





# WOMEN BUILD POWER:

## CELEBRATING 10 YEARS OF PAN AFRICAN ECOFEMINIST ORGANISING



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# THANKS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to honour and thank the inspiring women we work with across Africa, who have been instrumental in building WoMin from the ground up. We also thank our partners, funders, allies and supporters who have sustained this work for the last ten years, and with whom we hope to continue achieving new milestones into the future.

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# "Now that we are back on the land nobody should interfere with our rights as women. If they come to evict us again, we will die to the last person standing."

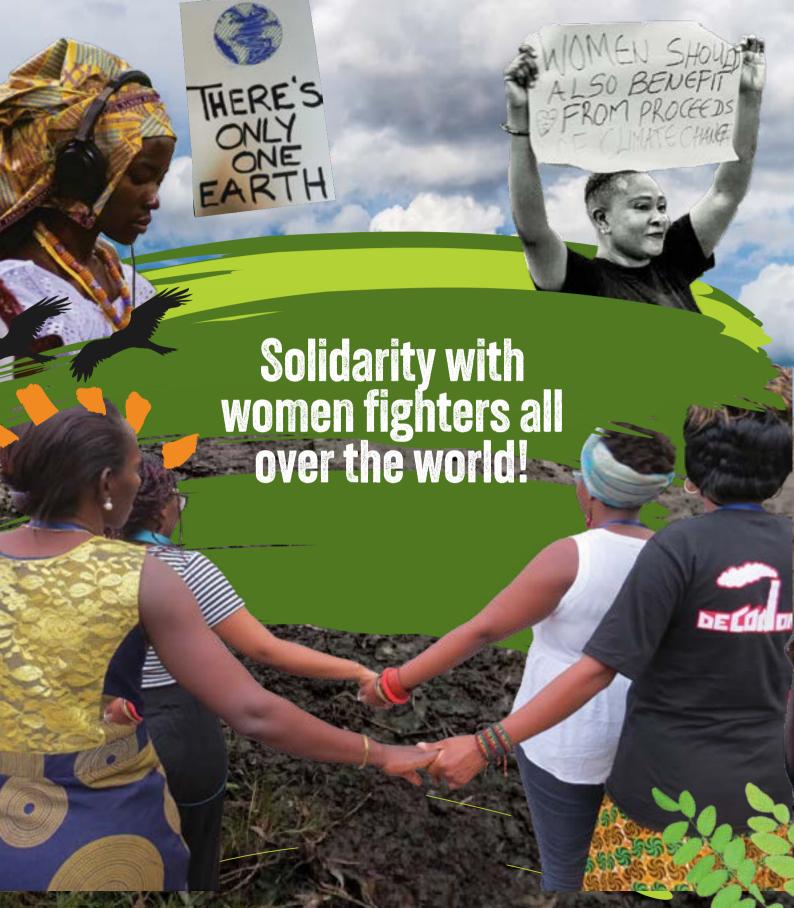
– Lucy Ongera, Community Group Leader, Rwamutonga Women Savings Group, Uganda



## INTRODUCTION

n 2023, WoMin marked a decade of supporting women and communities resisting extractive developments, in collaboration with a substantive network of partners across the African continent. This publication celebrates this milestone and showcases our journey as a growing Pan African ecofeminist organisation. It amplifies the cultural expressions of resistance that have emerged from WoMin's platforms and processes. These pages are filled with photographs, political posters, struggle songs, slogans, and poetry created by the fierce and inspiring African women organisers who have shaped our political vision, mission, and strategy. This publication is dedicated to these women, their communities, and their movements. It is also dedicated to our partners across the continent, as well as WoMin's staff, board, and funders - both past and present. Together, as a broad alliance in the struggle for a post-extractivist Africa, we honour the past and look forward to the future.





# ABOUT THE WOMIN AFRICAN ALLIANCE

oMin is an African ecofeminist alliance which works alongside organisations of women, peasants, and communities impacted by extractive developments. We make visible and publicise the impacts of extractivism on peasant and working-class African women and support women's organising, movement-building and solidarity. WoMin advances an African post-extractivist, ecologically-just, women-centred alternative to the dominant destructive development model. We define our role as one of support and allyship to movements on the ground and advance this commitment through all our efforts.

WoMin, at the time of publication, operates a decentralised secretariat of twenty staff. The administration and financial management functions are in South Africa, while programme staff are based throughout the continent: Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Mozambique, Senegal, Uganda, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

We work with partners and allies in sixteen countries across East, West, Central and Southern Africa and identify explicitly as a Pan African organisation. At present, the only programme of work we implement directly and not through a partner is in South Africa, where we support women's organising efforts in the Northern Cape to challenge a neocolonial green hydrogen project.

Over the decade of WoMin's formal existence, we have strived to build a feminist organisation characterised by care, respect, justice, equity, freedom, and non-violence. These are the values and principles which guide our political work. This work is ongoing and is actively supported by the coordination team and the WoMin Board.

Looking ahead to the next ten years, WoMin hopes to build upon the significant successes of the last decade, as well as deepen and bring greater focus to our existing political work. We strive to balance our dreams and ambitions with measured respect for organisational capacity.

"Our food, our soil is very rich, but it's been defiled by the oil and gas. Companies are not compensating us. Our office is our land. Before [the oil companies] we were working and contributing something... now there's nothing for women to trade and feed their children."

- Ngozi Azumah, Nigeria, 2023



# THE JOURNEY SO FAR!

ctivist Ngozi Azumah's words reflect the experience of millions of women across Africa who carry the costs of an extractivist development model. This is a violent paradigm that prioritises profit over people. It forces communities, particularly women, to carry the costs of so-called 'development' which threatens lives, land, and livelihoods.

WoMin officially launched in October 2013, although the groundwork started in 2012. The alliance was formed to respond to a rapidly growing extractives sector on the continent as well as the almost complete absence of organising work with impacted women on the ground. There was also a dearth of critical analysis and thinking on the neo-colonial extractives project, its links to a rising ecological and climate crisis, and the externalised

2013

2014

- Conclusion of two-year six paper research project on women, gender and extractives.
- WoMin launched at Constitution Hill in Johannesburg, South Africa and an oversight group of twelve women from ten African countries was constituted.
- Participatory Action Research projects start with partners and grassroots women in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Uganda, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Burkina Faso and South Africa.
- 'Women Stand Their Ground Against Big Coal', Southern Africa Exchange.
- Niger Delta Exchange on Energy, Food and Climate Justice.
- Initiation of Women Building Power (WBP) movement building effort.



## **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

costs borne by women, their communities, nature and workers on the continent.

We began in 2012 with research to understand the critical themes and issues related to women, gender, and extractives. We also did a regional scoping of organisations and initiatives related to these core questions with the support of important partners and

allies such as the International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa (IANRA). IANRA was our host for the first few years, having a wide base of members across the continent.

