

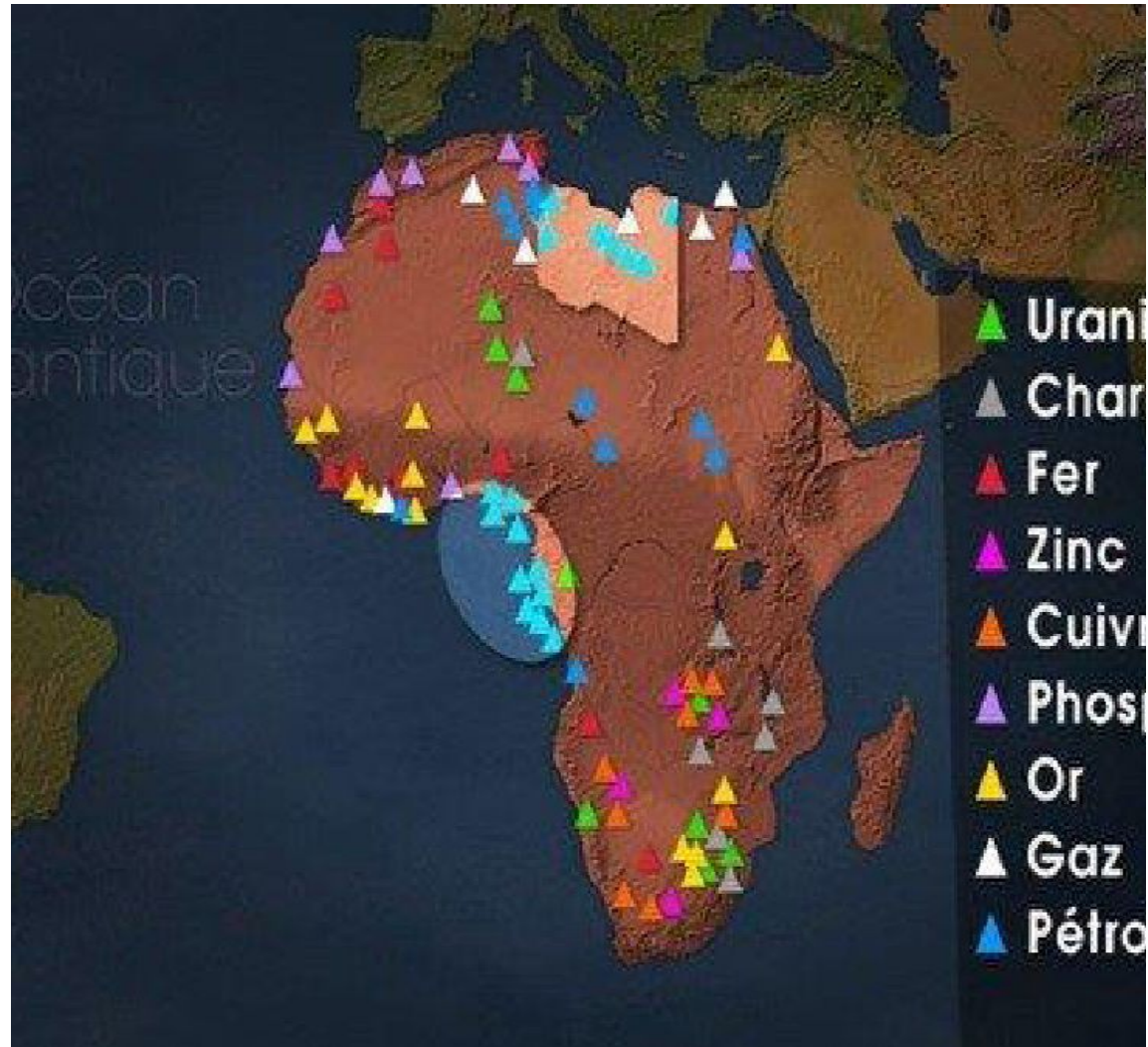
Africa's Natural Resources amid Old and New Imperial Relations: What Implications for Gender Justice?

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Keynote presentation at *Feminist Africa*
Conference on 'Re-strategizing African
Feminist Activism for the "New Normal",
29 May – 1 June 2023, Kampala, Uganda.

