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LETTERS

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JGW-1
SOUTH ASIA

James Workman is a Donors' Fellow of the Institute studying the use, misuse, accretion and depletion of fresh-water supplies in southern Africa.

Water Meter Wars: Privatization, Protests and Renegade Plumbers

By James G. Workman

MARCH 1, 2002

ELSIES RIVER, South Africa – When I left South Africa last August it seemed unlikely that demand for scarce water might lead the urban poor to unite in the most widespread and occasionally violent anti-government protests in a decade. If anything, the opposite seemed likely — rage over water *excess*.

Last winter was the wettest in 40 years. Rains were not intense so much as incessant: a blessing for farms, reservoirs, industry and nature; a curse for people living in poorly drained lowlands. Runoff flooded 40,000 people, some of whom still overflow with frustration: "If it rains tonight, then tomorrow we're standing in a lake," says Mary Petersen of Elsies River. "Water comes under the doors and spreads disease. We complain, but they never came to fix it."

Still, you can't protest clouds. Facing waterlogged days and nights, the poor like Mary turned to religion for strength. The Bible reveals the deluge as an act of God. Scripture teaches Job-like forbearance of negligent landlords and leaky walls

"Competition for fresh, clean water in southern Africa is already intense, and will only grow more so. Already undernourished and beset by water-borne disease, southern Africa's population, notwithstanding the specter of massive AIDS deaths, is projected to double in the next several decades. It uses the least amount of water to produce its diet of any region, but also has the least amount of water to spare. The entire region depends utterly on rainfall and runoff for water supply, and every major perennial river in the region is shared by two or more nations. So it comes as no surprise that leaders and opinion makers from the UN, to the World Bank, to the Brookings Institution, predict violent 'water wars' between and within nations like these in the years ahead.

"I have grown skeptical of such confident predictions. I am, in fact, persuaded that this dismal economic/political rule about resource scarcity and stress doesn't, and won't, apply to fresh water, at least not fresh water in Africa. Indeed, the opposite may prove true. As I read the signs, water scarcity here appears to drive species and communities — human and natural — closer together rather than farther apart; they tend to work passively, democratically and gradually — though seldom orderly. Rather than violence and wars, I suspect inter- and intra-state negotiations, discussions and good-faith voluntary resolutions result from competition. Right now, I can only guess at the reason, or reasons, for this, but would like to explore them in depth and breadth over two years as an ICWA Fellow."



James G. Workman





P&J's Mary Petersen: The not-so-meek shall inherit the water

and reminds that the meek shall inherit the earth.

But who shall inherit the *water*? The Bible offered no answer, but the question grew as flood puddles evaporated into dust and the only water left was locked behind reservoirs. Worse, in September Mary and 40,000 other Cape Flats residents received warnings of eviction, the first since the former apartheid regime enforced its segregation laws. These notices come from the new, democratically-elected, multiracial government as it penalizes unpaid water bills.

No longer meek, she set aside the Bible for the constitution. For months she has been spreading the word and agitating politicians and recruiting hundreds of new members each week into Peace and Justice (P&J), a new pressure group that forms a key pocket of solidarity and resistance to what some are calling the new apartheid of water.

Cape Town's water system did not emerge overnight out of nowhere, but it rapidly substituted distant reservoirs for local streams. Consider Elsieskraal, the Black River's longest tributary. It rises on the slopes of Platteklouf, then flows south toward the city. In the town of Elsies River it once irrigated farmland, but now supports two "Industrial Areas" and 200,000 poor people, none of whom can find the namesake stream; few even remember it. Two who still can are Petersen and her mentor Lukas Scheepers. As raindrops fall on his aluminum roof and trickle down into gutters and drains out of reach, they fondly recall growing up in shacks, drawing pit water from informal wells by the stream.

To me, 'pit water' carried to 'shacks' doesn't seem like the good old days — say, compared to indoor plumbing. But Mary and Lukas preferred it for self-reliance, independence and better health. They resent how apartheid and European thinking "improved" life in the 1950s and '60s with social engineering, segregated public housing and the introduction of a new, durable instrument called a water meter.

