

Feminist Economic Justice Toolkit

A guide for popular education



POWER UP!

JASS
JUST POWER

Gender
atwork

pekka

Feminist Economic Justice Toolkit

A guide for popular education

Author	Ronald Wesso
Graphic design and layout	Femke Brandt
Review group	Romlawati, Nunung Nurnaningrum, Dian Trikanita, Nina Benjamin, madeleine kennedy-Macfoy, Alexa Bradley, Patricia Ardón, Manuela Aranciba, and Rose Atieno.
Published	2025

POWER UP!

Acknowledgements

Power Up! wants to express our deep appreciation to **Ronald Wesso** for the time and labour in conceptualising, doing the methodological design, writing and editing of this toolkit in a way that honors the participative principles of our consortium. We also recognise the important contributions from the Power Up! Feminist Economic Justice working group members: **Romlawati, Nunung Nurnaningrum, Dian Trikanita, Nina Benjamin, madeleine kennedy-Macfoy, Alexa Bradley, Patricia Ardón, Manuela Aranciba, and Rose Atieno**, including **Arief Rahman** whose interpretation skills were key to bridge language and experiences. A special acknowledgement to **Fatimah Kelleher, Katie Whipkey, Kunthea Chan** and **Katia Taela**, whose work and involvement was key for the overall conceptualization of this knowledge product, and to **Femke Brandt** for the beautiful design and layout.

Our gratitude to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the support provided through the Power of Women Program, a cornerstone for advancing gender equality. Finally, but not less important, we also want to acknowledge the much, much bigger community of popular educators and movement scholars whose thinking and work we build on.

Toolkit menu

Introduction | Explain the approach taken in the toolkit, the structure and how to use it.

Toolkit Goals	3
Who Are the Intended Users?	4
How to Use the Toolkit	4
Defining Feminist Popular Education	5
Defining Feminist Economic Justice	6
The Importance of Intersectional Feminism	7
From Analysis to Action: Building Power	7
Overview of the Structure of the Toolkit	8
Layout and design	8
Challenges and Critical Engagement	10
Visions of Futures with Feminist Economic Justice	10

Theme 1 | Feminist economic alternatives.

Users reflect on the specifics of existing feminist economic alternatives and are guided into formulating their own.

Tool 1: Defining Feminist Economic Alternatives	12
Tool 1a: What Are Feminist Economic Alternatives in the Languages of Our Communities?	15
Tool 1b: What Makes a Proposal, Project, or Institution a Genuine Feminist Economic Alternative?	16
Tool 2: Feminist Economic Alternatives – Solutions and Case Studies	20

Theme 2 | Feminist economic justice.

With the option of drawing on work done on preceding themes, users delve directly into the meaning of the feminist economic justice struggles and visions of themselves and others.

Tool 3: Feminism versus Neoliberalism – Two Conflicting Conceptions of Economic Justice	27
Tool 4: Defining Feminist Economic Justice	32
Tool 5: The Politics of Feminist Economic Justice	38





Theme 3 | Situating the Feminist Economic Justice Toolkit (FEJTK) as a feminist popular education endeavour.

The specific principles, requirements, and practices of approaching feminist economic justice through FPE are examined.

Tool 6: FPE and Movement Building	45
Tool 6(a): Feminist Movement Building versus Building Feminist Movements	45
Tool 6(b): Dimensions of Movement Building	49

Theme 4 | Women naming their struggles for feminist economic justice.

These tools support users in drawing out and interrogating the specific content of the struggles and perspectives around feminist economic justice.

Tool 7: Case Study of Women’s Struggles for Feminist Economic Justice	56
Tool 8: Our Struggles and Organisations	60
Tool 9: Feminist Economic Justice and Connection Points for Feminist Movement Building	67

Theme 5 | Building common understandings of neoliberal capitalism.

In these tools, users look at the system we are facing and what the implications of different understandings of this system are.

Tool 10: Neoliberalism, Climate Change, and Environmental Destruction	74
--	-----------

Introduction

This toolkit is a feminist popular education (FPE) resource designed to support women human rights defenders, and other activists, involved in feminist movement building. It provides practical guidelines for discussions and activities aimed at understanding and challenging economic injustices, while developing and sharing feminist alternatives and visions. While relevant to the justice struggles of all women, the experiences, views, and voices of women facing multiple systems of oppression are prioritised. These include women who belong to communities of indigenous people, working-class people, the Global South or majority world, LGBTI+ people, women of colour, and Black women.

The toolkit is an offering of the **Power Up! (PU!) consortium**, an alliance of three women's rights organisations: **JASS (Just Associates)**, **Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA)**, and **Gender at Work (G@W)**. The consortium works across six geographic regions: Eastern Africa (Kenya Rwanda Uganda), Southern Africa (Malawi, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique), West Africa (Benin), MENA (Lebanon, Palestine, Tunisia) and South and Southeast Asia (India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Cambodia), and Mesoamerica (Honduras and Guatemala). Key aims include the prevention and elimination of sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls; strengthening women's leadership and participation in (political) decision-making; and enhancing women's strategies for economic resilience and stability, including access to and control of resources and land. This toolkit serves all three aims, although its emphasis is on strengthening women's strategies for economic resilience and stability.

Toolkit goals

The specific goals of this toolkit include the following:

- To build critical awareness of economic justice from a feminist perspective.
- To support movement building for feminist economic justice.
- To provide accessible FPE methodologies for feminist movement builders.
- To facilitate the sharing of knowledge about feminist economic justice and feminist economic alternatives, using the work and perspectives of PU! and its partners as reference points.
- To map power relationships relevant to feminist economic justice and to identify possible connection points for movement building.

Who Are the Intended Users?

A major source for the toolkit content is the perspectives and work of PU! partners. We hope that the toolkit will offer a systematised and integrated summation of our different strands and styles of work that will be useful to the partners themselves. This is not a closed group, as the partners are constantly shifting who they work with, and we can say that the partners of JASS, G@W, and PEKKA are part of the toolkit's intended users. By the same logic, those partners will have partners as well, and ultimately, the intended users can include any group or individual interested in feminist economic justice, FPE, feminist movement building, and their various intersections.

This raised a challenge for the crafters of the toolkit: to provide a solid basis for confronting dominant economics, the tools must have a certain depth and breadth. How is this to be balanced with the need to be accessible to the wide range of probable users envisaged? Some users may be well-versed in economic discussions, while others, though having relevant experience and thoughts, may only be starting out or think of themselves as beginners in engaging with these discussions systematically.

The approach settled on was to create activities that cater to these different groups. Some may be more useful to experienced economic debaters, while others will speak better to those starting out. Users would then have to choose the activities from the toolkit that are appropriate for the goals and levels of experience of their groups. This is not an easy task that can be settled once and for all. Continuous mixing and matching will be required, but this is arguably an unavoidable—and, yes, exciting—part of the economic justice and FPE journey.

How to Use the Toolkit

The toolkit has five sequential themes and four that run throughout. Below, we provide more information about these themes; here, the point is that the structure, like the content, lends itself to flexible use. It is not designed to be used in order from the first tool to the last. Instead, selecting the appropriate tool is required.

To do this, it is not necessary to read the entire toolkit, although we do hope many readers will benefit from doing so. Instead, the tools are structured to help with efficient selection. Each tool is presented under the following headings:

- **Description**
- **Intended learning experiences and outcomes**
- **When to use this tool**

- **Background information**
- **How to use this tool**
- **References and resources**

The core of the tool is in the section **‘How to use this tool’**. It contains step-by-step guidelines and instructions for implementing the tool. The sections **‘Background information’** and **‘References and resources’** provide supporting information. The first three sections are designed to help the user with tool selection. The **‘Description’** section gives a brief overview of the tool and is often enough to determine whether the tool serves the user’s purposes and for the selection to be made. **‘Intended learning experiences and outcomes’** summarises the goals of the tool in point form and is a useful supplement if more information is needed to make the selection. The conditions and timing under which the tool might be appropriate are summarised in the **‘When to use this tool’** section, in case the user needs even more information.

Reading the first three sections of a number of tools should assist the user in choosing between them. It might also be the case that several tools are used, in the sense that different activities are selected from different tools for a particular FPE session. In this case, the user would effectively have created their own tool by treating the toolkit as a menu from which to select and modify different parts that go into the making of a particular FPE process or session. This is fully in line with the design of the toolkit, and the crafters will be delighted to hear from users about the mixes, modifications, and additions they have made.

Once the selection has been made, we recommend reading the whole tool and thinking about whether supplementary materials are needed, which is often the case, as many tools ask users to fill in their contexts. From here, it is a matter of following the steps in the **‘How to use this tool’** section. Again, modifications, adaptations, and customisations are necessary, as the steps focus on guiding the user through the general logic of the tool, which must be adapted to the circumstances of time and place. The tools provide guidance and structure, and it is our belief that they will unlock and benefit from the deep creativity that manifests whenever women gather for justice.

Defining Feminist Popular Education

Popular education is also known as **‘education for liberation’** or **‘the pedagogy of the oppressed’**. It is an age-old practice of combining the search for knowledge and understanding with the search for the overthrow of oppressive systems, which began to be codified from the 1970s under the leadership of **Paolo Freire**. It is a participant-controlled

process that emphasises collective learning and liberating action.

Feminist popular education (FPE) originated from the efforts of feminists to adopt the methodologies of popular education while rejecting the patriarchal norms that remained embedded in its earlier versions. FPE centres women's experiences and knowledge and embodies women's self-liberation from patriarchy and all forms of domination. It is a wide-ranging set of practices that include diverse strategies and approaches, bound together by the striving for women's liberation.

For the PU! consortium, FPE is a key method for feminist movement building and strengthening. It contrasts with mainstream educational approaches by being defined and co-led by participants and focusing on critical analysis to support feminist movement building for social change.

Defining Feminist Economic Justice

Feminist economic justice is best seen as an orientation or direction rather than a fixed framework. It is dynamic and differs from time to time, place to place, and group to group. The specific content of feminist justice frameworks depends on the nature of the injustice its adherents are facing and how far and in what direction they are looking into the future.

Despite this, in the current era of neoliberal capitalism, there are some principles that tend to be common to proponents of feminist economic justice. These include:

- Challenging the neoliberal and capitalist economic model;
- Centring women's interests, voices, and views in economic matters, paying particular attention to Black, indigenous, LBTQI+, rural, impoverished and other marginalised women;
- Prioritising people before profits;
- Emphasising a world where humans live in balance with nature;
- Recognising the interconnectedness of social reproduction and the production economy;
- Focusing on systemic and structural change at both macro and micro levels.

