



WoMin Five Year Strategy (2020-2024)



WoMin's vision is of an Africa in which all women have secure access to the resources they, their families and communities need for life and livelihood, and an Africa in which all women can exercise full control over their bodies and development choices.

WoMin's mission is to build women's movements to challenge destructive extractivism and propose development alternatives that respond to the needs of the majority of African women.



1. Background and context



WoMin, launched in October 2013, is an African ecofeminist alliance which works alongside organisations of women, peasants and mining-impacted communities, and in partnership with other sympathetic organisations, to make visible and publicise the impacts of extractives on peasant and working-class women; to support women’s organising, movement-building and solidarity; and to advance, in alliance with numerous others, an African post-extractivist, ecologically just, women-centred alternative to the dominant destructive model of development.

WoMin’s political standpoint which guides its analysis and work, is that extractivism¹ has very particular impacts upon the bodies, labour, livelihoods and lives of peasant and working-class women in the Global South and increasingly also the Global North. This provides the rationale for WoMin’s existence and efforts.

WoMin’s **vision** is of an Africa in which all women have secure access to the resources they, their families and communities need for life and livelihood, and an Africa in which all women can exercise full control over their bodies and development choices. WoMin’s **mission** is to build women’s movements to challenge destructive extractivism and propose development alternatives that respond to the needs of the majority of African women.

In the period 2014 to 2018, WoMin worked to evidence the impacts of extractivism on women through feminist participatory action research (FPAR) and feminist political economy analysis; supported organising and movement building through learning exchanges, feminist political schools, sub-

regional meetings and trainings and activist support materials; and built solidarity and counter power through campaigns and regional and global platforms of common action such as the World Social Forum and the Thematic Social Forum on Mining and the Extractives Economy.

At the end of 2018, WoMin resolved to consolidate a long-standing commitment and early efforts to build and support women-centred, movement-oriented campaigns. The year 2019 was designated as a period of transition to build WoMin’s capacity and understanding of campaigns, to deepen its approach from an ecofeminist perspective, and intensify investments in existing campaigns. This year of considered thinking and deepening practice lays the foundation for a more explicit campaigns orientation to be carried forward as a central feature of WoMin’s work in this next strategy period.

As part of its commitment to learn from the last five years of intensive organisation building, and to fulfil its promises to partners and funders to establish the impacts WoMin achieved in that period, WoMin (in 2019)

¹ Extractivism is a term used to refer to an economic development model organised around the large-scale removal (or ‘extraction’) of non-renewable – and increasingly scarce – natural resources from locations which are often considered peripheral or ‘unproductive’. These natural resources, the basis of life and livelihood for indigenous and peasant populations across the global South are exported, usually in raw form, to the centres of industry and power in the global North, in the process reinforcing and deepening poverty and inequality within and across countries and regions of the world.



contracted an independent evaluation of its first five year strategy ahead of the development of the strategy for 2020-2024. Key learnings from the evaluation are summarised in section 1.2.

The context which shapes WoMin's strategy for 2020-2024

The world's elite accumulates its wealth through a destructive economic system that has led to an unfolding ecological and climate crisis. The extractives sector² lies at the very centre of this destructive economic system, securing massive profits for corporates and the global elite through the exploitation of productive and reproductive³ labour of peasant and working class people, and through the downward raiding of natural resources upon which the majority of the world's people survive. Access to such

resources is guaranteed by the power of elites to shape and implement law and policy in their interests and is regulated and controlled through processes of militarisation and securitisation. In the context of the growing ecological and climate crisis, and an ever-increasing world population, controls over scarce resources are becoming increasingly violent.

Traditional, indigenous and customary communities are unable to exercise their rights to land, water and other natural resources in the face of elites raiding these resources. Women within these communities bear the brunt of these raids, given their positioning within the system of reproductive labour.

Despite laws, policy frameworks and human rights provisions for the right of these communities to Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC), which includes the right to say no, there is often inadequate provision

² The extractives sector in its widest definition includes mining, oil and gas extraction, dirty energy (including large dams and other large-scale renewable energy projects), industrial agriculture, fisheries and forests and mega infrastructure projects.

³ Social reproduction refers to the many activities and processes which occur within and outside of households and which are necessary to reproduce people and their labour power (especially of the working class) on an ongoing basis. It involves the production, processing and preparation of food; the provision of clothing, shelter, basic safety and health care; and also involves the transmission of knowledge, values and cultural practices. This work is generally performed by women and girls within households and communities, because of a patriarchal division of labour, and involves 'different kinds of work – mental, manual and emotional' (Laslett and Brenner, 2006).



for the exercise of community consent, and when communities express their right to say no, they confront violence as well as criminalisation by state and other elites.

Violent means are also used within mining operations whether such operations are legal or illicit. WoMin's experiences in its work on militarisation, securitisation and violence against women, has made clear that the risk and repression faced by women activists and community members in the course of mining operations, warrants a risk and safety strategy with supporting tools for implementation.

WoMin's analytical frame around violence is that it is deeply embedded in an extractivist patriarchal logic. Extractivism destroys ecosystems, the livelihoods, lives, health and well-being of affected communities, harshly exploits the cheap labour of African men and the unpaid labour of African women and is deeply implicated in climate catastrophe. The system and its fallout is violent. In WoMin's perspective the solution is not to 'clean up' blood and conflict diamonds, so corporates can continue to profiteer with 'cleaner hands' but rather to interrogate the fundamentals

of this development model which can only foment violence, conflict and destruction of people and nature.

