



The Green New Deal Without Growth as a New Environmental Strategy

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THE GREEN NEW DEAL WITHOUT GROWTH AS A NEW ENVIRONMENTAL STRATEGY

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Abstract

Degrowth and the green new deal are two very different environmental approaches in terms of the methods they apply. However, the common goal of both approaches is to provide a result in favor of society and ecology in economic, environmental and social issues. While early discussions focused on the contradictions between these two approaches, more recent studies have emphasized that the two approaches can be applied together. When these two approaches are combined in a common strategy, a more effective approach will emerge in solving economic, environmental and social problems by covering each other's limitations. The green new deal without growth approach has emerged as a result of these efforts. In this study, degrowth and the green new deal are first introduced separately, and these approaches' advantages and disadvantages are evaluated in this context. In the next stage of the study, the green new order without growth is discussed. It is concluded that this approach may be a more effective way to solve problems such as climate change and income inequality. The last part of the study includes the example of victory gardens, which are embraced by both degrowth and the green new deal. Victory gardens are an example of how these two approaches can converge.

Keywords: Green New Deal, Degrowth, Victory Gardens

Jel Codes: Q54, Q56, Q58

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YENİ BİR ÇEVRE STRATEJİSİ OLARAK BÜYÜMESİZ YEŞİL YENİ DÜZEN

Öz

Küçülme ve Yeşil Yeni Düzen uyguladıkları yöntemler bakımından birbirinden oldukça farklı iki çevreci yaklaşımdır. Ancak iki yaklaşımın da ortak amacı ekonomik, çevresel ve sosyal konularda toplum ve ekoloji lehine bir sonuç alınmasını sağlamaktır. Yapılan ilk dönem tartışmalarda bu iki yaklaşımın birbiriyle olan zıtlıklarına yoğunlaşılırken daha güncel çalışmalarda ise iki yaklaşımın beraber de uygulanabileceği vurgulanmıştır. Bu iki yaklaşım ortak bir strateji de birleştğinde birbirinin eksikliklerini kapatarak ekonomik, çevresel ve sosyal sorunların çözümünde daha etkin bir yaklaşım ortaya çıkacaktır. Büyümesiz yeşil yeni düzen yaklaşımı bu çabaların sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmada öncelikle küçülme ve yeşil yeni düzen ayrı ayrı ele alınarak bu yaklaşımlar tanıtılmıştır ve bu yaklaşımların avantajları ve dezavantajları yine bu kapsamda değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonraki aşamasında ise büyümesiz yeşil yeni düzen ele alınmıştır. İklim değişikliği ve gelir eşitsizliği gibi sorunların çözümünde bu yaklaşımın daha etkili bir yol olabileceği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Çalışmanın son bölümünde ise hem küçülme hem de yeşil yeni düzen tarafından sahiplenilen zafer bahçeleri örneği yer almaktadır. Zafer bahçeleri bu iki yaklaşımın birbirine yakınsayabileceğini gösteren bir örnektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeşil Yeni Düzen, Küçülme, Zafer Bahçeleri, Büyüme, Çevre

Jel Kodları: Q54, Q56, Q58

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

With the start of the 21st century, social, economic and environmental crises have become more pronounced. Many approaches have emerged to respond effectively to these crises. The first of these approaches, degrowth, offers more radical solutions to these problems than other approaches. Although the intellectual roots of this approach go back to the 1970s, the degrowth approach actually gained strength in the early 2000s. According to the degrowth approach, economic activities should be reorganized to be within environmental limits. Because unlimited economic growth, which leads to excessive consumption of resources, is not accepted by the degrowth approach. This kind of production also leads to environmental pollution and increased carbon emissions. Proponents of the degrowth approach also blame developed countries for the overconsumption of resources. Developed countries have triggered the current environmental crisis by producing beyond ecological and environmental limits. They are also responsible for the growth of social and economic inequality. Therefore, these countries should take more responsibility in tackling the problems faced. The welfare of underdeveloped countries should be increased and people living in these countries should have a decent life.

Another approach that has come to the fore after degrowth is the green new deal. The green new deal approach was inspired by the New Deal that was put in place by US executives after the Great Depression of 1929 to respond to this crisis. In the New Deal, the crisis, which affected many sectors, was intervened with public instruments and aimed to reduce unemployment and revitalize the economy. Just like the New Deal, the green new deal is also based on public intervention. Since the most fundamental problems of our time are climate change and social injustices, public instruments should be used to solve these problems. This is why the renewable energy sector is key in the green new deal. This is because the renewable energy sector will lead to high employment rates while at the same time reducing fossil fuel consumption, which is the cause of climate change. Various versions of the green new order have been implemented in some countries, such as the European Green Deal and the Korean Green New Deal.