Feminist economic justice can also be understood through the ways it differs and clashes with mainstream economic models and ideologies. Some of these clashes include:

- Mainstream economics often overlooks or undervalues women's contributions and experiences.

- Feminist economic justice rejects the assumption that markets are neutral.
- Feminist economic justice exposes the patriarchal, heteronormative, capitalist, racist, and colonising origins of hegemonic economics.
- Feminist economic justice centres the voices of groups marginalised by mainstream economics, including women, LGBTQI+ people, indigenous people, women heads of households, workers, and Black people.

The Importance of Intersectional Feminism

Women face multiple oppressions that differ depending on their identity and status within social systems. While all women are oppressed by patriarchy, Black women and women of colour face racial discrimination and oppression that intersects with patriarchy in ways that make them experience a different and more toxic form of patriarchy than, for example, white women. The same can be said about the specific oppressive systems faced by poor and working-class women, LGBTQI+ women, immigrant women, and women in and of the Global South.

Intersectional feminism provides a framework through which we can understand how aspects of identity such as race, class, sexuality, ability, and citizenship status interact to create diverse experiences of privilege or oppression for women. This understanding makes it possible for women to unite and collaborate through and across these diversities to create powerful movements against patriarchal, white supremacist capitalism for feminist economic justice. The intersectional feminist perspective is therefore central to the purpose of this toolkit.

From Analysis to Action: Building Power

It is worthwhile to emphasise that the toolkit is not just theoretical but a tool for practical change and movement building. The experience and knowledge of users are used as starting points to interrogate feminist economic justice themes, and the results of these interrogations are meant to point to possible levers for change and entry points for intervention. Building power for feminist economic justice is, in this sense, the central aim of the toolkit.

Overview of the Structure of the Toolkit

The toolkit consists of nine tools organised into the following five themes:

- 1. Feminist economic alternatives.** Users reflect on the specifics of existing feminist economic alternatives and are guided into formulating their own. (Tools 1, 1(a), 1(b), and 2)
- 2. Feminist economic justice.** With the option of drawing on work done on preceding themes, users delve directly into the meaning of the feminist economic justice struggles and visions of themselves and others. (Tools 3, 4 and 5)
- 3. Situating the Feminist Economic Justice Toolkit (FEJTK) as a feminist popular education endeavour.** The specific principles, requirements, and practices of approaching feminist economic justice through FPE are examined. (Tools 6, 6(a), and 6(b))
- 4. Women naming their struggles for feminist economic justice.** These tools support users in drawing out and interrogating the specific content of the struggles and perspectives around feminist economic justice. (Tools 7, 8 and 9)
- 5. Building common understandings of neoliberal capitalism.** In these tools, users look at the system we are facing and what the implications of different understandings of this system are. (Tool 10)

In addition to these themes addressed in the different sections, the following themes are addressed at various points throughout the toolkit:


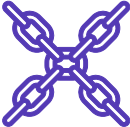


- The origin of economics as an oppressive system of knowledge;
- Women who face multiple systems of oppression;
- Mapping power relationships;
- Connection points for intervention.

Layout and design

Several factors had to be kept in mind and balanced in order to find a layout and design that serve the overall objectives of the toolkit. We wanted to use colour to create a visually appealing and exciting layout, while keeping in mind that the toolkit might need to be used and printed by users with limited resources. While appealing, the design needed to be able to be printable in black and white in order to keep costs down.

We also believed that while some users will print the tools they plan to use, most users will work directly with the electronic copy. The requirements for effective layouts for printed and online documents can be quite different. This meant we had to find a layout that works for both sets of users, which is why, for example, the text is laid out in a single column to support online use, while ample space for note making is provided for users of printed copies.

For ease of use, we also used icons to indicate where in the text references to the cross-cutting themes can be found. These icons are placed next to the text where they are referred to, and they are as follows:

Theme	Icon
The origin of mainstream economics as an oppressive knowledge system	
Women who face multiple systems of oppression	
Mapping power relationships	
Connection points for intervention	

Challenges and Critical Engagement

Feminist economic justice work can be difficult and complex, which is ultimately the result of the concentrated power of the dominant neoliberal capitalist system and ideology. Within groups, these difficulties can manifest as struggles to navigate diverse perspectives or pressures to address internal power imbalances. We believe it is important to acknowledge the actuality of the powers we are up against and the likelihood of challenges and setbacks.

Such an acknowledgement will, in itself, help feminist activists to deal with these challenges and setbacks. And while the task of overcoming them will probably never be easy, a critical engagement with and through the tools in this toolkit is likely to break them down into manageable steps. The toolkit does not offer instant solutions but rather methods for concentrating and developing the knowledge and energies of users for addressing these challenges.

The critical engagement and adaptations encouraged by the toolkit also provide a potential source for its improvement. We therefore encourage users to get in touch and provide feedback so the tools can be updated and reflect the collective wisdom and will of feminist economic justice proponents.

Visions of Futures with Feminist Economic Justice

Taking on the difficulties associated with feminist economic justice work is ultimately justified by the futures such work makes possible. Various activities in the tools are designed to guide users in engaging, sharing, and, importantly, creating visions of futures with feminist economic justice. These visions will be as diverse as the users themselves. Certain common features can already be seen, and these should be more than enough to inspire the best efforts of feminist economic justice proponents. Feminist economic justice, after all, opens up possibilities of futures where movements have built enough power to create systemic change; where economic systems prioritise human beings, equality, and well-being for all; where women's voices and experiences are centred in economic decision-making; where societies have moved away from neoliberal capitalism and towards feminist economic alternatives; and a future where all forms of oppression, including patriarchy, are dismantled.

Theme 1:

Feminist economic alternatives

Users reflect on the specifics of existing feminist economic alternatives and are guided into formulating their own.



Tool 1: Defining Feminist Economic Alternatives

Tool 1(a): What Are Feminist Economic Alternatives in the Languages of Our Communities?

Tool 1(b): What Makes a Proposal, Project, or Institution a Genuine Feminist Economic Alternative?

Tool 2: Feminist Economic Alternatives – Solutions and Case Studies



Tool 1

Defining feminist economic alternatives



Description

This tool assists participants in generating, sharing, and evaluating definitions of feminist economic alternatives. Participants reflect on the need to translate and explain feminist economic alternatives in vernacular languages and dialects. The overlaps and differences between feminist economic justice and feminist economic alternatives are explored.

Intended learning experiences and outcomes

- Generate, share, and evaluate definitions of feminist economic alternatives.
- Reflect on the need for translation and explanation of feminist economic alternatives in vernacular languages and dialects.
- Consider the overlapping focus areas and contents of feminist economic alternatives and feminist economic justice.
- Explain the differences in starting points and goals between feminist economic justice and feminist economic alternatives.

When to use this tool

This tool is typically needed when groups have spent time developing knowledge and concepts around feminist economic justice. This includes defining feminist economic justice, understanding how it relates to everyday struggles, and critiquing the dominant neoliberal capitalist system. At this point, there may be a need to add concrete visions and proposals that embody the principles and aspirations driving these struggles and critiques. Discussions of feminist economic alternatives can help clarify the principles and critiques that inform visions of justice. However, these discussions usually occur as an outcome of significant work on the broader themes of feminist economic justice.

Background information

“What Are Feminist Economic Alternatives?”

“Feminist economic alternatives” (FEAs) is an umbrella term for multiple expressions of resistance, imaginings, and solutions that address the need for just economic transformation from a feminist perspective. FEAs encompass a broad spectrum of approaches that seek to address patriarchal power relations and structural oppressions through multifaceted strategies for systemic change, with economic and gender justice at their core. FEAs are pluralistic, framed by their opposition to and resistance against the neoliberal capitalist system.

There are at least seven elements that must be present for something to be considered an FEA:

- 1. Feminist:** Gender justice and feminist leadership are central to the work.
- 2. Antagonistic:** Begins from a point of resistance to the status quo.
- 3. Pluralistic:** Encompasses a broad spectrum of approaches to address patriarchal power relations and structural exploitation.
- 4. Collective:** Aims to deliver collective welfare and well-being, with collective action and consensus underpinning its processes.
- 5. Systemic:** Has a clear vision for changing existing systems and structures to achieve more equitable and just outcomes for people and the planet.
- 6. Movement-led:** Those at the frontlines of impact are at the forefront of the organizing.
- 7. Contextual:** Rooted in local contexts, informed by the needs and issues of local women and natural environments.

“Why Are FEAs Critical?”

The existing economic system is exploitative, unequal, and unjust, deeply intertwined with patriarchy, racism, and heteronormativity. Neoliberal capitalism is designed to concentrate resources in the hands of a few, which is not a failing but its very purpose. FEAs offer solutions that can bring about deep-rooted structural change at

multiple levels, challenging patriarchal systems within neoliberal economics and centring care for both people and the planet. They bridge the gap between transformative grassroots work at the micro level and the macro-level structural shifts needed to ensure their sustainability. FEAs also challenge gender stereotypes, enabling planning and economic development to focus on the priorities of women and other oppressed groups, with women's leadership guiding these processes.

“Why Do We Need FEAs Now?”

FEAs have been needed for decades, but the current moment highlights unprecedented levels of inequality and injustice globally. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed inequalities like never before, sparking a groundswell of activism and calls for solidarity. The climate crisis, with its links to ecological justice, the defence of the commons, and the reclamation of indigenous knowledge systems, provides a strong entry point for discourse. However, climate justice is often compromised in favour of economic processes tied to national growth. Rising debt, austerity measures, and the privatisation of public goods have led to questions about who the economic system serves. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a measure of success is increasingly questioned, with louder calls to centre people and the planet. The current moment offers a potential paradigm shift towards feminist economic justice and dignity, building a critical mass of dissent and solidarity. As capitalism has evolved, it can also move towards an end. FEAs present opportunities for transformative change.

“Feminist Economic Alternatives: Power Up!’s Approach” by Power Up! Consortium

How to use this tool

Tool 1(a): What Are Feminist Economic Alternatives in the Languages of Our Communities?

STEP 1

Plenary

Read the following definition of feminist economic alternatives:

“FEAs [feminist economic alternatives] are a broad spectrum of approaches that seek to address patriarchal power relations and structural oppressions through multifaceted approaches for systems change with economic and gender justice at their heart.”