The result of a division of labour established under colonialism and continued post-independence, African economies remain largely reliant on natural resource extraction and raw material exports. The beneficiation sectors are generally undeveloped and, where extractives are predominant, other economic sectors have been neglected and undermined. The raw material commodity markets are notoriously unstable and prone to deep corruption, as evidenced in well-established patterns of illicit financial outflows (money that is illegally earned, transferred or used) from African economies. The scale of looting is well captured in the results of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa which reported in February 2015 that Africa was losing more than \$50 billion every year to illicit financial flows (IFFs). According to the AU-UN report, Africa lost approximately \$850 billion in illicit financial outflows between 1970 and 2008.⁴

Whilst some African states, whose economies

⁴ The case of Nigeria is powerful – here the oil and gas sector of the Nigerian economy is responsible for 92.9 per cent of illicit financial flows (IFF) with over \$217.7 billion said to have flowed out of the country between 1970 and 2008. The extractives sector stands front and centre in wealth outflows to the centre – in the Nigerian case mainly to the US, Spain, France and Germany.

turn substantially around the extractives sector (SA, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and the DRC for example) have attempted neo-extractivist reforms which seek to retain a greater proportion of the profits nationally, these have been thwarted by powerful Western governments and the G7 Lobby Group who manipulate, threaten and undermine higher royalty taxes (which cannot be written off to tax), windfall taxes, demands for local benefit, indigenisation/ black economic empowerment quotas etc.

Despite, and in spite of, the unfolding ecological and climate crisis, rich governments and global institutions, such as the OECD, operate under a 'business as usual' growth-obsessed development paradigm which hinges on increased minerals extraction, which will create even more devastation. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Countries (OECD)⁵ projects a tripling of GDP in member countries by 2060, and associated upscaled demands of resource extraction – minerals, metals, fossil fuels and biomass. This quantifies to a growth in the total mass of extracted resources from 79 to 167 billion tonnes per annum (a 111% increase) between 2011 and 2060⁶. The global energy transition may increase the overall demand for specific metals such as copper, lithium, cobalt and nickel.

WoMin resolved early in 2019, to work to strengthen the African Climate Justice movement with a clear ecofeminist contribution. This emphasis is based on our reading of the global climate crisis, the two hurricanes affecting southern Africa, the

experiences of women WoMin align with politically and is informed by the following analysis:

- The period from 2015 to 2019 will be recorded in history as the warmest five-year period on record since the late 19th century and, probably, well before that. The global average temperature for 2019 lies at around 1.1 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, and with the extreme heat in Europe, the unprecedented warming of the arctic and the rampant forest fires, the planet is already lapping up against the maximum projected increase of 1.5 degrees promised at the Paris COP in 2015. The world is on course to a conservatively estimated average global temperature increase of more than 3 degrees Celsius.
- In the African context there are particular vulnerabilities to climate change –given the existing propensities to drought, malarial zones that remain uncontrolled, and that the majority of Africans, women in particular, do not have the savings, work and social networks to survive the shocks and pressures that come with climate change.
- The planet is in the midst of a sixth wave of mass extinction of plant and animal life in the past half-billion years. Species extinction 'normally' occurs at a rate of between 1 to 5 per year. The Centre for Biological Diversity, drawing on scientific studies, estimates that dozens of species are going extinct every day. This species extinction is driven by pollution, invasive species, and increasingly by climate change. By 2050, Africa is expected to lose 50% of

⁵ The OECD has 36 members amongst developing and developed countries and includes US, the UK, Canada, France, Australia, Germany, Spain, Japan, and Mexico.

⁶ 'A just (ice) transition is a post- extractive transition' 2019 Report by War on Want and London Mining Network https://waronwant.org/sites/default/files/Post-Extractivist_Transition_WEB_o.pdf

its birds and mammals, and Asian fisheries will most likely completely collapse. In the African context, the readiness of states (finance, policies, programmes and systems) to support the adaptation of peoples to a climate changed world, and respond to ever-increasing disasters of drought, hurricanes, flooding and the accompanying large-scale displacements of people is extremely fragile.

In all of this – the raiding of natural resources to support the extractivist logic of the dominant system and the unfolding and related ecological and climate crisis - **women are the ones who carry the load** because of their gender prescribed roles to supply reproductive goods and take care of ‘the family’. They are the ones who have to walk further in search of clean drinking water and safer energy and put food on the table under increasingly difficult circumstances. In addition, dislocations linked to extractivist projects and the climate crisis are fuelling already high levels of violence against women across the continent.

WoMin’s participatory research with women in northern KwaZulu-Natal during the height of the El Nino related drought in 2016 evidenced directly the impacts of climate change on women’s labour. with many women reporting a two to three-hour roundtrip to fetch just 25 litres of water. Instances of rape and the murder of one woman were reported because of the distances traversed in unsafe areas. A paper⁷ on climate change in Pakistan noted an increase in violence against women because of lower levels of food production, difficulty accessing water and firewood, and increased working hours in a day – pressures associated

with climate change.

A World Bank research report⁸ notes that crop failure, water scarcity and rises in sea levels, linked to climate change, will transform more than 143 million people into “climate migrants”. Most of this impact will be in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America, representing about 55 percent of the developing world’s populations. When communities are displaced, women and children are the most affected by violence, often sexualized in nature. This is confirmed by experiences of women in the Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and other conflict zones in Africa.

