

THE AFRICA MINING VISION

A Long Overdue Ecofeminist Critique

A WOMIN ANALYTICAL PAPER

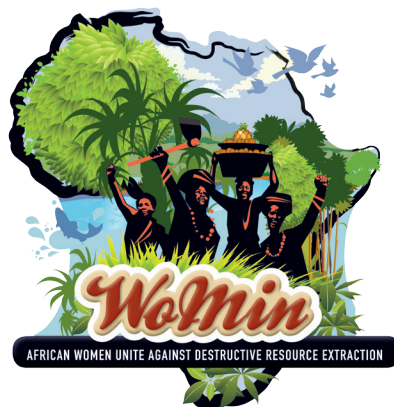


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Executive Summary

The Africa Mining Vision (AMV) signed in 2009 by African Ministers responsible for mineral resources development throughout the continent, and its accompanying policy framework, Minerals and Africa's Development, provide the most comprehensive strategy for African industrialisation in the 21st century. Central to the strategy is expanded mineral and other natural resource extraction for use in manufacturing *within* the continent, thus breaking from the long history of raw minerals exported from Africa ultimately for the industrial development of other continents.

Comprehensive and bold as it is, incorporation of the effects of such a development strategy on African women is absent in the AMV and Minerals and Africa's Development. This is despite the facts that mineral and other natural resource extraction primarily affects rural populations, and most women in Africa continue to be employed in rural agricultural production. From an African ecofeminist perspective, not only the consequences for women, but also those for entire mining affected communities must be incorporated into any development strategy of the 21st century, particularly given mounting drought in the continent and other consequences of climate change largely caused by excessive, worldwide extraction and combustion of minerals and fossil fuels.

Showcasing seven community based studies by WoMin alliance members in sub-Saharan Africa, this paper begins to fill the gap of the voices missing in the AMV. It is demonstrated that mineral and oil-based development leads to the misuse of important resources typically undervalued and hence unaccounted for in policy making, including community wealth, food production systems and female labour.

The analysis concludes with two key policy recommendations:

1. In order to enable meaningful public participation in the policy framework and vision provided in the AMV and Minerals and Africa's Development, WoMin calls on the African Union (AU) to make public the number of displacements estimated for the African continent with the implementation of The Africa Mining Vision over the next half-century. Given the potential magnitude of this figure – some 90 million as per the estimate provided in this analysis (see page 10) – such an estimation is merely the starting point of public discussion around the viability of harmonised, natural resource-based industrialisation in the continent.
2. In order to comprehensively evaluate the socioeconomic, environmental and thus human impacts of mining and oil-based industrialisation of the future, WoMin calls on African states to carry out national studies of all existing and abandoned mineral and oil-based development projects of the post-independence period. These studies should be shaped by a framework of collective socioeconomic loss, as demonstrated here, and should involve the active participation of women's organisations, mining affected communities, policy think tanks, and academics in the fields of social and human development.

Introduction

The African continent has been an important source of minerals for the world market since the early 20th century. One hundred years later, according to *Minerals and Africa's Development* (2011), the policy framework developed by the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) to elaborate the Africa Mining Vision, "Africa, along with Latin America, hosts large amounts of untapped mineral riches despite at least one century of resource misuse, particularly in Africa."¹ Citing the AMV (2008), the notion of resource misuse referred to is the lack of "transparent, equitable and optimal exploitation of mineral resources" to achieve "socio-economic development" in post-independence Africa.² Development is further defined as:

structural transformation of Africa's economies and, premised on the abundance and significance of its minerals....an industrialisation strategy anchored on minerals and other natural resources as critical for achieving the Millennium Development Goals, eradicating poverty and sustainable growth and development on the continent.³

