Feminist organizing for water justice in Africa
Feminist organizing for water justice in Africa:  
popular education toolkit. 2022.

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Toolkit developed by: The Movements Collective

Team: Femke Brandt, Sithandiwe Yeni, Ronald Wesso, Koni Benson (University of the Western Cape)

Contributors: Faeza Meyer and Ebrahiem Meyer

Editors: Mmabatho Motsamai and Jean Kemitare

Illustration & Design: The Movements Collective

Podcast production: Siyaceebeats

Images: pexels.com | cover photo: Peter Fazekas.
Introduction

This is a toolkit with activities designed to facilitate a popular education process for and with activists who are fighting for water justice in Africa. With popular education we mean a process whereby people who experience oppression come together, are enabled to express their views and collectively work out a way to solve their problems. Some activities include aspects of political education to foster a critical analysis of processes of neoliberalism and privatization. Overall, the toolkit aims to assist users in understanding the causes of injustices and generating possible alternatives and solutions.

This toolkit has been developed in relation to the research report entitled ‘Womn and Water in Africa: an overview of water justice struggles’ that was commissioned by Urgent Action Fund Africa (UAF - Africa) in 2021. The ‘Womn and Water in Africa’ report found that the Covid-19 pandemic highlighted the urgency of water justice struggles in Africa and particularly the lived realities of poor and marginalized African womn. Lack of clean water and losing access and control over water resources deeply impacts the lives of communities who depend on water for their livelihoods, health, spiritual and general well being.

A dominant political solution to the water crisis promoted by governments and international institutions such as the World Bank is to involve the private sector into water supply, infrastructure and distribution. This includes making water into a commodity that can be traded in the market. These decisions delivered profits to multinational companies who cause high water bills and who use, enclose and pollute water needed by African womn and their communities to survive and thrive. The neoliberal governance of water fuels ongoing water dispossession and violence on the continent. Alternative views call for democratized systems of water control and access that are embedded in social relations of African communities.

This toolkit treats the water crisis as a political and feminist issue that requires a political solution driven by strong grassroots movements fighting for social justice.
One recommendation in the report was that UAF - Africa designed a water justice campaign that focused on strengthening grassroots organizing and feminist movement building. This toolkit is designed with the intention to facilitate such a process with UAF - Africa grantees and other activists and human rights defenders on the continent.

The toolkit focuses on marginalized African women’s water struggles. Because marginalized African women face multiple layers of oppression it will only be possible to achieve water justice for everybody when their problems are solved and needs are met. Water struggles are linked to other important struggles over land, housing, health and gender-based violence. These linkages are acknowledged and explored in the activities.

**How to use this toolkit**

The toolkit is like a menu for activists, human rights defenders, feminists, researchers, and practitioners who are involved in water struggles and (want to) engage in movement building for social justice. This means it is not a linear curriculum that has to be followed from a to z. It focuses on users in Africa, but can be applied in contexts beyond Africa as well. As with many exercises, facilitators and users will have to make the activities their own in order to ensure it meets participants where they are at.

The toolkit consists of seven activities that can be used separately and according to the needs of users. Activities are introduced and explained in terms of their objectives and what materials are needed to do them. Each activity consists of two sub-activities that can be modified to a group’s needs. A group or facilitator might choose to only engage in one sub-activity due to time limitations or specific interests. Generally the activities could be done in 45 minutes. However, most activities could easily take up more time if available. Facilitators and participants can choose where to put emphasis in each activity and dedicate more time to that part. Each activity also includes notes for facilitators and suggestions for sources of information to learn more about certain topics. There is also a specific resources section at the end of the toolkit with an overview of all sources used to create this toolkit.
The political orientation of UAF - Africa is to support the work of feminist activists and women’s human rights defenders and their organizations, collectives and movements. The toolkit assumes neoliberal water politics cause many problems, especially for marginalized African women.

Certain activities include elements of political education. The toolkit seeks to have an inclusive approach to gender identities and sexuality. At the same time, the activities are aimed at participants with a range of politics and views and do not aim to impose any specific politics. Rather, the activities are designed in a way that enables oppressed people to express, develop and question their politics based on the knowledge they share and generate in the education process.

Some activities and topics might be triggering for participants. In many contexts standing up against power comes with great risks for activists. Facilitators and participants might be interested in additional resources that specifically focus on how to create a safe space, how to engage with emotions, trauma or conflict. We recommend reading ‘Emergent Strategy: shaping Change, Changing Worlds’ by adrienne maree brown. This book includes practical tools and ideas for facilitation. Another useful and accessible resource is the Just Associates (JASS) We Rise Toolkit, which includes practical exercises and tools for different aspects of movement building.

Triggering
Refers to emotional distress caused by hearing, seeing or reading something that brings back feelings or memories associated with traumatic experiences.
This activity starts with exploring what water justice means for participants. In conversation, participants share their views and learn about each other’s perspectives and knowledge. The experiences of water (and related) struggles of womn are centered. In the activity participants interview each other, engage in plenary discussion, and learn about and reflect on water struggles in South Africa and Gabon.

The objectives of this activity are:
- Understanding water struggles and justice: whose water needs are not met, how does it impact them and what are they saying about it?
- Why is this a feminist issue?
- How do womn use their power
- Reflection on organizing activities and strategies.

Activity 1.1: Women, water and justice

2. Everybody looks for someone in the group they don’t know so well yet. Have a conversation together. Ask each other about the main problems with water, what they are doing about these problems and how they understand water justice.
3. Share in the group what you learned from the person you had a conversation with. What were differences and commonalities?
4. Who has the least access/control in relation to water? Why is that? Discuss intersectionality.
5. What would water justice mean for the people who have the least access/control in relation to water?

Materials
- Example 1: African Water Commons Collective case, page 6
- Example 2: Palm oil in Gabon case, page 7

Intersectionality

Refers to different layers of oppression according to class, (dis)ability, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality etc.