As can be seen, these two approaches offer different solutions to similar problems. Nevertheless, the proponents of these approaches have severely criticized the other approaches. Proponents of the degrowth approach see the green new deal as a green dream, whereas proponents of the green deal see the degrowth approach as lacking a solid strategy. There have been many debates between proponents of degrowth and proponents of the green new deal along these lines. However, these debates are generally far from contributing to the solution of the problems. Therefore, a new approach has emerged that focuses on the common aspects of these two important environmental approaches instead of their irreconcilable aspects and can be considered as a middle ground between the two approaches. This approach is called the green new deal without growth in the literature. By complementing the deficiencies of the two different approaches, the green new deal without growth will be a more powerful approach in combating climate change and ensuring social justice.

Victory gardens are a practice embraced by both the green new deal and degrowth. It first found a chance to be implemented after the First World War and then came to the agenda again during the Great Depression and the Second World War. On the one hand, this practice helps to combat urban poverty, and on the other hand, it contributes to the fight against climate change. The spread of practices such as victory gardens will increase the likelihood of success of the green new green deal without growth.

1. Introduction

The degrowth approach offers more radical environmental proposals than green growth and green new deal (GND) strategies. For environmental sustainability and a fairer society, this approach proposes to replace the current economic system with a new economic structure and social relations in which production and property relations change. On the other hand at the center of the GND strategy is the fossil fuel industry, which is seen as the main cause of the climate crisis. GND recognizes that in order to solve environmental and socio-economic problems, the fossil fuel industry needs to be replaced by a new industry based on clean and renewable energy and that energy efficiency investments are needed. According to this approach, investments in the transition to clean and renewable energy will also lead to higher employment levels and reduce social injustices.

Proponents of these two approaches disagree on many issues such as economic growth, limiting energy and material flows and consumption. However, a number of recent studies have shown that they may have contradictions as well as commonalities. GND without growth or degrowth GND is a strategy that supports these approaches and shows that a middle ground can be found between them. In addition, victory gardening can be one of the projects that can be used to implement degrowth and GND together, as it is a practice that can be mobilized both with the guidance of the state, as seen in past experiences, and with the dynamics of communities themselves, as seen in the examples of urban gardening.

2. Degrowth and Its Place in Other Approaches

In the 2000s, many ideas and proposals focusing on ecological, social and financial issues emerged. After the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, these proposals and ideas started to be discussed more at the academic level. Various authors have used different methods to categorize these ideas. In a study by Olivia Bina, these ideas are categorized into three groups. The first group includes "almost business as usual". This category proposes a solution based on economic growth with green components and Keynesian elements to mitigate the financial impact of the crisis. The second category is called "greening". This category introduces some innovations such as efficiency in resource consumption, low carbon consumption and efficient growth that will help the economy evolve into a greener form. GND plans are a concrete example of this category. The last category is "all change". The ideas in this category are more radical than the others and are characterized by criticism of capitalism and growth. In Bina's classification, degrowth, is included in the "everything changes" category along with steady state economics² (Bina, 2013, pp.1028-1029).

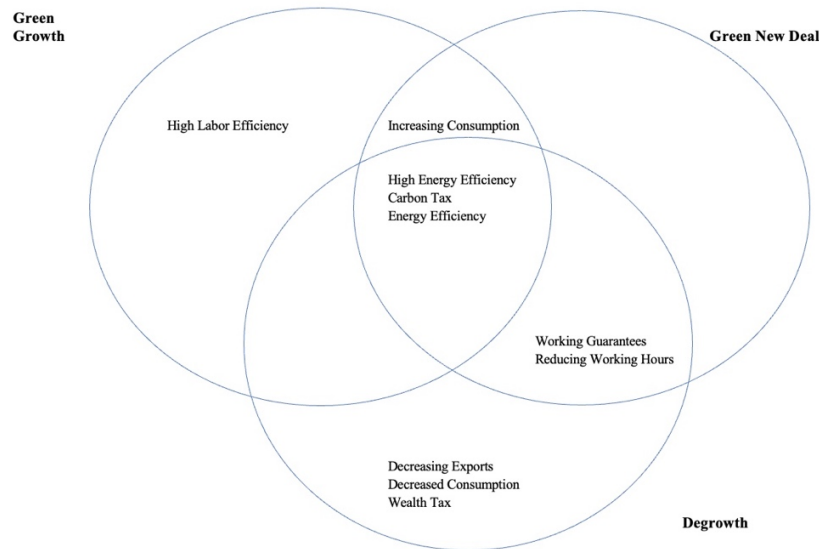
Degrowth opposes the idea of green growth and green economy and the growth desired by these ideas. It also challenges dominant paradigms in the social sciences such as Neo-Liberalism and Keynesianism, even if degrowth is not a paradigm with universally accepted successes (Demaria et al., 2013, p.193). Although degrowth

² Steady state economics refers to an economy in which a high degree of space is left for human well-being and nature, and in which population growth and energy flows conform to the biological and physical limits of the planet. Developed by Herman Daly, this idea has its roots in the work of thinkers such as Adam Smith, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Malthus and Joseph Schumpeter. However, Daly takes Mill's normative views as his inspiration, not Smith and Malthus' pessimistic views on growth and population. According to Mill, while growth has limits, prosperity has no limits. When growth reaches its limits, a Steady State will emerge, which will lead to a noticeable improvement in the existing human condition. Source: Kerschner, 2010 and Czech, 2006

advocates criticize orthodox economics, they share some common ground with the green form of Keynesianism (Bina, 2013, p.1029).