A comprehensive incorporation of the costs of mineral-based development for women, children and rural communities is missing in *Minerals and Africa's Development*, which purports to be an updated strategic policy frame for developing Africa's minerals, as called for in the Organisation of African Unity's 1980 Lagos Plan of Action, the 2008 African Union Conference of Ministers Responsible for Mineral Resources Development and the Africa Mining Vision adopted by the latter. This is despite the facts that: a) rural communities are the most affected by mining and, in global comparison, Africa continues to have the highest rural population at 59.6 per cent of total population versus 51.8 per cent for Asia, 26.2 percent for Central America, and 16.7 per cent for South America⁴; b) more than 60 per cent of employed women in Africa work in agriculture,⁵ an area of production which is seriously thwarted by mineral development; and c) women are crucial to socio-economic development in that the caring and

other productive labour they perform is foundational to human survival.⁶

This shortcoming of the Africa Mining Vision and its accompanying, *Minerals and Africa's Development* is significant. Not only has the development of the vision and policy framework – arguably the African development policy documents of our time – involved African governments, policy experts and academic researchers, civil society organisations have also played a major role.⁷ Largely under the umbrella of Third World Network's African Initiative on Mining, Environment and Society (AIMS), researchers and advocates based in non-governmental organisations in the continent have contributed analysis and helped promote this mineral-based, 21st century developmental approach for Africa. Primarily concerned with reversing the low mineral taxation, raw mineral export thrust driven by multinational corporations, the World Bank and other financial institutions over the past 30 years, these civil society voices have overlooked increasingly pressing continental and international issues of gender and environmental justice. The absence of women's rights or feminist organisations – not to mention mining-affected peoples' groups – within this African Union led mining policy initiative is a reflection of the relative lack of political organisation among these segments of African societies. It is to begin filling this gap that WoMin was formed in 2013.

In order to begin addressing these particular shortcomings of the AMV and the accompanying *Minerals and Africa's Development*, this paper provides a different interpretation of the notion of resource misuse with regard to mineral and oil-based development in Africa. Drawing from seven community based studies of women and mineral/oil based development carried out by WoMin alliance members in sites across East, West and Southern Africa, and supplemented by academic and other studies of women and mining across the globe, it is argued here that in most instances, mineral and oil-based development involves the misuse of important resources, which are typically undervalued and hence

1 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2011. *Minerals and Africa's Development: The International Study Group Report on Africa's Mineral Regimes*, p. 19.

2 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 5.

3 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 13.

4 United Nations figures as cited in Geohive - Global Population Statistics. Accessed on July 16 2015, www.geohive.com/earth/pop_urban.aspx

5 Inter-Agency Task Force on Rural Women. UNDATED. *Rural Development and the Millennium Development Goals*, p. 2.

6 See WoMin. 2013. *Land and Food Sovereignty Undermined - Impacts on Peasant Women*, <http://womin.org.za/images/papers/4.%20Paper%20Three.pdf>. Also, Eva Kittay. 1999. *Love's Labor*, p. 29. New York, New York: Routledge.

7 Given its strategic and policy orientation, *Minerals and Africa's Development* is far more comprehensive than regional protocols developed previously in Africa, for example the 1999 Protocol on Mining in the Southern African Development Community and the 2009 Economic Community of West African States Directive on the Harmonization of Guiding Principles and Policies in the Mining Sector. For this reason, the AMV and the accompanying, *Minerals and Africa's Development* are the focus of critique in this paper.



under or unaccounted for in policy making. These are: a) community wealth; b) systems of food production; and c) women's labour – each of which are elaborated in sections below. It is demonstrated that the misuse and outright destruction of these undervalued but fundamental resources pose a serious challenge to the AU goal of sustainable development via “diversified mining”, mineral-based manufacturing, and “a harmonised continental approach to mining and natural resources”.⁸

What immediately follows is a broad discussion of the issues of gender and inequality as they relate to mineral and oil-based development, including a critique of Chapter 4 of *Minerals and Africa's Development* entitled, “Mining in Africa: managing the impacts.”

As alluded to above, this paper is an initial attempt to address one of the major shortcomings of *Minerals and Africa's Development*. Far more is required to fully incorporate issues of gender and other inequalities in the question of 21st century development in Africa, including: studies of women, mining and oil in countries of North Africa and the many other resource-rich African countries not included here; historical examination of the ability of resource-rich states of the global South to nurture, in collaboration with the private sector, widespread employment creation via backward, forward and lateral linkages, as aspired to in the AMV; and longitudinal studies of the health and environmental impacts of mineral and oil-based development on workers and mining affected communities. Given the breadth of work required to fully address the shortcomings of *Minerals and Africa's Development*, the paper concludes with a preliminary set of policy recommendations.