Marginalized African womn face multiple layers of oppression. A feminist approach assumes water justice for everybody can only be achieved by centering the problems and needs of marginalized womn.
Activity 1.2: Water problems in South Africa and Gabon

1. Divide the group in two. Group 1 reads the example of the African Water Commons Collective (AWCC) (page 6) and group 2 reads the example from Gabon (page 7).

Groups answer the following questions about the cases:
1. What are the main problems of the people in the case examples? Who causes these problems?
2. How are people affected?
3. What are people doing about these problems? How were they organized?
4. What have been the results? Water justice?
5. What were or could be the risks?

2. Groups present their cases to each other. Participants ask each other questions and discuss the cases further.

3. Group reflection on meaning for own struggles and strategies. What did we learn, what was inspiring, what is common with our own context?

• As mentioned in the introduction to the toolkit, some activities might be triggering for participants. It might be worth, as part of preparation, to look at the suggested resources that focus on facilitation tools and practices in relation to emotional holding, creating safe spaces and dealing with trauma or conflict.

• Certain process choices depend on group composition and size. How well do participants already know each other? Interviews can be done in groups of 2 or bigger.

• Discussion about the cases could include that: 1) Covid-19 pandemic highlighted water issues (lack of infrastructure as well as drought) and injustices, 2) The connection between water struggles and other problems. Ask participants what other problems activists engage, for example violence against women, land rights, inheritance issues, health and economic problems.
Example 1: African Commons Water Collective, South Africa

The coming of ‘Day Zero’ in Cape Town was big news all over the world around 2018. Day Zero was the day the South African city was going to run out of water. However, activists of the African Water Commons Collective (AWCC) explain that for poor people who live in the townships and informal settlements, people have been living with Day Zero all their lives.

The introduction of water management devices by the City made matters worse in these communities. Vulnerable people were made to sign contracts and suffered the consequences of faulty meters and having no access to water or to enough water. An activist explains that in one household of 17 people the device only kicks out 76 liters of water per day. Only the elderly house owner can visit the City’s offices to report problems because they only talk to him. But the man is too old and it is too expensive to go all the way to the office every time the meter breaks. The government makes life very difficult for people from poor communities.

Because of the prepaid water meters and the problems that come with them, there is not enough water for people to wash their hands or for everyone to flush the toilet. Activists recognize households with water meters by the stench in the driveway! The situation causes disease and shouldn’t be accepted as normal. It is a crisis. When people protest against these things, they are considered violent. But isn’t it violent that children are dying in informal settlements of preventable diseases?

Since 2014, the AWCC has visited communities and encouraged people to come together to map their daily water needs and compare this to what they are getting. People are supported in setting up Water Action Committees. This way AWCC, as a collective of water campaigners, promotes self-organization of communities fighting for water justice. They focus on providing political education, capacity building, tools, strategies, networking and other forms of solidarity to build a stronger movement in Cape Town and beyond.

This text is an excerpt of a video made by the AWCC.
Example 2: Resisting oil palm plantations in Gabon

Since 2011, the Singapore-based firm OLAM has been expanding industrial palm oil plantations around villages in Gabon. Local farmers from the villages resisted the encroachment of the plantations up to their farms because of the dangerous pesticides used on the plantations. These contaminate their water sources and community land. People use and need the water for their livelihoods, drinking, fishing and sanitation.

Womn were particularly impacted as they traditionally engage in fishing activities for which they need access to clean and accessible water basins and lakes. Streams have filled up with soil. The water contamination poses serious health risks to villagers, who report that an increased number of people are falling ill and washing in the streams leads to itching bodies. Because the fish population is declining in the damaged ecosystem, the diets of local people no longer contain enough of this source of protein.

In 2018, local communities sent a complaint letter to OLAM. They also send the letter to their local authorities and government ministries. In the letter, people explained the damage the oil plantations are doing to their environment and especially their water resources.

In response, OLAM installed some water pumps in the villages. People feel this is not enough. Not all the pumps are functional or the water coming out of them is not drinkable. People were promised benefits by the company, but they don’t see how they are gaining from this situation. On the contrary, they feel they are losing.

Activity 2: Our realities in historical context

This activity supports participants situating their personal experiences in historical and political context of neoliberal practices in relation to water. It shows how the personal is political. It demonstrates a continuation of water dispossession in a way that resonates with participants' direct experiences.

The objectives of this activity are:

- Understanding how local practices and experiences are part of a wider neoliberal process of privatization. This exercise provides a general picture and timeline of events and decisions that are the root causes of environmental and social injustices experienced in Africa today.
- Discover and discuss how ‘big’ global processes shape(d) everyday experiences and struggles in every place.
- Go back in time to remember other ways of relating to water, to show that the current struggles are not natural or inevitable, but have been constructed and created. Imagine re-arranging our societies so that we can reconnect to the water we need.

Neoliberalism

Often defined as a political approach or economic model that favour free-market capitalism, deregulation and reduction in government spending. Policies seek to transfer control of economic factors from public to private sector.

Activity 2.1: Personal water histories

1. Discuss in the group, what are water relations? What does it mean to have good water relations in the community?

2. Participants map their own histories of water relations. Make small groups. Use the following guiding questions:

   » What do you need water for? How do you access it?
   » Does water feature in stories told in or about the community? What are positive experiences or stories about water?
   » Have there been changes in your relation to water, the way you access water? Was the situation better or worse in the past?
   » Describe the relation to water of an older family member (parent, aunt, grandparent). Write down their name(s) on a sticky note. Was the water situation better or worse for them? Why?

Materials

- Rope/yarn/wool, tape, different colours of sticky memo’s, pens/pencils.
Groups write all important changes in relation to water, and when they happened, on sticky notes. Then stick the notes on the wall in the wave (decade) the change took place.

Everyone walks around and views the sticky notes of the other groups on the wall.