Across the continent, communities of peasants, indigenous peoples, fisherpeople, forest dwellers, and artisanal miners (with women well represented in these struggles) are rising up and saying NO to destructive development projects. They are defending a way of life without which they would not survive, and they are defending nature and ecosystems that are deeply threatened. In their NO, they are saying a clear YES to development alternatives that are living (indigenous and ecologically responsive ways of producing, seed saving, water and forest protection, ubuntu/ common humanity and respect, localised decision-making etc.) and aspired to (redistribution of wealth which requires radically reduced consumption in wealthy parts of the world including in pockets of the global south), public investment in social services and public infrastructure that benefit communities and not corporates, markets that enable and support and don’t exploit) etc.

⁷ <https://www.climate-change-guide.com/climate-change-is-supplementing-violence-against-women.html>

⁸ Rigaud, Kanta Kumari et al, 2018. Groundswell : Preparing for Internal Climate Migration. World Bank, Washington, DC. © World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29461> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO."



WoMin works with partners and allies to make invisible, support and advance these living and hoped for development alternatives. This work is a major thrust for the coming strategy period. Women in these resistances or potential resistances offer certainty in political position and in the defence of this position because of their prescribed role in care. Women do not vacillate because their survival and that of their families is at stake. And so it is women in these struggles who are the foundation of new radical movement/s of women on the continent. This movement is stirring in the sites WoMin is linked to, and in the powerful struggles of women in the Rural Women's Assembly, and the World March of Women. Movements are forged through local organising, political consciousness building, solidarity and exchange, and common action. Movement is also forged and supported through campaigns, which can help emerging struggles and movements claim important wins and mobilise public support at local, national, regional and international levels. It is this understanding that motivates an increased emphasis to campaigning in a movement building approach.

Learnings from WoMin's first five-year strategy (2014-2018)

The evaluation of WoMin's first five-year strategy found that WoMin, with its partners, had made an extremely impressive contribution, in a short space of time, in increasing awareness, confidence and agency by peasant and working class women in specific sites, and in advancing African ecofeminist understandings related to extractives, energy and climate change. WoMin worked with a lead partner in each of 11 countries, and lead partners worked with peasant and working class women in 36 sites. Through formal political economy research, participatory action research, exchanges, study tours, and feminist schools WoMin contributed to building an awareness and understanding of the harmful impacts of extractives among NGOs and grassroots women, and supported women's organisation and action. Three campaigns have started and are ongoing – around the Sendou coal plant in Senegal, the Inga Dam in DRC, and the Bombore gold mine in Burkina Faso. These present opportunities for linking local, national, regional and international levels, in



ways that fit with WoMin's theory of change.

A key challenge was finding partners and researchers in alignment with WoMin's politics. A second challenge was that change was slower than WoMin had envisaged, given that many women were unaware of their rights or of the possible dangers of large-scale development projects; and that, in some sites, women needed income generation as the first line of support. Incremental shifts took place with women gaining greater awareness, and greater confidence to speak in community meetings. Planned outcomes of law and policy reform were not possible in this context, and neither was the planned outcome of holding three corporations to account, though this work is building through the campaigns mentioned above.

A number of questions and insights drawn from the evaluation are being taken up by WoMin in the new strategy, and in particular into the operationalising of the strategy. These include:

Clarifying WoMin's role as a regional alliance, looking specifically into how WoMin performs its regional role more strategically, in ways that best support building women's

power, and the mobilization of solidarity at different levels.

Attaining a deeper understanding of who are the women WoMin works with, and their aspirations. Through in-depth conversations a more realistic meeting point can be attained between WoMin's thinking about change and the aspirations of women in sites.

Addressing the interests of peasant and working-class women is central to WoMin's political strategy. At the same time WoMin recognises that peasant and working-class women have challenges meeting their immediate needs such as income, safety, and healthcare. While WoMin and partners might intervene to assist with immediate needs, WoMin is clear that such support must be located within the strategy of advancing women's organising and action for larger structural change. If WoMin and its partners focus on needs, without political clarity there is the danger of a slide into a welfarist mode, which is directly the opposite of what WoMin intends.

The strategy of organizing women separately can potentially ghettoise women, keeping them separate from community decision-



making forums, so that men continue to dominate. A second challenge is that organising women on problems which involve the entire community can increase women's burden and let men off the hook. These challenges need thinking through.

Are there other ways to achieve the change WoMin wants? For example in its focus,

thematic areas, addressing violence as a crosscutting concern, working in fewer sites and building more depth?

Building as a feminist organisation – WoMin needs to build on ongoing work in this area.

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2. The change WoMin is searching for

WoMin's ultimate objective is the transition to a post-extractivist post-capitalist and post-patriarchal order, where extraction may occur but on terms that

- **support local and sub-national development agendas;**
- **enable local land-based livelihoods;**
- **protect nature and nurture its regeneration.**

WoMin imagines and struggles for a world in which the daily work of reproducing workers and communities is valued, respected and supported; where humanity lives according to the values of buen vivir⁹ and ubuntu¹⁰ making fewer claims on natural resources, while recycling and working towards a negative or stationery consumption path for the wealthy and the middle classes in the global North and parts of the global South.

Overarching goal (impact)

In five years, peasant and working-class women impacted by mega extractives projects¹¹ in specific sites across the Africa region, as well as at the sub-regional and regional levels have worked with allies to expose and campaign for the internalisation of the costs of this current model of extractivism and are imagining, identifying and advancing African ecofeminist development alternatives.