Ask participants to comment:

- What do these words mean to them?
- Do they have other definitions of feminist economic alternatives?
- Can they think of examples of feminist economic alternatives?

STEP 2

Group Work

Participants will work individually, then in pairs, and finally in groups (divided into four groups). The focus will be on vernacular dialects and languages in the communities where participants work.

Instructions for Group Work:

- Think about the communities where you live and work. What languages and dialects are spoken there?
- Do people in these communities discuss feminist economic alternatives?
- How would you explain feminist economic alternatives in your community?
- Would you use the quote above unchanged, or would translation and explanation be needed?
- Is this easy or difficult to do? Why?

Take a few minutes to reflect on these questions and make notes. Discuss in pairs, comparing similarities and differences. Then, discuss as a group, noting any issues specific to different dialects or languages.

STEP 3

Plenary

Groups report their findings to the plenary. Note patterns of similarity and difference, especially across language communities.

Question for Discussion:

- Which words, concepts, images, and metaphors do the communities we work with use to talk about feminist alternatives?

Tool 1(b): What Makes a Proposal, Project, or Institution a Genuine Feminist Economic Alternative?

This activity asks participants to articulate their requirements for feminist economic alternatives. The goal is not to create a universal set of requirements but to clarify their perspectives. Refer to the “Background Information” section for the Power Up! Consortium’s seven elements of FEAs.

STEP 1

Plenary

Read the following two paragraphs:

1. “A feminist economic justice approach prioritises human rights and challenges anthropocentrism over profits. It envisions a world where humans live in balance with nature, respecting ecological limits for collective survival. Economic rights and justice are deeply feminist issues, as building an economy that works for everyone—including those historically marginalised—benefits the majority of the world’s population.”



2. “FEAs [feminist economic alternatives] are a broad spectrum of approaches that seek to address patriarchal power relations and structural oppressions through multifaceted approaches for systems change with economic and gender justice at their heart.”(From the “Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review” by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium)

Questions for Discussion:

- What are the similarities and differences between feminist economic justice and feminist economic alternatives in these paragraphs?
- What are feminist economic alternatives in your view?
- How do we know if a proposal or project is genuinely a feminist economic alternative?

STEP 2

Group Work

Participants will evaluate Transparent Hands, a technology platform in Pakistan that crowdfunds free healthcare services for marginalised communities, against their understanding of feminist economic alternatives.

Ask volunteers to read the following article aloud:

“The Principles and Definition of Women’s Empowerment” by Transparent Hands

Women’s Empowerment Principles

The United Nations’ Global Impact Women’s Empowerment Principles provide a framework for organisations, businesses, and marketplaces to champion gender equality.

What Is Women’s Empowerment?

Women’s empowerment means giving marginalised genders the same respect, opportunities, and faith in their abilities as other genders.

This includes listening to their viewpoints and uplifting them through education, training, literacy, and awareness.

The 7 Principles of Women’s Empowerment:

1. Establish high-level corporate leadership for gender equality.
2. Treat all women and men fairly at work.
3. Ensure the health, safety, and well-being of all women.
4. Promote education, training, and professional development for women.
5. Implement enterprise development, supply chain, and marketing practices that empower women.
6. Promote equality through community initiatives and advocacy.
7. Measure and publicly report on progress to achieve gender equality.

How Transparent Hands Empowers Women

Transparent Hands provides free medical treatments, such as C-sections, chemotherapy for breast cancer patients, and general surgeries, empowering women to rejoin the workforce.

STEP 3

Group Discussion Questions

- What is the likely impact of the ‘women’s empowerment’ approach discussed in the article?
- Can it be considered a genuine feminist economic alternative?
- Does it meet the seven elements of FEAs (e.g., feminist leadership, resistance to the status quo, collective action, systemic change, etc.)?

STEP 4

Plenary

Groups report their findings to the plenary.

Question for Plenary Discussion:

- What elements must be present for us to consider ‘women’s empowerment’ or any other project a feminist economic alternative?

References and Resources

- “Feminist Economic Alternatives: Power Up!’s Approach” by Power Up! Consortium
- “The 7 Principles and Definition of Women’s Empowerment” by Transparent Hands. Available at: <https://www.transparenthands.org/the-7-principles-and-definition-of-womens-empowerment/>

Tool 2

Feminist Economic Alternatives – Solutions and Case Studies



Description

This tool invites participants to explore specific initiatives recognised as feminist economic alternatives. Information about these initiatives is shared through online videos, with text-based options also provided. Participants reflect on similar actual or potential initiatives in the communities where they live and work.

Intended learning experiences and outcomes

- Learn about selected initiatives identified as feminist economic alternatives.
- Discuss the relevance of these initiatives to participants' organisations and communities.
- Prepare and deliver a presentation to community groups about similar actual or potential initiatives in their local contexts.

When to use this tool

This tool is designed to help participants consider the relevance and potential application of specific examples of feminist economic alternatives in their communities. It can be used to ground and conclude broader discussions about defining feminist economic alternatives (as introduced in Tool 1).

Background Information

The following case studies are drawn from the section on “FEA Solutions and Case Studies” in the Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium (September 2022). Where available, online video links and URLs are provided.

1. Demanding Decent Pay and Conditions for Domestic/Household Workers

The **International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF)** is a global membership-based organisation representing domestic and household workers. It aims to build a strong, democratic, and united global organisation to protect and advance domestic workers' rights. As of March 2020, the IDWF has 74 affiliates across 57 countries (including Africa, Asia Pacific, the Caribbean, Europe, Latin America, and North America), representing over 500,000 members. Most affiliates are trade unions, while others include associations, networks, and workers' cooperatives. The IDWF played a pivotal role in securing the landmark **ILO Convention 189**, which recognises the contribution of domestic work to the global economy and commits states to protecting and promoting domestic workers' rights.

A national example is the **Home-Based Workers Federation Pakistan**, which successfully organised and advocated for scattered and isolated workers, securing recognition of their work under minimum wage laws (Manicandan, 2019).

Similarly, the **Guatemalan Asociación de Trabajadoras del Hogar, a Domicilio y de Maquila (ATRAHDOM)** has become a leader in the struggle for women workers' rights in domestic work, garment manufacturing, agriculture, and home-based industries. In 2010, ATRAHDOM secured a commitment from the Guatemalan Ministry of Labour for a minimum wage standard for domestic workers and was invited to help design a national social security programme for domestic workers (Vonk, 2015).

Video:

International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) 4th Congress Newscast | Episode 04 | Congress Highlights

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x3EqtziMnk0>

2. Collective Power to Counter Exploitation in the Platform Gig Economy

The **Platform Cooperativism Consortium (PCC)** operates in the United States, Brazil, China, South Africa, Germany, Canada, and Australia. Adopting a feminist digital economics perspective, the PCC seeks to

create ethical, on-demand platforms that prioritise economic fairness, training, and democratic participation. It opposes the growth-driven, profit-focused model of platform capitalism, particularly in sectors like home cleaning, where women of colour often face low pay, limited benefits, and few opportunities for skills development.

Video:

Platform Cooperativism Consortium (PCC) - Feminist Cooperative Tech (from 5:30 to 19:45)

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=proCZvLC-po&list=PLS41r89o5Vqr0JSct9bAtVDD4UTUvTWSR&index=16>

3. Collectivism Across Livelihoods

Farming: Bina Agarwal (2018) studied women-led collective farming in Kerala and Telangana, India, where groups of women leased land collectively, shared labour, input costs, and profits. The outcomes varied significantly between states due to differences in technical support, group composition, land access, and cropping patterns. While the collectives outperformed male-managed farms in Kerala, results in Telangana were mixed. However, the collectives excelled in commercial crops compared to traditional food grains.

Video:

Does Group Farming Empower Rural Women? India's Experience with Bina Agarwal (first 30 minutes)

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGgBQlurSK8>

Sex Work: Empower Chiang Mai, part of the Empower Foundation in Thailand, advocates for safe and fair working conditions for sex workers. Despite the sector's significant economic contribution (an estimated \$300 million annually transferred to rural families), sex work remains illegal and unrecognised. In 2011, Empower achieved a major victory by securing access to Thailand's national social security system for sex workers, providing healthcare, maternity leave, and retirement benefits (Vonk, 2015-2).

4. The Mundo Alameda Cooperative in Argentina

The **Mundo Alameda Cooperative** began as a soup kitchen during Argentina's 2001 economic crisis. Founded by undocumented Bolivian immigrants and local workers who escaped garment industry sweatshops, the cooperative now produces its own clothing brand, No Chains. With support from the AVINA Foundation, the cooperative has partnered with similar initiatives in Thailand and plans to expand globally.

Video:

The Mundo Alameda Cooperative in Argentina - Explotación laboral

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jd0aTy93jsg>

5. The Bogotá CARE System

In Bogotá, Colombia, where 3.6 million out of 4 million women perform unpaid care work, the government developed the **Bogotá CARE System** to bring services closer to women. This innovative system includes psychosocial support, skills training, legal aid, and well-being programmes. Key components include the CARE Block (spatial areas of care), the CARE Bus, and CARE Home Delivery. The system also focuses on shifting societal attitudes toward care work and has been integrated into Bogotá's Urban Master Plan for long-term sustainability.

Video:

The Bogotá CARE System - Council on Urban Initiatives

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AdlNk0adDAk>

6. The Amadiba Crisis Committee of Pondoland

In South Africa's Eastern Cape, the **Amadiba Crisis Committee** has successfully resisted extractive industries, advocating instead for ecotourism and renewable energy projects. Community activist Nonhle Mbuthuma emphasises the importance of land and women's participation in decision-making. The committee's work aligns with the **Right to Say No** principle, which builds on Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) to empower communities in negotiations with transnational corporations.

Video:

Women Defending Land and Life: The Story of Amadiba Crisis Committee (Southern Africa) (until 10:30)

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bF68QFgscUw>

7. The Navdanya Seedbank Movement

Navdanya, meaning “nine seeds,” is an earth-centred, women-led movement in India that protects biological and cultural diversity. Over 40 years, it has established over 150 community seed banks across 22 states, preserving native seed varieties for food security and climate resilience. Navdanya challenges industrialised agriculture, advocating for seed as a commons and ecological farming practices.

Video:

What is Navdanya?

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2CoOh13AY14>

How to use this tool

This tool shares information about specific feminist economic alternatives through videos or text. Additional examples and materials are encouraged. The steps below are tailored for video use.