Plenary discussion. What similarities and differences on the sticky notes did people notice, find important? How far back do the changes go? How do people feel about the direction of the changes in water relations?

Activity 2.2: Neoliberal water politics in Africa

Discuss: when did problems like climate change, poverty, unemployment, and violence against women start? Have these problems always been there, what caused them?

Facilitator outlines processes of neoliberalization and water privatization in Africa. Trace the roots of problems with water access and control and share how communities have persistently resisted oppression and social injustices.

Look at the wave ‘before the 1960s’ and discuss what happened with water during those times that still has an impact on present realities. Who had/take power over resources? Who was dispossessed? Who fought back and how against the colonial governments and authorities of that time?

Discuss what participants learned that is new, what they already knew, and what questions are coming up.

What links are visible on the wall between the big processes (causes) and the changes in water relations in small/different places where participants and their communities live/work?

Privatization of water

Refers to private sector participation in the provision of water services and sanitation. Arguments against privatization are:

- Impossible to make profits and provide services to everyone in places with widespread poverty
- Private sector is not interested in providing water to the poor who can’t pay for water (World Bank acknowledged this is a 2003 report)
- Private sector not interested in infrastructure investment
• At the start of this activity, the facilitator (together with participants) ties/tapes ropes (or hangs yarn/wool) on a wall where every ‘wave’ represents a decade from 1960s to 1970s to 2020s which ends with 2030 which marks the SDG 6 goal of safe and clean drinking water for all (see materials on page 11).

• Prepare sticky notes with actions by states and corporations such as formation of 2030 Water Resources Group and Structural Adjustment. These are placed on the wall above the rope. Under the rope will be sticky notes (use different colours if possible) with actions and responses by people such as remunicipalization struggles and the Cochabamba Water Wars.

• Look at the timeline with key concepts and institutions involved in water politics in Africa to prepare a presentation of the root causes of water struggles in Africa and resistance to it (see also the water report mentioned in the introduction of the toolkit).

• The side box definitions and explanations of key-terms and institutions throughout the toolkit help understand the most important shifts in ideas and policies that have shaped water relations and politics in Africa over time.

• In preparation, add locally relevant milestones to the ones provided in the timeline. These can be current milestones, but also historical events where communities, women, people resisted authorities during colonial times for example.

• The order of activity 2.1 and 2.2 could be reversed. The current order deliberately begins with participants’ own experiences and mapping of changes in water relations.

• The duration of the activity could be expanded to a half or full day workshop depending on available time and group size. Participants could spend more time sharing their personal (family) histories in relation to water or dedicate more time to discussion about the processes and actors involved in water politics.

• Examples of typical changes in water relations could be: we started paying for water, a water tap was built, the water was polluted and became toxic, we received higher water bills, no water for animals, rivers ran dry, we had to walk far to access water.

• Wrap up point: the personal is political. Decisions made far away from us and by people who care little about our realities, do affect how we live. Privatization is not inevitable or natural, it is a political solution that can be challenged and changed.
**Materials activity 2: timeline ‘waves of neoliberal water politics’**

- **Tip:**
  Look for the definitions and explanations of institutions and processes mentioned in this timeline in the side boxes throughout the toolkit.
In this activity participants explore what they know and think about the policies that affect their water realities. There is an explanation of the dominant policy framework called Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM). This exercise might be helpful to explore/decide if policy advocacy is a strategic consideration for achieving change and water justice. The activity refers back to activity 2 about the big picture of neoliberal water politics in Africa.

The objectives of this activity are:
- Understand and discuss what we mean with policy
- Identifying water policies that affect us
- Discuss how policies are made
- Have a conversation on how policies affect our realities
- Discuss if and how we want to influence policy

Activity 3.1: What do we know about policy

1. Introduction. What comes to mind when we think about policy? Either plenary or buzz-feed (talk to the person next to you). What policies do you know?

2. Plenary discussion. How do we refer to policy in your daily languages? What does that mean for how we understand policy?

3. Do we know the policy that describes the principles/rules on how we relate to our water resources? Where would we have to go to find out?

4. What are people’s roles in shaping this policy, who makes decisions about the policies we know, and did participants participate in policy-making/influencing processes?

5. Discuss if and how we want to engage in policy advocacy.

IWRM
Became popular after UN Dublin Statement of 1992. Resulted from an international conference on water and the environment where governments declared water an economic good. Soon after, African countries implemented policies that were based on cost recovery of water services. This means people are charged for water they consume. This practice contradicts the view that all people should have access to water no matter their ability to afford it.

Materials
- A brief overview on Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM), page 14
Activity 3.2: Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM)

1. Look at the English definition of policy: *policy is a course or principle of action adopted or proposed by an organization or individual.* Example: economic policy of the government. In Africa, the dominant policy direction for water is IWRM. Read the brief overview of IWRM.

2. In groups of 2 or 3, identify the key principles of IWRM. What do we think about these principles? Can we think of alternative principles to manage our water?

3. What questions do we have about water policy that affects us? Have a group discussion about the issues that are unclear or contested in the group.

4. (How) has our government implemented IWRM? With what results?

5. Are the principles on how water resources should be managed different from land or housing policies?

- For this activity it helps if the facilitator knows or prepares knowledge on specific national/regional/local water policies that are relevant to the experiences and the context of the participants.
- Examples of policies that people might know could be: borehole committee policy, funeral insurance policy, land policy, local school policy, economic policy of the country.
- Activity 3.2 could be expanded in a little research project where participants interview someone knowledgeable on water policies or do an internet search for example.
- Suggested resources to learn more:
  - Water Journalists Africa reports on IWRM in Africa
  - Academic journal Water Alternatives: special issue on IWRM politics in Africa.