High level outcomes (objectives)

Outcome 1: Women in specific sites are organised, conscientized and making claims that advance their strategic interests

Outcome 2: Women, their communities and allied organisations advance campaigns and resistances to denounce extractivism and stop specific extractivist projects

Outcome 3: WoMin with its allies and partners research, identify and make visible the gendered externalised costs of a dominant extractivist

⁹ Huanacuni in AWID (2012) defines Buen Vivir as "complementing each other and sharing without competing; living in harmony among people and with nature. It is the basis for defending nature, life itself and humanity as a whole. Buen Vivir is not the same as living better; living better is at the expense of the other. Living better is egotistical, lacking interest for others, individualism, thinking only of profit; living better than our fellow beings leads to a need to exploit. Extreme competition is produced [and] wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few..."

¹⁰ The South African sociolinguist Buntu Mfeenyana defines Ubuntu as "the quality of being human. It is the quality, or behaviour of 'ntu' or society that is sharing, charitableness, cooperation. It is a spirit of participatory humanism." Cullinan (2008) writes about African customary law which searches for harmonious respectful living with other species, and which exercises restorative (as opposed to redistributive) justice when these 'rights' are violated.

¹¹ By this we mean large-scale mining, dirty destructive energy (renewable and fossil fuels) and mega infrastructure projects linked to the extractivist agenda, such as pipelines, railways, ports etc.



patriarchal and neo-colonial development model and campaign for the internalisation of such costs, where possible


Outcome 4: WoMin, women in specific sites, partners and allies identify, organise and campaign for ecofeminist African development alternatives (the YES of the NO)

Outcome 5: WoMin, its allies and partners, hand in hand with grassroots women, organise in specific sites, build counter-power and counter proposals through solidarity and common platforms

Outcome 6: WoMin as a feminist organisation advances a progressive feminist agenda in its external work and internal operations and is experienced and identified as a feminist organisation

These six outcomes are interlinked and mutually dependent. There is no hierarchy in the outcomes. WoMin will work towards all six outcomes in a linked way to achieved promised impacts.

3. WoMin's Theory of Change



A Theory of Change is “essentially a comprehensive description and illustration of how and why a desired change is expected to happen in a particular context.”¹² WoMin's Theory of Change comprises three elements:

1. The change agenda should be set and powered by impacted peasant and working-class women organised in grassroots formations and movements
2. The full range of economic, social and environmental costs of the destructive capitalist model of extractivism, including the social reproductive costs carried by women, must be exposed to communities, decision-makers and society more generally
3. The African ecofeminist post-capitalist development alternative to destructive extractivism should be identified and advanced through WoMin's work in partnership and alliance.

The change agenda is set and powered by peasant and working-class women

WoMin's central commitment is to support organising and movement building by peasant and working-class women who are impacted by mega extractives activities, and who are generally not reached by the mainstream women's rights organisations and movements.

WoMin will work with national and regional partners and allies to support peasant and working-class women in communities impacted by destructive extractives to build new movements which carry a radical perspective and agenda.

The commitment to impacted women defining and driving the change agenda in their strategic interests does not mean that WoMin, its allies and partners are inhibited from acting in solidarity and taking independent action in the interests of impacted women. WoMin acting in the interests of women, guided by and at service of their agenda for change may enlist the support of global allies, strengthen regional networks, and facilitate and advocate research to support and enable the political agenda of impacted women and their communities. We do not see this as WoMin taking over women's agenda, but rather that WoMin will be supporting and advancing women's agenda wherever we find ourselves.

¹² <https://www.theoryofchange.org/what-is-theory-of-change/>

The real costs of destructive extractivism are evidenced as the basis for denouncing this model of development and forcing the internalisation of costs

WoMin's second commitment is to work more deeply with allies and partners to document and expose the full range of economic, social and environmental costs of destructive extractivism in order to lay the basis for advocacy and campaigns.

Extractives projects externalise a range of costs to people and women specifically, the public sector and nature. Extractivism is deathly and violent, causing the large-scale immiseration of communities lying in the pathway of mega extractives projects, and the destruction of ecosystems and the climate which is threatening the survival of all species on earth.

Extractivism is an economy of unpaid costs. Extractives corporations which create these costs do not carry these costs. Instead it is poor and working-class communities, and women within them, in particular who carry these costs. The unpaid labour of women and children absorb the externalised health and social costs of extractivism through the nursing of sick children and workers, through the restoration and healing of the environment, and the increased time foraging for water and fuel.

WoMin will deepen its efforts to foreground a feminist analysis of costs, showing that extractivism places particular burdens on the cheap and unpaid labour of impacted women. We will grapple further with the problematic of costing damage and impacts, immediately and on a cumulative basis, to show that an extractivist model of development does not advance people and their economies, but rather destroys and immiserates them. We will show the inter-generational costs of extractivism and we

will work to argue that Africa and African nations are losing sovereign wealth and only becoming poorer. These efforts lay the basis for advocacy and campaigns to build wider popular and public consciousness, build the grounds for advocacy on development alternatives, as well as advocate and campaign to force the internalisation of real costs, which would render the majority of projects unsustainable.

Identifying and advancing the African ecofeminist development alternative

WoMin's third commitment is to identify and advance the African ecofeminist post-capitalist development alternative to destructive extractivism. By advance we mean raising awareness about, making visible and advocating for specific positions. We will work with women in sites of struggle and with our allies and friends in movements, trade unions and support organisations (such as NGOs, churches, funders etc.) to collectively imagine, advance and struggle for the alternative. Many of these alternatives already exist in the way we produce food, in the way we care-take and regenerate our natural resources, in the way we nurture our families, and in the way we cooperate in our communities.