"There is a difference between Westernizing and Modernizing that most Europeans can't grasp," says Scheepers. His wall is covered with political pictures, including one of him shaking hands with Nelson Mandela. Now he identifies himself as a trade unionist and a "Coloured" ("although I still can't tell you what that means")

who left political parties to organize his community around securing water rights in 'Peace and Justice.'¹

"Europeans always come to Africa, and stay to take what they lack and value. They come for land. Gold. Diamonds. Copper. Uranium. They take it out, and grow rich. Now, in Africa, they come for water. Rule water, and you rule Africa. I call water, 'white gold'."

I ask why. He smiles. "Look at my finger: no ring. I can't afford to buy gold that comes from my own land below. Someday — and with privatization of everything it seems to come sooner — I can't afford the water that comes down from my own skies above."

Those skies release only an annual 460 mm of rain (half the global average), which refuses to land where and when people need it most. Most urbanites left rural homes close to rivers for cities where dammed rivers are piped close to home. But Cape Town has almost nowhere to store rain for the city. After five shallow dams on Table Mountain, it had to reach beyond city limits to plug and tap the Steenbras. Right through WWII the City drank, washed, showered, boiled, watered and flushed only 20 million liters per day — but even so required water rationing, up to 15 hours per day.

Today 3.2 million people inhabit 20 districts of Cape Town's metropolitan area and consume 800 million liters per day. Tourists, farms and industry double demand in peak summer months. Industry and affluence increases water demand 4 percent a year, to 1.2 billion liters per day in four years. Whether or not dams harm streams, the city is running out of streams to dam, period. Tapped out, yet doubling, the Cape is banging its head against the wall of a finite and inflexible water supply.

For relief the government encourages people to do more with less, and stop wasting what precious little ex-



Lukas Scheepers: Water is the new 'white gold' that Africans can't afford

¹ Under apartheid, "coloureds" were person of mixed white and nonwhite descent.

ists. Discovering that one-third of drinkable household water is flushed down toilets, another third waters gardens and still more is just plain lost, the city has taken up 'demand management' with gusto. It educates conservation at home (turning off sink taps while brushing teeth, showering in buckets, using dishwater on lawns, etc.), voluntary campaigns that are universally ignored. It then threatens fines of 2,000 Rands (U.S.\$200) or even jail terms for washing cars, hosing driveways, watering lawns between 10 and 4 pm etc — restrictions that are universally unenforceable.

As demand continues to soar, the city reaches to grasp a sharp, temper-inflaming and unpredictable tool that had been around for decades but largely neglected for anything more than cost recovery: the water meter.

"Turn right here, left there, left again here." Mary Petersen leads me from school to church to run-down apartments, driving rutted roads paved over ghost streams. We stop and talk with angry people about their astronomically rising water bills, leaky meters, feeble flows. Members of P&J say they can't afford the water bills they're receiving, but readily fork over 20-Rand dues as an investment to join rather than face water-bill collectors alone.

Most of the recruits are women: the primary water users and traditional water gatherers. Some are pensioners; 70 percent of the area is unemployed. Few have ever been activists before, but are eager to learn. Lukas and Mary complain that 'their people,' meaning Coloureds, "are too passive, afraid, disjointed, brainwashed by government. We don't stand up and riot like we should. We don't work together."

It seems they're starting to. As people flock to the campaign, I ask some what is behind the mobilization. "Man, we're facing the water cutoffs," says Gladys. Her friend, who is also named Gladys, nods vigorously, and adds: "They're coming after our water. We're going to have more and more of the 'water wars'."

The phrase jars me. I associate it with gloomy PhD candidates, hydrologists, UN officials or World Bank executives like Ismail Serageldin who warned that 'the wars of the 21st century will be fought over water, not oil.' Even optimists concede that in five decades the world has increased its water consumption six-fold, and that the earth will need to scrape up 40 percent more water in some future day of reckoning.