In another classification, D'Alessandro et al. present the green growth, green growth and degrowth approaches with the help of a model. According to this classification, as can be seen in the figure below, it is seen that these approaches reveal a similar structure in terms of transition to renewable energy, energy efficiency and carbon tax. However, degrowth differs from other approaches in that it advocates a contraction in production and consumption (O'Neill, 2020).

Figure 1: A classification of environmental approaches



Resource: O'Neill, 2020

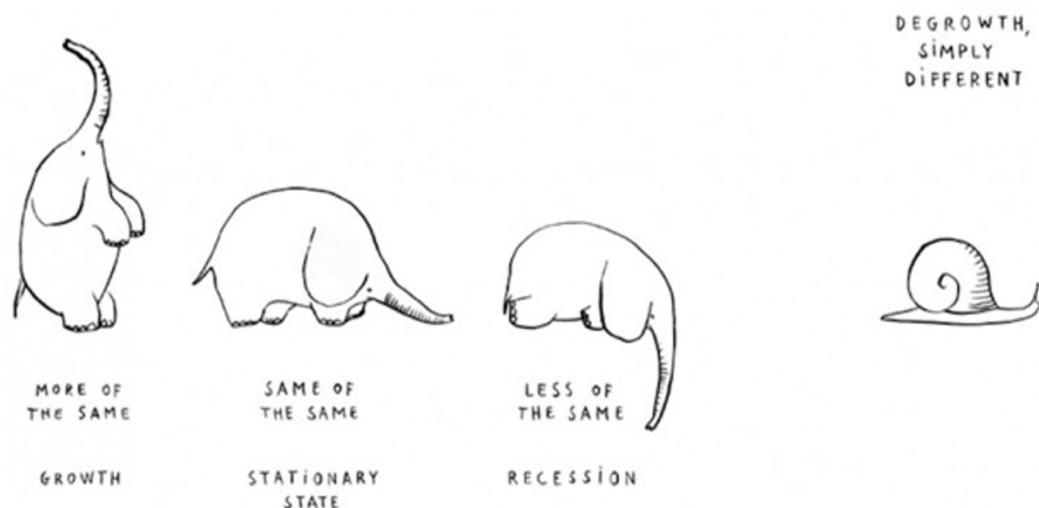
Max Ajl, like the previously mentioned approaches, states that there are three different progressive green approaches. The first one is similar to what Bina categorizes as "almost business as usual" and D'Alessandro et al. as green growth, and takes a liberal-left approach. This approach envisages a transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy, while capitalist relations of production and social property relations continue as before in a greener form. The second approach is social democratic and egalitarian and includes GND plans. This approach involves modernizing infrastructure for a green transition in rich central countries and state aid to poor peripheral countries. The third approach includes degrowth-like approaches but is more socially just. In this approach, social infrastructures are provided free of charge to all social segments, limiting market dependence on these services. In addition, the objectives of this approach include energy efficiency and more limited use of energy, and creating a fairer world order by transferring technology to poor environmental countries (Ajl, 2020).

As can be understood from the above classifications, degrowth exhibits a more radical³ structure than other ecological approaches. Degrowth is an approach in which the social structure, economy and human-nature relations are reorganized, and is defined as an economic and political idea in which resource consumption is

³ Although degrowth offers more inclusive solutions, especially on social issues, compared to other approaches, the fact that it does not criticize the market economy leads to comments that degrowth is not a radical idea "enough" since capitalist relations continue in a degrowth society. Source: Koyuncu ve Özar, 2017

reduced and society is organized differently from today. The structure of the degrowth society includes a set of concepts such as sharing, simplicity, conviviality⁴⁵, care, common goods, job sharing, employment guarantee and guaranteed wages, which form an alternative model to the current system. Degrowth proposes not only to reduce the current amount of production and consumption but also to change these patterns by limiting the flow of materials and energy. Degrowth authors explain this with the metaphor of the elephant (Image 1). The important thing is not to weaken the elephant but to turn it into a snail. In other words, the metabolism of a downsizing society should have a new structure with new functions (D'Alisa, Demaria, & Kallis, 2020, pp.21-22).