In the coming five years, we will work to identify, document and make visible the already existing alternatives. And we will work with women and their communities to recover past practices of producing, living and relating to each other and to nature, as the basis of a sustainable, caring sojourn on planet earth. We will enable the sharing of living alternatives through learning and solidarity exchanges, and we will support deep dialogues in and across communities of women to imagine a new world order characterised by care, respect, justice, equity, freedom and non-violence.

4. Who WoMin works with and where WoMin works?



Peasant and working-class women in communities impacted by extractives

From the outset, WoMin chose to focus very specifically on work with women in communities impacted by extractives activities. WoMin does not work with women workers and does not support organising efforts to recruit and advance women into white collar and professional positions in the extractives sectors. WoMin does not work with or support women artisanal miners or women wishing to enter or consolidate the small-scale mining sector. While we are of the view that artisanal mining is an important part of the mining landscape, supporting the livelihoods of tens of millions of Africans, we have elected not to focus our attention here given capacity and resource constraints.

Within communities impacted by extractives, WoMin works with the majority of women and not women in business or linked to local elites. This is why we say that the women we are politically affiliated to and support are peasant and working-class women. They are women whose lives and livelihoods are deeply bound up with the land and environment as the basis for the reproduction of themselves, their families and communities. They have no options for work or alternative livelihoods and so the defence of their land and their nature is a defence of the very basis for their survival.

Partnerships with trusted organisations in specific countries

As a regional alliance, WoMin does not work directly with women and their communities. Instead, WoMin has elected to work in close partnership with a small number of trusted organisations in specific countries.

WoMin understands partnership as a formal working relationship, usually guided by a clear plan and agreement, with organisations with whom we share a political analysis and strategy for affecting change, or at the very minimum a joint commitment to supporting organising and movement building of impacted women. Our partnerships are generally long-term and we also partner in the short term on specific activities and tasks of a common programme or project. For example, we are partnering with trauma organisations in our militarisation and VAW work, to build collective models of trauma support.

Our partners are not always women's rights organisations. They may be organisations working on trauma, on extractives or on environmental justice.

Work with allies through alliance

WoMin is constituted as a loose alliance, meaning we do not have a formal membership base, and organisations do not apply to become 'members' of WoMin. We took a decision in early-2014 to operate as a loose alliance and our evaluation and internal reflections direct us to the same approach in the coming 5 years.



Many of our relationships at the national and regional levels are defined by WoMin's role as a regional alliance. We define an alliance as a convergence of groups, organisations or interests to achieve something of mutual benefit. WoMin works in two kinds of alliances – strategic alliances which are usually longer term with organisations with who we have shared politics; and tactical alliances, which are generally short-term, around common ground on a particular issue, with organisations with who we might not have a shared politics.

Our focus in this new strategy


In this new 5-year strategy, WoMin has resolved to deepen partnerships and work in specific sites of resistance. We have categorised the partnerships as “tier one” where we will support intensive organising and campaigning work; and “tier two” where our support will mainly be through regional campaigns and platforms of convergence.

We will deepen partnerships in seven ‘tier one’ countries – South Africa, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, the DRC, Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Senegal - where we have existing campaigns, funded projects, and close partnerships.

In ‘tier two’ countries WoMin will retain links to and support other sites of struggle through regional campaigns on the Right to Say NO and climate justice, and we will retain close working relationships with organisations in Sierra Leone and Mozambique where we will conclude VAW and militarisation work started in the past strategy period.

We will identify organisations with whom to ally more closely on specific resistances or campaigns. Early in the strategy period we will engage in intensive mapping to inform our decisions on countries, sites and allies.

5. The focus for WoMin's efforts in the coming five years



The evaluation has confirmed that the political or programmatic focus for our efforts in the last five-year period remains relevant in the current context and our forecasts for at least the next few years.

“ We will concentrate our efforts on women’s movement building and support for stronger campaigns linked from the local to the international, where this makes sense. ”

We have four programmatic areas of work:

1. Energy and climate justice

Women Building Power (WBP) has, since 2016, supported women’s organising in more than 20 sites across 6 countries to resist dirty energy projects and propose the needed energy and broader development justice alternatives.

In the months following Cyclone Idai, WoMin began to deeply rethink the orientation of WBP in light of the emerging climate catastrophe. We acknowledge that climate change impacts Sub-Saharan Africa and its populations, women in particular, most profoundly. WoMin has historically framed its support to women’s resistance against fossil fuels as part of advocacy for climate justice but has generally neglected a broader climate justice angle and we are convinced that this is the dimension to emphasize in future lobbying and advocacy at the national and continental level.

In the coming five years, WoMin will follow through on its commitments to support localized resistance to fossil fuels extraction and mega energy in a minimum of five sites, and adjunct to that continue work to flesh out just energy



alternatives. We will concentrate our efforts on women's movement building and support for stronger campaigns linked from the local to the international, where this makes sense. Alongside this, we wish to make significant investment in building a convergence of organisations and movements which share a climate justice agenda, with a view to strengthening the climate justice movement continentally. A CJ campaign, with a clear energy slant and a climate debt focus, is likely to emerge from this effort and will be informed by our scoping of renewable energy initiatives across the region in the past two years and our historical work on broader just development alternatives. This will embrace many more communities, women specifically, resisting fossil fuels and mega energy projects across the continent.