Decentralization

Refer to a restructuring process of the state into financially autonomous lower spheres of government with the aim of reducing overall public spending. It means that for example municipalities become responsible for delivering water services and have to cover the cost of doing so.
Materials activity 3:

Brief overview on Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM)

» IWRM became popular after the 1992 Dublin international conference on water and the environment. This was the conference where countries declared water should be treated as an economic good.

» 80% of all countries in the world included IWRM principles in their water law or policies. The World Bank promoted it.

» It was believed it could solve the water management crisis in the Global South caused by lack of state capacity to manage water resources, population growth and the climate crisis. The solution was to involve the private sector, foreign direct investment and market mechanisms.

» A key principle of IWRM is decentralization. It is a driver of privatization and commercialization as there are no resources given to lower spheres of government to deliver services.

» IWRM focuses a lot on management (stakeholder approach) and technical issues in relation to water resources. There is less attention to the need to increase access to water and poverty reduction.

» Power, politics and competing interests are ignored. Research has shown that the interests of big water users are favored at the cost of small and poor water users who are often African women. A big study on IWRM in Southern Africa found that “the case studies reveal that IWRM may have resulted in an unwarranted policy focus on managing water instead of enlarging poor women’s and men’s access to water. The newly created institutional arrangements tended to centralise the power and control of the State and powerful users over water and failed to address historically rooted inequalities” (Mehta et al. 2016: 389).

» The principles and practices of IWRM clash in many places with ‘informal’ water users’ practices and/or customary rules and practices of water use and management.

World Bank

One of the main players in international development by providing financial assistance and policy prescriptions to developing countries. It is the largest donor, it produces research that supports policies that promote involvement of the private sector, and it controls government’s decision making of borrowing countries. The private arm of the World Bank is the International Finance Corporation (IFC).

Source: Prasad 2017
This activity focuses on questions of organizing and feminist movement building. Participants reflect on their own organizing ways and listen to a podcast conversation about organizing for water justice. Participants then discuss the themes and learnings from the podcast.

The objectives of this activity are:

- Breaking down concepts. What is feminist movement building?
- Engage how feminists critically question how decisions about distribution and allocation of resources are made.
- Reflect on wider questions of organization and mobilization and solidarity.

Materials
- Podcast (click hyperlink to access)

Activity 4.1: Feminist Movement Building

1. Play ‘Stand Up If’. One person makes a statement, for example “I am a feminist” and everyone who agrees stands up. This is a quick check to make everyone’s views visible.

2. Group discussion. Are we feminists? Are we building a movement? What do we know about feminism and movement building?

3. What are the words and expressions for feminism and movement building in participant’s first languages?
**Activity 4.2: Reflection, our organizing**

1. Listen to the **podcast** on water struggles in Africa and feminist movement building (17 minutes).

2. What did you learn from listening to the podcast? Different perspectives? New views on gender in water struggles and feminist movement building?

3. What ideas did you get about organizing for social justice?

4. What did you hear about building solidarity as part of movement building?

- When discussing political orientations, differences or disagreements could emerge within groups. It is the role of the facilitator to create space to allow different views to be expressed, heard and engaged. Only when we are aware of our differences, we can make decisions on how to deal with them.

- Suggestions for statements in the ‘Stand Up If’ Game: “water is the biggest problem in this community”, “womn are at the forefront of fighting injustices”. During the game the facilitator could share observations about who stands up fast or slow and what are the topics where people in the group hold different views. Invite participants to come up with statements as well.

- Read **article Benya and Yeni** on feminist schools in South Africa to get ideas about the use of language and translation in unpacking concepts like feminism, gender, and patriarchy.

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**Alternative World Water Forum (FAME)**

A space where water activists from all over the world come together to meet, build solidarity and share stories about the fight for water justice. It takes place every two years at the same time as the World Water Forum.

In 2022, the gathering took place in Dakar, Senegal. The [FAME22 website](#) published reports on the proceedings. One outcome has been the establishment of the African Water Justice Network that seeks to build solidarity between people and groups fighting for water justice.
This activity focuses on questioning and exploring who controls water. It introduces different water control models by playing the ‘Water control game’ and participants analyze the roles of government (public), corporations (private), and people in managing water resources.

The objectives of this activity are:
- Engaging the question: how is water controlled and who should control water?
- Situating models in context, different rural and urban challenges and realities.
- Class and gender dynamics in water control.
- Discuss remunicipalization
- Reflect on the difference between being against privatization, and being against losing control and autonomy over natural resources.

Materials
- Water Control Game, page 19

Autonomy
Refers to self government. In this context it means people having control over the way they live and manage natural resources.

Remunicipalisation
the move of water services from privatization to full public ownership, management and democratic control.

2030 Water Resources Group
A policy consortium spearheaded by the World Bank’s International Finance Corporation. The group includes the world’s largest multinationals like Coca-cola and Nestle to engage them in drafting water policy for a growing number of countries in the Global South (Karunananthan 2019, p248)

Activity 5.1: Water Control Game

1. Quick buzz group discussion (with the person next to you): who should be in control of water resources and use? People, government and/or companies?

2. Make three teams and play the Water Control Game.

3. Group discussion: how was the game experience? What do we take away from it? What are we fighting for?

We want Ghana to win! How do we strategize to keep control over our water and our health?
Activity 5.2: Who controls the water we need?

Discuss in the group: how is water controlled in your area? Who makes decisions about water use and distribution?

Discuss the reality we want and what would need to happen to make this happen? Who would lose control/profits/power in the process?

What risks do we face when wanting to change control of water?

Are there specific risks from women? How do we protect women and activists fighting for control?

Cochabamba Water War
Famous water war in Bolivia in 2000. Civilians protested for months over the privatization of the city’s municipal water supply which raised the water rates. One civilian was killed and hundreds were arrested. On 10 April 2000, privatization was reversed by the government. A complaint filed by foreign investors was resolved by agreement in February 2001. Water has been remunicipalized. Social movements are building new forms of public management and participation, with ongoing challenges with increasing access to water and sewage services to all people in the city.