STEP 1

Plenary

Begin with an introductory discussion on feminist economic alternatives. If this tool follows Tool 1, recap key learnings. If used independently, use the background information from Tool 1 as a resource.

Questions for Discussion:

- How do we define feminist economic alternatives?
- What criteria must an initiative meet to be considered a genuine feminist economic alternative?

STEP 2

Group work

Divide participants into groups. Choose one video for all groups to watch, ensuring a common reference point for discussion.

STEP 3

Group work

Assign a different video to each group to expose participants to a variety of examples.

STEP 4

Individual and Paired Work

Ask participants to reflect individually on:

- What stood out about the examples?
- How are these examples relevant to their communities?

Then, have participants work in pairs to prepare a presentation answering these questions for an imagined community meeting.

STEP 5

Plenary

Invite pairs to present to the plenary as if addressing their communities. After a few presentations, open the floor for discussion, encouraging participants to share additional insights.

References and Resources

- **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review** by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium, September 2022.
- Video links provided in the background information section.

Theme 2:

Feminist economic justice

With the option of drawing on work done on preceding themes, users delve directly into the meaning of the feminist economic justice struggles and visions of themselves and others.



**Tool 3: Feminism versus Neoliberalism – Two
Conflicting Conceptions of Economic Justice**

Tool 4: Defining Feminist Economic Justice

Tool 5: The Politics of Feminist Economic Justice



Tool 3

Feminism versus Neoliberalism – Two Conflicting Conceptions of Economic Justice



Description

This tool compares our feminist conception of economic justice with how neoliberal capitalists view economic justice. We uncover the conflict between the two conceptions by asking participants to consider how they view a health clinic versus how neoliberal capitalists view a clinic. [Note: A clinic is used as an example because many feminist economic justice struggles centre around health facilities and services. Any other example can be used, such as land, water, housing, schools, credit facilities, etc.]

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Introduce feminist economic justice and neoliberal capitalism with emphasis on the conflict between the two conceptions.
- Articulate views on feminist economic justice and neoliberal capitalism.
- Describe and analyse the conflict between the two by working through the example of a clinic.
- Arrive at a concrete illustration of the conflicts between feminist economic justice and neoliberal capitalism.

When to Use This Tool

This is an introductory tool that can be used at the beginning of an FPE process on feminist economic justice to introduce the foundational concepts of feminist economic justice, neoliberal capitalism, and movement building. It can also be used when new people join the FPE process or whenever the group feels the need to revisit foundational concepts.

Background Information

Feminist Economic Justice

The “Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review” by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the **Power Up!** consortium, said the following about feminist economic justice:

“A feminist economic justice approach prioritises human rights and challenges anthropocentrism over profits. It prioritises a world in which humans live in balance with and within the ecological limits of nature, upon which we depend for our collective survival. Economic rights and justice are deeply feminist issues as building an economy that works for everyone – including those historically and traditionally left behind – is best for the vast majority of the world’s population.”

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

Neoliberal Capitalism

From the “Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review” by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! consortium:

“Neoliberal capitalism emerged as the predominant form of capitalism in the global economy between 1973 and 1979 in the United Kingdom and United States. It is defined as a ‘mutually reinforcing set of economic and political institutions’ – including the global economy, state economy, labour market, and corporate sector – that are coherent based on ‘their support for the predominant role of market relations and market forces in the regulation of economic activity’ (Kotz, 2015). Neoliberal capitalism is a system where capital

fully dominates labour, and the dominating institutional structures prioritise the process of capital accumulation.”

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

How to Use This Tool

STEP 1

Plenary

- Briefly introduce:
 - The topic of the session.
 - The learning objectives.
 - The methods that will be used. Simply list them: group work and plenary discussion. They can be explained later when it is time to use them.

STEP 2

Plenary Discussion

- Ask participants to share brief explanations of:
 - Feminist economic justice.
 - Neoliberal capitalism.
- This can be done in a fast-paced discussion in plenary. The goal is to get some ideas from the participants without going into detail. Write down summaries of the ideas shared and put them up on newsprint around the room.

- Ask participants whether these are difficult or easy concepts to explain in their communities.
- Explain that in the rest of the session, the facilitators will share a method of thinking about and explaining these concepts.

STEP 3:

Group Work

Discussion Question: What is a clinic?

- It is important that participants respond as broadly as possible with lots of detail. To facilitate this, it may be necessary to pose sub-questions:
 - What are the purposes of clinics?
 - What do clinics consist of?
 - What are the different kinds of clinics?
 - What happens at a clinic?
 - Who benefits from clinics?
 - Etc.
- Encourage participants to write their points on newsprint for sharing with the plenary. They can also make sketches or use other methods to illustrate their points.

STEP 4

Plenary Discussion

- Groups report their points back to plenary. Put the newsprint in a place where it is visible to the participants.
- Ask participants to go through the points that were made and sort them into the following categories:
 - **Category A:** Points that indicate a belief that clinics are facilities to meet human needs for healthcare and build healthy communities.

- **Category B:** Points that indicate a belief that clinics are facilities for profit-making and power-building for exclusive, elite groups of people.

- All the points on the newsprint are labelled A or B. Sometimes it might be difficult to decide how to label a specific point. Such points can be held over for later reflection and discussion. It may also be that there is not enough time to label all the points made. For the purposes of this tool, it is only necessary that a good number of points be labelled, to ensure that participants understand the logic of the categorisation.
- Given the politics of the groups likely to use this tool, it might also be that there are few or no points made that can be labelled B. In such cases, facilitators can suggest points for the B category.
- For the next step, ask if there are conflicts between the two categories. For example, if neoliberal capitalism sees a clinic as a facility where businesses can maximise profits through subcontracting of services, this will drive up the cost of the healthcare services offered. This means it will either be offered to fewer people within a particular budget, or users must pay a higher price for the services. In both these cases, representing neoliberal public and private healthcare, the majority of poor women will be excluded from quality healthcare. The same logic can be shown for each of the points in Category B.
- Neoliberalism can be understood as an ideology and policy framework that prioritises Category B over Category A. This provides a concrete illustration of the clash between the goals of feminist economic justice and neoliberal capitalism.
- Summarise the steps that were gone through to arrive at this illustration.

References and Resources

- **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review** by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium, September 2022.

Tool 4

Defining Feminist Economic Justice



Description

This tool helps participants explore the elements and principles that define feminist economic justice. It examines the relationships between feminist economic justice and other justice frameworks, such as racial and environmental justice. Participants are encouraged to reflect on both the synergies and tensions between feminist economic justice and these other frameworks.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- List key elements and principles of feminist economic justice.
- Discuss how these principles inform the elements.
- Share perspectives on racial and environmental justice.
- Explore intersections and tensions between feminist economic justice and other justice frameworks.
- Reflect on what an intersectional understanding of feminist economic justice could look like.

When to Use This Tool

The goal of this tool is to generate, share, and critically reflect on definitions of feminist economic justice. This provides a solid grounding for both engaging the specifics of women's struggles and broader systemic issues.

Alternatively, this tool can be used at the start of a feminist popular education (FPE) process to introduce definitions of feminist economic justice. In this case, it is advisable to revisit the tool after using tools focused on struggles and the system.

Background Information

What is a Principle?

In this tool, a principle is understood as a defining or non-negotiable rule. For example, a principle of feminist economic justice is that its proposals and actions must promote the liberation of women from patriarchy. If an action strengthens or ignores patriarchy, it falls outside the framework of feminist economic justice. [Note: do you or your group use a different definition of a principle? What is it?]

What is an Element?

Elements of feminist economic justice refer to the areas it covers and the specific institutions, actions, and policies proposed within these areas. For instance, one area is household labour, and a proposed policy is that household labour should be equitably shared by all members of society, rather than being disproportionately assigned to women in gendered roles as mothers, daughters, or domestic workers.

Racial Justice

“Racial justice work goes beyond preventing individual cases of racial discrimination to combat structural oppression. It involves systemic change by addressing the root causes of racial oppression as it intersects with patriarchy, colonialism, slavery, and economic inequality. Central to this work are the voices and experiences of those subjected to racial injustice and human rights violations due to systemic racism.”

– Amnesty International

Environmental Justice

“Environmental justice is the idea that all people, regardless of race, culture, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status, deserve equal protection from environmental and health hazards, as well as equal access to decision-making processes around environmental policies and development. Historically led by Black, Latino, Indigenous, and low-income communities, the environmental justice movement aims to:

- Highlight how marginalised groups are disproportionately affected by pollution, climate change, and other environmental dangers.



- Prevent corporations and governments from placing polluting sites in or near marginalised communities.
- Empower these communities to participate in environmental decision-making.” – **The Goldman Prize**

Intersectionality

“Originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, intersectionality is often discussed as a theory, methodology, paradigm, lens, or framework. At its core, it is a way of thinking about identity and its relationship to power. It recognises that people’s lives are shaped by their identities, relationships, and social factors, which combine to create intersecting forms of privilege and oppression. These are influenced by power structures such as patriarchy, ableism, colonialism, imperialism, homophobia, and racism.

Crenshaw emphasises the transformative potential of intersectionality, cautioning against reducing it to merely multiplying identity categories without engaging in structural analysis or political critique.”

– UN Women, **Intersectionality Resource Guide and Toolkit**

How to Use This Tool

This tool is designed to foster deep collective thinking. It moves from activities requiring moderate concentration to those demanding deeper focus for optimal results. It is inspired by the **Talking Stick** method, based on Indigenous American practices, and **Whiteboarding**, derived from the practices of the Theory of Computation Group at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

STEP 1

Room and Equipment

Ensure participants can sit in plenary and in groups of four.

Provide each group with a whiteboard or newsprint sheet and markers of different colours.

STEP 2

Plenary

- Introduce the topic and explain the method.
- Ask participants to share brief definitions of feminist economic justice. Write these on newsprint for later reference.
- Provide brief definitions of:
 - Principles
 - Elements (of feminist economic justice)
 - Racial justice
 - Environmental justice
 - Intersectionality

STEP 3

Group Work

- Divide participants into groups of four. Emphasise the importance of following instructions closely to foster deep concentration:
 - Each participant takes a marker, writes on the whiteboard/newsprint, and explains what they have written.
 - Only the person holding the marker may write or speak. Others must listen attentively.
 - When finished, the speaker places the marker back in the bundle. The next speaker takes 40 seconds to reflect in silence before speaking.
 - Repeat the process until all group members have had a turn. Participants may forfeit their turn but must still observe the 40-second reflection period.
- **Key points to remember:**
 - Silent reflection and listening are central to this activity.
 - No interruptions are allowed. Questions or comments must wait until the next speaker's turn.
 - Disagreements are allowed and should be indicated on the

whiteboard.