2. Consent rights for women and their communities

WoMin has worked, since 2016, to build a deep understanding of and claim for consent rights with women and their communities engaged in resistance to the imposition of mega mining and infrastructure projects in four countries. We have grappled with what women's consent rights means politically and practically in the context of wider community struggles and supported the building of national and regional campaigns on the basis of the Right to Say NO.

In the coming 5 years, WoMin will continue to focus its efforts on stopping destructive projects on the basis of the right of communities to say NO in at least 6 sites of resistance. We will continue to add to an emerging body of information and knowledge to support community activists, with a focus to women, across the continent claim their right to say NO. And at the sub-regional and continental level, we will play an active role in building and supporting Right to Say NO campaigns which bind the struggles of communities and women across communities and countries.



3. Guns, power and politics – addressing VAW and repression

WoMin will continue its efforts to evidence the relationship between extractivist development, militarisation, securitisation and VAW; support affected women deal with the trauma of violence; and search for justice, defined on women's terms. Our work in the last few years has focused on countries and sites which are not linked to our other political or programmatic areas of work.

In this next strategy period, our work on VAW will be explicitly linked to Tier One countries (defined in the section above), and will be linked to active struggles against destructive extractivism for energy and climate justice, and the Right to Say NO. Our work on VAW starkly addresses and evidences the power and politics surrounding extractivism, and the risks confronting community activists and women in particular. In the next five-year period, we will support risk analysis, strategies and responses in all of the key sites of struggle we will be linked to, and we will address the same threats in our regional and continental campaigns for climate justice and Right to Say NO.

4. Building, recognising and advance African Ecofeminist Development Alternatives

WoMin seeks to uncover, build and advance African ecofeminist development alternatives (the YES) to dominant destructive extractivism. This entails building African ecofeminist perspectives, conceptualising and advancing an African Ecofeminist concept of the Just Transition, defining just renewable energy alternatives, and democratising decision-making through struggles for consent rights of women and their communities.

In supporting feminist organising and movement-building we are advancing alternative power, and a different way of living and being with each other and this is therefore a central part of the alternative we strive for. As we organise we build a living example of the world we dream of. The work on consent rights, which advances the right of communities, and women within communities, to give or withhold consent for large-scale development affecting their land, livelihoods and bodies, is a core part of the development alternative. We imagine a world in which communities and societies, and importantly women within them, exercise democratised inclusive decision-making and a right to define and claim 'development' on their own terms.




Building bridges and pursuing a unified programming approach

In the next strategy period, we will work hard to overcome some of the silos which have been unintentionally created between our programmatic areas. Reducing the number of Tier One countries which will receive more intense

organisational support and focusing on not more than 18 sites at varying levels of intensity will allow us to build the bridges through greater team planning and collaboration across programmatic areas. A focus on campaigns will also enable and strengthen teamwork and bridge-building.

“ In the coming 5 years, WoMin will continue to focus its efforts on stopping destructive projects on the basis of the right of communities to say NO. ”

6. Tools and processes to achieve the change WoMin is searching for



WoMin's approach and practice advances our primary commitment to support women's organising and movement-building to expose and challenge destructive extractivism and build the needed African ecofeminist development alternatives.

We achieve this through the following key tools and processes:

- Feminist political education and consciousness raising targeting affected women and their communities
- Ecofeminist alternative knowledge construction
- Collective oriented basic needs support where this is needed
- Grassroots centred, women-led campaigning
- Building solidarity between women, their communities and with support organisations
- Communications and media to build greater public awareness and consciousness
- African and International Campaigns and Platforms

Feminist political education and consciousness raising

We support women from affected communities increase their awareness and understanding and build consciousness through:

- Feminist schools
- Solidarity and learning exchanges
- Activist resource materials and guides

The Feminist School forms a core pillar of WoMin's efforts to support women's organising and movement building from the local to national to Pan African levels. Drawing together activists engaged in local struggles, these schools deepen awareness, consciousness and knowledge; build strategies for organising and movement building; and enable solidarity amongst women across communities and countries.

Solidarity and learning exchanges within and across countries build connection and solidarity; expose women to alternative ways of organising, producing, and provisioning local services; and deepen consciousness of the multiple systems that oppress women.

Activist resource guides and materials, which are visual and multimedia, inform and deepen knowledge, support local organising, and advance alternatives.



Ecofeminist knowledge construction

WoMin supports the construction of knowledge which challenges mainstream dominant, oppressive ideas, and supports women's movement building. WoMin, with its partners and allies, undertakes:

- **feminist political economy research** which locates the experiences of women and their communities in an exploitative economic system with historical roots in the colonisation of the global South. This research orientation illustrates the ways in which the economic system interlocks with patriarchy (racism and neo-colonialism) to extract women's cheap labour in production and their unpaid labour in the reproduction of workers and ecosystems and keep women compliant and performing designated roles.
- **feminist participatory action research** (FPAR) supports affected women in sites of resistance deepen their analyses of the problems they confront, mobilise other women in their communities, and undertake actions for change to understand the world through their efforts to change it, and shifts power in the research process by deeply involving those who otherwise would be research subjects.

• information and knowledge tracking and management

which supports WoMin gather and store, on an ongoing basis, the information we need about the sites of struggle we support, the campaigns we are building with others, the partners and allies we cooperate with, and the institutions we target in our advocacy and campaigns. We will extend our existing database on sites of resistance across the continent, and we will create new repositories of knowledge – addressing research, women's stories and demands, living alternatives etc. – which can support women's movement building and women's development alternatives.