Africa's natural resources – mined (Bassou 2017:2)



Natural resources mined	% of African reserves/ world reserves
Copper	97
Coltan	80
Diamonds	60
Gold	57
Cobalt	50
Platinum	49
Vanadium	41
Manganese	32
Uranium, Phosphates	23
Iron	20
Oil	14



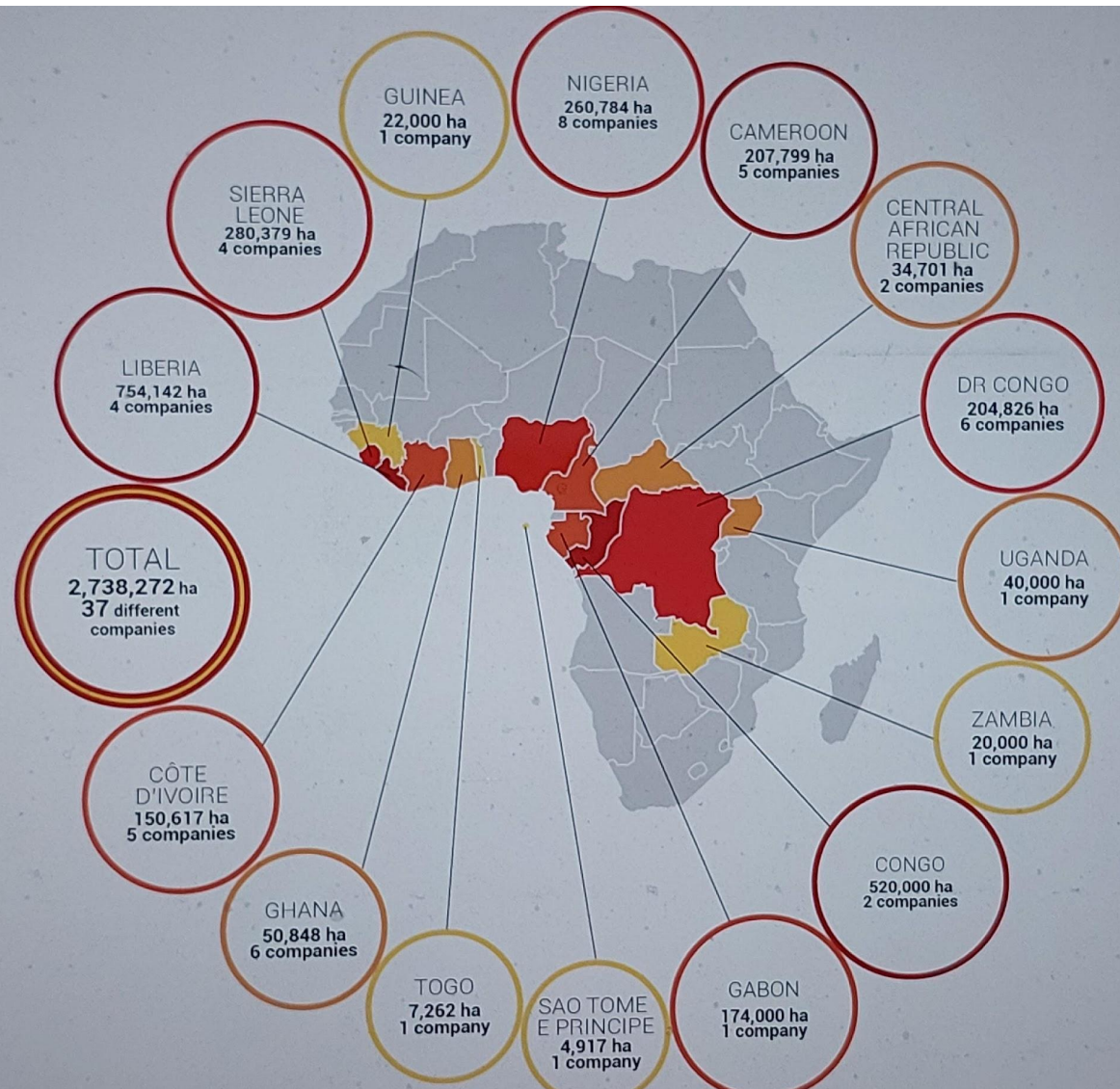
Top left: Artisanal miners in Nasarawa State, ICIR 2-4-23.

Top right: Women whining the wheel, Sabon Layi, Plateau State, PT 6-5-23.

Lower left: Woman baking krokpo-garri in the heat of a gas flare, Asiekere, Niger Delta. Photo: Ed Kashi, PT 23-11-21.

Concessions for oil palm plantations in African countries

The Alliance Against Industrial Plantations in West and Central Africa 2019: 4.



I. Extracting Africa's natural resources: historicising the contemporary geopolitical context

Imperialism – the polarising process of centre and periphery produced as a consequence of capital accumulation on a world scale.

(Samir Amin 2003)



Tayo Fatunla

The first colonial scramble for Africa

European competition for territories and natural resources

Slavery

Concessionary companies

Economic depression in Europe

Berlin Conference (1884-5)

Flag independence and its aftermath

Cold War

Post 9/11: War on Terror

US national security linked to free trade and energy security, working:

“to expand the sources and types of global energy supplied, especially in the Western Hemisphere, Africa, Central Asia, and the Caspian region.”