Image 1: Elephant and snail metaphor



Resource: Degrowth, 2022

Degrowth first emerged in the 1970s under the leadership of thinkers such as André Gorz and Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen. In this period, N. Georgescu-Roegen adapted the theory of thermodynamics used in engineering to economics and stated that economic activities would reach their limits in the long run because they did not comply with the laws of nature (Kallis, et al, 2018, p.292). Andre Gorz, on the other hand, argued that Georgescu-Roegen's work was ecologically valid and stated that even if growth was neutral, resources would be depleted due to consumption (Muraca, 2013, p.149). In the same years, a report was prepared by the Club of Rome. In this report titled *Limits to Growth*, it was stated that unlimited growth is not possible in an environment where resources are limited (Tienhaara, 2018, p.9).

The intensity of these rich debates on degrowth in the 1970s has decreased over the years. However, since the 2000s, degrowth has found ground again at the intellectual level. Some studies suggest that degrowth was truly born in the early 2000s with the *décroissance* movement in France (Muraca, 2013, p.150). The Degrowth

⁴ Conviviality or convivial society is an idea discussed by Ivan Illich. In capitalist society, the individual is under the domination of technology, means of production and bureaucracy. In a convivial society, the individual is freed from this oppression and develops freer and more creative relationships with other individuals. Source: Turgut, 2014, p.147

⁵ According to Marco Deriu, "A vehicle is convivial if it can be easily used and adapted for a purpose of the individual's choosing and if it serves to enhance freedom, autonomy and human creativity." The bicycle is a good example of a convivial vehicle. Source: Deriu, 2020, p.126

Conference⁶ held in Paris in 2008 made this idea more widespread in the academic environment (Demaria et al. 2013, p.195).

In this conference, it was determined that increased production, consumption, and investment activities due to economic growth cause overuse of natural resources and environmental pollution. The certain outcome of this economic system, in which economic activities are predominantly carried out by developed countries across global borders and income is not distributed fairly, will be ecological and economic destruction, with low-income groups being affected. In order to avoid such destruction, the economic growth of countries with high levels of prosperity should be reduced to sustainable levels, while the consumption amounts of societies facing poverty should be increased in a sustainable manner to ensure that these societies reach a dignified life.

For these goals to be successful, degrowth, which is defined as a voluntary, fair, participatory, and ecologically sustainable approach, should be implemented. The global economy must be reduced to a sustainable level. Then, after solving the socio-economic problems that arise as a result of unfair economic growth, the continuity of steady-state economics, in which economic activities remain at a certain level, should be essential (Research and Degrowth, 2010). This conference in 2008 was followed by many other international conferences. Degrowth is now seen as a globally recognized ecological approach (Demaria et al., 2013, p.195).

Criticism of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)⁷⁸ plays an important role in differentiating the degrowth approach from other approaches. Increased growth and higher incomes do not necessarily translate into increased welfare and happiness. Increased growth is not only due to value creation but also as a result of commercial activities and financial flows. Although this has a positive impact on growth, it does not ultimately affect social welfare. In addition, women's domestic labor is not used in growth calculations. This devalues women's labor and prevents growth calculations from being deep enough for women. On the other hand, putting growth at the center of economic policies causes many problems such as climate change, decline in ecological diversity and deforestation. These problems are not reflected negatively in growth (Victor, 2020, p.165).

⁶ The Paris Conference in 2008 was the first time the term degrowth was used. Source: Demaria et al., 2013

⁷ Simon Kuznets developed the Gross National Product (GNP) as a measure of national accounts in the 1930s. GNP was used to measure growth for many years - until the GDP became more widely used. Even though this calculation was developed by Kuznets, it has been subject to various criticisms by Kuznets himself. Among the criticisms made by Kuznets are that growth is not a unit of measurement of national wealth and that it is not known what the consequences and costs of growth will be in the short and long run. These criticisms made by Kuznets were ignored at the time they were made. Source: Raworth, 2019, p.58

⁸ Various empirical studies have also contributed to the criticism of GDP in the downsizing approach. According to a study, in addition to the transition to renewable energy, the slowdown in economic growth in 18 developed countries has also contributed to the decline in carbon emissions. Downsizing advocates therefore argue for a slowdown and then a complete halt in growth in order to achieve the zero-carbon target Source: Mastini et al, 2020, p.3

Although the idea of degrowth is opposed to growth, the development⁹ of sectors such as education, health and energy (the word development is preferred to growth, as development refers to qualitative rather than quantitative changes) is emphasized. Non-productive sectors such as finance and heavy industry will shrink¹⁰ (D'Alisa, Demaria and Kallis, 2020).

Care is one of the elements at the center of degrowth thinking. According to degrowth advocates, a great deal of labor goes into the satisfactory maintenance and reproduction of human relationships. However, the labor directed towards care is devalued and not taken into account (e.g. a woman takes care of childcare and housework at home, but this is not reflected in national accounts) (D'Alisa, Deriu, & Demaria, 2020, p.105). The reshaping of society to put care at the center would lead to gender equality through the sharing of care labor, enabling people to work less and spend more time with themselves and their loved ones. This will encourage increased employment by shortening working hours and encouraging job sharing. In addition, caring for others will enable people to know themselves better mentally and physically (D'Alisa, Deriu, & Demaria, 2020, p.105).

