11). The British fascist group, Homeland, echoes this sentiment in their environmental policy when they write that “our people have an intrinsic bond with our homeland and are its natural stewards” (Cable Collective, 2025). By contrast, migrants and other marginalised people are cast as less capable of caring for the

local environment because they supposedly lack this special bond with the land (Cable Collective, 2025; Turner & Bailey, 2022). As a result, Homeland (n.d.) summarises far-right localism as “essentially a form of [ethno-] Nationalism on a much smaller scale.”

People tend not to expect litter-picking or gardening to be a vehicle for oppressive politics—and some far-right groups have focussed on localism for this exact reason. For example, in 2019 the British group, Local Matters, gained a social media following of leftist, degrowth, and environmental accounts by promoting ‘living local’—walking, supporting local business, producing local food, embracing regional heritage, and engaging in direct democracy. Months later, it was exposed as a front for a far-right group, using localism as a gateway to push an anti-migrant agenda (Childs, 2020). Their Instagram account praises a campaign against housing refugees as an example of direct democracy and ‘localism in action’.

As well as pushing an exclusionary notion of who ‘belongs’—or who truly counts as ‘local’—the far right often envisions a world of isolated, self-contained local units, masking the centuries-old dependence of these units on extraction from peripheries. This stands in direct opposition to the values of global justice and solidarity usually aligned with degrowth (Schmelzer et al., 2022). Local action is essential, but we also have to think global if we are to achieve globally just, antifascist outcomes.

3. Thinking beyond narrative co-option

Our examples in Section 2 suggest that degrowth is at the greatest risk of far-right co-option when it becomes unmoored from a deeper analysis of capitalism and imperialism. Growth is much more than an ideology: the imperative for ever-greater profits is the most fundamental feature of capitalism, requiring ever-expanding production and consumption, and, therefore, ever-more materials, energy, and labour (Haberl et al., 2020; Hofferberth, 2025; Schmelzer et al., 2022). For centuries, growth has been sustained through plundering the Global South and other peripheries, as well as exploiting care work and ecosystems (Fraser, 2022; Patel & Moore, 2020). Unsurprisingly, a vast and repressive apparatus is needed to enforce this violent system, including police, borders, and militaries (Dunlap, 2024; Dunlap & Brock, 2022; Gelderloos, 2022).

Violence is embedded in the capitalist societies we live in. This is especially true of the liberal democracies in the Global North, which ran brutal colonial projects and continue to enforce capitalism worldwide through military and economic coercion. Is it any surprise, then, when this violence takes fascist form? In 1950, Aimé Césaire (1955/2000) pointed out that the practices of fascism were horrifyingly familiar to anyone living in Europe's colonies. What made fascism exceptional "was not the extremism of its racist ideas but the application of such practices to Europeans" (Kundnani, 2023, p. 76). In this light, it can be helpful to understand the Western far right as merely making explicit what is already implicit in everyday government policy: "that certain racially defined populations [are] dangerous threats to be met by an overwhelming coercive force" (Kundnani, 2023, p. 90). Recent work on the 'mainstreaming' of the far right also draws attention to how the liberal mainstream has played a key role in legitimising and adopting far-right talking points, particularly through extensive media coverage of the migration "crisis" (Brown et al., 2023). As a result, some antifascists developed a 'three-way fight' framework which specifically recognises the "need to confront both the established capitalist order and an insurgent or even revolutionary right, while recognizing that these opponents are also in conflict with each other" (Alexander & Lyons, 2024). In the future, we hope that degrowth will continue to explore how to transform societies in ways that actively dismantle the oppressive structures that produce fascism.

4. Resisting the fascist creep

4.1. Online Platform: The Revolutionary Antifascist Degrowth Reporting Tool

As degrowth grows beyond a niche topic, it becomes increasingly important to guard against its co-option. Antifascism is essential, not only to prevent this co-option, but also to ensure that degrowth becomes a useful and dangerous tool against economic growth and its associated systems of exploitation. Resisting the fascist creep requires us to integrate antifascist tactics in degrowth. We are taking this step by using a widely used approach: to document, monitor, and inform about far-right movements. The tool that we put forth is an online platform called *The Revolutionary Antifascist Degrowth Reporting Tool*, which aims to monitor, collect, and communicate information about fascist creep in degrowth.

On this platform people can (anonymously) report, read, and react to other reports capturing fascist movements, narratives, and activities related to degrowth and growth critique. The platform consists of a submission form where people can report the (potential) threat or activity. Submissions are managed by the platform's moderators to ensure functionality and to avoid abuse of the tool. Reports will then be published on *the Revolutionary Antifascist Degrowth Blog*, where they can be searched and filtered—based on the type of threat and keywords—and commented upon. We recommend that the tool become part of the broader degrowth platform, such as the degrowth network, where it could be woven into the larger degrowth debate. This would allow the tool to retain its bottom-up structure while also bringing antifascist values into the larger degrowth discourse, thus creating a starting point to integrate further antifascist tactics.

The tool aims to build a more coherent picture of how co-option can occur in a manner that bridges activism and academia. For example, is a local far-right party using anti-growth narratives to push a racist agenda? Or have you spotted more crossover points between degrowth and far-right narratives? Moderators will review each case before publication to ensure the platform is not abused. As well as being practical, we hope the tool will inspire people to explore how else the antifascist tradition can support degrowth organising. The platform is supported by antifascist activists and is hosted on private servers that are maintained by activist programmers.

To give the reporting some structure and allow for better report documentation, the form will require the selection of categories and keywords. These include:

- Ideological source: for example, fascism, nationalism, Malthusianism (multiple options possible)
- Type of reporting: reporting threat, reporting activity, reporting potential entry point
- Hazard type: rhetoric, arguments, involved groups
- Keywords (3-5): describing the areas and topics in degrowth it relates to

The report itself should be clear, precise, argue the case, and provide evidence, i.e., links and files. The platform is online and ready to use under the following link: <https://resist.action-hub.org/>.

4.2. Checklist for identifying fascist threads in literature & praxis

Based on our analysis, we have developed a non-exhaustive checklist for identifying co-option and fascist creep:

- Does the text frame population growth, migration, or marginalised groups as an environmental threat?
- Does it advocate coercion over reproduction (e.g., one-child policies, birth permits)?
- Does the text frame “true” ecological stewardship as belonging to a specific ethno-national group?
- Does it present growth as an elite plot rather than a systemic imperative?
- Does it promote a nostalgic or hierarchical vision of society, where power is concentrated in a select group?
- Does it portray ecological collapse as an opportunity for a return to “traditional” or rigidly hierarchical social structures?

5. Conclusion

As degrowth gains popularity, far-right co-option becomes a very real threat. In this contribution we have used an antifascist perspective to highlight three weak points that enable fascist creep: superficial critiques of growth, overpopulation rhetoric, and naïve localism. Building on these antifascist tactics, we introduce the Revolutionary Antifascist Degrowth Reporting Tool as a first step in documenting and raising awareness of these threats. This article is a brief attempt to integrate degrowth with antifascist perspectives and tactics. We view this as essential if degrowth is to genuinely challenge capitalism. Moving forward, we contend that degrowth thinkers and practitioners should draw on longstanding antifascist traditions of organising and resistance (e.g., Alexander and Lyons, 2024) to build an antifascist degrowth politics.

Conflict of interest

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