Facilitator
• Note that the game requires preparations like printing and cutting cards and organizing cups or buckets and scoops etc. If there is no water available it is possible to use something else that is available (and transferable between buckets) and that can represent the water, like leaves, stones, or sand.

• Read the article by Marcela Olivera and Stefano Archidiacono to learn more about the autonomous water operators in Latin America. This will help to understand the difference between private, public and people’s control of water and how they relate to water justice.

• An important topic emerging from the game is the question who is (or should) be in control of water resources. Working class people? Government? And why? The events described on the cards affect different sections of society in different ways. Facilitators might probe during the discussion: how did a particular event affect working class communities, women in these communities, international corporations, governments?

• Another important topic is the gendered nature of water struggles. Probe participants on what they noticed about the roles of women as frontline activists.
Water Control Game

Water is a finite and locally specific natural resource that all life depends on. It is a basic need for all humans and other beings to exist. Without water, life is not possible. Fresh water is becoming more and more limited because powerful actors like extractives companies and large agricultural industries divert, displace and pollute water on a large scale. In addition, climate change is disrupting water availability, quantity and quality. This makes it harder for natural environments to replenish water systems (through what is called the hydrologic cycle).

Water has also become big business, some even call it the ‘blue gold’. Global unsustainable water practices happen at the cost of water access and control of communities who depend on water resources for their health, livelihoods, spiritual and social well being. All over the world, people are fighting to gain control over their water resources and their way of life. Women are often at the frontline of these struggles as the lack of access to clean water simply makes the lives of their families and communities impossible.

This game is a playful introduction to different mechanisms of water control and power dynamics in water justice struggles. The country scenarios are based on people’s realities and struggles in different places, although they have been simplified for the purpose of the game. Some experiences in Ghana for example are actually based on examples from other African countries like Senegal and South Africa.

Players are confronted with choices that have different implications for water control, health and wealth. During and after the game players have to think about the importance of control of water in relation to accumulating wealth for example, or how water and health are gendered. The game simulates existing unequal power relations between and within countries. Systematic power differences determine the outcomes for the different countries and people living within them. Players in the Ghana, Bolivia and France teams make choices based on their own principles and ideas of justice. The question that is raised is what needs to happen for Africa to win the water control game?

Materials
» 3 Fresh water supply buckets or cups (1 for each country)
» 3 Exclusive buckets or cups (1 for each country), this water represents exclusive use by private or public actors.
» 3 Pollute buckets or cups (1 for each country)
» Cups/spoons/scoops to transfer water
» Country cards, print and cut out from appendix
» Point cards (wealth, health and control cards), print this page from appendix 5 times to have enough cards
» Global event cards, print and cut out from appendix

This game is an adaptation of the existing ‘World Water Game’ made by Sonia Wing
How to play the game

1. Split the group into three teams. Each team represents one of the following countries: Ghana, Bolivia, France.
2. Each country receives a Fresh Water supply bucket/cup filled with a similar amount of water.
3. Each country receives an Exclusive and Pollute bucket/cup. Fill each Exclusive bucket with 5 scoops of water. During the game countries might be instructed to transfer water from their Fresh water supply to these buckets/cups.
4. Each country receives a stack of country cards that contain the actions that the countries will carry out during the game.
5. Taking turns (one at a time), each country will flip over two cards. After reading both actions, players must choose one that they will carry out. The action will involve the transfer of water and/or points cards. The unused card can be put back into the pile.
6. When a country has carried out an action, move on to the next country.
7. The game facilitator plays a ‘global events’ card after a specific period of time (for example every 10 minutes). These events affect countries (and people) in different ways.
8. Continue to play until the time is up or you run out of cards.

How you win

A country wins the game when either:

Having the most water left in their Fresh Water supply bucket in the end of the game, OR

Having accumulated the most points.

Allocation of cards

Ghana: 3 Wealth cards, 4 Health cards, 2 Control Cards
Bolivia: 3 Wealth cards, 4 Health cards, 3 Control Cards
France: 10 Wealth cards, 8 Health cards, 6 Control cards

Values Point Cards

Wealth = 10 points
Health = 10 points
Control = 20 points

Additional rules

Countries may trade cards and water at any point in the game
A country with no health left must trade to receive a health card

When the game is over, use the guiding questions on the next page to reflect on the experience of the game.
Country cards

The teams in the water control game represent three countries: Ghana, Bolivia, and France. Here you see one country card per country. The complete set of cards is in the appendix of the toolkit. These pages can easily be printed and the cards cut out and used for play.

Discussion questions for after the game:

» What do you notice about the difference in points and Fresh Water left between countries?
» How do you feel about playing as Ghana, Bolivia, France?
» Which cards made you feel good? Why?
» What were the most difficult moments or decisions during the game?
» What felt unfair? Who do you think really won the game?
» Did the country you represent always played in the best interest of the people of that country?
» What did you notice about the gendered nature of water struggles?
» What other struggles were mentioned in the game?
» What do you think is the relation between wealth, health and water control?
» Should water be controlled by private companies, government or people?

Ghana

Civil society groups organize a media campaign against prepaid water meters in a city and succeed in stopping the government from shifting to the installation of prepaid water meters.

• Gain 1 control card
• Transfer 2 scoops of water from Exclusive into Fresh water supply bucket

France

A French multinational company operates oil palm plantations in West Africa and pollutes rivers, streams and swamps. Local communities lose livelihoods and face severe health problems as a result.

• Ghana transfers 3 scoops of water to their Pollute bucket
• Gain 3 wealth cards
• Take 1 Health card from Ghana

Bolivia

Activists participate in an exchange with activists from Senegal to discuss strategies to achieve water justice, meaning control over their water resources and lives.