In a dozen officially 'water stressed' hotspots, that day of reckoning has arrived. These include stable capitalist democracies (Holland, Poland, Singapore, South Korea, UK), which presumably can engineer a solution. Middle Eastern autocracies (Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman) presumably can burn oil to fuel costly desalination plants. Uncertain outcomes await Israel, Morocco, Somalia, Tan-

zania, Rwanda and South Africa.

With no more than 50 cubic kilometers of total renewable freshwater available, South Africa can't 'grow the pie'; it can only cut ever-shrinking slices. In 1950, with 13 million people, each could consume ten cubic meters per day. In 1995, with 41 million people, each daily slice was 3.3 cubic meters. In two decades conservative estimates predict for each person two cubic meters per day — to grow food, bathe, drink, cook, clean and flush. In 2050 each gets only one.

"I'm afraid to live here in the next twenty years," says Lukas, looking ahead at that scarcity. "I can see where we're heading, trusting our lives to others, to big business, not to each other, not taking control ourselves. They take our land, our gold. Now they want to privatize our water. If I don't live a cutthroat life, there's no future for my children."

Many counter that their future depends on water privatization now. Their theory holds that water prices are artificially low. Facing a finite supply, and expensive infrastructure like dams, a market-oriented structure will let prices rise. As prices rise, demand goes down. A steep sliding scale means the wealthy that use more, pay more per liter, and subsidize the poor. It sounds clean and logical. A proponent group, ranging from grassroots environmental groups to conservative World Trade Organization officials, claims this simple market shift lets water meters succeed where previous carrots and sticks failed.

So the government has moved forward, raising water prices six-fold. But success hinges on two untested hypotheses: that all water users will pay, and that the government will cut off those who don't.

The meter itself seems a humble instrument, fast replacing dams as a nation's symbol of development.



The fulcrum of power: dials increase dependence on the state

A top priority of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) has been to provide access to fresh running water to 14 million who lacked it, letting poor Africans (females and children) use the hours each day spent gathering water to study, work or seek work instead. The ANC boasts that it has hooked up pipes for 7 million since 1995, and is on-target for another 7 million by 2008. Under the 1998 South African Water Act, access to fresh water is a guaranteed free right; water itself still comes at a price. Each pipe hooked up comes with a water meter, screwed on in a relatively quick mechanical act.



Final Notice: Maybel and Juliane welcome the water cutoff and new fight

But for many that simple act initiates a mysterious 'social contract' that breeds suspicion and resentment. In an arid landscape facing water-scarce competition, the meter becomes a fulcrum of power, a facet of the state, locked safe behind thick plastic and increasing people's dependence with each silent rotation of the tiny dials.

Since water, sanitation and electricity are historically South Africans' only contact with their government, the meter has proven to be a cause of friction. Fighting apartheid in the 1980s and early 1990s, many black Africans refused to pay their rent and water bills as one of the few means of political protest left to them. The National Party apartheid government chose not to risk disconnecting water pipes. Eventually water seemed to be 'free' to consumer, but revealed 'a culture of non-payment' to suppliers.

Today water-meter friction rubs both ways: to make governments accountable to citizens, or citizens accountable to governments. The latter deems it a legitimate source of civic income akin to a tax that can be increased or applied at will.

Mary, the two Gladys' and I pull up in front of a condemned house in the impoverished town of Uitsig, and sit in the cramped front room of Maybel McCarthy. I am handed a copy of a "FINAL NOTICE" received by Juliane Nel (account #809304). It came from the City of Cape Town, Tygerberg Administration, and got right to the point: "you owe 884.48 rands (\$90) for water...the Council recently adopted a Credit Control, Debt Collection and Indigent policy, as a result of which strict, speedy and effective measures for the collecting of ar-

rears amounts due to Council will be effected."

I look up at Juliane. "Do you plan to pay?"

"With what money, man? There's no way I can."

I read out loud: "The Council reserves the right to discontinue the delivery of services to defaulters without prior notice."