Gender, Inequality and Natural Resource Extraction

In Chapter 2 of *Minerals and Africa's Development*, “Africa's minerals: history and search for direction”, the instance of salt mining in pre-colonial Africa is used to illustrate how mining can become a sector which is “coherently and firmly” integrated into “the continent's economy and society”.⁹ This is emblematic of both the anti-enclave notion of mineral-based development in *The Africa Mining Vision*, and its indifference to historical structures of patriarchy in the continent. In greater detail, the extraction of various types of salts from rock salt deposits in pits and saline ponds of both the Sahel and the Sahara is upheld for giving rise to a “far-flung export trade that served diverse consumption and industrial purposes” from present-day Benin, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Togo, parts of Burkina Faso and Mali, and as far south as the Congo River Basin.¹⁰ This is in line with the AMV's orientation towards industrialisation through minerals and away from economies based merely on the extraction and export of raw minerals.¹¹ No mention is made of the gendered structure of ownership, gendered division of labour, harsh working conditions, or the health effects typical of salt mining to this day.

The Katwe salt industry in western Uganda exemplifies these realities. Some 4,000 salt miners are employed in extracting block, table and mud salt from Lake Katwe – an industry dating back to the 16th century. The majority of the miners are women: some 2,500 of a total of 4,000.¹² Salt pans – temporary enclosures built around salt deposits on the shores of the lake – are family businesses owned and inherited through male lineage. Women work in the most treacherous part of the salt mining process: winning the salt, or separating salt from the host of other chemicals and gases combined in the deposits. To do this, they enter the chemical filled waters without protective gear, leading most commonly to dehydration, skin ulcers, and recurring wounds due to inadequate access to health care and the need to continue working.¹³

8 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2011. *Minerals and Africa's Development: The International Study Group Report on Africa's Mineral Regimes*, pp. 18, 19.

9 *The Africa Mining Vision*, as cited in United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 9.

10 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 11.

11 In lay person's terms, the idea here is for African countries to manufacture steel for domestic and export use rather than simply mining iron ore (the main raw material for steel) and exporting it to countries which then manufacture it and benefit from the jobs and further income generated.

12 National Association of Professional Environmentalists (NAPE) and WoMin. 2015. *Challenges of Salt Mining: An account of Katwe women salt miners*. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/uganda-report.pdf>

13 NAPE and WoMin. 2015. Ibid. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/uganda-report.pdf>

One of the most extreme health effects of this work is inflammation of the uterus. Several older women interviewed in the NAPE-WoMin community-based study, “Challenges of Salt Mining: An account of Katwe women salt-miners”, testified to having had their damaged uteruses removed after years of salt mining in the waters of Lake Katwe.¹⁴ Confirming these experiences, a scientific study of the mortality of rock salt workers in Volterra, Italy, between 1965 and 1989, found that the incidence of ovarian cancer for female salt workers was more than four times higher than the regional average.¹⁵

The average workday of female salt workers in Katwe begins at 8am and ends at 6pm. This leaves no time for the women to cultivate food for family consumption and the daily wage of 4,000 Ugandan Shillings does not cover daily food and other basic family needs. When asked why they remain in salt mining, women replied they feel locked in by tradition and family history, the same forces which hold them to bringing home their daily earnings to their husbands.¹⁶

The Africa Mining Vision speaks of a “gender and ethnically inclusive” mining sector,¹⁷ and Minerals and Africa’s Development speaks of the domestication of AU and other legal instruments on women’s rights and the use of gender analysis in mining as solutions to the increased gender inequalities typically caused by mining.¹⁸ Essentially the goal is increased employment of women in mining, and the enactment of women’s rights laws is assumed to assure respect for their rights as mine workers. The experience of the Katwe female salt miners, and the historically entrenched nature of gender inequality in all aspects of the Katwe salt industry make these solutions seem rather superficial.

Also highlighting the reality of historical structures of patriarchy in Africa and their impact on the shaping of 21st century mineral development is the experience of rural South African women in Somkhele and Fuleni, KwaZulu Natal. Affected by the expanding anthracite coal mine of the Johannesburg-based company, Petmin, women of the villages in the drought-stricken Somkhele and Fuleni areas have

made numerous attempts to raise issues around the socio-environmental effects of the mine. In Somkhele, due to their sex and the lack of political participation accorded to women in Zulu culture, women have met with the deaf ears of the tribal authority, which favours the mine and carries primary decision making power around land use. At the municipal level of government, the outcome has been the same for Somkhele women given the dominance of the ruling clan in all major political parties in municipal politics.¹⁹ In Fuleni, women have incurred numerous fines issued by the tribal chief upon their repeated attempts to object to the expansion of the mine.²⁰ Across the continent and persisting in post-colonial Africa is the intertwining of traditional and formal power structures, both of which are built on patriarchal traditions. Given this, it is unclear how, in practical terms, the domestication of legal instruments on women’s rights, as recommended in the AMV, will make mining sectors in African countries substantively gender inclusive.