- Encourage neat, small writing to maximise space. Sketches and symbols are welcome.
- Use consistent colours for related ideas to aid visual organisation.
- Adjust speaking time as needed to prioritise depth over breadth.

- **Questions for speakers:**

- Write down one principle of feminist economic justice.
- For each principle, identify an area of social life where it applies.
- For each area, propose an activity, policy, or institution that embodies the principle.
- Indicate connections between principles and their elements.
- Highlight intersections and tensions between proposed activities, policies, and institutions, and racial and environmental justice.

STEP 4

Plenary

Each group presents one principle, its elements, and intersections.

Conduct as many rounds as time allows, prioritising depth over covering all material.

References and Resources

- **What do we mean by racial justice?** by Amnesty International. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/discrimination/racial-justice/>
- **What Environmental Justice Means—and Why it Matters** by The Goldman Prize. Available at: <https://www.goldmanprize.org/blog/what-environmental-justice-means-and-why-it-matters/>

- **Intersectionality Resource Guide and Toolkit: An Intersectional Approach to Leave No One Behind** by UN Women. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/Intersectionality-resource-guide-and-toolkit-en.pdf>
- **The Talking Stick: An American Indian Tradition in the ESL Classroom** by Kimberly Fujioka. Available at: <http://iteslj.org/Techniques/Fujioka-TalkingStick.html>
- **How I learned to concentrate** by Cal Newport in *The New Yorker*, March 5, 2024. Available at: <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/office-space/how-i-learned-to-concentrate>

Tool 5

The Politics of Feminist Economic Justice

Description

This tool helps participants reflect on the political alignments implied and required by feminist economic justice frameworks. The underlying idea is that advocating for feminist economic justice is not politically neutral; it has significant implications for how power is understood and engaged with. Various approaches are used to explore different aspects of feminist economic justice, including evaluating current governments and political parties, as well as drafting political programmes aligned with feminist economic justice.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Introduce feminist economic justice.
- Evaluate current governments and political parties in relation to feminist economic justice.
- Work towards formulating political programmes aligned with feminist economic justice.
- Identify the political frameworks underpinning the proposed programmes.

When to Use This Tool

This tool can be used as a follow-up to discussions about defining feminist economic justice (Tool 3 and 4). By exploring the political implications of feminist economic justice frameworks, it bridges the gap between the visions developed in Tool 4 and the actionable plans and proposals in the ‘Movement Building Connection Points’ section.

Background Information

Liberal Feminism

“Liberal feminism remains a strong current in feminist political

thought. Rooted in liberalism’s focus on freedom and equality, liberal feminism prioritises protecting and enhancing women’s personal and political autonomy—the freedom to live as one chooses and to participate in shaping the political community.”

Radical Feminism

“As the name suggests, radical feminists believe that existing structures and institutions need to be overhauled—not merely reformed—to address the root causes of women’s oppression. They critique liberal feminism’s focus on individual choice, arguing that structures of domination extend beyond individual agency.”

Marxist Feminism

“Marxist feminists focus on how modes of production and changing relations of production and reproduction shape social arrangements (e.g., the gender division of labour) and institutions (e.g., marriage, motherhood) that contribute to women’s oppression.”

The Care Ethics Tradition

“Political theorists influenced by care ethics emphasise that political subjects are interdependent, enmeshed in networks of relations necessary for survival. This perspective views agency as relational and individuals as non-sovereign and heteronomous, with significant theoretical and practical implications.”

Intersectional Feminisms

“Intersectional feminists argue that oppression and privilege along axes of identity (e.g., gender, race, class) do not operate independently but intermesh in complex ways, shaping social relations, identities, interests, and experiences.”

Transnational, Decolonial, and Indigenous Feminisms

“Transnational feminists focus on the impacts of global processes, while Indigenous feminists critique settler colonialism and its borders. Decolonial feminists, overlapping with women of colour feminists, address the racialised power dynamics of colonial and post-colonial systems, as theorised by Aníbal Quijano’s concept of the ‘coloniality of power’.”

– All quotations from the **Feminist Political Philosophy** entry in the **Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy**.

How to Use This Tool

This tool explores the political alignments that logically follow from specific visions of feminist economic justice. Differences among participants—both in their understanding of feminist economic justice and the political alignments it implies—should be acknowledged and explored. These differences can strengthen movement building by clarifying diverse perspectives and options for action.

STEP 1

Plenary

- Introduce feminist economic justice.
- If used as a follow-up to Tool 4, ask participants to recap key points from that tool.
- If used as a standalone exercise, ask participants to share their understanding of feminist economic justice. Guiding questions include:
 - What is feminist economic justice?
 - What are its principles?
 - What areas of social life does it cover?
 - What does it say about wage labour, household labour, banking, international trade, etc.?
- Both general and detailed responses are welcome.

STEP 2

Group Work

- Participants evaluate the economic approaches, practices, and policies of governments and political parties. These can include the national government of their country and key political parties.
- **Questions for groups:**
 - Which government or party are you evaluating?
 - Name one or more of their important economic frameworks,

practices, or policies.

- How does this framework, practice, or policy impact feminist economic justice? Does it advance, hinder, or have minimal or unclear impact?
- Participants can discuss as many governments, parties, and economic interventions as time allows.
- Responses can be organised in a table. Below is an example with fictional entries:

Government or Political Party	Economic Framework, Practice, or Policy	Impact on Feminist Economic Justice
National Government of Country X	Fiscal austerity (minimise spending on health, education, welfare)	?
Opposition Party of Country X	Women's economic empowerment (low-interest loans, skills training for women in mining, retail, etc.)	?
Leftist Party Y	Campaign for employers to comply with minimum wage stipulations in collective bargaining agreements	?

STEP 3

Plenary

- Groups report their discussions to the plenary.
- Allow time for clarifying questions.
- **Discussion question:**
 - How should feminist economic justice activists relate to the governments and parties discussed? As allies, enemies, opponents, or neutrals?

STEP 4

Group Work

- Question for group discussion:
 - What would a political programme for feminist economic justice look like?
- A political programme typically outlines the values, strategies, and social allegiances of a party or movement. For this tool, focus on aspects directly impacting feminist economic justice. An expanded version of the question could be:
 - What do we propose or strive for regarding:
 - Economic frameworks (neoliberal, capitalist, welfare state, socialist, communist)
 - Fiscal policy (how government raises and spends money, taxes, government spending)
 - Organisation and remuneration of work (decision making about work, wages, benefits, care work)
 - The environment and natural resources
 - Banking and credit
 - Methods to achieve our goals
 - Alliances we will form
- Use the **Gallery Walk** method:
 - Place newsprint sheets around the room with the above topics as headings.
 - Assign one person per sheet to act as facilitator and note-taker.
 - Other participants move between sheets, contributing ideas. Once their point is noted, they can move to another sheet.

STEP 5

Plenary

- Note-takers report the points back to the plenary.
- Allow time for clarifying questions.

- Participants take one minute to reflect silently on:
 - What kind of feminisms do the proposals in the political programme reflect? (e.g., liberal, radical, Marxist/socialist, Indigenous, intersectional, etc.)
 - Are they similar or different? How would these proposals affect women in your communities? If necessary, explain these feminist frameworks (see the ‘Background Information’ section).
- The question can also be simplified, e.g., “Do the proposals reflect liberal or radical feminism?”
- Participants can answer for the programme as a whole or for specific proposals.
- The goal is to encourage participants to think about how different feminisms frame feminist economic justice.

References and Resources

- **Feminist Political Philosophy** entry in the **Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy**. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-political/>

Theme 3:

Situating the Feminist Economic Justice Toolkit (FEJTK) as a feminist popular education endeavour

The specific principles, requirements, and practices of approaching feminist economic justice through FPE are examined.



Tool 6: FPE and Movement Building

Tool 6(a): Feminist Movement Building versus Building Feminist Movements

Tool 6(b): Dimensions of Movement Building



Tool 6

FPE and Movement Building

Tool 6(a): Feminist Movement Building versus Building Feminist Movements

Description

This tool is based on the understanding that effective fights for feminist economic justice require movement building. Feminist popular education (FPE) is introduced as a key method for movement building. Participants reflect on the distinct orientation of feminist movement building and the dimensions of the challenges involved. The strategy discussions of an anonymised group of precarious women workers who campaigned against systematic sexual abuse and gender-based violence are used as an example.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Understand the importance of movement building for feminist economic justice.
- Introduce FPE as a key method of movement building.
- Compare feminist movement building with building feminist movements.
- Discuss the challenges involved in movement building with the help of an example.

When to Use This Tool

This tool can be used as a follow-up to **Tool 3 (Two Conflicting Conceptions: Feminism versus Neoliberalism)**. Tool 3 shows the nature of the clash between the economic justice conceptions of feminism and neoliberalism. It brings out the necessity for feminists to build movements for the achievement of economic justice, given the systemic nature and dominance of neoliberalism.



Groups where a consensus on the necessity for movement building already exists might choose to proceed directly to Tool 6.

Tool 6 can also be used when new people join a group or when different groups start working together. This can help to share and compare how different people approach movement building to ensure better conditions for collaboration.

Background Information

Just Associates (JASS) on Feminist Movement Building:

“Feminist movement building is both a means to an end and an end in itself.”

“JASS puts feminist movement building at the heart of its work, as we believe that the movements women build come from the change they want.”

“Our feminist movement building takes the form of sustained work with community-based activists, organisations, and networks, to support and develop effective movement leadership, alliances, and strategies. The foundation of our approach is feminist popular education – a collective learning approach that enables activists to analyse their contexts and lives and shape strategies for action together. JASS develops and adapts a variety of political methodologies, but all processes begin with women’s lives and their experiences of power and inequity. This facilitates the building of common ground and shared analysis – a foundation for organising, solidarity, collective power, and solutions.”

“Building feminist movements is about organising and mobilising women around gender equality goals, whereas feminist movement building is about bringing gender equality goals and feminist perspectives into work with all kinds of movement partners and organising women in many different spaces, including but not limited to self-defined feminist movements.”

How to Use This Tool

This tool asks participants to share their understandings of movement building and to compare them to those of others. This is done with the

help of a case study, which is an anonymised account of an actual group of precarious women who worked together in a factory between 2015 and 2020 and decided to come together outside of the workplace to support each other in struggles against systematic sexual abuse, gender-based violence, and the deliberate dysfunctions of the state criminal-justice system. The focus of the case study is to show how the group based particular actions on their strategic conceptions of movement building.