Juliane seethes. "I hope they do. I told them so when I waved this notice in their face. Man, I want them to come and cut off my water." This reaction seems counter-intuitive, so I ask why.

"Because then they'll see what the women of Uitsig are all about. They'll see us stand up. That's going to be the exciting time, the point we've been waiting for. Especially the women, who have to use the water to wash, to clean, to cook. They've taken everything else. Now they're going to cut off our water? I tell you I *want* it to come!"

The government is not blind or unsympathetic. In a brave gesture to those who could not afford to purchase minimal amounts, South Africa's Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs, Ronnie Kasrils, last year launched a new policy to provide 50 liters of Free Basic Water at no cost to the urban and rural poor.

The Free Basic Water amounts to only one percent of the total supply. But the policy complicates the water-meter fulcrum. First, the national government must still



The Black River: Don't use the water...but some still do

demonstrate austere market-orientation movement, to support its bond rating, strengthen its currency and attract foreign investment. To emphasize that precious water must be valued as the scarce commodity it is, Kasrils repeatedly affirms: "The culture of non-payment is not advocated by this government."

Second, it undercuts the cash-strapped cities that bear the political and fiscal brunt of water-payment collection. City and provincial governments, run by the opposition Democratic Alliance (or DA, an amalgam of the former pro-apartheid National Party and anti-apartheid Democratic Party now united in opposition), resents lost revenues for free basic water, having to take blame for cracking down, and allowing the national ANC assume the high ground. Some claim the ANC's Free Basic Water policy triggered the DA's decision to cut off peoples water in ANC-voting areas. The city says it is simply trying to recoup debt owed to it.

Debt remains a powerful municipal motive. In Grahamstown, also in Cape Province, some 17,000 village accounts owed the local government R80 million (\$9 million). After four weeks grace the finance chair Pryaweaden Ranchhod vowed, "We'll put in a drip washer that will give them just enough to sustain bodily functions and won't dehydrate them." His may be the more humane approach. In marginal areas of the Cape

Flats water was cut off full stop with a charge of R125 (\$12.50) to re-connect.

Cities appear unable or unwilling to distinguish those who won't pay from those who can't. "There are many houses in Elsie's River where only unemployed people live, whose water has been cut off for the past nine months," says Mary Petersen. "I've been cut off before, but I can get around. The situation has only grown worse. People need to take medicine. They have bleeding sores. They spread disease. They need to function."

Poor maintenance adds to the mistrust of meters and readers. "I've never seen them; you can't even find the meter. It's covered up. And then I get a bill," says Maybel.

Juliane adds: "We complain that we are wrongly billed, or billed for water that leaks out of meters, and that we share one meter for a whole block, but are billed 600 rands (\$60) per month per flat. How can they bill us if the meter is broken? They don't come out and check. I think they must just guess."

And only the poorest receive eviction notes: Tafelsig, Philipi, Elsie's River, Mitchell's Plain, Khayalitcha, Gugulethu and Langa. All these neighborhoods have had people with water cutoffs in isolated individual cases, flat by flat. Failing to make its point, the Council has be-

gun to target entire communities for non-payment.

Lastly, the Council's compromise to provide Free Basic Water appears simplistically flawed. It calculated four people per household, times 50, times 30 days per month, to allow six kilolitres free per water meter. That works fine for several of my white friends, living near the cool, clear headwaters of the Liesbeek River, with two children and a spouse. Rarely will they get a bill for more than 50 Rands. But another former co-worker at the Dams Commission, Phumla Yeki, lives in Langa with 13 family members on the banks of the Black River — all sharing her sole income and one water meter. Her bill is several hundred rands a month. The occupant numbers reduce the 'Free' allotment from 50 to 15 liters per person, per day.

At an Environmental Justice Networking Forum in Salt River, I spoke with Thabang Ngcozela, and his co-workers Zukiswa Pat, Lunga Sidzumo, and Sibusiso Mini. Each knew someone who had had their water cut off by the city, who had been forced to sell furniture or move out of a government-subsidized home. They too are organizing resistance.