These foundational processes helped us to identify our friends and allies who formed the community of this alliance. Our launch in October 2013 drew together

## 2016

- Pan African Feminist School in Johannesburg, South Africa in partnership with Just Associates (JASS).
- · Zambia-Kenya Learning Exchange.
- First Pan African Roundtable on 'Women's Rights, Consent and Development Futures'.
- WoMin takes a delegation of women activists from five countries to the Paris Conference of the Parties (COP 2I).
- First internal meeting on building as a feminist organisation.

- Second Pan African Feminist School in Accra, Ghana with NETRIGHT- Ghana.
- WoMin constitutes a legal entity and goes independent from IANRA.
- Start up of Extractivism, Militarisation, Securitisation and Violence against Women work in Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone and Mozambique with research and national convenings.
- Filming for WoMin's award winning film 'Women Hold up the Sky' starts in South Africa.



more than sixty activists from across the continent, as well as Brazil, Canada, and the Philippines. It was the first continental meeting about women, mining, and extractives and it also offered an important space for sharing, deepening analysis, and mapping out a programme of collective work. In the following years, WoMin grew exponentially and our work broadened

to encompass feminist participatory research in eight countries. This included key analysis of the Africa Mining Vision from an African ecofeminist perspective; regional learning exchanges and study tours; participation in two World Social Forums; and the initiation of WoMin's film Women Hold up the Sky.

# 2018

- National Feminist School in Hoima, Uganda with NAPE and Kwataniza Women Farmers Group.
- WoMin partners with PACIA to undertake a learning exchange on off-grid community-owned renewable energy options.
- Pan African strategic meeting on Ecofeminist Just Transition in the African context.
- Active contribution to Thematic Social Forum on

- Evaluation and launch of first five-year strategy (2020-2024).
- · Official launch of WoMin's film, Women Hold Up the Sky.
- Initiation of feminist collective model of trauma support with Counselling Services Unit, Zimbabwe.
- African Climate Justice Collective (ACJC) starts building.



## **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

As the organisation grew, so did its key programmatic areas. These are thematic pillars that allow WoMin to consolidate analysis and connect with communities and partner organisations in support of our strategic objectives. WoMin has grown from an organisation consisting of one full-time staffer and three parttime consultants to a vibrant, multilingual, wholly Pan African team of twenty! Over time we have worked with seventy-four partners and allies across sixteen countries in Africa. WoMin is connected to and supports over one hundred sites of struggle in communities impacted by extractives.

At the heart of WoMin's progress and sustainability are the very women, like Ngozi Azumah, who stand

## 2020

- Initiation of Organising in a Time of Crisis Project which included partnership with Social Movement Technologies (SMT) to build digital capacity in a cohort of women activists.
- Deepened collaboration in Burkina Faso and Senegal to halt a gold mining project and a coal fired power station respectively in partnership with ORCADE and LSD.

- · Launch of R2SayNO collection of six information resources and other materials.
- · Regional 'Francophone' School in Burkina Faso, with ORCADE.
- · Launch of feminist political economy research papers and community information sheets on extractivism and VAW.



on the frontlines of resistance against violent and destructive extractives-driven development. Through their organising, movements, and campaigns they confront and defy corporations and governments. As an organisation, we are guided and inspired by their solidarity and profound visions for what a different Africa can look like.

# 2022

- Piloting of cost analysis in Toliara, Madagascar for climate reparations campaigning.
- National Feminist School in Harare, Zimbabwe, with CNRG
- The first Polluters and Plunders: The Roots of Africa's Crises in a trilogy of animated films launched.
- West and Central African Women's Climate Assembly in Port Harcourt, Nigeria.
- First School of Extractivism in South Africa.

2023

THE JOURNEY SO FAR

- Regional 'Anglophone' Feminist School in Kampala, Uganda, with SEATINI-Uganda
- West and Central African Women's Climate Assembly in Lagos, Nigeria.
- R2SayNO exchanges of women from Guinea Conakry, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Senegal and Liberia.
- First West-Central African meeting of women and their communities to start building the AfDB Reparations Campaign.





Bomama vukani Vukani siyosenza Impilo yanamhla inzima Ifun ukusetshe zelwa Ifun ukusetshe zelwa Vukani vukani Vukani siyosebenza impilo yanamhla inzima Ifun kusetshenzelwa

Women wake up Wake up and go to work Nowadays life is hard it needs one to work Wake up wake up Wake up and go to work Nowadays life is hard It needs one to work

A struggle song from Zimbabwe



Over the past ten years, WoMin's work has grown rapidly and covers four thematic areas, with one cross-cutting project: Debt and Reparations. The core programmes through which we advance our political analysis and support African women's organising are:



WOMEN BUILDING POWER (WBP)
FOR ENERGY AND CLIMATE JUSTICE

- RESISTING GREEN EXTRACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA



GUNS, POWER, AND POLITICS: EXTRACTIVES, MILITARISATION, AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (VAW)



CONSENT AND THE RIGHT TO SAY NO (R2SAYNO)



AFRICAN ECOFEMINIST DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES (AEDA)



**DEBT AND REPARATIONS** 



# WOMEN BUILDING POWER FOR ENERGY AND CLIMATE JUSTICE



omen Building Power for Energy and Climate Justice (WBP) emerged in 2015 to support African women resisting dirty and unjust energy projects, confronting the climate crisis, and living in energy poverty.

In early 2015, Africa sat on the precipice of coal expansion. WoMin therefore convened *Women Stand Their Ground Against Big Coal*. After organising for some months, affected women from across Southern Africa gathered and articulated a clear political position against dirty energy and resolved to strengthen and deepen resistance to destructive coal. WBP supported emerging coal campaigns and women's leadership in key sites of struggle through training, feminist schools, and solidarity exchanges. Investment in collective forms of livelihood generation also served as the

base for organising. WoMin supported delegations of community activists to participate in and contribute to COP civil society platforms and actions. Through women and community-led resistance and the support of many organisations, including WoMin, communities were able to stop new coal-fired power plant projects in Kenya and Côte d'Ivoire. In the case of Senegal, women succeeded in shutting down the Sendou Coal Plant.

Later in 2015 WBP's work was clarified and deepened through the African Women Uniting for Energy, Food and Climate Justice, a historic gathering of sixty women in the Niger Delta. The meeting decided to build a women-led, Africa-wide campaign for climate, food, and energy justice. Through this campaign, women challenged the dominant development paradigm, deepened the movement against dirty energy, and



strengthened an African sisterhood. In the years that followed, WoMin collaborated with allies to deepen organising efforts with women in twenty-four sites across six countries. Under the banner of WBP, this included convening annual meetings and campaign strategy sessions, facilitating training and solidarity exchanges, and taking common action at specific moments. Since 2018, WBP has widened its focus to address energy alternatives and has co-convened energy assemblies in five countries. In partnership with the Pan African Climate Justice Alliance (PACJA), WBP also undertook a renewable energy exploratory exchange between women leaders. In 2019, as part of this work in energy alternatives and in collaboration with 350.org and the University of Cape Town, WoMin undertook the mapping and analysis of a renewable energy rollout across the continent.

allies to develop an understanding of the Just Transition from an African ecofeminist perspective. WBP has also made significant investments in the formation of the African Climate Justice Collective (ACJC), an important convergence of organisations and movements that aims to bolster the feminist and anti-capitalist wing of the African climate justice movement.