Other phenomena underlying the idea of degrowth are nature and society. The services provided are generally voluntary and collective. Degrowth is aimed at preventing commodification, reclaiming common goods, individual participation in governance and individual autonomy. Festivity is therefore the character of degrowth society. The simplicity of the production processes and the products produced will enable all individuals to participate in and comprehend these processes. In a degrowth society there is a more limited state and market institution (without giant bureaucratic structures and large capitalist corporations). The state is needed to increase employment, to use its power to print money and to create the financial means to implement the degrowth idea. The state should also be part of the process in creating a new tax system, stopping new infrastructure investments, as well as limiting the flow of energy and materials (D'Alisa, Demaria, & Kallis, 2020).

Three methods come to the fore in financing degrowth. Public spending should be transferred from inefficient and polluting areas to areas with positive environmental and social impacts. Progressive taxation, which is also advocated by some Green Keynesian authors, i.e. taxing the wealthy more, is also on the agenda in degrowth. These taxes would be useful in reducing carbon emissions and building a fairer social structure. Finally, in order to prevent public debt, which is one of the reasons why the state needs economic growth, it is suggested that money should cease to be a commodity. Thus, the state can create money without debt (Mastini et al. 2020, p.6).

3. Green New Deal

Green Keynesianism is a very recent approach that has emerged in response to environmental, economic and social crises. This approach aims to solve these complex and intertwined problems by implementing publicly-

⁹Another view supporting the degrowth approach argues that it is difficult for some sectors to grow while others shrink because it is not possible to isolate certain industries in economic growth. Source: Mastini et al. 2020, p.5

¹⁰ According to Ajl, while growth is severely criticized in the degrowth approach, the capitalist system of accumulation, which leads to deepening inequalities, is mostly left uncriticized. The need for growth in some sectors in the degrowth approach is overlooked in some studies. These sectors include agro-ecology, which refers to a more ecologically sustainable agricultural sector, advanced public transportation based on extensive networks that make private cars less of a necessity, health and renewable energy. However, the author advocates not only the downsizing of heavy industry, chemicals and non-clean energy sectors, but also the complete cessation of production in these sectors (Ajl, 2020).

led policies such as switching to renewable energy and increasing employment. Green Keynesianism has its roots in the New Deal plan put in place by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The New Deal was a plan developed in response to the Great Depression that started in 1929. The Great Depression left millions of people unemployed and the economy was deteriorating day by day. The New Deal plan increased public expenditures and created public jobs to employ those who lost their jobs due to the crisis. In addition to its social and economic aspects, the New Deal also has an environmental aspect. In the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), one of the programs implemented within the scope of the New Deal, people especially from young age groups were employed, while their participation in environmental activities such as tree planting was ensured (Harris, 2019-a, p.2). Another example is the Tennessee Valley Authority program, which achieved many economic, social and environmental goals, including dam construction, agriculture, flood control, renewable energy and employment (Fishback, 2016, p.84).

There are many strategies that can be considered within the scope of Green Keynesianism. After the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, short-term green incentives implemented for the rapid recovery of the economy are one of these strategies. The most well-known strategy that can be evaluated in the context of Green Keynesianism is the GND. According to Cato, GND is the most prominent Keynesian strategy developed in response to the economic crisis (Cato, 2013, p.18). The term "GND" was first used by Thomas Friedman (2007). This strategy has been used frequently in academic discussions in the following period and many drafts have emerged in the crisis environment in 2008, which adopted the strategy of the GND. These include the draft Green New Deal (2008) by the Green New Deal Group (GNDG), a working group of the New Economic Foundation, a UK-based foundation, and the proposal for a Green New Deal for Europe (2009) by the European Greens. After these examples, interest in GND has started to wane, although studies on GND continue to be conducted at the academic level. However, the American GND (2019) prepared by Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez and Ed Markey, the European Green Deal (2019) adopted by the European Commission under the Chairmanship of Ursula Von Der Leyen, and the Korean GND (2020) prepared by the Korean Government are recent GND strategies and show that the interest in GND has started to increase again in recent years.

While there are slight differences in the Green Keynesian GND plans, these strategies are in many ways consistent with each other. According to Chomsky and Pollin, the primary goal of a GND strategy should be net zero carbon at the global level. In order to achieve this, a certain amount of resources should be invested every year and this target should be realized by 2050. The priority investment areas for achieving this goal are renewable energy and energy efficiency sectors. The socioeconomic issues deepened by the climate crisis are at least as important as the zero carbon target. Therefore, tackling the social problems that the green transition may cause is important, but it does not end there. The authors argue that instead of a growth¹¹ that deepens inequalities, a sustainable, inclusive and more equitable growth approach should prevail. In this way, large masses of people at

¹¹Green Keynesians agree with downsizing advocates that the known growth model has come to an end. Ecological and financial limits make it impossible for the current economy to grow. However, Green Keynesianism argues for the continuity of growth and prosperity by developing green and sustainable technologies instead. In addition to the transition to a green and sustainable economy, Green Keynesianism argues that employment should be increased to ensure social justice. Source: Harris, 2013

the global level will be employed in green and dignified jobs while receiving a larger share of the prosperity generated by the green transition (Chomsky and Pollin, 2021, p.15.).