"The whole concept and process of water meters is foreign to many," says Thabang. "Many new arrivals, illiterate and from rural areas, had never seen a water meter before. They don't understand what and why they are supposed to pay. Families who emigrate here had just drawn from rivers for free." On the Liesbeek River, that's still an option, but not on the Black.

The difference between those two rivers is as clear as the water is not, as shown by crude scientific terms: fae-

cal coliform content. European standards rank zero to 100 cells of *e.coli* per 100 ml as potable; zero to 1,000 cells are okay for "contact." Where Table Mountain tributaries create the Liesbeek, the count is less than 100 cells per 100 ml; I wouldn't drink it, but I could soak my feet in it. But where the tributaries join the Black River, the count is 63,000. Further down, near the highway, its 2.4 million. You not only don't want to drink, cook or splash in that river; you don't want to go anywhere near it.

Not to say it isn't done, with predictable health impacts. The municipal government has upgraded the sewage plant that pollutes the Black but it can't keep up with pressure. Upgrades require collecting fees for services, overcoming 'the culture of non-payment.' "Last year, as the city tried to start earning back income to function, it began to get serious about charging for water, and collecting on unpaid bills from the past," says Thabang. "Water is supposed to be the great equalizer, but there appear to be some distortions in the policy. It can lead to anger. Disease. Restlessness. Violence."

Walking through ghettos dependent on taps, I wondered what I would do if my water were abruptly cut off — shower, sink, washer and toilet — and I had no job? How far might I go to get it back? Would I borrow, lie, cheat, steal? Sure. But such questions here are not hypothetical. When cut off, some gather at the polluted Black River. Others join protest networks like EJNF or P&J. Most turn to neighbors whose taps still flow.

And when they do? In Elsie's River even friendly neighbors invoice each other for the use of their water. Some charge more than the city, recognizing water as a tradeable commodity, at the expense of solidarity. "I tell



EJNF's Thabang, Zukiswa, Lunga: 'Ubuntu' now, but we might be next

you,” says Lukas, rankled at the lack of unity. “We Coloureds were never considered white enough under apartheid, nor black enough under the ANC. We’re caught in the middle, divided against each other.”

In the Bantu-speaking black areas of Gugulethu and Langa the reaction is markedly different. EJNF’s Zukiswa tells me of how neighbors asked to use her family’s water after theirs was cut off. Doing so would double her family’s bills, and water stress.

‘So,’ I ask her, ‘Did you charge them, or refuse?’

All four smile or laugh at my white myopia. “Neither. You can never refuse. You cannot say no,” answers Thabang. “You must help provide them with water.”

I’d read about this difficult-to-translate outlook. Desmond Tutu celebrated it as *ubuntu*, Xhosa for the forgiving African spirit of ‘togetherness,’ or ‘generous solidarity,’ facing difficulties as one. I appreciate *ubuntu*, but I know friction causes heat. So I persist: ‘Don’t you get angry, or frustrated that you are paying for what they use for free?’

“We don’t resent them,” Zukiswa reflects. “We try to help each other, but we know that if too much water is taken, soon they will be coming to cut off our water, or evict us for unpaid bills. We might be the next.”

* * *

I wondered who might be so desperate as to enter unarmed, even backed by police, into an impoverished area, chock-full of gun-toting gangs, with a tradition of vigilante justice (‘necklacing’ with burning tires or lynching, in two recent cases) for petty theft, or worse, and become forever identified as the guy who pulled the plug on the water supply for 100 poor families? As water prices rise, your life gets cheap. You’d to be hated. You’d be recognized, remembered by all. It must be the most dangerous job on earth; no matter how much the government paid, it can’t be worth more than providing that water free.

In one other water-stressed nation, it isn’t. “The practice of water cutoffs was illegal in the U.K., even under [privatization priestess Margaret]Thatcher,” says Lance Veotte, who is organizing policy as the National Water Sector coordinator for the South Africa Municipal Workers Union. “There, you can put a lien on property, ruin credit, but not cut off water. You can’t refuse services to the community, no matter what. That’s what we’re fighting for.”