Central to the concerns of women of Somkhele, Fuleni, and of other mining affected areas is the reality that land and water are the two principal natural resources at stake in mineral and oil extraction. As acknowledged in Minerals and Africa’s Development:

Mining is invariably associated with deforestation, soil erosion, land degradation, air pollution and ecosystem disruption, particularly open-pit mines in which large areas of vegetation and soil are removed. Tailings dumps and other mining waste add to environmental problems often due to a general lack of waste management. Such dumps, as well as mining sites, also limits available land use options.²¹

In terms of water, the document states that “(m)any of the environmental problems associated with mining stem from the contamination of, and competition for, surface and groundwater” and that access and the quality of water are “especially critical when mining occurs close to agricultural and/or fishing communities”.²²

Citing from Africa: Atlas of our Changing Environment, a 2008 publication of the United Nations Environment Programme, Minerals and Africa’s Development gives several examples of mining-related land and water destruction in Africa. These include the world’s fourth largest kimberlite pipe in Angola, where for every carat of diamond mined, over one ton of land is removed; and “the widespread air,

14 NAPE and WoMin. 2015. Ibid. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/uganda-report.pdf>

15 Marzia Tarchi (MD), Daniela Orsi, Pietra Comba, arco De Santis, Roberta Pirastu, Giuseppe Battista (MD) and Mauro Valiani (MD). 1994. Cohort Mortality Study of Rock Salt Workers in Italy, American Journal of Industrial Medicine, v. 25, p. 253.

16 NAPE and WoMin. 2015. Ibid. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/uganda-report.pdf>

17 As cited in United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2011. Op.Cit. p. 18.

18 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 78.

19 WoMin group discussion with female residents, Somkhele, Kwa Zulu Natal, September 14, 2015.

20 WoMin group discussion with female residents, Fuleni, Kwa Zulu Natal, September 15, 2015.

21 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 46.

22 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 46.



soil and water pollution in the Zambian copper belt” caused by digging, pumping and disposing of large volumes of waste water, and smelting operations that emit sulphur dioxide.²³

Regardless of the numerous negative impacts implied, it is maintained in the document that

most [negative impacts] can be avoided during the mining cycle (during the pre-development, development and post-development stages) if prevention and mitigation measures are established.²⁴

Beyond this, prevention and mitigation measures for land, water and air pollution are not elaborated and examples are not provided. Further on in the chapter it is noted that African countries lack the skills, technology and financial inputs necessary for environmental management and comprehensive evaluation of the costs and benefits of mining projects.²⁵ Given these apparently contradictory admissions and omissions, we are left to conclude that land, water and air destruction are necessary elements of the “sustainable development” envisioned by the AU and UNECA for Africa.

In a section entitled “The social impacts”, the first adverse impact listed is “displacement of populations and resulting disruption of livelihoods”.²⁶ Displacement and forced eviction or re-location are further seen as “common features of mining operations”.²⁷ Nothing is said of the scale of expected displacement in the continent with the implementation of The Africa Mining Vision and its accompanying, Minerals and Africa’s Development, but this rather open admission warrants an estimation.

Immediately after Independence in 1947, India, with its predominantly rural-based economy at the time, embarked upon a development plan not unlike that framed in the AMV and Minerals and Africa’s Development. Focusing on backward, forward, and lateral linkages (i.e. creating and strengthening local industries producing both capital and consumer goods), with a strong role for the state in supporting private capital, India’s successive five-year economic development plans have enabled the construction of considerable energy and other infrastructure, large-scale mining industries in a diverse range of minerals, as well as one of the world’s most staggering wealth gaps. In terms of the latter, India’s richest 10 per cent