Moving forward, as the climate catastrophe and its impacts worsen for African women, we aim to intensify WBP's work to support women's organising and movement-building. This includes Climate Assemblies and strengthening African and Global people-led platforms as the legitimate voice of the world's people on the climate crisis and the needed alternatives. We also support cost analyses to document and cost the impacts of the climate crisis on communities across the continent, and work within and beyond the ACJC





## Resisting Green Extractivism in South Africa

The rationale for our work in South Africa has been twofold. Firstly, from the outset WoMin was clear that for both moral and political reasons we had to have a programme of work in the geography in which the secretariat was based. Secondly, South Africa has been the epicentre of industrial-scale natural resource extraction for more than a century. This offers WoMin and its allies deep insight into the political economy of extractivism and its impacts on people and nature.

Over the period 2015 to 2021, WoMin's work in South

Africa focused on dirty coal. We collaborated with women and their communities in eight localities, later this was reduced to five, across the Mpumalanga, Limpopo, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. Here, we supported women in their local organising efforts, which included discussion and strategy spaces, gatherings of women, training and information sessions, and local actions. In each site, we assisted women to generate income, revive traditional crafts, farm agro-ecologically, and build micro-renewable energy systems as critical support to organising efforts. WoMin support also included Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) which informed community



and women-led challenges to the terms of coal extraction in Somkhele and to the establishment of a coal mine in Fuleni. The FPAR in Ogies-Phola in Mpumalanga supported an exploration of women's access to energy locally and the identification of energy needs to inform lobbying of the local government.

WoMin assisted national movement-building through the creation of national platforms such as a Climate Festival, a National Energy Assembly building on five local assemblies, as well as a National Climate Camp. These national platforms enabled solidarity, critical analysis, and the formulation of demands for just and clean energy advanced within the Climate Justice Coalition, and advocacy targeting national government departments. We worked to highlight and challenge,

often on a collective basis, the violence perpetrated by transnational corporations on human rights defenders and women activists resisting extractivism.

With the impact of the Covid-I9 pandemic and the rapidly changing nature of extractivism, we shifted focus and strategy in South Africa to look at the growing impact of green extractivism (the extraction of green minerals and metal, oil and gas, and green hydrogen) which has emerged as a central strategy of the South African government and transnational corporations operating in South Africa. This shift has necessitated a change in focus to the Northern Cape, the province at the centre of new forms of 'green' resource extraction.



## **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

WoMin now supports women and their communities across eleven sites in Namakwaland and Richtersveld in the Northern and Western Cape. We support, build, and inform the political positioning of women and their communities which encompasses three fundamental standpoints: (I) the transfer of communal land back to local and indigenous communities; (2) consent rights for women and communities, including respect for their R2SayNO to mega projects: and (3) development based on their priorities for energy transitions and alternative forms of development constructed from below.

While the work in the Northern Cape is new, we have made a significant impact in the last two years. We have supported the growth of a movement

resisting extractivism called *Vrywillige Vooraf en Voordeurende Ingeligte Toestemming* (VVVT) which translates to Free, Prior and Informed Consent.

With two key allies, WoMin has launched an annual national school bringing together activists from across the country who are impacted by various forms of extractivism. This educational platform deepens their political understanding of extractivism and builds solidarity and resistance. In addition, we are working on a documentary on green extractivism using a participatory filmmaking process that involves women and communities who are at the forefront of resistance in the Northern Cape.

We have worked closely with the community of Concordia, the first community in Namakwaland to have their land transferred back to them following



1

a twenty-five-year battle, and have supported their confrontation with a company mining on their communal land without their consent. Moving forward, we aim to continue, deepen and support the resistance of frontline communities whose land and oceans are being grabbed by the state and transnational corporations.

The South African work on green hydrogen is the forerunner to a wider developing programme of continental work under the banner 'Resisting Green Extractivism'. This brings together the SA work, combined with plans for support to green hydrogen-related struggles in Namibia and the DRC; struggles against rare earth minerals in Madagascar, Uganda and Tanzania; resistance to cobalt and lithium extraction in the DRC, and organising to contest the rapid rise of gas extraction in West and Central Africa.



# GUNS, POWER, AND POLITICS: EXTRACTIVES, MILITARISATION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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of work addressing Extractivism, Militarisation and Violence Against Women (VAW). Corporations grab the land, forests and water of women and their communities for extractives-based development and rely on the military, police or private security to secure their investments against the resistance of affected communities and artisanal miners. The presence of men with guns results in sexualised violence, including sexual harassment, rape, and sexual coercion of women from surrounding communities. These are tools of intimidation and control. Given victim blaming and the threat of further harassment, most women do not speak out.

Violence against people and nature is an invisible but deep cost of extractivism. WoMin understands violence as deeply embedded in an extractivist and patriarchal development logic. Extractive industries destroy communities through displacement in violent ways. Workers are subjected to deep exploitation, and women's cheap and unpaid labour subsidise their profit. Nature bears much of the violence as the earth is dug up and trees felled. Land and water bodies are polluted, and whole landscapes are transformed into deserts. Violence cannot be negotiated or managed out of extractive industries and their operations. Violence is part of its DNA.



2

Our VAW work has been exploratory, questioning, and iterative. We have been challenged to think deeply about our lines of response to this violence, and our approach to dealing with trauma. Alongside partners, we have undertaken ground-breaking feminist political economy research in Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Zimbabwe. This has exposed how corporations and the political elite create the architecture to maximise profiteering from large-scale natural resource exploitation. It is impossible to understand the violence which accompanies large-scale resource extraction without understanding how power is configured and exercised at the local, national, and global levels.