Harris agrees with Chomsky and Pollin (2021) on the need for a renewable energy transition and energy efficiency. He states that increasing employment can be achieved not only in energy-related areas but also by changing all infrastructures, including water, waste and transportation infrastructure. In addition to these areas, Harris considers the conservation and rehabilitation of forests and wetlands, which can be considered as natural carbon stores, as well as the transition to sustainable agriculture and soil restoration among the goals of GND (Harris, 2019-a, p.4-5).

In terms of GND, it will not be easy to achieve targets such as transition to renewable energy and energy efficiency. In order to achieve this, large amounts of resources¹²¹³ need to be invested. For this purpose, Green Keynesians want to realize this goal by using various public-led methods. The first of these methods is to stop fossil fuel subsidies. Stopping fossil fuel subsidies would have two distinct benefits. First, the transfer of resources to polluting industries will stop, and second, the resources used for these industries will remain in the state treasury. The state would then be able to use this revenue for environmental projects or social purposes. The second method is a carbon tax on the transportation, heating and energy sectors. A carbon tax would also create a disincentive to the use of fossil fuels while generating additional revenue for the state. The third method is publicly-led green bonds. Green bonds are seen as an important tool for solving the resource problems faced by less developed countries due to excessive debt and for financing environmental projects. The last method is transfers from military expenditures. Military expenditures are generally not favored by Green Keynesians because they are inefficient and increase carbon emissions. Therefore, it is suggested to allocate resources from these expenditures to the fight against the climate crisis (Chomsky and Pollin, 2021, pp.130-134).

There are other proposals for financing GND discussed by various authors. For example, in his proposal for a People's GND, Ajl (2020) states that the defense industry and therefore military spending should stop completely. In this way, the state would indirectly generate additional revenue. Cato (2013) states that various taxes can be used to reduce energy intensity in production and consumption. Thus, people will stop consuming goods/services that they do not really need. Finally, for the financing of a Green Keynesianism to be implemented at the global level, there is also a proposal for a tax similar to the Tobin Tax, which is applied to capital movements that cause further impoverishment of low-welfare societies and regions and limits these movements (Türel, 2021, p.243).

¹² As seen in the previous section, there is an idea that public expenditures should be used to finance degrowth economics. However, proponents of degrowth economics (Mastini et al. 2020, p.6) criticize the use of public expenditures predominantly in GND strategies. This is because public spending in a GND strategy will lead to an increase in public debt. In order to finance these debts, the state has to stimulate economic growth. An increase in the quality of life through economic growth may push the average wage earner to consume more. This would create an ecologically paradoxical situation. However, as the Green Keynesian authors (Pollin, 2021) have shown, when public spending is reprioritized for environmental issues (e.g. transfers from military spending), GND strategies can be successful without an increase in public debt.

¹³ On the other hand, proponents of YYD argue that a YYD strategy can achieve economic growth without creating ecological problems, without welfare losses and without a significant decline in consumption. Source: Harris, 2019-b, p.16

4. GND Without Growth as a Common Strategy

While Green Keynesianism and degrowth are similar in their criticism of growth and the promotion of employment, they differ in many respects. For example, growth based on fossil fuel consumption is criticized in both approaches. Therefore, the oil market¹⁴ will shrink in both views. Green Keynesianism supports R&D activities to develop renewable energy technologies instead of fossil fuels. In other words, the shrinking fossil energy industry will be replaced by a green and clean growth model where energy flows will continue (Pollin, 2018). However, this is seen as one of the questionable issues by the degrowth approach. According to the degrowth approach, renewable energy is far from having the potential to provide the energy needed for economic growth on its own. In the transition to renewable energy, how much renewable energy supply and energy efficiency can be increased and how much energy will be spent for the power plants to be built for renewable energy generation are important issues. On the other hand, intensive mining activities are carried out for renewable energy production. According to some calculations, the materials used in renewable energy production are 10 times more than the materials needed for fossil fuel production. The future of natural resources will be jeopardized as a result of mining for the expansion of renewable energy, environmental pollution will occur due to these activities, and the struggles to own these mines will lead to undesirable ecological and social consequences (Mastini et al. 2020, p.5).