• Gain 1 control card
During the early 2000s there was a global campaign for the human right to water led by several international NGOs and grassroots activists. They called themselves the global water justice movement. The coalition of organizations fought against water privatization. In 2010, the United Nations declared water as a human right. What does this mean for water justice struggles in Africa? This activity seeks to explore what we know about our water rights and how these rights shape struggles of activists and WHRDs in Africa.

The objectives of this activity are:

- Explore what participants know about water rights.
- Reflect and discuss if/how these water rights help us with our water struggles? What do they do?
- Understanding arguments for and against using the human right to water to challenge neoliberal water management.

Activity 6.1: “Water For All”

Group question: who or what are the largest water users in our country and in the world?

Look at the different statements that use the idea “water for all”. Whose statements are they? What do they use water for? How much do they need? What are these actors’ interests in water? What are the contestations about?

Discuss the FAME22 (Alternative World Water Forum) statement and actors and share your views on this statement.

Materials

- Examples of the way the human right to water discourse (“water for all”) is appropriated by corporate actors, page 24.
- An overview of arguments for and against using the right to water in water struggles, page 25.
Activity 6.2: The use of water rights

1. Group discussion: What do we know about our water rights? What does it mean for us that water is a human right? Do we know other human rights?

2. Form two groups who each read and discuss reasons for or against using the human right to water to solve water problems (page 25). Group 1 reads the arguments FOR and discusses them in the group. Group 2 does the same for arguments AGAINST.

3. Groups present the arguments to each other and share what they discussed in the group.

4. Plenary group then thinks of more reasons why the human right to water will help or not help in their own water struggles.

- It will help if the facilitator knows the relevant water rights that apply to the context of the participants. This might require some research as preparation. A way to start is to look up what a country’s constitution says about water rights and then which Acts give effect to these rights.

- To learn more: read the article by feminist geographer Meera Karunananthan: Can the human right to water disrupt neoliberal water policies in the era of corporate policy-making?

- Meera also speaks in the podcast that is part of activity 4.

- Read this article about the way Coca Cola got away with water restrictions in Cape Town.
**Materials activity 6.1: Water for All statements**

"As a business with a long heritage of protecting the quality of natural waters and water stewardship, we want to go beyond the conservation of water sources to help regenerate and restore water cycles in the areas where we operate.

Cédric Egger  
Head of Sustainability at Nestlé Waters

**Tip**  
Look for the side box of the 2030 Water Resources Group on page 17.

**Principle 1: Inclusivity**

We believe that everyone whose lives will be affected by projects we facilitate should have their voice heard. We strive to create truly inclusive Multi-Stakeholder Platforms (MSPs) by bringing all legitimate stakeholders to the table. By providing a neutral and open platform, we ensure that everyone's interest – including women, minorities, and other vulnerable populations – are represented during the decision-making process. Only then can the solutions that emerge be fair, lasting, and impactful.

**WATER, A COMMON HERITAGE AND A UNIVERSAL RIGHT**

We, representatives of peasant movements, women, young people, NGOs, workers and trade unions, faith and religious communities, and Indigenous Peoples from all continents, who work collectively to defend their right to water and sanitation, gathered in Dakar from March 21 to 26, 2022 for the Alternative World Water Forum (FAME). The FAME brought together hundreds of participants from all continents, around panels, conferences, workshops, exhibitions, site visits, screenings of documentary films, etc. It took place in a context of water stress on a planetary scale, the growing climate crisis, the Covid pandemic, and neoliberal economic globalization, harmful to communities around the world. The theme of FAME was “access to water and sanitation is a matter of public health and a barometer of democracy”.

[Read the full statement here](#)
**Materials activity 6.2: arguments for and against the use of the human right to water to get water justice**

**Arguments**

**FOR**

- If we don’t engage the law, we end up with worse laws. At least option to hold state accountable.
- Don’t abandon the use of human rights, but ask how can they serve emancipatory struggles?
- Enables activists voices to be heard in the highest court and possibly push for policy changes.
- Your own argument FOR the use of the human right to water to get water justice.
- It is one strategy amongst others. We can have activists inside the state as well as outside.
- Human right distract from other tactics. Won’t get us the acknowledgement of water as a common good.
- Your own argument AGAINST the use of the human right to water to get water justice.
- Forces people to engage the state which has police and often responds violent to activists action.
- Corporates have appropriated rights discourses and say they support the human right to water.
- Legal procedures take long and are expensive. Communities can’t afford to fight for rights in courts and often don’t get it.

**AGAINST**

- It is one strategy amongst others. We can have activists inside the state as well as outside.
This activity seeks to stimulate creativity and imagination in thinking about alternative water realities. Participants work towards acting out the (future) reality desired in writing or play (or drawing). Participants also share existing knowledge and views on the relation between water and people (and animals) and engage the concept of the commons.

**The objectives of this activity are:**

- Challenge current realities, sharing and building proposals for alternatives.
- Explore what would be a just way of using/managing water and how would it change the lives and relations in communities?
- Question what would be the position of women in this alternative reality, relations, what would happen to power?

**Materials**
- Newspapers or magazines.
- Information ‘what are the commons,’ page 28.

**Activity 7.1: Water Stories**

1. **Who knows stories about water and the relation between people and water, or animals and water?** How are these stories different from everyday reality?

2. **Look through a newspaper(s), what are the dominant topics?** Note down the topics.

3. **What do these topics have to do with water (even if they are not explicitly about water for example, the economy and businesses cannot exist without water).**

4. **Read the information about the commons.** Discuss the information. **Should water be part of the commons?**

**Commons**

*Land or resources belonging to or affecting the whole of a community*
Activity 7.2: The headline we want!

Prepare a newspaper article that describes a situation you want where your (community) problems with regards to water and related resources (land) are solved. Think about describing this situation in detail, what does the environment look like and what are different people saying about it? Who lost power/privilege in this scenario and how do they respond?