(US National Security Strategy 2002: 20)

US-led collective imperialism

Triad formed after 1945: USA and Canada;
West and Central Europe; and Japan.

Five areas of US monopoly:

- Technology, access to natural resources,
finance, communications, means of mass
destruction

Expansion of US military bases across Africa

Africa's FDI Stock, 2012 (US\$ Billion and Percentages)

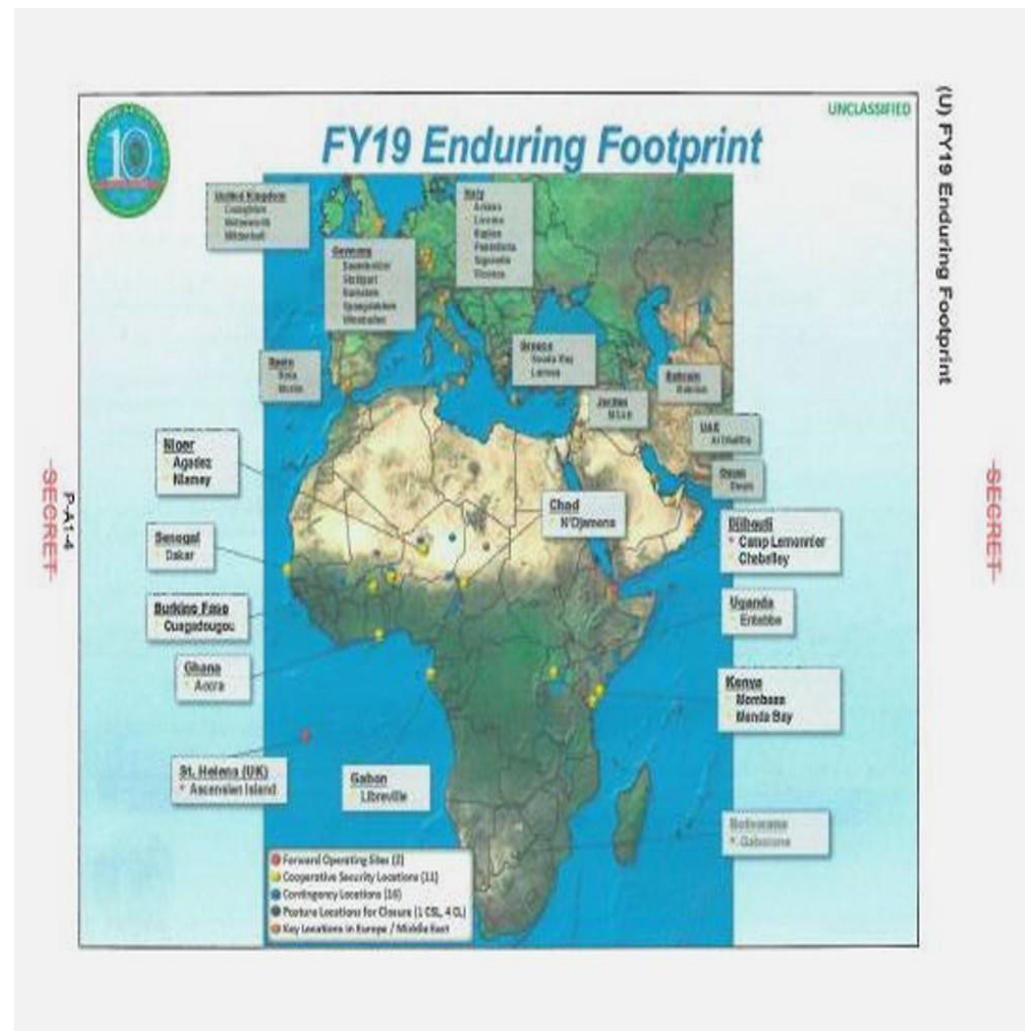
FDI Outward Stock to Africa

Africa's FDI's Inward Stock

Source: Carpintero et al. 2016: 204.	US\$ Billion	% of total African FDI inward stock		US\$ Billion
United States	61.4	9.3	South Africa	163.5
United Kingdom	58.9	9.0	Egypt	79.5
France	58.0	8.8	Nigeria	76.4
South Africa	23.6	3.6	Morocco	45.2
China	21.7	3.3	Tunisia	33.4
Malaysia	16.0	2.4	Sudan	26.1
Italy	15.8	2.4	Algeria	23.6
India	13.3	2.0	Congo	21.0
Russia	2.2	0.3	Libya	17.8
Brasil	1.2	0.2	Ghana	16.6

AFRICOM military bases in Africa, 2019.