While the criticisms made by proponents of the degrowth approach against the transition to renewable energy and energy efficiency, which are at the heart of the GND strategy, are considered unfounded by Pollin, Pollin also brings some criticisms to the degrowth approach. According to Pollin - as acknowledged by some degrowth authors - degrowth has not yet developed a strong climate strategy for reducing carbon emissions. Another criticism is related to the welfare loss that degrowth will cause. According to this criticism, a contraction in GDP in order to reduce emissions will cause large losses in employment. There are examples of this in times of crisis. Moreover, as can be seen in the examples of developed countries such as Japan, there has been no significant reduction in emissions despite the contraction in GDP (Pollin, 2018, p.317). Since fossil fuels are primarily responsible for the climate crisis, what needs to be done is to reduce fossil fuel consumption. Since fossil fuels are spread to every stage of the economy, abandoning these fuels without finding alternatives to these fuels will actually cause another economic and social crisis. Therefore, the priority should be to develop clean energy alternatives. Various examples, including some countries such as Germany and the United Kingdom, show that economic growth can be achieved without increasing carbon emissions. A growth decoupled from fossil fuels can also be used to build a fairer economy (Pollin, 2018).

¹⁴ Petroleum Market: It refers to the market consisting of the supply and sale of petroleum, refining, processing, storage, transmission, delivery, transportation, distribution, dealership, use and related works and transactions. Kaynak: Petrol Piyasasında Uygulanacak Teknik Kriterler Hakkında Yönetmelik, Resmî Gazete Tarihi: 10.09.2004 Resmî Gazete Sayısı: 25579

Although there are disagreements¹⁵ and mutual criticisms between the degrowth approach and the GND, as in the case of economic growth¹⁶, it is also seen that there is a consensus on many issues between these two approaches. It is recognized by various authors that these two approaches have the potential to complement each other with names such as GND without growth or degrowth GND. According to Ajl, although these approaches seem to be different from each other, with some modifications, these approaches will resemble each other. For example, an increase in social expenditures and the amount of grants to neighboring countries in a GND bill will make this GND similar to degrowth-style approaches (Ajl, 2020). Green Keynesian author Jonathan Harris does not completely reject the degrowth approach, arguing that there can be a middle ground between growth and degrowth. According to Harris, overall energy use should be reduced according to a specific plan and the share of renewable energy in current energy consumption should be increased. Thus, a strategy where the two approaches can compromise on energy will emerge (Harris, 2019-b, p.13).

Among the issues that these two approaches agree on is that energy should be under state control and the power over energy investments should lie with the public. In terms of democratic control, public ownership should be expanded in many areas, not only in energy. The just transition proposal (see Pollin, 2018), which aims to ensure that workers can find jobs in clean energy sectors without losing welfare due to the energy transition, is also adopted in the degrowth approach. In the degrowth approach, workers are at the center of this transition to prevent social alienation and provide democratic control and participation in the decisions taken. The worker-controlled production system will spread to other industries over time. Achieving full employment, another important issue for labor, is the focus of Green Keynesian strategies. In the degrowth approach, the expansion of jobs that serve the environment and social causes and the achievement of full employment and job guarantees have an important place (Mastini et al. 2020, p.7).

5. Victory Gardens

In 1917, the US government established the National War Garden Commission to address the growing need for food during the First World War and to control rising food prices. This commission aimed to mobilize the public for food production on vacant land and to educate them about other agricultural processes, including food production. In addition to the posters seen in Figure 2, brochures¹⁷ and pamphlets were printed to encourage the public. Thanks to the production in the so-called victory gardens, agricultural output increased from 350 million

¹⁵ It should be noted that the two approaches are far apart in methodology and objectives. For example, in Green Keynesianism, the presence and guidance of the state characterizes this approach, whereas in the degrowth approach there is a social structure organized from below, such as autonomy. Author's note.

¹⁶ Economic growth is a phenomenon that has been the focus of criticism in the degrowth approach, as it leads to an increase in energy and material use, which will deepen environmental problems. On the other hand, there is an assumption - somewhat based on Pollin's ideas - that the idea of GND is to spread economic growth throughout the economy. GND economic growth is seen as a tool for achieving a green transition and reducing social inequalities. While this criticism by proponents of the degrowth approach may be true for some NGP proposals, Green Keynesian authors such as Jonathan Harris argue that the economy as a whole should not grow, but should grow in employment-enhancing and carbon-neutral sectors such as the clean and renewable energy industry, education and health, while industries that increase carbon emissions, such as chemicals and heavy industry, should shrink (Harris, 2013).

¹⁷ For an example of the victory gardens manual prepared by the United States Department of Agriculture during the Second World War <https://www.greenprophet.com/wp-content/uploads/Victory-Garden-Handbook.pdf> ve <https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Documents/services-ag4.pdf>

dollars in 1917 to 525 million dollars in 1918. The end of the war led to a decline in interest in these gardens (Hermann, 2015, p.648).

The onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s led to the emergence of relief gardens. Individuals experiencing financial problems due to the economic crisis relaxed physically and mentally by working in these gardens (Hermann, 2015, p. 648). At the same time, agricultural programs under the New Deal plan aimed to reorganize US agriculture and maintain the strong position of agriculture in the economy (Rasmussen, 1983, p. 354).

Later, the outbreak of the Second World War made the idea of victory gardens popular again. The National Victory Gardens Program prepared by the American War Food Administration was more successful than its predecessors, both in institutional terms and in terms of its results. In fact, in 1944, about 40% of the US agricultural products were produced through these victory gardens, and about 20 million families participated in their production (Hermann, 2015, pp.648-649).

Image 2: Victory Gardens Poster.



Resource: Przybyłek, 2020.

The climate crisis, financial crises and pandemics, as well as widespread unemployment and access to food, have brought victory gardens (urban gardens) back to the agenda in many countries (Hall, 2020; Steinhauer, 2020). Increasing urban food production can be a measure against possible food crises. Production in cities is considered a more environmentally friendly method as it reduces the consumption of fossil fuels used in the production process, transportation of products to cities and transportation of products to markets. This will help reduce problems such as climate change (Anguelovski, 2020, p.271).

Victory gardens have a place in both the degrowth idea and the GND plan and can be seen as a project that will bring these two approaches closer together. In the past, in an extraordinary situation such as war, victory gardens became widespread with the active support of the society under the guidance of the state and successful

results were obtained. Now, "climate victory gardens" against global warming, pandemics, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, problems in food supply and health problems such as obesity are discussed within the scope of GND (Green America, 2019). Bernie Sanders' proposal for GND calls for a victory garden initiative to provide consumers with access to local markets and healthy food (Galvin and Healy, 2020, p.5).

The idea of degrowth embraces victory gardens or the practice of urban gardening as a way to combat climate change and other environmental problems, as well as to provide cheap and fresh produce to the urban poor. In addition, victory gardening fosters feelings of autonomy, simplicity, self-respect, cooperation and solidarity. These characteristics, which are not related to income or economic growth, will make a person a healthier individual (Anguelosvski, 2020, p.269).

Considering the magnitude of environmental problems such as global warming, it is thought that the practice of victory gardens alone will not be sufficient for either environmental struggle or access to food. As in the New Deal, agricultural policies must be reshaped and the carbon footprint of large agricultural companies must be reduced. The effort for victory gardens is especially important for individuals to be healthier both physically and mentally, and to have access to quality and cheap low-carbon food (Day, 2019).

6. Conclusion

GND and degrowth are two different approaches that have been discussed more frequently in recent years. These two approaches bring a new perspective and offer various suggestions for solving socio-economic issues as well as environmental problems. From this point of view, the aim of the two approaches can be considered to be the same. However, the methods proposed by these two approaches to achieve the desired goals are quite different. The degrowth approach is a more radical approach than the GND, and it criticizes economic growth. According to the degrowth approach, the world's resources are limited, but since the dominant economic understanding is based on unlimited growth, these limited resources of the world are rapidly depleting. On the one hand, this situation leads to the depletion of the resources of future generations, and on the other hand, it causes carbon emissions and many other kinds of pollution. This growth approach is also an unequal growth model that opens the welfare gap between developed and less developed countries. Therefore, this growth approach should be abandoned as soon as possible, and a sustainable production model should be implemented within the environmental-ecological limits of the world.

Proponents of GND argue that the growth approach based on fossil fuels is not sustainable. With the transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy, the idea that environmental and socio-economic problems can be solved without the need for economic degrowth is supported. So in fact, the only industry that needs to shrink in GND is the fossil fuel industry. On the other hand, the renewable energy industry will continue to grow. For this approach, employment is as important as the transition to renewable energy. In addition to the increase in employment that renewable energy will provide, it is aimed to increase employment in carbon-neutral industries such as education and health.

In the early discussions, it can be concluded that these two approaches are completely separate from each other intellectually. However, recent studies show that there are many similarities between these two ideas and that when combined, these two approaches can make up for each other. Applying these two approaches

together can make a significant contribution to solving the ecological crisis while guiding an economy where growth is limited to certain sectors and creating a more concrete and feasible plan for solving the climate crisis within a certain timetable. Combining these two approaches will also lead to more effective policies on socio-economic issues such as social solidarity and fair income distribution.

Since the practice of victory gardens is embraced by both approaches, it can be considered as one of the common points for both approaches. The emergence of victory gardens was state-guided. It is seen that victory gardens were also practiced in the 1930s, when the intellectual roots of the GND were laid. Today, this approach is coming back to the agenda within the scope of GND with names such as climate victory gardens against the climate crisis. Degrowth, on the other hand, adopts this approach not only for the solution of the climate crisis but also for the environment, localism, strengthening social relations and fighting poverty. The spread of practices such as victory gardens will strengthen the social aspect of GND and make GND and degrowth more compatible.

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