In Zimbabwe, we worked with the Counselling Services Unit (CSU) to build a collective feminist trauma support model. It was piloted with eighteen women from different extractives sites who have all endured trauma at the hands of the Zimbabwean military and police. The women were able to find solace and solidarity amongst themselves, break the silence, work through the pains and hardships they had experienced, and find some respite. The same model was successfully

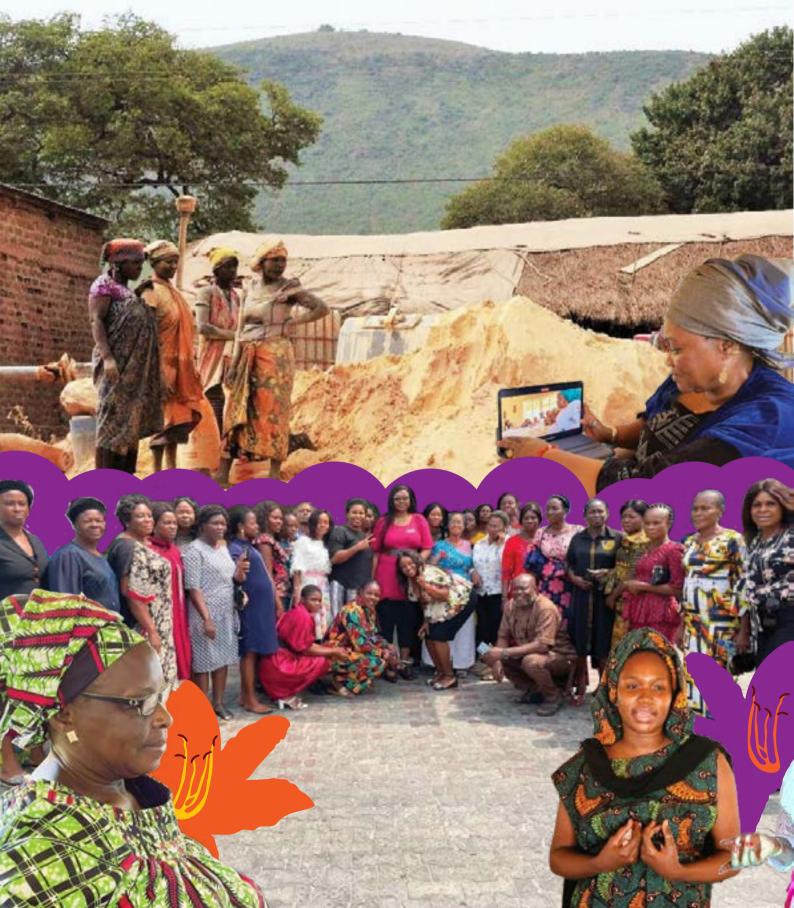
replicated in Sierra Leone. We have documented the trauma support process so that this emergent practice can be shared and also inspire and inform the work of others. Critical to the continued support of the women involved in these processes is a deeper exploration of what justice looks like from their perspectives, legal or otherwise.

WoMin has invested deeply in building a risk and safety strategy development resource that is aimed at supporting our partners, allies and communities to build context-specific risk and safety plans. We have piloted this manual with four partner organisations from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Madagascar, and Zimbabwe.

As women continue to rise against unjust systems of violence and inequality, we will continue to place their protection and security at the centre of our work. Our trauma work develops further with an orientation to endogenous and indigenous practices for healing.

WoMin and its allies and partners will continue to work with women to pursue their visit and heal for justice.





## CONSENT AND THE RIGHT TO SAY NO

ommunities, and women specifically, are routinely denied the right to give or withhold consent for large-scale extractive projects. Such extractive projects are promoted as the pathway out of poverty with promises of foreign direct investment, development, and jobs. The reality, instead, is increased inequality, ecological destruction, climate change, and dire social impacts such as forced dislocations, violence, and the loss of lives and livelihoods. In response, women and their communities across the continent organise to resist these imposed ideas of 'development' and claim their Right to Say NO!

Through the Consent and Right to Say NO (R2SayNO) programme, WoMin works alongside dozens of partners to support localised, national, and regional struggles and campaigns for the R2SayNO. More recently WoMin, alongside *Lumière Synergie pour le Développement* (LSD), have supported women fish processors of Bargny in Senegal. They have resisted

an AfDB-financed coal-fired power station and a proposed mining and steel complex operated by Turkish company Tosyali. The women ensured their inclusion in negotiations and successfully delayed the project so that an environmental impact assessment could be completed. The coal power plant was shut down in 2019 and their resistance has ensured it remains closed.

In Burkina Faso, WoMin and Organisation pour le Renforcement des Capacités de Développement (ORCADE) supported women organising against Orezone Gold's Bomboré Mine. Through sustained advocacy efforts, women were recognised as important actors, and are now consulted by the mining company and government. Women have publicly denounced local and national government for failing to protect them. Women and the community have also participated in a cost analysis exercise which quantifies losses and will form the basis of reparations campaigning targeting the African Development Bank (AfDB). In Madagascar,





## **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

we have supported the community-led campaign against the Base Toliara mining project, along with our partner Centre de Recherches et d'Appui pour les Alternatives de Développement - Océan Indien (CRAAD-OI). This campaign resulted in the suspension of the project's operations and communication activities in 2019, a compliance audit of the mining permit-granting process, and the election of CRAAD-OI members to the Mining Code Revision Steering Committee.

In the last two years, we have supported women in approximately forty-eight villages across six 'francophone' countries in West and Central Africa:

Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Senegal, and Guinea Conakry. This support includes information, skills, local income generation (always as the foundation for organising), solidarity and actions targeting government and corporations. Financial resources are always extended on a solidarity basis and have been channelled through solidarity NGOs in these countries. This support has largely been activated by sub-regional Platforms on the R2SayNO.

WoMin has developed a body of popular education materials including six information sheets on the R2SayNO, an animated film, and visual stories of



women in resistance that are written for communities and available in multiple languages. Under the auspices of WoMin's African Ecofeminist Development Alternatives (AEDA) Programme, we have been supporting women and their communities to articulate their own development alternatives – the YES to their NO!

WoMin will continue to stand in solidarity with and support women and their communities' struggles for the R2SayNO work. Together with our allies and partners we will strengthen the West/Central and East African convergences and invest deeply in a Pan African and Global Campaign for the R2SayNO.

"We dream of a world where we no longer must fight for the respect of our rights. A world of equality that puts an end to the patriarchal system. A just world that puts an end to extractivism at the expense of our community, far from other forms of ecological injustices. We must take lessons from our past to build our future. The first step is to recognise the shared responsibility we ALL have to envisage a better future for all the inhabitants of planet earth!"

- Miora Rabeony, Madagascar



# AFRICAN ECOFEMINIST DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES



s WoMin stands with women, their communities, and our allies to collectively struggle to dismantle extractivism, we are equally tasked with conceptualising and advancing forms of development that respond to the needs of African working-class and peasant women and protecting our planet. Through the African Ecofeminist Development Alternatives (AEDA) programme, WoMin aspires to support women-led movements for Pan

African, Ecofeminist, and post-extractive development alternatives.