Turse 2020.



NON-ENDURING FOOTPRINT 2019

- Bizerte, Tunisia
- Arlit, Niger
- Dirkou, Niger
- Diffa, Niger
- Ouallam, Niger
- Bamako, Mali
- Garoua, Cameroon
- Maroua, Cameroon
- Misrata, Libya
- Tripoli, Libya
- Baledogle, Somalia
- Bosasso, Somalia
- Galcayo, Somalia
- Kismayo, Somalia
- Mogadishu, Somalia
- Wajir, Kenya

Multiple crises today

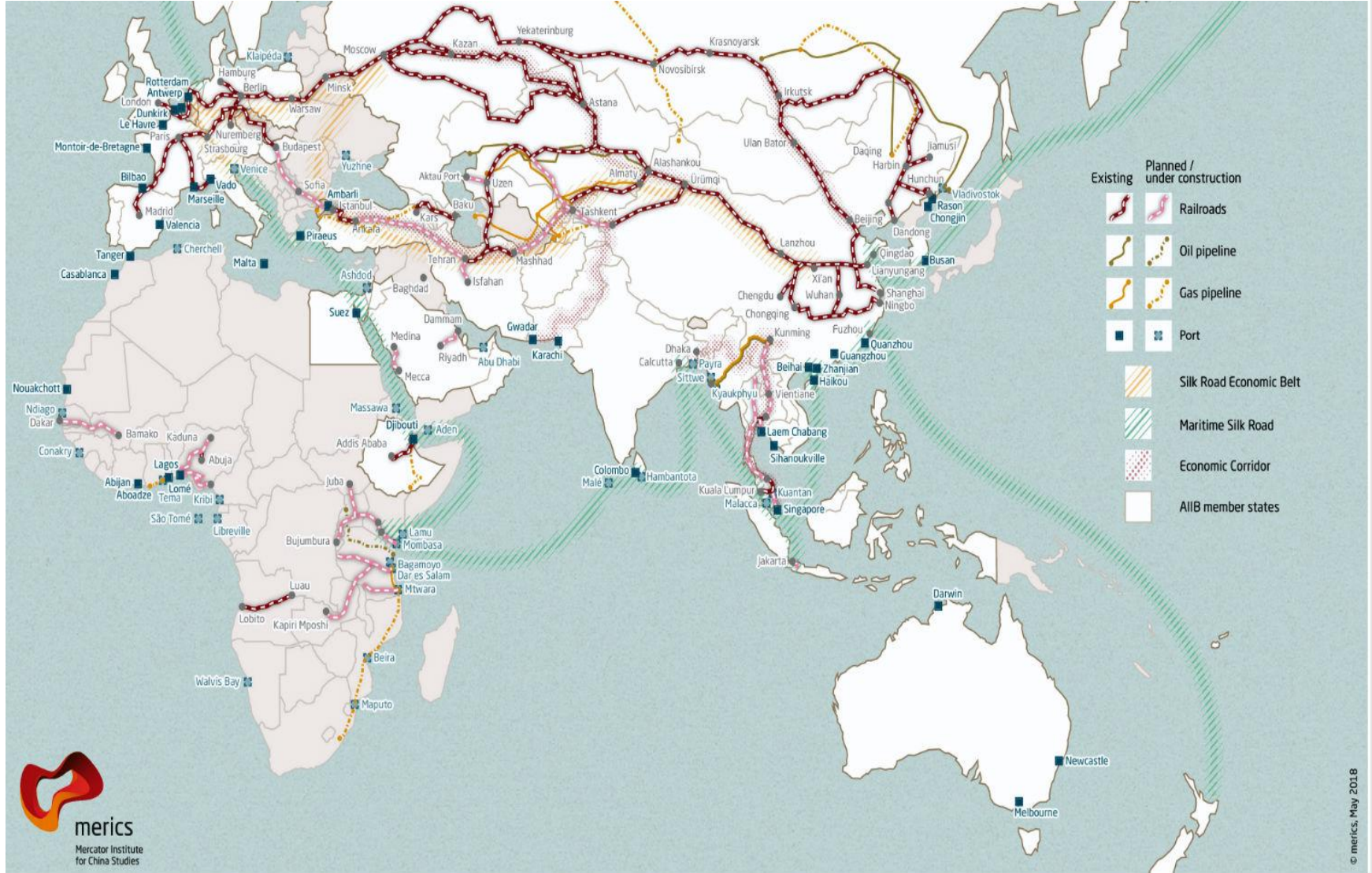
- **Militarisation, resource-based conflicts, violence**
- **Food, fuel, finance**
- **Effects of climate change**
- **COVID-19**
- **War in Ukraine**

- What new opportunities for predation of natural resources are opened up?
- With what effects for gender relations amid multiple structures of oppression and exploitation – class, ethnicity, race, sexuality and more?