held just under three-quarters of the country’s total wealth in 2014.²⁸ In its own estimation, between 1950 and 1990, the Indian state’s visionary development planning and implementation also produced the displacement of 30 million people, three quarters of which were still awaiting resettlement and rehabilitation by the early 2000s.²⁹ Of that 30 million, one-third, or 10 million people are estimated to have been displaced due to mineral based development alone.³⁰ By way of estimate, extrapolating from these figures for the continent of Africa, between 2013 and 2053, with the implementation of The Africa Mining Vision and the accompanying, Minerals and Africa’s Development, a total of 90 million people could potentially be displaced in Africa, 30 million of which would be due to mineral-based development alone.³¹ The latter figure would likely be yet larger if displacement due to oil and gas-based development were included – areas in which India was not as endowed in the 20th century as several countries of Africa are endowed today.

With regard to “resolving” the disruption cause by displacement, forced eviction and re-location, Minerals and Africa’s Development provides “compensation” as the solution. In greater detail: “Compensation may be in monetary payment, resettlement, the provision of job opportunities, training or alternative livelihood schemes. The adequacy of the compensation requires careful consideration through agreed-upon valuation methods.”³²

This solution is problematic in many respects. First, from the perspective of women in the continent, monetary compensation is largely beyond reach. This

23 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Ibid. p. 46.

24 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2011. Ibid. p. 45.

25 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2011. Ibid. p. 50.

26 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2011. Ibid. p. 49.

27 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2011. Ibid. p. 49.

28 The Hindu. 2014. India’s staggering wealth gap in five charts, December 8. Accessed on August 13, 2015 at <http://m.thehindu.com/data/indias-staggering-wealth-gap-in-five-charts/article6672115.ece>

29 Among other things, rehabilitation includes education and training to replace lost income generation activities. Lakshman Mahapatra. 1999. *Resettlement, Impoverishment and Reconstruction in India: Development for the Deprived*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House. Theodore Downing. 2002. *Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development and World Business Council for Sustainable Development.

30 Bhanumathi Kalluri. 2002. Status of Women Affected by Mining in India. *Tunnel Vision: Women, Mining, and Communities*, eds. Ingrid MacDonald and Claire Rowland. Victoria: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad. The figures of displacement due to mining and other mega-development projects are mentioned together as they are interrelated. Dams and hydroelectric plants, for example, are often erected to supply the energy needs of mining projects.

31 These estimates are based on the following figures drawn from United Nations population data: 376 million for total population of India in 1950, and 1.111 billion for total population of Africa in 2013 [calculations by author].

32 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2011. Op.Cit. p. 49.

is primarily because on average, women constitute less than 15 per cent of land holders across sub-Saharan Africa, and less than 5 per cent in North Africa.³³ Mining companies and prospectors thus make compensation agreements with the predominantly male traditional chiefs and other men of mining affected communities. Most of these men, given current levels of literacy and education in rural areas of the continent, do not tend to have the mathematic, financial, and other skills required to equally engage with companies on valuation methods.

These realities are demonstrated in the ECASARD-WoMin study of Ntotroso, a community of 15,000 people in central Ghana, one of seven communities affected by the gold mine of Canadian multinational, Newmont. In a compensation deal made in 2004 by Newmont with the community chief and other men, a weekly payment to the chief was agreed upon, with no payment whatsoever allocated to the Queen Mother, the community's highest ranking traditional female leader. In addition to not receiving any portion of the once-off cash payments made to men for the leasing of land and forest to Newmont, other women of Ntotroso lost access to: a) land on which they cultivated cocoa, cassava, and plantain; and b) medicinal plants which were drawn from forests taken over by Newmont.³⁴ Given that the Ntotroso community was relocated without being given access to new farm lands, the cash payments agreed upon by men of the community were far from adequate as compensation, which technically, among other elements, should have included the value of future losses (i.e. future agricultural production) to the community. This is compounded by the fact that the jobs promised by Newmont to youth of the community never materialised.³⁵

This brings us to the second major problem with the proposed solution of compensation. Given that Ntotroso, a relatively large community of 15,000, was one of seven communities affected by the Newmont gold mine, it follows that the resettlement of Ntotroso did not include lands and forest for farming, hunting and forest plant harvesting. The sheer expanse of land and forest taken over by Newmont, both directly for construction of the mine and its energy-providing dam, and indirectly for tailings and other mine waste disposal, precluded the possibility of adequate lands being provided to the resettled communities. There

simply was not enough land and forest left in the area.