The work to conceptualise a radically different development pathway has been supported by local dialogues to 'dream and imagine a different community, society and Africa'; and the identification and documentation of 'living alternatives' using creative methodologies. WoMin has been clear that the



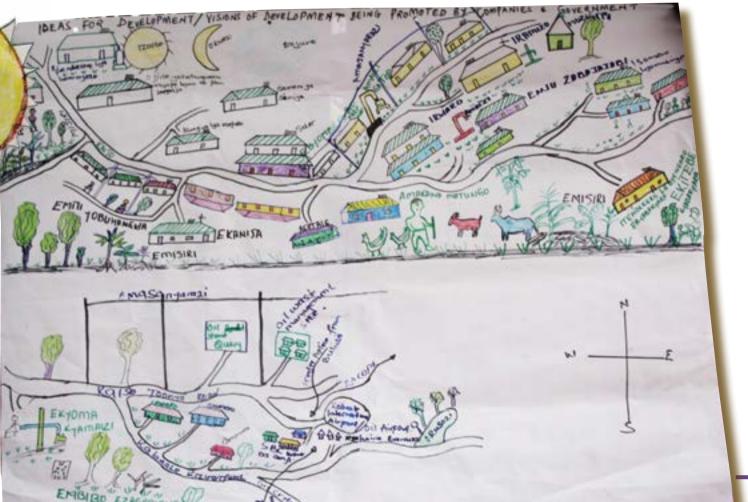


imagination and struggle needed for the alternatives must come from below. Research and dialogues on the transformation of artisanal mining as a critical part of the alternative, and more recently, the beginning of work to deepen and transform the land commons as an expansive living alternative in Africa, have been important.

Working across a network of organisations and movements, WoMin has been able to support dialogues between women from communities impacted by extractivist projects in Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Guinea Conakry, Kenya,

Madagascar, Nigeria, Senegal, and Uganda. During the dialogues, over one hundred and twenty women were clear in their NO to extractivism, and YES to REAL alternatives in the ways they produce food, conserve, and steward natural resources, and take care of their families and communities.

In 2023, WoMin has worked intensively to build and deepen facilitation skills and critical analysis on the dominant neo-liberal, neo-colonial, patriarchal, racist extractivist development model and its counter features, a process which yields an additional eight dialogues. Working in a web of efforts - including the



## **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

Thematic Social Forum on Mining and the Extractivist Economy, the Global Tapestry of Alternatives, and the Global Working Group Beyond Development - has inspired and informed us, and opened the space for collaboration.

As WoMin looks to the future, the dreaming and imagining process will be taken forward at the local level in communities of resistance. It will also

be escalated to national, regional and/or thematic dialogues which will enable women to share, analyse and co-construct their proposals for a just future for their communities, countries, and Africa as a whole. Deeper explorations and organising related to the strengthening and transformation of the land commons will be central, as will a Pan African convergence on development alternatives.





"When we harvest from nature, we must take only what is sufficient for meeting our needs. If we cannot consume all of them, we must share them with others, but we must not sell them for our sole profit. This means that we must live in love, trust, and solidarity with each other. We must feel and behave the same way with the nature and trees which give us the fresh air, joy, and happiness, along with the rain and water we need every day."





# **DEBT AND REPARATIONS**

n important and emerging area of work for WoMin is the debt and reparations question. This focus is informed by the five-year strategy which demands that WoMin expose the externalised costs of extractivism and campaign for the internalisation of these costs to corporations. Our first concrete step in this direction was the development of an ecofeminist impact assessment framework in 2019, which was piloted in Bargny in Senegal with the Khelkom women's association, and launched in September 2019.

At more or less the same time, WoMin resolved to intensify its work addressing the climate crisis, following multiple cyclones impacting Madagascar and parts of Southern Africa in 2018 and 2019. As our work advanced and as we escalated our investments in the ACJC, our resolve to work on the climate debt has soared.

In 2020, following the outbreak of COVID and the consequent shutdowns across the continent and world, WoMin made a deep analysis of the evolving context of crises. We identified the sovereign debt crisis as a critical dimension to address in alliance with others. We did not see this as a leading focus for WoMin's work but, given our efforts on the climate debt and the costs associated with extractivism, we saw this as a critical complementary focus. Our closest debt ally from 2020 has been the Committee for the Abolition of Illegitimate Debt (CADTM) which has a significant presence in West, Central, and North Africa. In the past years we have collaborated to write analysis, lobby the African Union, build a campaign targeting the African Development Bank (AfDB), build a civil society convergence at the 2023 World Bank Group meeting in Marrakesh, and start to make linkages across the multiple forms of debt owed to Africa.



# **Cost Analysis**

Building on the experience of the 2019 ecofeminist impact assessment, WoMin started working on the concept of cost analysis in 2022 and then developed and piloted an ecofeminist participatory cost analysis exercise in Bombore, Burkina Faso in September 2022 and Toliara, Madagascar in January 2023.

The cost analysis effort cuts across different programme areas in WoMin – WBP and the emerging AfDB campaign – offering the analysis and evidence to support campaigns and legal efforts to repair damages (seek reparations for losses).

# **AfDB Reparations Campaign**

The AfDB, the largest development finance institution in Africa, claims to promote the economic and social development of African countries and improve the living conditions of African people. In reality, as evidenced by the destructive extractive and infrastructure projects the bank finances, the AfDB is promoting and implementing a neocolonial profit-driven development model which benefits the traditional global North and parts of the emerging South at the expense of African countries.



### **OUR PROGRAMMES**



Women and their communities are rising to denounce the abuses and injustices they suffer because of 'development' projects financed by the AfDB. In the Republic of Guinea, the communities of Damouyah, Kansa, and Tahiré are impacted by the Gambia River Development Organization (OMVG) interconnection energy project, and have lost their land and consequently their ability to produce food and generate income. In Cameroon, communities in Batchenga and surrounding villages are experiencing the devastating impacts of the Nachtigal hydroelectric dam. Through extensive cost analyses undertaken in countries with a view to specifying and quantifying specific

reparations claims, we are supporting women and their communities to demand reparations for the wrongs inflicted by AfDB investments.

In April 2023 in partnership with Coalition pour l'Abolition de la Dette Illegitimate (CADTM) Afrique, Lumiere Synergie pour le Developpement (LSD), and Centre du Commerce International pour le Développement (CECIDE), WoMin organised a gathering in Guinea Conakry to initiate the development of the AfDB Reparations Campaign. The meeting brought together sixty women from the local communities of Damouya, Kansa, Woleah, Bangouyah, Balayah, and Tahire, all of whom are heavily impacted by the



# **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

AfDB-funded OMVG energy project. In addition, the convergence assembled participants, women from communities, and staff of solidarity NGOs from eleven other countries in West and Central Africa, namely Mali, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Gabon, Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, and Ghana. The community participants shared their experiences of

forced displacement and the loss of farmland they rely on for livelihoods. They also shared their struggles to get just and adequate compensation for their losses. The Conakry meeting represents a critical point in the construction of a Pan African Movement for reparations, led by impacted women.