II. Emerging powers and their extractivist engagements

The role of China

The One Belt One Road network.
 (Map courtesy of the [Mercator Institute for China Studies](#)) 2019.



The Belt and Road Initiative in Africa

MSR – Maritime Silk Road

East Africa

A central node in the MSR – planned and finished ports, pipelines, railways, and power plants:

- Mombasa to Nairobi
- Addis Ababa to Djibouti (China's first overseas military base)

From Djibouti – MSR connects planned and completed port clusters in:

- Sudan, Mauritania, Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, Sao Tome e Principe, Cameroon, Angola, Namibia.
- Mozambique, Tanzania, Kenya.
- Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria – not on the map.

China's major projects in Africa

Four sectors in 49 countries:

- **Connectivity** – 20% of projects. Includes rail and road lines e.g. rail line connecting Sudan (Port Sudan) to Senegal (Dakar Port).
- **Industrial** – 10% of projects. Includes minerals processing.
- **Energy** – 15% of projects. Includes oil and renewables.
- **Infrastructure** – nearly 45% of projects.

Connectivity projects used to link *industrial* and *energy* projects in inland areas to *infrastructure* projects along Africa's coastline.

China's "win-win" model of cooperation?

Maritime route is used to:

- Transport **raw materials** – phosphate, copper, cobalt, gold, iron ore, cocoa, bauxite, coal, lithium, steel granite - **to China**
- Bring finished goods and Chinese labour to Africa

Benefits to China:

- Direct purchase of key energy and commodity assets from African sources means China bypasses international market prices.
- Infrastructure projects - given overcapacity in steel, iron, cement sectors.

Few benefits to local populations:

- Bidding processes opaque, often involve bribes.
- Relocation/ resettlement of local people as a result of connectivity, energy or industrial projects.
- Very few jobs available.

Pushback against China's projects

- **Local protests** – Nigeria, Uganda, Madagascar, Cameroon, Chad.
- African state and non-state actors shape **engagements** with Chinese entities – BRI in East Africa (Chiyemura et al, 2022)
 - Agency of political elites - Tanzania's planned Bagamoyo port
 - Bureaucratic agency – Ethiopia's Adama wind farms
 - Local governance actors – Kenya's Lamu port
- Rising concerns about **debt** - Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Zambia.
- **Cancellation** of projects – Zambia, Chad, Gabon, Sierra Leone, Egypt

India

Economic & infrastructure assistance (soft loans) offered in exchange for access to *energy* resources.

- Nigeria - \$6m infrastructure deal in exchange for oil blocks
- Sudan – 25% stake in Greater Nile Oil Project (resistance from China which has 40% stake)
- Cote d'Ivoire – acquired offshore block
- Angola – MOU with state oil company, Sonangol, on exploration and refining
- Burkina Faso, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal – stakes in oil and gas blocks.

Land deals in Ethiopia (~ 600,000 h for agro-industrial projects).

- Credit line of \$640m to government (Export-Import Bank) to develop *sugar* sector in lower Omo.
- Karuturi Global – 2010 lease of a total 100,000 h for growing and exporting *sugarcane, rice and palm oil*. Lease cancelled in 2015 for inadequate development of land. Company demanded compensation.

Russia

- Early 2000s – renewed Russian interest in establishing presence in Africa.
- Low cost narrow objectives – co-opting political leaders and accessing natural resources in exchange for arms and grain.
- Minerals, diamonds, and oil typically negotiated by parastatals like Rosneft and Lukoil. Natural resource deals with around 20 Africa countries.
- African countries buying Russian arms – Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Zambia.

The Wagner Group

“Russian support for a beleaguered leader facing a security challenge in a geographically strategic country with mineral or hydrocarbon assets” (Siegle 2021: 82).