Last Spring, as friction mounted over threatened water cut-offs, the City’s law firm, Bill Tolken Hendrikse, declined to say how it proposed to collect the bills. Last September 27, a Thursday night, it answered. City officials employed private contractors — camouflaged in official municipal-workers’ clothing — to start shutting off



Lance Veotte: Illegal ‘pinkies-pinkies’ beat the city’s ‘speedy reconnection’

water to 1,400 homes. The community identified them, blocked roads and set tires on fire. The police stood by to provide protection for those closing the stop-valves and removing the meters. The crowd grew angry and chased police down a road. The police turned and opened fire with rubber bullets, striking, among five others, Luqmaan Ryklief, aged 5.

City official Malcolm Newham explained that the disconnection was to encourage defaulters to pay their water accounts, some of which had been overdue for years. “Those who could not take medication because of water cuts were encouraged to approach the city health department, who would send a health inspector to investigate and recommend a speedy reconnection.”

Most bypassed the City’s ‘speedy reconnection,’ and took matters into their own hands. Says Veotte, “Many of those disconnected had worked as plumbers, or knew someone who was, and had the tools. They knew where the pipes were. So they tapped in illegal connections, called pinky-pinkies.”

The practice is spreading fast, linked with community self-empowerment. I ask new recruits to P&J what they plan to do if and when their water is cut off. “Easy, man,” smiles Juliane. “I’ll call *die man met die knyptang!*”

The man with the pliers. In the bizarre futuristic

movie, *Brazil*, Robert Deniro plays a cameo antihero: The mad, compulsive repairman. He rappels down cables, breaks in and fixes wiring and other household problems without the authority, blessing or wishes of the humiliated government and departs minutes later. I describe the fictional character.

"Danny Brown," says Mary Petersen, nodding. He has re-connected hundreds of people, bringing some to tears of joy when their water flows again. Though unemployed, he does not ask for money, but accepts food and other small gifts. I imagine a Robin Hood of Elsie's River, 'stealing' back city water and giving it to the poor. He sounds too good to be true, I say. Mary smiles. "I'll take you to him."

Minutes later I shake hands with an athletic, neatly dressed man with tie, pressed slacks and golden collar tips, and say, "I hear you're the man who's been trying to turn back on people's taps."

He tightens his grip. "Nee, Man. That's someone else. I don't try. I *succeed!*"

Brown uses four-letter words as often as he cites the Bible. He challenges the government. He produces documents contradicting and embarrassing them. He has chased off those who try to disconnect meters, telling City Hall to 'fuck off,' then parked his car over certain places to block them from digging in and shutting off the deeper water valves beneath. He does this all out in the open, hiding nothing, for he

knows his legal right, and moral obligations.

"They tell me I'm stealing water, but what can I do?" says Brown, who served in 1994 as general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, following six years as a political prisoner for his role in the armed struggle to overthrow apartheid. "People hear of me word-of-mouth. They come to me for help and I go to their house. Some of those houses — No roof tiles. No windows. No doors. Blind people. Sickness. Poverty, man, and the place stinks like shit because their toilet has no water for weeks. The bloodsuckers of the city, they tell me to stop. I tell them I won't. You can break me but not change my mind."

All this antihero-ism has not endeared him to the City Council. His water rates suddenly rose. The police opened a file on him. They finally caught him in the act, charged him formally with 'tampering with a public resource,' and then fined him 1,000 rands, which stung. He has no job. No one stepped in to pay his debt; his accomplices were relieved to escape fines themselves.

So, I ask him, Are you now retired?