Women voices matter ehh in every development Women voices matter ehh in all decisions When it comes to development t matters It matters

# When it comes to climate change It matters It matters When it comes to decisions It matters It matters It matters

Women Voices Matter
By Aminata Kamara, Sierra Leone

# OUR WAYS OF WORKING

1. BUILDING
PAN-AFRICAN
PARTNERSHIPS
AND ALLIANCES

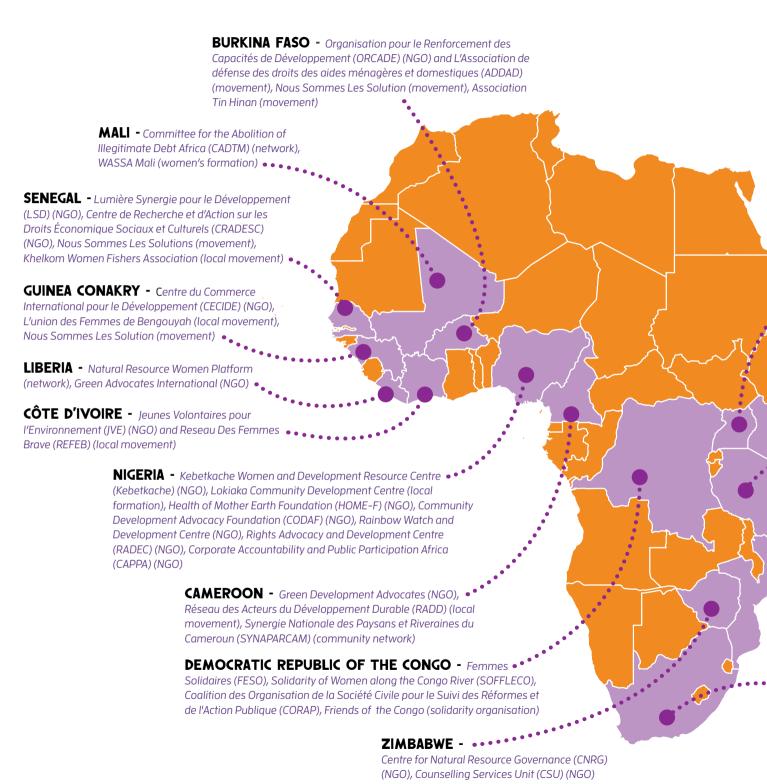
2. FEMINIST SCHOOLS

3. SHARING INFORMATION AND POPULAR EDUCATION MATERIALS

4. RESEARCH
AND FEMINIST
POLITICAL
ECONOMY
ANALYSIS

# WAYS OF WORKING TO SUPPORT ORGANISING AND MOVEMENT BUILDING Over the past decade, WoMin has worked to build and deepen ways of working which allow us to fulfil our mandate. At the core lies support for women's organising and movement-building. As a Pan African Alliance, we are at some distance from women in communities of resistance. This has shaped our choices and ways of working. 7. SUPPORTING **WOMEN-LED CAMPAIGNS** 6. PLATFORMS OF **CONVERGENCE** 5. **LEARNING** AND SOLIDARITY **EXCHANGES**

# **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**



# **WORKING WITH PARTNERS AND ALLIES**

**UGANDA** - Resource Rights Action (RRA) (NGO), Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI) (NGO), Tapac integrated development organization (TIDO) (local movement), Kalangala farmer's forum (local movement)

**KENYA** - Save Lamu (local movement), Lamu Women's Alliance (local movement), Franciscan Family Association (faith-based organisation), Good Health Community Programme (community organisation)

**TANZANIA** - Haki Madini (NGO), Mugusu Women Miners Cooperative (local formation), Transcribe Africa (NGO)

> MOZAMBIQUE - União Nacional de Camponeses (UNAC) (movement), Forum Mulher (women's network), Justica Ambiental (NGO), Alternactiva/Action for Social Emancipation) (NGO/ solidarity formation)

> > MADAGASCAR - Centre de Recherches • et d'Appui pour les Alternatives de Développement - Océan Indien (CRAAD-OI) (NGO), Femmes en Action Rurale de Madagascar (FARM) (local movement)

**SOUTH AFRICA** - Vrywillige Vooraf en Voordeurende Ingeligte Toestemming (VVVT) (movement), Rural Women's Movement (RWM) (movement), Amadiba Crisis Committee (ACC) (local movement), Southern Africa Green Revolutionary Council (SAGRC) (movement), Right to Say NO national campaign, Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC) (NGO), Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE) (NGO)

ver the past decade, WoMin has worked with seventy-four partners and allies in sixteen countries across the continent. Partners are organisations in each of these countries which WoMin has long-standing and deep political relations with. Our relations with partners usually entail concentrated work involving some or all of the following collaborations: supporting women's struggles in different sites, building and strengthening national convergence spaces, feminist schools, regional exchanges and meetings, research, campaign building and so on. WoMin often brings solidarity funding to these relationships and we also engage in joint resource mobilisation. Our allies are usually organisations and movements at the subregional, Pan African or Global levels, but sometimes at the national level as well. We generally have a close political synergy and collaborate on research, campaigns, Pan African and global platforms, and solidarity efforts. WoMin is not a membership-based alliance. Here is a map of our key partners and allies in 2022 and 2023.

PAN AFRICAN AND GLOBAL ALLIES: Rural Women's Assembly, Transnational Institute, Maroc ATTAC, CADTM Africa and International, People's Dialogue, Grain, Nous Sommes Les Solutions, La Via Campesina, Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC), Mining Watch Canada, Inclusive Development International, Accountability Counsel, Alternactiva.

### PLATFORMS WHICH WE ARE MEMBERS OF:

Southern African Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power, People's Dialogue, Global Tapestry of Alternatives, Thematic Social Forum on Mining and the Extractivist Economy, African Climate Justice Collective (ACJC), Working Group Beyond Development.





# FEMINIST POPULAR EDUCATION SCHOOLS

ver the last eight years WoMin has held national, regional, and Pan African Feminist Schools. The schools are dynamic, iterative, and deeply political spaces that allow women to cultivate a vision of a different world in which they are liberated from multiple oppressions. Here they define new ways of living and relating to nature upon which this new world should be constructed.

Our schools draw together activists embedded in local struggles and aim to deepen awareness and analysis of systems of power, while building bridges of solidarity between women across communities and countries. As exploratory and participatory popular education processes that support women's organising at national and regional levels, the Feminist Schools have been a key part of WoMin's programme of action.



# **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

Since the first Pan African School was held in March 2016 in Johannesburg, South Africa – co-organised with Just Associates (JASS) – a further six schools have taken place. These include a second Pan African school in Accra, Ghana in June 2017, and hosted by NETRIGHT-Ghana. A national Uganda School was also convened in Hoima, Uganda in June 2018, hosted by the National Association of Professional Environmentalists (NAPE) and the Kwataniza Women's Group. A national School took place in Harare, Zimbabwe in May 2021, and was

hosted by the Centre for National Resource Governance (CNRG). A West and Central African 'Francophone' School was held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in November 202I, hosted by Organisation pour le Renforcement des Capacités de Développement (ORCADE). Finally, an East and Southern African 'Anglophone' School took place in Uganda, a collaboration with the Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI) in July 2023.