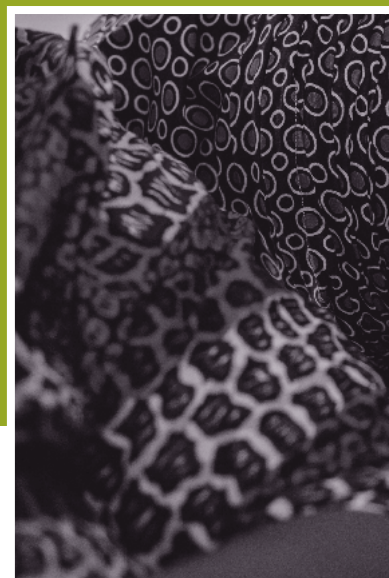
Collective oriented needs-based support

To support women's organising for justice, WoMin may at moments support *basic needs interventions* to alleviate energy poverty and assist with income generation. The majority of African women struggle to reproduce their families and communities in the context of crisis, and so the possibilities for organising are often constrained. These basic needs interventions, always linked to a wider agenda of organising and campaigning for

Campaigning in the period 2020-2024

WoMin will work with its partners and allies to advance ecofeminist movement building oriented campaigns in the coming five-year period:

- We will support **local-national-international campaigns** with clear targets at each level with a view to destabilising and stopping mega extractivist projects. We will support the building of counter power through ecofeminist organising, critical knowledge construction, the documentation and publicising of externalised costs to women and ecosystems in particular, advocacy and campaigning, legal action, proposals for development alternatives arising from the local, and the building of solidarity between communities, support organisations and allies at all levels. Targets for these campaigns include local governments and traditional authorities; the presidency, parliaments and national government departments; international financiers; development banks and ombudsman where these exist etc. We envisage supporting not less than 10 such campaigns over the next five years. These efforts will be undertaken through a wide alliance of local movements/ networks; national and international NGOs/ solidarity organisations; research organisations; public interest litigation organisations etc.
 - At the sub-regional and continental level, we will support two interlinked campaigns - for **Climate and Energy Justice, and the Right to Say NO**. These will bind local struggles, enable sub-regional and continental solidarity, and support unified targeting of sub-regional and continental institutions, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Development Bank, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights etc. In addition, these campaigns will allow communities and their supporting organisations to denounce destructive extractivism and propose the needed development alternatives, with a particular focus on those that advance an Ecofeminist post-capitalist perspective. These campaigns will be imagined, developed and driven by a large alliance of organisations and movements at the sub-regional and continental level, and will construct important relations of solidarity at the international level.
- In all of these broad-based campaigns, WoMin will work with others to advance women's organising, women's perspective and voice, women's leadership and women's development alternatives.



substantive change, enable women to come together, support each other, and meet some basic household needs. These interventions, if undertaken on a collective basis, can be a critical pillar for movement building and solidarity, and can model in practice the wider development alternatives we search for.

Grassroots centred, women-led campaigning

Campaigns are an important part of our efforts to build counter-power and counter-narrative involving the affected community/ies and friends and allies at different levels, from local to international. Our campaigns centre affected women, and campaigning goals and actions are defined by their perspectives and their interests. Campaigning galvanises people to take focused action in order to achieve a clearly defined change. In some cases campaigns may be taken up by and strengthen a movement. In some cases campaigns may assist in building a movement, where none existed. In and through campaigns we can mobilise a web of supporting relationships for research, trainings, and advocacy and campaigns targeting corporations and financiers.

WoMin's three core, non-negotiable principles are that campaigns should be:

- based on ecofeminist analysis and strategy;
- built on the solid foundations of and support women's movement building; and
- led by the interests of affected women, centring their voices, perspectives and demands.

Building Solidarity

As a regional organisation, WoMin is connected to many sites of resistance and a wide range of networks and allies continentally and globally. In all of our efforts we work to mobilise solidarity and connection between women from different communities and countries, and between women and allies in and outside of countries who can assist them in their resistances. This solidarity is constructed through feminist schools, solidarity exchanges, study tours, regional meetings and platforms, as well as campaigns. Through media and communications tools, such as the WoMin film and video clips, we publicise struggles and work to mobilise solidarity and support for women and their communities



defending their territories against extractives projects. Because activists and community members engaged in resistance face ongoing repression and attacks, the solidarity role of organisations such as WoMin are critical to expose and publicise repression outside of contexts, and mobilise pressure on states and corporations.

Communications and media to build greater public awareness and consciousness

Women's narratives and strategies are largely invisible from the global discourse around extractivism, and the climate crisis. Harnessing a range of communications tools enables a greater awareness in countries, regionally and globally and can help to amplify voice, visibility and organising of grassroots women impacted by and challenging extractivism. Through film, stories, and social media more generally WoMin will help build a broader awareness and understanding amongst other activists, movements, support organisations and the wider public about the multiple oppressions confronting peasant and working-class African women.


African and International Campaigns and Platforms

Challenging this destructive development model and shifting to a just development pathway necessitates the building of powerful movements that can converge on shared political agendas. WoMin will construct and advance these agendas, and act in solidarity through Campaigns and Platforms of convergence at the African and international levels. In the past six years, WoMin has invested in a number of critical platforms which include: The [Global Campaign to Reclaim Peoples Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity](#), the [southern African Network to Dismantle Corporate Power](#), the [Thematic Social Forum on Mining and the Extractives Economy](#) and the [Global Tapestry of Alternatives](#).



“As a regional organisation, WoMin is connected to many sites of resistance and a wide range of networks and allies continentally and globally.”