- **Sudan (2017),**
- **Central African Republic (2017),**
- **Mozambique (2019),**
- **Mali (2021)**

III. The impacts on communities, responses and contestations



BREAKING THE SILENCE

HARASSMENT, SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND ABUSE AGAINST WOMEN IN AND AROUND INDUSTRIAL OIL PALM AND RUBBER PLANTATIONS

GUNS, POWER AND POLITICS

RESEARCH PAPER



Extractives and Violence against Women in Zimbabwe

Resistance to recent land rushes

REPORT

September 2019

The Alliance against industrial plantations in West and Central Africa

COMMUNITIES IN AFRICA FIGHT BACK AGAINST THE LAND GRAB FOR PALM OIL



Gathering of leaders from African communities affected by oil palm plantations, Ndjian, Cameroon, 2016

Advances in African Economic,
Social and Political Development

Sam Moyo
Praveen Jha
Paris Yeros *Editors*

Reclaiming Africa

Scramble and Resistance in the 21st Century

Overall impacts

- **Economic** – extractivist economies leave states extraverted, promote forms of ‘development’ that are anti-people. Increasing precarity and unsafe labour conditions.
- **National politics** – marked by malgovernance, corruption, conflict, instability, impaired long-term development.
- **Social** – vastly increased inequalities, violence, incl. VAW, violation of human rights, loss of food sovereignty, deepening immiseration.
- **Ecological** – soil depletion, deforestation, flooding, reduced biodiversity, freshwater contamination, climate change, loss of habitat for micro-organisms/increased exposure to viruses.

Impacts on women in frontline communities

- Loss of *livelihoods* from land-based work – farming, fishing, gathering forest products
- Devaluing of women's roles in *conservation* and protecting biodiversity
- Loss of ancestral and traditional *knowledge* – of agroecology practices, traditional medicine
- Restricted ability to participate and make *decisions* about economic survival and everyday realities
- *Gender based violence* surrounding militarization and securitization of industries
- Increased *care* burdens relating to families and communities

(Building Power in Crisis)

CALL TO SOLIDARITY AND ACTION

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL NGOS

IN SUPPORTING LAND DEFENDERS



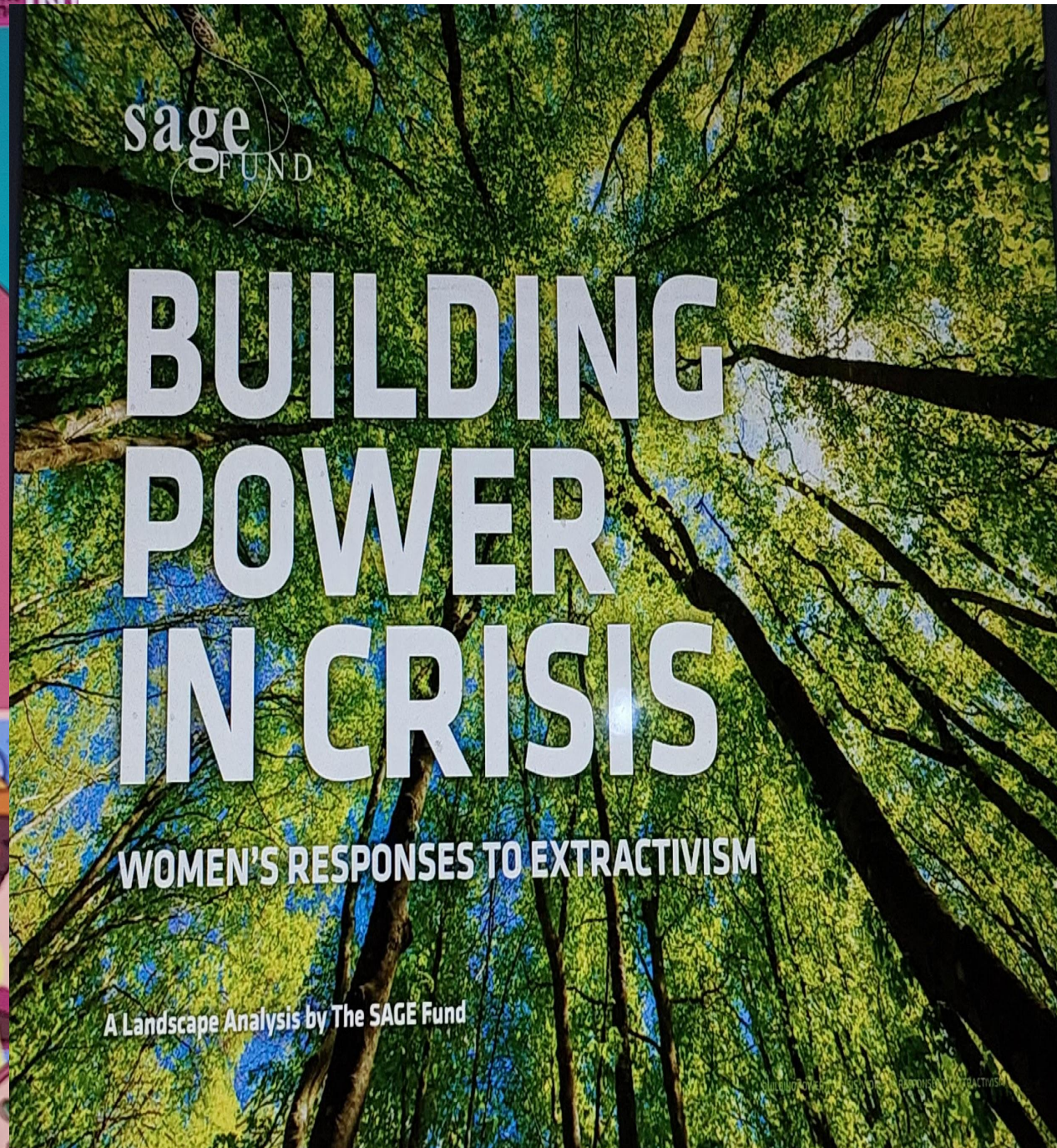
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BUILDING POWER IN CRISIS

WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO EXTRACTIVISM

A Landscape Analysis by The SAGE Fund



Revisiting the Role of the State

- “A History of Resource Plunder” (Hormeku-Ajei and Goetz 2021)
- “African Feminisms Post-COVID-19 Recovery Statement” (African Feminism 2020)
- GETSPA – Gender Equitable and Transformative Social Policy for Post-COVID-19 Africa
<https://getspa.ug.edu.gh/home>

Akua Britwum:

How do we get people to frame their conditions and what accounts for them? I think that this is what is missing. I think education and the political discourse around alternatives are really very important. In short, it needs to begin with activists and intellectuals—intellectuals not necessarily based in universities, but who are interested in real change. We need to create spaces, in both rural and urban communities, where we can hold these discussions.

‘Unfinished liberatory agendas: a conversation with Akua Britwum and Amina Mama’.

<https://africasacountry.com/2020/12/unfinished-liberatory-agendas>

IV. Implications for gender justice

Claims for justice

How to reconcile different aspects of justice?

- Recognition
- Procedural
- Distributive
- Restoration

- What constitute plausible claims for justice?
- Who is entitled to make such claims?
- Whose claims deserve consideration?
- Where does responsibility lie?

OCCASIONAL PAPER

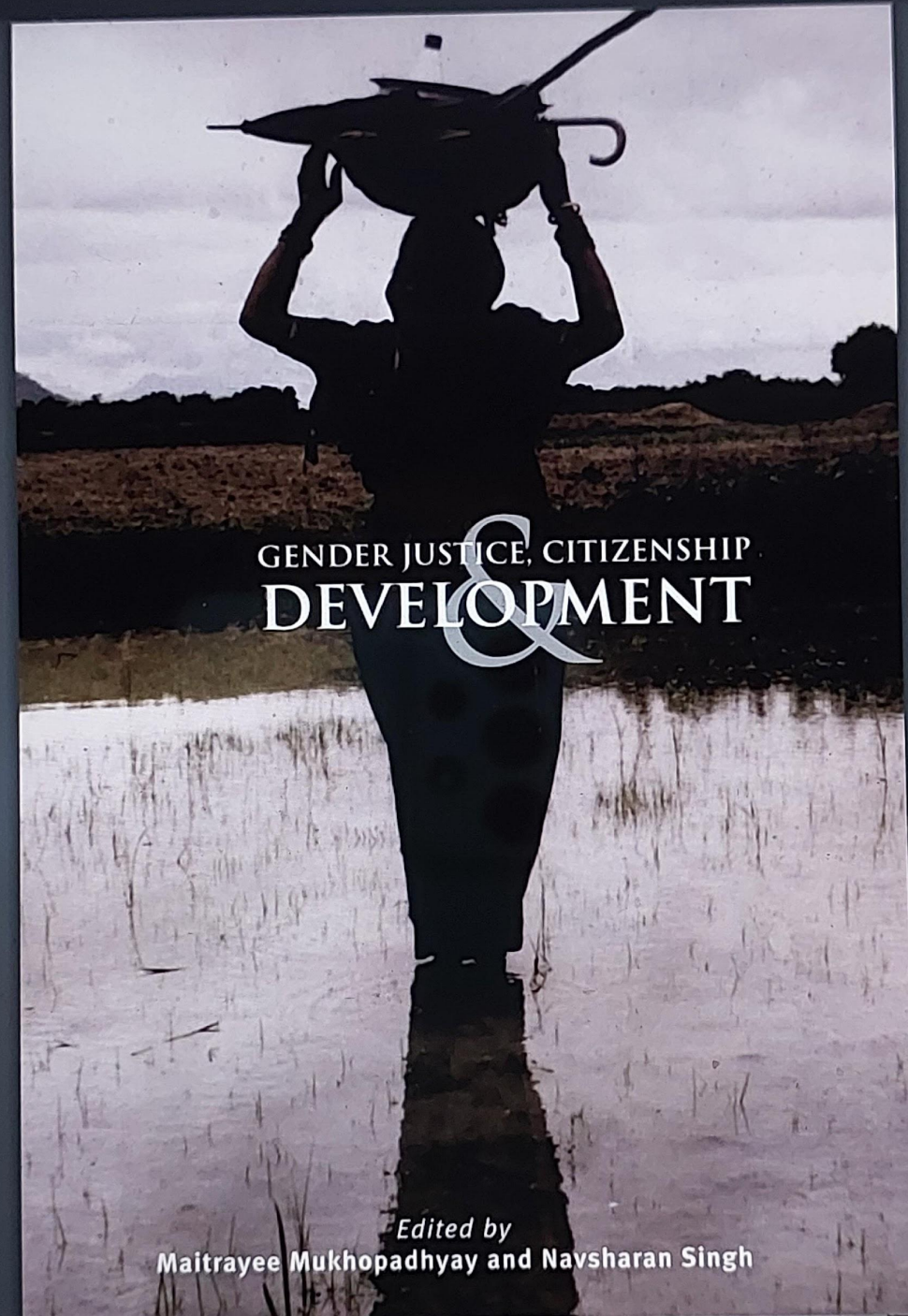
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Neolib, Neocons
and Gender Justice:
Lessons from
Global Negotiations