"We reject the privatisation of our food and resources that our ancestors preserved for thousands of years. Our ancestors did an immense service to all the inhabitants of the planet by their contribution to the renewal of the biodiversity that constitutes the basis of our food and agriculture."

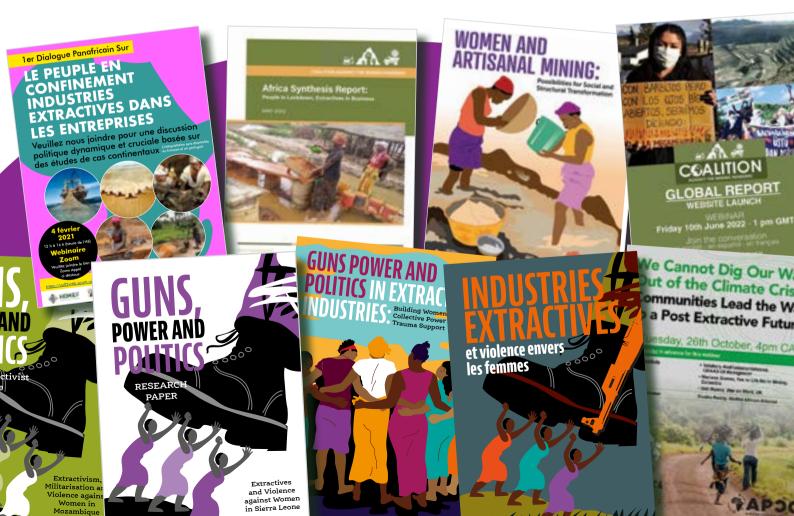


# INFORMATION AND POPULAR EDUCATION MATERIALS



ince the birth of WoMin, we have prioritised the development and wide distribution of information resources and popular education materials. These target women activists in sites of resistance as our primary audience, and NGO and solidarity allies to these struggles as a secondary audience. Under the Women Building Power knowledge hub, we have developed ten information booklets

addressing dirty destructive energy, climate crisis, false solutions and localised basic need solutions to energy poverty. Under the R2SayNO banner we have written six information sheets and a collection of simple examples of R2SayNO resistances. The VAW programme has supported three information booklets. All of these materials are available in French, English and Portuguese, and some in Swahili and Zulu.



### **OUR WAYS OF WORKING**

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Our award-winning film Women Hold Up the Sky tells the story of women activists from South Africa, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) fiercely resisting coal mining, oil extraction and a mega hydro dam. The film journeys between these countries, telling the story of women's resistance as part of wider community struggles. It portrays, their sharp analysis of the dispossessions they confront and the power relations at play, as well as their proposals for a different future for their families, communities and children.

The film was released in 2019 to great acclaim, with global screenings from Colombia to New Zealand. In addition to being nominated for Best Documentary at the Celebrating Womanhood Festival in Kampala, Uganda, the film has received several awards including the Standard Bank Ovation Gold Award at the National Arts Festival in Makhanda, South Africa, and Outstanding Documentary at the Abuja International Film Festival in Nigeria. It remains a powerful resource in our popular education toolkit, serving as a catalyst for consciousness-raising and solidarity-building conversations.



## **OUR WAYS OF WORKING**

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In 2019, WoMin undertook a considered reflection on its popular materials and resolved to experiment with alternative approaches. This led to the development and launch of three animated films: Polluters and Plunderers: The Roots of Africa's Crises, The Right to Say NO: Women Defend Africa's Wealth and African Sovereignty: Women Live the Alternatives. These have been widely distributed, including via WhatsApp which has greatly expanded our reach. Our current explorations to advance popular knowledge include animated books and photo stories conceptualised and written with women activists from communities.







# RESEARCH AND FEMINIST POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS

rom its first collection of six research papers
launched in 2013, WoMin has sought to advance
a critical ecological, feminist, and anti-extractivist
political perspective in its research and writings.
Since 2013, the WoMin team and activist consultants
who accompany us have written at least two dozen
papers, journal articles, position pieces and blogs on
a wide range of subjects and themes. These include
Guns, Power and Politics (2018-2020), Climate and
Energy Justice for Women in Africa (2017), Extractives

vs Development Sovereignty: Living Consent Rights for African Women (2017), and The Future Must be Ecofeminist (2021). We have contracted dozens of research projects addressing militarisation and violence (2018–2019), energy policy and legislative frameworks (2018), renewable energy (2020), consent rights opportunities (2019–2023), COVID and extractivism, and women and artisanal mining (2021–2022) to name a few. Many of these have informed our analysis and strategic choices. Others have had to be radically



### **OUR WAYS OF WORKING**

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rewritten to accord with our analysis and political perspectives. Researchers able to critically read themes and subjects from a feminist, ecological and anticapitalist positioning are a rarity and this has been one of our greatest challenges as an alliance.

Since 2013 WoMin has supported and accompanied partners and allies in the development of skills to undertake Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR). In the period 2013-2015, WoMin 'trained' and

then accompanied partners in seven countries to undertake FPAR which informed an analytical piece on the African Mining Vision. In 2019 WoMin offered a two-module FPAR training for partners and allies, and since then has supported multiple FPAR projects in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, Nigeria, and Burkina Faso. We see FPAR as a critical tool to support women's knowledge construction, actions for transformation, and the shaping of renewed change strategies.



# LEARNING AND SOLIDARITY EXCHANGES

he first exchange in WoMin's history was undertaken in January 2015 under the banner 'Women stand their Ground against BIG coal' and involved nearly two dozen organisations with more than fifty women grassroots activists and leaders from the Southern African region. Since then WoMin has undertaken more than a dozen exchanges, with a few highlighted here: Zambians to Kenya to learn about the

extractives sector (2016); activists from Nigeria, DRC, Uganda, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to Kenya for an energy learning exchange in partnership with PACJA (2019); women from Botswana and Sierra Leone to Nigeria to learn about the impacts of oil extraction (2022); an exchange between Senegal and Burkina Faso to share organising strategies and tactics (2018 & 2019); Bargny women activists traveller



### **OUR WAYS OF WORKING**

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to support women fighting a coal power plant in San Pedro, Côte d'Ivoire (2019); the R2SayNO exchange of women from Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Senegal to Liberia (2023).

These learning and solidarity exchanges have directly benefited at least 2I2 women and 35 men. The experiences have exposed them to new information, powerful insights, experiences and ways of organising,

with the powerful effect of breaking isolation, building solidarity, confidence, and inspiring action. Women and men, return to their own communities to share what they have learnt, seen and experienced, thus contributing to deepened struggles in dozens of communities across the continent. The ripple effect is potentially profound though we have not been able to examine these impacts sufficiently.