Reflect on the article/play/drawing. Who would make decisions in this reality, and how? Would women be safe? How would relations in the community change?

How could we get there? What actions are we already doing and what else can we do to get the reality we want?

• Read the text ‘What are the commons’ to prepare.
• It is important to make this a mutual sharing of ideas about alternatives where space is made for participants to share their knowledge and thoughts. People know things through watching movies, folktales, visiting people in other places, and from reading books. Find out what participants have observed and experienced and what they are thinking about.
• The facilitator can prepare questions and reflections about the necessity of water in all aspects of life. Big businesses require reliable access to large quantities of quality water to operate, agriculture depends on water. Often this is guaranteed in deals between government and business, at the cost of water access and quality for ordinary people.
• Depending on the group size, participants can split up in smaller groups and present/perform their imagined better future for each other.
• In coming up with a headline and description of a reality people want, anything is possible!

Idea

Instead of writing an article, it is also possible to prepare a play or make a drawing that presents the better future.
**Materials activity 7: What are the commons**

When we speak of the commons, we refer to land and natural resources that are attached to it, available and accessible to every member of a particular community in a specific place. Examples of the commons include land for grazing, forests where people harvest firewood and medicinal plants, and rivers or streams. In pre-colonial Africa (and elsewhere, but here we focus on Africa) land was viewed as a common resource, a social endowment that was available in abundance, it was not private property. Different societies had various systems of tenure, ranging from those that were based on territories to those based on lineages and kinship. African jurisprudence recognized rights of possession determined by prior settlement and membership in given social groups. No individual had exclusive rights to land and the commons, instead, those deemed responsible for production in land, were given power to have control and manage how the natural resources were to be managed. This power included putting mechanisms in place to deal with any possible disputes and protecting the commons against activities that might compromise the resource, e.g., overgrazing.

Things drastically changed at the advent of colonialism and subsequently capitalism in Africa, brought by Europe. The colonizers, driven by the drive to accumulate profits embarked on a brutal process of land dispossession and enclosing of the commons and converting them to private property. Private property is central to capitalism. The logic behind privatization of land is that land is a commodity that can be sold and exchanged at the market, a basic principle of capitalism. Those who were dispossessed of their land through colonial encounters, lost their means to reproduce themselves and were forced to sell their labour power in exchange for wages. The impacts of enclosures and land dispossession were gendered in character, with women having been socialized to do more of the unpaid social reproduction work at home. The enclosures of the commons meant resources that were available at no cost, such as water and wood, were now commodities to be sold at the market. This gave women more work, particularly rural women who did not have the money to buy these resources from the market and had to walk extra miles in search for water, wood, and medicinal plants.

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**Tenure**

Conditions under which land or buildings are held or occupied. Private property is one example of a tenure system. Communal tenure is another form of tenure.

**Social reproduction**

Means all the work, resources and relationships necessary for individuals, households and communities to live and continue their society.
The independence of many African countries from colonial rule came with other forms of oppression, through neoliberal policies imposed by the imperial powers. The structural adjustment program was imposed on African governments by the US based World bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), which promoted the free markets. According to these financial institutions, for African countries to develop and industrialize, the governments must provide less for the public, and create a good political environment for private businesses to operate. This means, natural resources such as water, land, forests should be given to private companies to control to maximize profit. Free trade means everybody is free to participate in the capitalist market, either as the owners of commodities such as water, as workers who prepare the water so that it is ready to be purchased, or as consumers who buy commodities. This of course is a scam because colonialism resulted in inequality between countries and within countries, in racial and gendered ways, with African womn from working class communities being pushed to the margins. Influenced by Western scholars and policy makers, African governments brought into the idea of privatizing the commons to avoid ‘the tragedy of the commons’. This concept of the ‘tragedy of the commons’ suggested that if nobody owns the resource and it is a free for all, then the resource will be depleted and everyone would suffer. This of course was a way of undermining African systems of managing common resources while imposing Western models that were based on individualism and capitalism.

It is from this background that Feminists in Africa and the globe are fighting against neoliberalism and imperial powers. They are reclaiming the commons, calling for anti-privatization of water. They are calling for giving power and control of natural resources back to the marginalized womn.
Readings:

- **Drying out African Lands**: expansion of large-scale agriculture threatens access to water in Africa. Oakland Institute.

Websites:

- Public Services International: https://publicservices.international/
- JASS, WeRise Toolkit: https://werise-toolkit.org/
- Remunicipalisation Tracker: http://www.remunicipalisation.org

Online videos:

- JAVA film ‘Lords of Water’, 2019. Documentary about the financialization of water. Examples of water market dynamics and players in the UK, Australia and the USA. These countries abstained from voting for or against water as a human right in 2010. [YouTube link](https://www.youtube.com).
- Water Financialization 101: Water Futures, Water Markets and Reclaiming the Water Commons. Webinar [link](https://www.youtube.com).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Action</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government makes a deal with the IMF/World Bank to bail out their debts to the Ghana Water Company. In return they implement austerity policies like full-cost recovery in public services. Now, families can only own a house or property when they agree to install a water meter in their home.</td>
<td>Lose 1 Control card, Lose 1 Health card, Transfer 3 scoops of water from Fresh water supply to Corporate bucket</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Activists find out from research in Birmingham (UK) and South Africa that the introduction of water meters leads to public health problems like outbreaks of cholera and dysentery in poor areas. They include this knowledge in their campaign and convince more people that water meters are a bad idea.</td>
<td>Gain 1 Control card</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 3 million people rely on surface water and streams that are polluted. Women walk long distances to collect water for drinking and cooking. This takes away time from farming and other activities.</td>
<td>Lose 1 Health card</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activists and civil society organizations become members of the African Water justice Network established at the Alternative World Water Forum in Dakar, 2022. Now you are able to exchange knowledge and build solidarity and become stronger in the process.</td>
<td>Gain 1 Control card</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 400 dams have been constructed across the country to increase access to water in rural areas. To construct dams, communities have been displaced from their homes and farms. Women lost important sources of income.</td>
<td>Lose 1 control card, Transfer 5 scoops from Fresh water to Corporate bucket</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil society groups organize a media campaign against prepaid water meters in a city and succeed in stopping the government from shifting to the installation of prepaid water meters.</td>
<td>Gain 1 Control card, Transfer 2 scoops of water from Exclusive into Fresh water supply bucket</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Due to increasingly recurring floods and droughts, local farmers lose crops and livestock.</td>
<td>Lose 1 Health card, Lose 1 Wealth card</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A rural community is in control over the water resources they use like rivers, streams and wells. Women gather at these points for social time and spiritual healing.</td>
<td>Gain 1 Control card, Gain 1 Health card, Transfer 3 scoops of water from Corporate to Fresh water bucket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The government is invited to join the 2030 Water Resources Group. What do you decide?