7. WoMin as a Feminist Organisation



The kind of world we imagine as we work for change is a new world order characterised by care, respect, justice, equity, freedom and non-violence. These are the values and principles we would like to see lived in WoMin as an organisation.

WoMin places value on the need to build an organisational ethos which operates as a collective of care and solidarity, sustaining staff to work to the best of their ability, where individual and collective accountability are upheld and there is space to reflect on and refine practice. This is built on an understanding of WoMin staff as whole human beings with diverse and many needs, pressures, experiences and aspirations.

This involves institutionalising a way of working, as well as policies and systems in alignment with WoMin's external vision, theory of change, and its feminist politics, values and principles.

WoMin acknowledges that while significant work has gone into building a caring and supportive feminist organisation, there is still much to be done.

There is need for ongoing reflection as we work to build WoMin as a feminist organisation, noting that there are different orientations to feminism and an uneven understanding of feminism amongst WoMin staff.

“There is need for ongoing reflection as we work to build WoMin as a feminist organisation, noting that there are different orientations to feminism and an uneven understanding of feminism amongst WoMin staff.”

Our work on building a feminist organisation is guided by:

- the need to challenge destructive power models and build ways of working and being within the organisation that promote power within and power with, while working to inhibit power over.
- the need to build a collective of care and solidarity within the organisation in order to sustain ourselves and do our work to the best of our ability.
- the need to build individual and collective accountability on different levels within the organisation (including board, partners, allies) and amongst the team, in relation to the women we work with in communities, and ultimately to the cause of justice and




transformation that we fight for in the larger world.

- continual reflection on our actions and refining our practice (approaches, tools) and ideas (theory) through M&E systems and other methods. Feminism challenges us to reflect on our own views and behaviours to ensure we “don’t collude in either oppressing or patronising others, as well as respectfully challenging women where their views or behaviours collude in their oppression.”

Creating an organisational culture of solidarity, care and support requires that we focus on relationships as well as on procedures and structures. This demands that we organise ourselves with intentionality in terms of work cultures, internal communications, time management, decision-making, policies, managing risk and safety of individual staff members, and more.

8. WoMin's Monitoring, learning and evaluation (MEL) System



WoMin's Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning system strives to be grounded in a feminist politics and practice.

Guiding principles for WoMin's MEL are:

1. **Accountability and Transparency:** to capture positive and negative impacts at all levels and in relation to peasant and working class women, partners and allies.
2. **Activist ethos:** with women in sites, partners and allies agreeing on how and what is being monitored and ensuring that the monitoring process is participatory.
3. **Diversity and inclusiveness:** ensuring feedback from multiple sources through reaching out to a range of partners and allies, ensuring that WoMin 'lives' its values and embraces the diversity of partners and allies.
4. **Reflexive and learning organization:** WoMin gathers and shares lessons, insights, and questions, and identifies challenges and gaps. WoMin trusts and respects the work and processes of partners and allies, and minimises the burden placed on them.

WoMin's MEL is shaped around key questions which include:

1. What questions would need to be answered in order to know the extent to which outcomes are achieved?
2. How is success or failure of a project explained?
3. What has been the backlash and/or repression based on the work with women, and how to assess and learn from this?

WoMin seeks to address these questions and ensure relevant programming through a MEL strategy that seeks:

- **To challenge power** - to assess at all levels how various forms of power can influence progress; to challenge the mainstream ideas of MEL; to reflect on relations (WoMin vs partners for example); and to foreground collaboration and to preference voices from the ground.¹³
- **To learn** how change happens, what strategies and interventions worked and did not work in order to refine policies, strategies, and interventions for more effective and impactful change.
- **To analyze our role in the change process** – i.e., either to attribute credit or locate our

¹³ Capturing Change in Women's Realities; A Critical Overview of Current Monitoring & Evaluation Frameworks and Approaches; S Batliwala and A Pittman December 2010.



contribution to change and to identify cause-effect relationships.

- ***To work with our partners and communities of women*** – engaging them in analysing power and change processes so that they are empowered further to sustain, extend, and expand change.
- ***To practice accountability and build credibility*** – in relation to our donors, partners and activists, and the public at large, and to build our legitimacy, credibility, and transparency.
- ***To advance our advocacy for social justice*** – demonstrating how change has advanced social justice goals and mobilise broader support for our change agenda.

MEL Process and Tools

WoMin understands that establishing if and whether change is happening in the contexts within we work is challenging and non-linear. As a regional organisation, we are often not directly engaged with women on the ground as we work through partnerships. With this complexity, we understand that our strategy for monitoring and learning, has to be done at various levels, using various methods and tools.

WoMin operates at various levels:

1. With partners and grassroots women activists
2. Through spaces such as Feminist schools, learning exchanges and so on
3. National, Regional and global campaigns and platforms.

All of these levels require collaborative work to determine the objectives of the monitoring intervention, to set the baseline, and to decide how best to reflect on change over time. This requires collaborative design, implementation and management of the process.

Using various tools, such as HERstories (which centre women's experiences and perspectives), reflection processes and partner reports coordinators will continue to report six weekly, six monthly and annually. Six monthly and annual reports will be informed through learning spaces built with national ally partners to assess progress and impacts.

The six weekly report will provide activity based reporting while the six monthly and annual reports will reflect on learnings, challenges, reflections and progress at an impact level, using some components of the Most Significant Change (MSC) methodology .

“ In all of our efforts we work to mobilise solidarity and connection - between women from different communities and countries. And between women and allies nationally, regionally and beyond who can assist them in their resistance. ”



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