# PLATFORMS OF CONVERGENCE

oMin has supported diverse forms of convergence between women and their communities over the last decade. The forms we aspire to are sustained and offer activists from many resistances over sub-regions and at a Pan African level the opportunity to be in consistent and continuous relationship with one another. This sustainability is crucial to connect struggles at the national, sub-regional and continental level into powerful movements for radical transformation. The most powerful sustained convergence is, without doubt, the African Climate Justice Collective (ACJC), which WoMin and La Via Campesina initiated in 2019. The ACIC is a collective of African social movements (women, peasants, and fishers etc.), localised collectives, NGOs and other solidarity organisations with a shared commitment to building climate justice solutions from below through popular struggles. The ACIC seeks to link these struggles through the collective to build collective analysis, knowledge, struggles and iust solutions.

The African People's Counter COP (APCC) is a platform which emerges from the ACJC and aims to create a 'counter space' of African peoples and movements that counters the failed and compromised multilateral Conference of the Parties. Starting in 202I WoMin has, alongside the ACJC, invested deeply in the APCC for three years. The APCC combines local people's assemblies and online spaces to connect people across different local and national contexts to form a genuinely Pan African platform.

WoMin has played a leading role in building, alongside a large and growing number of partners and allies, the Women's Climate Assembly (WCA) in West and Central Africa. In October 2022, I20 women gathered in Port Harcourt in Nigeria. A second meeting took place in September 2023 in Lagos, in Nigeria, with over I50 African women from I7 countries in West and Central Africa. We hope that this grows into a permanent assembly of women for sustained connection, solidarity, learning, and exchange at regional levels thereby growing and strengthening national movements of women.

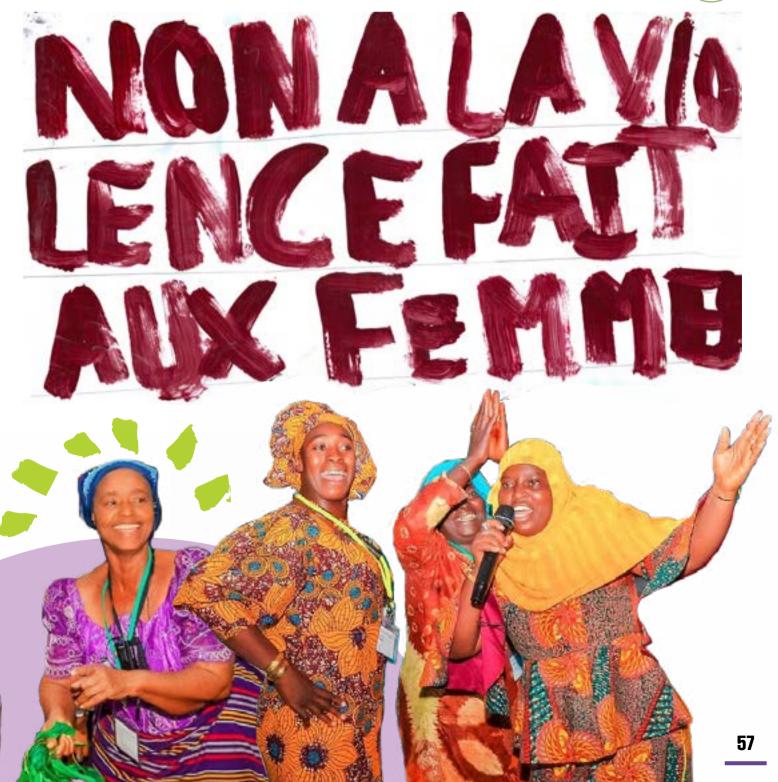
# **WOMEN BUILD POWER!**

WoMin has supported and invested deeply in the West and Central African Right to Say NO platform, with the same platform being supported in East Africa. In 2023, the platforms united women leaders in communities of resistance and will consolidate and grow this emphasis in the years to come. The platforms have committed to and undertaken common actions in the annual month of action for the R2SayNO. From 2023, the platforms will identify common regional and national targets for campaigning on the R2SayNO.

In 2024, WoMin will prioritise building a Pan African convergence on debt (sovereign, climate and ecological, reproductive, micro-credit etc.) and reparations for Africans, with a particular focus on women.











# **WOMEN-LED CAMPAIGNS**

oMin's first strong effort to build a unified regional campaign across Uganda, the DRC, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa was Women Building Power (WBP) for Energy and Climate Justice. Starting in 2016, WoMin and its partners made significant investment in local organising in twenty-one sites impacted by dirty and destructive energy investments. We undertook research on legal and policy frameworks for energy in three countries and built a campaign framework with clear principles, leadership, and strategies to be pursued across the six countries.

We also convened annual campaign meetings to deepen knowledge and skills in diverse thematics related to climate and energy justice, as well as concrete skills for organising and women-led campaign actions. This was our first testing ground which we aim to build on with time.

Since then, we have actively supported women-led campaign efforts in Burkina Faso (Orezone gold mine), Senegal (Bargny coal-fired power station), DRC (Inga Dam), and South Africa (coal mining affecting women in five sites). In 2022 WoMin resolved to build a reparations campaign targeting the AfDB which is actively building with women in multiple sites in Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Guinea (Conakry), Senegal, Mali, and Nigeria.



You come for one You come for us all! You come for us You will face us all! We are not one person We are not a building you can Bulldoze And crumble to dust. We stand on the shoulders of Those who came before us 310

Who fought for fairness and justice. We are every ancestor whose Blood, sweat and tears stained This Namaland. A thousand generations live within us A thousand bloodlines are within us! You come for us And you come for us all!

> by Ronesca Cloete, a poet and activist from Concordia, Northern Cape, South Africa



# PAST AND PRESENT FUNDING PARTNERS

oMin's work has been made possible through the support of funding partners. You have believed in us and our vision. You have trusted us. We thank you for walking alongside us on this journey of the last IO years. We look forward to your continued support and commitment in the IO years that lie ahead! **Thank you!** 















































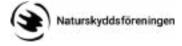


















# **ONWARD!**

s we reflect on our past and look to the future of WoMin, our political and strategic priority remains clear: to deepen our support for the movements of working class and peasant women in Africa who are bravely weaving a world in which people and nature can thrive.

In line with our focus to support women's movement-building, we will be launching an eighteen-month African Ecofeminist Cadre Building Programme across six countries by mid-2024. This is a long-term popular education curriculum designed to assist African women leaders to deepen their understanding of the

systems of oppression they face, build their capacity to organise themselves in resistance, and identify and campaign for ecofeminist development alternatives. In addition, we aim to intensify our work in all of our key programme areas, with a particular focus on Green Extractivism, False Climate Solutions, Defence of the Land Commons, and Campaigns for Reparations.

As WoMin enters a new decade, we will continue to learn from and build with the powerful and creative African women organisers whose dreams and struggles are the lodestar of our Alliance.



"It's very important to join so our voices will be heard. We must exercise women POWER. We women and communities on the frontline of harmful projects are the most affected people!"

-Rejoice Ndlovu, Zimbabwe



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