by Gita Sen



UNITED NATIONS RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT



GENDER JUSTICE, CITIZENSHIP
DEVELOPMENT

Edited by
Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay and Navsharan Singh

Practical
efforts
towards
gender justice

**Making power-holders in domestic/
community/ private [as well as in official,
public] arenas answer for violations**

Will need:

- **To include new actors**
- **Be held to new standards of what is just in human relationships**
- **New methods of scrutiny**
- **New forums for accountability**

(Goetz 2007)

The Feminist Declaration (2014)

We seek fundamental structural and transformational changes to the current neoliberal, extractivist and exclusive development model that perpetuates inequalities of wealth, power and resources between countries, within countries, and between men and women. We challenge the current security paradigm that increases investments in the military-industrial complex, which contributes to violent conflict between and within countries.

WoMIN -
African
Women Unite
Against
Destructive
Resource
Extraction,
October 2015
Declaration

Defining justice for African women

Our aspirations, as African women, are for a model of development in which we achieve justice – **energy** justice, **food** justice, **climate** and **ecological** justice, and **gender** justice. We commit to work in unity and solidarity to achieve this vision through our organising, movement-building and campaigning.



Energy justice means:

Leaving 80% of all known fossil fuel reserves in the ground!

Developing a rapid global transition from fossil fuels to a transformed renewable energy system:

- Respecting *land and natural resource rights* of communities, especially women
- Guaranteeing *work and decent livelihoods* for local communities, particularly women
- Treating *energy as collective wealth* from which all citizens must benefit
- Guaranteeing *clean energy* that is *affordable* and *accessible* to all
- *Government-supported research and financial investment in democratically controlled, decentralised, socialised renewable energy options in which we play a leading role*

Food justice means:

Provisions relating to:

- Land
- Small-scale agricultural production
- Local economies and markets
- Support for farmers
- Women's full involvement in decision-making



Climate and ecological justice means:

- All communities enjoy *clean living environments* that guarantee good health and general well-being.
- A *development paradigm* which prioritises the livelihoods, cultural interests, health and well-being of citizens, particularly poor women, over the profits of corporates.
- International treaties, national laws and policies promoting *accountability of corporates* for their transgressions of the environment, people's livelihoods, and women's bodies. Full compensation by polluters, with specific provisions for women.
- *Climate strategies* - debt reparations, adaptation funds and mitigation - should *benefit the majority of women in Africa* – farmers, traders, care workers.



Gender justice means:

- Women have full *equality* with men, *respect and dignity* in all spheres of life and in governing institutions.
- Women have *voice* and are able to participate in *decision-making* in all areas of our lives and in development institutions
- Women enjoy *freedom from all forms of violence* and obtain full justice when these rights are violated
- All existing *declarations, laws, policies and programmes* which support our vision of justice for African women – should be *respected, implemented and adequately resourced.*

Feminist initiatives on gender justice point to:

- Contradictory power dynamics across contextually-shaped overlapping axes of structural marginalisation
- Declarations of gender justice made from distinct positionings:
 - Epistemological – knowledge grounded in analyses of lived realities in affected communities
 - Ontological – articulating alternative ways of being-in-the-world

Concluding thoughts

Competing interests in Africa as a site for natural resource extraction

Militarisation, conflicts and violence

Making feminist connections

Revisioning the role of the State

Multi-dimensional character of gender justice