- If you join, gain 1 wealth card and transfer three scoops of water to France fresh water supply bucket
- If you don’t join, gain 1 control card

Engineers from Spain come to your community and share their knowledge on how to test the quality of water. Now people can evaluate their own situation and don’t rely on reports from extractive companies.

- Gain 1 Control card
- Transfer 2 scoops of water from Corporate to Fresh water supply bucket.

Activists host an Alternative World Water Forum and build solidarity and networks with activists all over the world.

- Gain 1 Control card

An activist is assassinated by powerful enemies. People are scared and angry. Everyone needs time to deal with this crisis. Skip the next turn.

- Lose 1 health card

Citizens fight to reclaim their water rights from a big water corporation.

- Gain 1 Control card
- Transfer 2 scoops of water from Corporate to Fresh water supply bucket.

Activists lobby the United Nations to declare water a human right.

- Gain 1 Control card

Activists participate in an exchange with activists from Senegal to discuss strategies to achieve water justice, meaning control over their water resources and lives.

- Gain 1 control card

Your government makes a deal with a large water corporation: debt relief in exchange for ownership of 1/4 of your water supply.

- Transfer 3 scoops of water from Fresh water supply bucket to Corporate bucket.
- Gain 2 Wealth cards
- Lose 1 Control card

Large-scale agriculture uses up massive amounts of water.

- Transfer 3 scoops of water from Fresh water supply to Corporate bucket
French waste and water multinational companies Veolia and Suez merge into an even bigger and more powerful multinational.

- Gain 2 Wealth cards

The 6th World Water Forum is held in France. Activists and international NGOs protest against the construction of mega dams in the Global South financed by European countries.

- Lose 1 Control card to Ghana and 1 to Bolivia.

Paris, the capital of France, remunicipalizes its water management after a progressive mayor was voted into power.

- Transfer 3 scoops of water from Corporate bucket to Fresh Water supply bucket
- Gain 1 Control card

Wine production uses up massive amounts of water in the country and generates profits.

- Transfer 3 scoops of water from fresh water supply to Corporate bucket
- Gain 2 Wealth card

Bottled water is good business as people increasingly don’t have access to clean drinking water. French company Danone owns Evian bottled water that sells at a high price in Africa. While they make big profits they contribute to climate change with the production of plastic waste.

- Gain 3 Wealth cards.

A new public water company assists local farmers to switch to organic agriculture.

- Transfer 3 scoops of water from Pollute to Fresh water bucket.

A French multinational company operates oil palm plantations in West Africa and pollutes rivers, streams and swamps. Local communities lose livelihoods and face severe health problems as a result.

- Ghana transfers 3 scoops of water to their Pollute bucket
- Gain 3 Wealth cards
- Take 1 Health card from Ghana

Several municipalities in the country turn against the governments privatization policies.

- Lose 2 Wealth cards.
- Transfer 3 scoops of water from Corporate to Fresh water bucket.

Through participating in dialogues hosted by the 2030 Water Resources Group France influences water governance all over the world. Your aim is to profit from growing water markets due to the water crisis. Being a member of the forum means you have power and influence.

- Gain 2 Control cards
A Coca Cola bottling plant pollutes water in the surrounding area, resulting in local health problems.

- Lose 2 Health cards
- Transfer 2 scoops of water from Fresh water supply to Corporate bucket.

Self organized urban water committees develop a tool for people to map a household’s water use. The majority of members are women. The knowledge produced during the mapping activities helps to design a campaign for water justice in your area.

- Gain 1 Control card
- Transfer 2 scoops of water from Corporate to Fresh water supply bucket

Research into more water-efficient food production helps reduce water waste.

- Transfer 1 scoop of water from Corporate to Fresh water bucket

Global event 1

Water becomes a commodity on the stock market

France gains 2 Wealth cards
Ghana and Bolivia lose 1 Control card

Global event 2

Global public health crisis (like Covid-19)

France loses 1 Health card
Ghana and Bolivia lose 2 Health cards
France gains 2 Wealth cards
Ghana and Bolivia lose 1 Control card

Global event 3

Climate change is causing chaos in many places through droughts, floods, heat waves and unpredictable weather patterns. The worst effects are in the Global South.

France gains 1 Wealth card
Ghana and Bolivia lose 1 Health card each and transfer 2 scoops of water from their Fresh water supply bucket to the Corporate bucket.

Global event 4

As a result of widespread unemployment, landlessness and repressive governance, there is an uprisings of youth in the Global South.

France loses 2 control cards, one to Ghana and one to Bolivia.
Point Cards (Wealth, Health, Control): print this page 5 times to have enough point cards!
Acknowledgements

Acknowledgement for Feminist organising for water justice in Africa.

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We are grateful to feminist and womn’s rights organisations who shared classical examples and invaluable intersectional analysis of how African womn are disproportionately disenfranchised by growing privatisation of water across the continent.

This toolkits contents’ responsibility lies solely with UAF-Africa and the authors.