It is important that the case study be read aloud to include participants of different levels of reading and language proficiency.

Step 1

Plenary

- Briefly introduce:
 - The topic of the session.
 - The learning objectives.
 - The methods that will be used. Simply list them: group work and plenary discussion. They can be explained later when it is time to use them.
- Explain the difference between feminist movement building and building feminist movements.

Step 2

Group Work

- Allocate participants into groups. If there are different organisations present, it makes sense that groups should consist mainly of people from the same organisations.
- One or more persons from outside the organisation can be added to a group to provide different perspectives and ask important questions to which the answers may appear obvious to members of the same organisation.
- Two or more groups representing the same organisation are beneficial to the process because it allows for a comparison of internal views.



STEP 3

Groups Read the Following Text

Precarious Women Workers is a group of women who work together in a factory under a subcontractor. They have formed a Workers Forum with their male colleagues to fight for permanent jobs, better pay and benefits, and to be recognised as employees of the factory entitled to all workers' rights.

One of the worst problems precarious women workers face in this factory is sexual abuse by male supervisors. This takes place all the time in a planned, systematic way. There are no consequences for the abusers and no protections for women.

To make matters worse, when women raised this issue in the Workers Forum, their male colleagues were either indifferent or some even sympathised with the supervisors doing the abuse. That is why the women decided to form **Precarious Women Workers** as a separate organisation from the Workers Forum. For struggles around wages and other matters affecting all workers, the women work through the Workers Forum with their male colleagues. For struggles around sexual abuse and other matters affecting women workers, the women work through **Precarious Women Workers** without, and sometimes against, their male colleagues.

STEP 4

Group Discussion

- Do you think **Precarious Women Workers** followed a feminist movement building approach or a building feminist movements approach? Please provide reasons for your answer.
- Which approach does your organisation follow? Why?
- Which approach do you prefer? Why?

STEP 5

Plenary Report Back and Discussion

- Groups can choose to illustrate their report back with a roleplay.

- Emphasise that there can be different views in the group, and all should be included in the report back and discussion.
- Summarise the discussion by listing the advantages and disadvantages of the two approaches.

Tool 6(b): Dimensions of Movement Building

Description

This tool helps participants reflect on different dimensions of movement building, namely organising, strategy, and (in)direct action. Participants reflect on their own organisations' strategies and compare them to other organisations to understand the importance of strategy for movement building. The direct action strategy of an anonymous group called **Precarious Women Workers** is used to compare and stimulate discussion. Participants are invited to see the limitations of organisations to bring about systemic change and the possibilities of organisations supporting movement building processes.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Identify and reflect on different dimensions of movement building.
- Understand the relation and difference between building organisations and building movements.
- Analyse existing organisations and movements in terms of their strategic approaches, especially the difference between indirect action and direct action strategies.
- Discuss how our organising efforts (could) feed into movement building processes with the help of an example.



When to Use This Tool

This tool can be used as a follow-up to **Tool 3 (Two Conflicting Conceptions: Feminism versus Neoliberalism)** for groups where a

consensus on the necessity for movement building already exists. It could also be used when new people join a group or when different groups start working together. This can help to share and compare how different people approach movement building to ensure better conditions for collaboration.

Background Information

Organising and Movement Building

Organising and movement building are different processes that can work together to achieve feminist economic justice. Door-to-door campaigns, creating safe spaces, political education sessions, handing out pamphlets, and designing social media campaigns are all examples of organising methods used by activists to bring people and resources together to fix problems and injustices. Do these organising methods create a movement that is able to bring feminist economic justice? It will be very difficult due to the systemic nature of the problems.

Organising methods result in organisations. Organisations cannot include the numbers of people necessary to overthrow an entire unjust system like neoliberalism or patriarchy. For that, we need movements and movement building methods that enable millions of people to prepare for ending systems and institutions that oppress and harm us. Movements include organisations and individuals but are bigger than particular organisations and individuals. The latter can belong to movements but movements do not belong to particular organisations or individuals. They are defined by broad common frameworks of ideas, methods and cultures. What organisations can do to support movement building is share effective strategies that have worked in their context and that can work for other groups too. Building and sharing effective strategies for feminist economic justice can grow a movement of activists who are experienced and ready for systemic change.

(Based on discussion PWW strategy)



How to Use This Tool

This tool asks participants to discuss different dimensions of movement building. This is done with the help of a case study (the same as in Tool 6(a)), which is an anonymised account of an actual group of precarious women who worked together in a factory between 2015 and 2020 and decided to come together outside of the workplace to support each other in struggles against systematic sexual abuse, gender-based violence, and the deliberate dysfunctions of the state criminal-justice system. The focus of the case study is to show how the group decided to follow a direct action strategy to liberate women and workers, in addition to indirect actions that rely on the workings of courts and institutions.

It is important that the case study be read aloud to include participants of different levels of reading and language proficiency.

STEP 1

Plenary Discussion

- Introduce the topic and ask participants the following questions:
 - How many women are in your society? [How you define your society depends on the scope of the changes you want. Society can include everyone impacted by those changes.]
 - How many women (in numbers or %) are members of organisations that fight for solutions to problems that affect women, for example, trade unions?
 - How many women (in numbers or %) are members of organisations that specifically fight for women's rights?
 - How many women in our society are NOT members of any such organisations but are affected by the same problems?
 - How do we reach and mobilise all the women in our society who are currently not part of any organisation that wants to solve problems that affect them?
- This can be done in a fast-paced discussion in plenary. The goal is to get some ideas from the participants without going into detail. Write down summaries of the ideas shared and put them up on newsprint around the room.

- **Note:** In this exercise, ‘society’ should be interpreted as any relevant society to the group. This can be a country, a region, or a province, depending on the context of the group. It might be beneficial to do some preliminary research on the actual numbers of the context you are working in. However, the point of the exercise is to show there is a vast difference between the number of women who face similar problems and the number of women who are in organisations that exist to address these problems.

STEP 2

Group Work

Groups read the following text:



Precarious Women Workers (PWW) is a group of 30 women who work together in a factory under a subcontractor. The women workers have formed a separate group from their male colleagues within the general Workers Forum to address problems that affect women specifically, like sexual abuse by male supervisors. The women workers adopted their own strategy, which consists of a combination of indirect and direct action. In addition to relying on trade unions, courts, or police officers who are not effective in protecting women and workers from abuse and exploitation, women planned to take their own actions to fix injustices. They prepared and trained to do this by regularly coming together and practising in small groups.

This direct action strategy was informed by the following facts. Their society of 60 million people consists of 35 million women, which is more than 50%. The society has about 12 million workers in the formal sector, of which 25% are organised in trade unions, that is, 3 million workers. Even fewer women are members of organisations that fight specifically for women’s rights. The question that emerged was: how could their small group reach the 30 million women who are facing the same problems but are not members of any organisations?

Organising has its limitations. It would be impossible for just 30 women to reach all 30 million women to join their organisation by face-to-face organising or social media. PWW concluded that movement building is needed to include all women facing oppression.

What **Precarious Women Workers** did think they could do is share their strategy of direct and indirect action with women they cannot reach. These women can make it their own and use it in their own context. Not everyone will become a member of their organisation, but together with other strong groups, they can form part of a movement that aims to liberate all women.

STEP 3

Small Group Work / 1-2-4

- **[Reflect]** – For three minutes: think for yourself about the following question: how does the direct action strategy of **Precarious Women Workers** compare to the strategy of your organisation? (Think of the composition of members of the group, the objectives of the organisation, and the role of lawyers in trying to solve problems.)
- **[Pair up]** – For five minutes: Share your thoughts with someone in your group and discuss together what differences and similarities you found in the strategies of different organisations or groups.
- **[Group of four]** – For five minutes: Share your insights and questions about different strategies of indirect action or direct action. Which strategy do you prefer? Which strategy do you think will be most effective to achieve feminist economic justice?
- It might be useful to briefly discuss what strategy is and why it is important. Strategy is a plan of action designed to achieve a long-term or overall aim. In other words: how will you get the results you want to see in the long term? What will you and your group do to ensure problems will be solved? Strategy is important because if there is no plan, a bad plan, or an unclear plan, people might start working in different directions or against each other. This is frustrating and will not make the group strong. The more people use strategy, the stronger it becomes.

STEP 4

All – Report Back in Plenary

- Groups share their most important insight or question about

(in)direct action strategy they'd like to share with the whole group.

- The observation that, or question why, so few organisations use direct action might emerge. Ask if participants can think of reasons why this is the case.

STEP 5

Plenary Discussion or Groups

- What strategies do we know are effective in supporting a wider process of movement building for feminist economic justice? Our own organisations? Strategies of people we know?
- How do, or could, you share your strategy so that other groups and organisations can use it too?
- Depending on the composition of the group, this step can be done as plenary or in groups of members of the same organisation with a report-back session at the end.



Theme 4:

Women naming their struggles for feminist economic justice

These tools support users in drawing out and interrogating the specific content of the struggles and perspectives around feminist economic justice.



Tool 7: Case Study of Women's Struggles for Feminist Economic Justice

Tool 8: Our Struggles and Organisations

Tool 9: Feminist Economic Justice and Connection Points for Feminist Movement Building



Tool 7

Case Study of Women's Struggles for Feminist Economic Justice

Description

This tool helps participants engage with a case study of women fighting for feminist economic justice. It uses a talk show-style interview method, allowing for a flexible and in-depth exploration of the case within a limited time frame. The aim is to combine personal and collective engagement with the topic, highlighting the heart, mind, and body dimensions of economic justice struggles.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Introduce feminist economic justice and its connection to women's struggles.
- Listen to an interview about a case of women fighting for feminist economic justice.
- Collaborate to formulate additional interview questions.
- Personalise and deepen understanding of feminist economic justice struggles.

When to Use This Tool

This tool can be used to:

- Introduce a specific organisation, campaign, or struggle to a broader group, particularly when new members join a feminist popular education group.
- Explore the strategies and approaches of a known group from a fresh perspective—that of the selected interviewee.
- Prepare participants for a session where they critically reflect on their own feminist economic justice struggles, as in Tool 5. Engaging deeply with a case study helps participants reflect more meaningfully on their own experiences.