"I don't touch the wrench. I'm no longer a plumber," he says, fighting back an impish grin. "I'm a teacher, training dozens of people to hook up others themselves. The government can stop me, as they stopped Mandela's freedom. But they can't stop what we teach to others. They can't stop our lessons with the wrench from spreading house to house." □



Brown: 'The man with the wrench' trains Mary and the two Gladys'

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

Fellows and their Activities

Wendy Call (May 2000 - 2002) • **MEXICO**

A "Healthy Societies" Fellow, Wendy is spending two years in Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec, immersed in contradictory trends: an attempt to industrialize and "develop" land along a proposed Caribbean-to-Pacific containerized railway, and the desire of indigenous peoples to preserve their way of life and some of Mexico's last remaining old-growth forests. With a B.A. in Biology from Oberlin, Wendy has worked as a communications coordinator for Grassroots International and national campaign director for Infact, a corporate accountability organization.

Martha Farmelo (April 2001- 2003) • **ARGENTINA**

A Georgetown graduate (major: psychology; minor, Spanish) with a Master's in Public Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, Martha is the Institute's Suzanne Ecke McColl Fellow studying gender issues in Argentina. Married to an Argentine economist and mother of a small son, she will be focusing on both genders, which is immensely important in a land of Italo/Latino machismo. Martha has been involved with Latin America all her professional life, having worked with Catholic Relief Services and the Inter-American Development Bank in Costa Rica, with Human Rights Watch in Ecuador and the Inter-American Foundation in El Salvador, Uruguay and at the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Curt Gabrielson (December 2000 - 2002) • **EAST TIMOR**

With a Missouri farm background and an MIT degree in physics, Curt is spending two years in East Timor, watching the new nation create an education system of its own out of the ashes of the Indonesian system. Since finishing MIT in 1993, Curt has focused on delivering inexpensive and culturally relevant hands-on science education to minority and low-income students. Based at the Teacher Institute of the Exploratorium in San Francisco, he has worked with youth and teachers in Beijing, Tibet, and the Mexican agricultural town of Watsonville, California.

Peter Keller (March 2000 - 2002) • **CHILE**

Public affairs officer at Redwood National Park and a park planner at Yosemite National Park before his fellowship, Peter holds a B.S. in Recreation Resource Management from the University of Montana and a Masters in Environmental Law from the Vermont Law School. As a John Miller Musser Memorial Forest & Society Fellow, he is spending two years in Chile and Argentina comparing the operations of parks and forest reserves controlled by the Chilean and Argentine governments to those controlled by private persons and non-governmental organizations.

Leena Khan (April 2001-2003) • **PAKISTAN**

A U.S. lawyer previously focused on immigration law, Leena is looking at the wide-ranging strategies adopted by the women's movement in Pakistan, starting from the earliest days in the nationalist struggle for independence, to present. She is exploring the myths and realities of women living under Muslim laws in Pakistan through women's experiences of identity, religion, law and customs, and the implications on activism. Born in Pakistan and immersed in Persian and Urdu literature by her grandfather, she was raised in the States and holds a B.A. from North Carolina State University and a J.D. from the University of San Diego.

Andrew D. Rice (May 2002 - 2004) • **UGANDA**

A former staff writer for the *New York Observer* and a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the Washington Bureau of *Newsday*, Andrew will be spending two years in Uganda, watching, waiting and reporting the possibility that the much-anticipated "African Renaissance" might begin with the administration of President Yoweri Museveni. Andrew won a B.A. in Government from Georgetown (minor: Theology) in 1997 after having spent a semester at Charles University in Prague, where he served as an intern for *Velvet* magazine and later traveled, experienced and wrote about the conflict in the Balkans.

James G. Workman (January 2002 - 2004) • **Southern Africa**

A policy strategist on national restoration initiatives for Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt from 1998 to 2000, Jamie is an ICWA Donors' Fellow looking at southern African nations (South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and, maybe, Zimbabwe) through their utilization and conservation of fresh-water supplies. A Yale graduate (History; 1990) who spent his junior year at Oxford, Jamie won a journalism fellowship at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies and wrote for the *New Republic* and *Washington Business Journal* before his six years with Babbitt. Since then he has served as a Senior Advisor for the World Commission on Dams in Cape Town, South Africa.

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