Background Information

Liberating Structures

The method used here is adapted from Liberating Structures, a set of micro-structures designed to enhance inclusion, engagement, and participation in organisations. These methods incorporate many principles and practices of popular education. The specific structure this tool is based on is called Celebrity Interview, which helps a leader or expert share their knowledge and perspectives with a wider audience in an engaging and participatory way.

Fishbowl

The tool is also inspired by the fishbowl method, where participants engage with a topic by observing an interview or conversation within a small group. This approach helps one or more individuals share their views and knowledge with a larger group effectively and engagingly.

How to Use This Tool

This section refers to a single interviewee, but it can also apply to interviews with multiple people or small group conversations. The interview is conducted in a television talk show style.

STEP 1

- Select the interviewee. This person should be able to articulate the knowledge and perspectives needed to achieve the activity's goals. They do not need to be an expert or official leader of the case study group, as the perspectives of general members are also valuable.
- Prepare the questions in advance and share them with the interviewee. Encourage them to prepare and rehearse as they would for an actual talk show appearance.

STEP 2

- Prepare specific questions tailored to each use of this tool. These questions should explore the connections between broader

feminist economic justice issues and the interviewee's personal experiences, emotions, and thoughts. Here are some example questions:

- Tell us about your group and what they do.
- How do these activities relate to feminist economic justice?
- What made you join this group? What were you going through at the time? What was happening in your heart, mind, and body?
- Do you think your group is effective in fighting for feminist economic justice? How?
- If you could change everything about your group's work, what would you keep and what would you let go?
- What are you doing to strengthen the positive aspects of the group's work for feminist economic justice? How are you addressing the challenges?
- Where do you see the group's work in the next five years?
- How do you feel about this?
- What can we do to support your work?

Step 3

- Set up the room or space. Ensure all participants can see and hear the interviewer and interviewee clearly.
- Conduct the interview. Aim for a natural, flowing talk show style, using the prepared questions as a guide rather than a strict script.

STEP 4

Group Work

Divide participants into groups of four. Each group will:

1. Reflect individually for one minute on additional questions they

would like to ask.

2. Form pairs and share their questions, consolidating them where possible (two minutes).
3. Share and further consolidate questions within the group of four.

STEP 5

Plenary

- Each group selects a representative to ask one or two of their questions to the interviewee. The number of questions depends on the time available.
- After the questions are answered, the interviewer closes the activity by summarising key points from the interview.

References and Resources

- **The Surprising Power of Liberating Structures: Simple Rules to Unleash A Culture of Innovation** by Henri Lipmanowicz and Keith McCandless, Liberating Structures Press, Seattle, WA (April 2014).
- **Teaching Strategy: Fishbowl** by Facing History & Ourselves, 2024.

Tool 8

Our Struggles and Organisations

Description

This tool helps users reflect on their struggles and organisations, and share these reflections with others. The work is organised around three themes:

1. Things that work well
2. Things that need to be let go of
3. Opportunities for connections

Guidance is provided for each theme. Ideally, all participants should work through all three themes. However, if time is limited, participants can be divided into three groups, with each group focusing on one theme. The insights are then pooled during a plenary session.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Introduce or recap feminist economic justice struggles as a framework (see Tool 4).
- Reflect on and share thoughts about what works well in your struggles.
- Reflect on and share thoughts about what needs to be let go of in your struggles.
- Map existing connections and identify opportunities to strengthen your struggles by building new connections.



When to Use This Tool

This tool can be used alongside Tool 10, in any order. The choice depends on whether it is more useful to first explore a single case study of feminist economic justice struggles (Tool 7) or to reflect on the full range of struggles participants are involved in (Tool 8). Together, these tools provide a comprehensive overview of

participants’ struggles and encourage critical reflection. They can ground the general framing introduced in Tools 1 to 4, and provide detailed insights to inform the conceptual work in Tools 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10.

Background Information

Feminist Economic Justice Struggles

In 2020, the Power Up! (PU!) consortium commissioned Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey to produce **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review**. The document states:

“A feminist economic justice approach prioritises human rights and challenges the prioritisation of profits over people. It envisions a world where humans live in balance with the ecological limits of nature, on which our collective survival depends. Economic rights and justice are deeply feminist issues, as building an economy that works for everyone—including those historically and traditionally left behind—benefits the vast majority of the world’s population.”

This means feminist economic justice is shaped by the struggles of women fighting under its banner. Its content and form are as diverse as the struggles conducted in its name. PU! partners work in different ways within this broad framework. When using this tool, it is helpful to understand how these partners embody and express feminist economic justice.

Gender at Work

Gender at Work (G@W) is an international feminist knowledge network focused on building and strengthening women-led movements to shift power and advance women’s rights. G@W offers capacity building, leadership development, organising, and advocacy at local, national, regional, and global levels. The network also conducts popular education on power, gender, strategy, and movement building.

G@W believes that institutions advocating for women’s rights often perpetuate gender discrimination. New actors increasingly offer quick fixes to structural inequality through ‘empowerment lite’ solutions, which often reinforce existing power dynamics. G@W’s work on feminist economic justice counters these false solutions by combining new knowledge on deep structures of inequality and discriminatory

social norms with innovative approaches to transform them in organisations and communities.

Just Associates

Just Associates (JASS) is a feminist movement support organisation rooted in the Global South. JASS works with movements across the Global South to ensure feminist economic justice visions are at the forefront of resistance against neoliberal capitalism and its oppressive systems, such as white supremacy, patriarchy, extractivism, and neocolonial imperialism. Examples of their work include supporting women in Zimbabwe fighting systemic violence by the minerals-state-corporate complex; collaborating with the Civic Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras (COPINH) to resist the expropriation of indigenous lands by mega-projects like hydropower generation; and working with activists in the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Myanmar to expose the impacts of financial investments in extractive industries.

Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga

Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), known in English as the Women-Headed Family Empowerment (PEKKA) Foundation, is a national network in Indonesia active since 2000. Initially focused on women's economic empowerment through savings and loans groups and small business support, PEKKA has expanded its work to include leadership and organisational capacity building for female-headed families, and improving access to government social protection programmes for poor and isolated women. By 2018, PEKKA had formed over 600 local groups and reached more than 50,000 residents in its work areas.

How to Use This Tool

This tool combines three methods adapted from Liberating Structures:

- 1. Appreciative Interviews** – to focus on things that work well.
- 2. TRIZ** – to focus on things that need to be let go of.
- 3. Social Network Webbing** – to focus on opportunities for helpful connections.

Each method takes 45 minutes to an hour. The tool can be used as a

three-hour workshop where all participants work through all three methods in succession, or as a one-hour session where participants are divided into three groups, each focusing on one method. The insights are then shared in a plenary session.

STEP 1

Plenary

- Introduce feminist economic justice as a framework shaped by women's struggles and organising. Refer to the background information in this tool and use examples from PU! partners to illustrate how different groups work for feminist economic justice in diverse ways. Alternatively, use your own experiences and examples as reference points.
- Explain that the purpose of this tool is to share how participants see their activities and organisations contributing to feminist economic justice, and to create space for critical reflection on these activities.
- Outline the objectives of the tool and mention the three methods to be used.
- Divide participants into three groups. Ideally, each group should have its own facilitator, though a single facilitator can manage all three if necessary.

STEP 2

Group Work – Appreciative Interviews

- Participants work in pairs, then as a whole group. The whole group discussion can be part of the plenary.
- Pairs interview each other using the following question:
- Please tell a story about a time when you and your organisation/ community/movement worked on a challenge related to feminist economic justice and you are proud of what you accomplished. What is the story, and what made the success possible?

- In the group, each participant retells their partner's story. Identify patterns in the conditions and assets that made success possible, and note these on a flip chart.
- Optional discussion questions:
 - How do we share the assets and create the conditions that foster success?
 - What opportunities do you see to do more?

STEP 3

Group Work – TRIZ (Creating Space for Progress by Letting Go of Counter-Productive Practices)

- This activity helps participants reflect on less desirable aspects of their struggles. To ease discomfort, participants first discuss imaginary situations before addressing their actual struggles.
- In a large group, introduce the thought experiment:
 - What must we do if we want to ensure our struggles make no progress towards feminist economic justice?
- Provide examples to clarify the question. Allow participants two minutes to think quietly and make notes.
- Participants share their thoughts. Keep the discussion light and playful while addressing serious issues. Note all points on a flip chart.
- In groups of four, participants review the list and answer:
 - Is there anything we are currently doing that resembles this item?
- In the plenary, share the practices identified as counter-productive. Discuss which are most common or rare.
- Optional discussion question:
 - What first steps will help us stop doing what we know creates undesirable results?

STEP 4

Group Work – Social Network Webbing (Mapping Formal and Informal Connections)

- This activity helps participants visualise and share the connections their work for feminist economic justice creates and requires. The goal is to map existing networks and identify opportunities to strengthen or create new connections.
- Place multiple flip charts on a wall or floor. Provide post-its of various colours and markers.
- Follow these steps:
 - Work in groups with a common organisation, community, or purpose.
 - On a flip chart, write one goal your group is working on related to feminist economic justice.
 - Each member writes their name on a post-it of the same colour and pastes it on the flip chart, indicating their role in the work. Place more central roles closer to the centre.
 - Repeat the process for:
 - Insiders (people within your organisation/community/movement).
 - Outsiders you are close to and on good terms with.
 - Outsiders you are not close to.
 - Outsiders you are not on good terms with.
 - Outsiders you know but who are not currently involved.
 - Outsiders you need but do not yet know (list names or functions).
 - Use markers to draw lines between people where connections exist.
- Groups present their maps in the plenary.
- Optional discussion questions:
 - How do we invite new people into the work?
 - How do we work around people who create blockages?
 - How do we boost progress?

References and Resources

- **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review** by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium, September 2022.
- Gender at Work website: <https://genderatwork.org/>
- Just Associates website: <https://justassociates.org/>
- Women-Headed Family Empowerment (PEKKA) Foundation: <http://mampu.bappenas.go.id/en/partners/pekka-yayasan-pemberdayaan-perempuan-kepala-keluarga-2/>
- **The Surprising Power of Liberating Structures: Simple Rules to Unleash A Culture of Innovation** by Henri Lipmanowicz and Keith McCandless, Liberating Structures Press, Seattle, WA (April 2014).

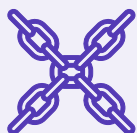
Tool 9

Feminist Economic Justice and Connection Points for Feminist Movement Building



Description

This tool helps participants identify and reflect on potential connection points around feminist economic justice for feminist movement building within their communities and organisations. It focuses on understanding how to leverage existing struggles, networks, and resources to strengthen feminist economic justice movements. Participants explore strategies for building alliances, amplifying voices, and creating sustainable structures for collective action.



Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Identify key connection points for feminist movement building in local and organisational contexts.
- Explore strategies for building alliances and amplifying marginalised voices.
- Reflect on the role of intersectionality in strengthening feminist movements.
- Develop actionable plans for integrating feminist economic justice into existing movements and initiatives.

When to Use This Tool

This tool is designed to be used after participants have engaged with foundational concepts of feminist economic justice (Tools 1–8). It is particularly useful for groups looking to translate their understanding of feminist economic justice into concrete actions and strategies for movement building. It can also be used when new members join a group or when different groups collaborate to align their efforts.

Background Information

What Are Connection Points for Feminist Movement Building?

Connection points are opportunities or spaces where feminist movements can intervene, grow, or strengthen their impact. In this tool we focus on such opportunities related to feminist economic justice. These can include:

- **Existing struggles:** Movements already addressing issues like labour rights, climate justice, or gender-based economic exploitation and discrimination.
- **Networks and alliances:** Partnerships with other organisations, communities, or movements that share similar goals.
- **Policy and advocacy:** Opportunities to influence legislation, public policy, or institutional practices.
- **Cultural and social spaces:** Platforms for raising awareness, shifting narratives, and challenging harmful norms.
- **Economic initiatives:** Projects that promote feminist economic alternatives, such as cooperatives or community-led enterprises.

Why Are Connection Points Important?

Feminist movement building requires strategic interventions that align with the realities of women's lives and the systems that oppress them. Identifying connection points allows movements to:

- Build on existing efforts rather than starting from scratch.
- Amplify the voices of marginalised women and communities.
- Create sustainable structures for long-term change.
- Foster solidarity and collective power across diverse groups.

Intersectionality and Movement Building

Intersectionality is central to feminist movement building. It recognises that women experience oppression differently based on their race, class, sexuality, ability, and other identities. Effective movement building must address these intersecting oppressions and ensure that the most marginalised voices are centred in strategies and actions.

How to Use This Tool

This tool is divided into four steps, each designed to help participants identify and reflect on entry points for feminist movement building. The steps include plenary discussions, group work, and individual reflection.

STEP 1

Plenary Discussion – Mapping Existing Struggles

Objective: Identify existing struggles and movements in participants' communities that align with feminist economic justice.

1. Begin with a brief introduction to the concept of entry points for movement building.
2. Ask participants to share examples of struggles or movements in their communities that address issues like:
 - Economic inequality
 - Gender-based violence
 - Climate justice
 - Labour rights
 - Access to healthcare and education
3. Write these examples on a flipchart or whiteboard.
4. Discuss how these struggles intersect with feminist economic justice. For example:
 - How do labour rights movements address gender inequality?
 - How do climate justice movements centre the voices of indigenous women?

Guiding Questions:

- What are the key issues being addressed by these struggles?
- Who is leading these movements, and whose voices are being amplified?
- How do these struggles align with the principles of feminist economic justice?

STEP 2

Group Work – Identifying Connection Points

Objective: Explore specific entry points for feminist movement building within the identified struggles.

1. Divide participants into small groups (4–6 people per group).
2. Assign each group one of the struggles identified in Step 1.
3. Ask groups to discuss and answer the following questions:
 - What are the strengths of this struggle or movement?
 - What gaps or challenges does it face?
 - How can feminist economic justice principles be integrated into this struggle?
 - What specific actions or strategies could strengthen this movement?
4. Groups should prepare a brief presentation of their findings.

Example:

If a group is discussing a labour rights movement, they might identify connection points such as:

- Advocating for equal pay and safe working conditions for women.
- Building alliances with feminist organisations to address gender-based violence in the workplace.
- Promoting women’s leadership within the movement.

Step 3

Individual Reflection – Amplifying Marginalised Voices

Objective: Reflect on how to centre the voices of marginalised women in movement building.

1. Ask participants to spend 5–10 minutes reflecting individually on the following questions:
 - Whose voices are often excluded or marginalised in

movements in your community?

- What barriers do these women face in participating in or leading movements?
- How can these barriers be addressed to ensure their voices are heard?

2. After the reflection, participants share their thoughts in pairs or small groups.

Guiding Questions:

- How can movements create inclusive spaces for marginalised women?
- What resources or support do these women need to participate fully?
- How can intersectionality be embedded in movement-building strategies?

STEP 4

Plenary – Developing Actionable Plans

Objective: Create actionable plans for integrating feminist economic justice into existing movements.

1. Reconvene in plenary and ask each group to present their findings from Step 2.
2. After all groups have presented, facilitate a discussion to identify common themes and opportunities for collaboration.
3. Work together to develop a collective action plan that includes:
 - Specific connection points for intervention.
 - Strategies for building alliances and amplifying marginalised voices.
 - Short-term and long-term goals for strengthening feminist movements.
4. Document the action plan and assign responsibilities for follow-up.

Example Action Plan:

- **Connection Point:** Labour rights movement.
- **Strategy:** Partner with feminist organisations to provide training on gender equality and leadership for women workers.
- **Goal:** Increase women's participation in decision-making roles within the movement within one year.

References and Resources

- **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review** by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium, September 2022.
- **Feminist Movement Building: A Framework** by Just Associates (JASS). Available at: <https://justassociates.org/>.
- **Intersectionality Resource Guide and Toolkit** by UN Women. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/>.

Theme 5: Neoliberalism, Climate Change, and Environmental Destruction

In these tools, users look at the system we are facing and what the implications of different understandings of this system are.



Tool 10: Neoliberalism, Climate Change, and Environmental Destruction



Tool 10

Neoliberalism, Climate Change, and Environmental Destruction



Description

This tool helps participants review, generate, and share definitions of neoliberalism and neoliberal capitalism. It analyses neoliberal institutions driving global warming and environmental destruction, highlighting their continuities with colonial histories. Participants are invited to reflect on whether these institutions will have any place in futures defined by feminist economic justice.

Intended Learning Experiences and Outcomes

- Review, generate, and share definitions of neoliberalism, anthropogenic global warming, environmental degradation, and feminist economic justice.
- Identify neoliberal institutions driving global warming and environmental degradation.
- Analyse these institutions in terms of their continuity with colonial pasts.
- Reflect on whether these institutions will have any role in future systems based on feminist economic justice.

When to Use This Tool

This tool is designed to build common understandings of the dominant system, laying the groundwork for shared visions of feminist economic justice. It can be used after participants have discussed the issues and struggles they are involved in (Tools 3 and 4) to focus on how neoliberal capitalism is the systemic root of many deep-seated problems affecting women.

Alternatively, it can be used at the start of a feminist popular education process to introduce the topic and set up visioning exercises around feminist economic justice.



Background Information

Neoliberal Capitalism

“Neoliberal capitalism is defined as a ‘mutually reinforcing set of economic and political institutions’—including the global economy, state economy, labour market, and corporate sector—that are unified by their support for the predominant role of market relations and market forces in regulating economic activity.”

– **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey**

Anthropogenic Global Warming

“It is unequivocal that human influence has warmed the atmosphere, ocean, and land since pre-industrial times. Combining evidence from across the climate system increases confidence in attributing observed climate change to human influence and reduces uncertainties associated with assessments based on single variables. Large-scale indicators of climate change in the atmosphere, ocean, cryosphere, and land surface show clear responses to human influence, consistent with model simulations and physical understanding.”

– **Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Sixth Assessment Report**

Environmental Degradation

“Environmental degradation is the deterioration of the environment through the depletion of natural resources such as water, soil, and air, as well as ecosystem destruction, habitat intrusion, wildlife extinction, and pollution. It represents an undesirable or harmful change in the environment.”

– **worldatlas.com**

Feminist Economic Justice

“A feminist economic justice approach prioritises human rights and challenges the prioritisation of profits over people. It envisions a world where humans live in balance with the ecological limits of nature, on which our collective survival depends. Economic rights and justice are deeply feminist issues, as building an economy that works for everyone—including those historically and traditionally left behind—benefits the vast majority of the world’s population.”

– **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey**

How to Use This Tool

STEP 1

Plenary

- Ask participants to share short explanations of:
 - Anthropogenic global warming
 - Environmental degradation
 - Neoliberal capitalism
- Assess whether further explanation of these concepts is needed, using brief presentations or videos. Emphasise the role of fossil fuels in driving global warming and extractive industries like mining in driving environmental degradation. Use the ‘Background Information’ section of this tool or alternative sources. This sets the stage for Step 2.

STEP 2

Group Work

- In groups of four, answer the question:

Which neoliberal institutions play a role in driving global warming and environmental degradation?

- Provide prompts if needed, such as:
 - Where does investment in fossil fuels and mining come from?
 - Who benefits most from these investments and how?
 - Which institutions provide security and protection to oil fields and mines?
 - Does the patriarchal family play a role in supporting extractive industries?
 - Which institutions make and enforce policies that drive global warming and environmental degradation?
 - What is the role of dominant political parties?

STEP 3

Plenary

- Groups report their lists to the plenary.
- Allow space for discussion to assess agreement on the list of institutions.
- If there are obvious omissions (e.g., the World Bank), ask participants if they think these should be included.
- Create a consolidated list on a flip chart.
- If time allows, discuss why these institutions act as they do.

STEP 4

Plenary

- Ask participants to reflect on the history of their society, particularly the development of capitalism and colonialism.
- Invite them to close their eyes for two minutes and visualise this history as if watching a film reel.
- Go through the list of institutions one by one, asking:

Did this institution arise in our society because of colonialism?

- You may not cover the entire list, but discussing key examples should illustrate how neoliberal capitalism continues colonial legacies.

STEP 5

Group Work

- In groups, discuss each institution, answering the question:

Will this institution have any role in future systems based on feminist economic justice?

- Allow time for discussion.

- If time is limited, focus on key institutions or assign different institutions to different groups.

STEP 6

Plenary

- Groups report back. Allow brief discussion to assess levels of agreement.
- Check if any institutions were identified as having a future role.
- Optional discussion question:

What will replace these institutions?

References and Resources

- **Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review** by Fatimah Kelleher and Katie Whipkey, commissioned by the Power Up! Consortium, September 2022.
- **Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change** by Eyring, V., et al. Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- “Definition of Environmental Degradation” by WorldAtlas on [worldatlas.com](https://www.worldatlas.com).