A similar experience was found in the FEJE-WoMin study of 19 villages affected by the large scale Kibali gold mine in the territory of Watsa, in the Eastern Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Operated from 2009 by the Kinshasa based private company, Bor-Gakim and the state-owned company, OKIMO, construction and operation of the Kibali gold mine involved the relocation of 14 of the 19 villages affected. Due to the lack of arable land remaining in the area, those relocated from Doko and Durba to Kokiza were given inadequate plots of land with cultivation sites located far from their new residences. Given that cultivation is carried out primarily by women, this has translated into longer work days for women, who are forced to walk long distances from home to carry out subsistence agricultural production. Not only is the land inadequate to replace the agricultural production previously achieved, but also the relocations have created tensions between those relocated and those upon whose lands they are now seen to be encroaching.³⁶

Both Ghana and the DRC are countries characterised today by particularly high levels of mineral and fossil fuel extraction. The resettlement accounts provided here, therefore, serve as illustrations of why resettlement is far from a solution to large-scale mining and other mega-development induced displacement. Combined with the effects of climate change on arable land in the global South as a whole, a mineral and extractives based development vision does not hold much promise for those drawing their sustenance from agriculture, which today is the majority in Africa. India's 22.5 million people still awaiting resettlement and rehabilitation from mining and related development induced displacement serve as further illustration of what the future holds for Africa if the AU-UNECA vision is realised.

33 Food and Agriculture Agency of the United Nations 2011. The State of Food and Agriculture 2010-2011, p. 23.

34 Ecumenical Association for Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (ECASARD) and WoMin. 2015. The Negative Impacts of Mining on Women Farmers in Ntotroso in the Asunafu District of Brong Ahafo, Ghana. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/ghana-report.pdf>

35 ECASARD and WoMin. 2015. Ibid.

36 Femme et Justice Economique (FEJE) and WoMin. 2015. Femmes et Extractivisme - Quel impact sur les populations relocalisées à Kokiza "Joli-Joli" par Kibali Gold Mines. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/drc-report.pdf>



Loss of Community Wealth and Systems of Food Production

Mining induced displacement and resettlement leads to a host of impoverishment risks. The loss of land, the most visible effect of involuntary displacement, may only account for 10 to 20 per cent of the impoverishment risks involved.³⁷ Other potential risks that seriously threaten community sustainability, according to social development professor, Theodore E. Downing, include joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of common lands and resources, increased health risks and social disarticulation.³⁸

In the instance of Watsa, DRC, discussed above, the loss of common resources is dramatic. In addition to land and seeds for subsistence agriculture, the 14 displaced communities incurred the following: loss of palm and pineapple groves; loss of access to clean water for agricultural and other consumption; and loss of schools, churches, markets and health clinics. In terms of rehabilitation to these communities, the owners of the Kibali gold mine erected : nine new primary schools, some without desks and other basic furniture; two new medical dispensaries, both not in operation due to the lack of basic medication and other supplies; four new markets carrying goods not appropriate to local needs and in turn, not in operation; one new church not built as per official Catholic church requirements; 15 new water pumps, too few to cover all the displaced; and 4,216 new houses, with the smallest containing only one bedroom, and none including toilets and adequate bathing facilities.³⁹ Meanwhile, the population of the affected area grew from 15,760 people prior to displacement (2010), to 22,550 after displacement (2014), with the number of original Watsa inhabitants employed by the Kibali gold mine remaining unchanged, at 78 men and six women.⁴⁰

In sum, as the companies responsible for the displacement, Bor-Gakim and OKIMO failed to mitigate or avoid the risks of impoverishment to the affected communities of Watsa. In turn, new poverty, as phrased by Downing and other displacement specialists, is the result for communities like those

in Watsa, which may already have been deprived in several ways.⁴¹ Put in more human terms:

Measured in terms of daily survivability and human dignity, the loss for the poor, of even a small bit of resource, is devastating...in terms of long-term impacts, mining induced displacement and resettlement significantly truncates social and individual chances for sustainable development. Societies that have endured hundreds, if not thousands, of years can quickly unravel and disintegrate under the pressures of forced displacement.⁴²

Drawing out just one example of the truncating of social chances for sustainable development from the Ghana instance elaborated above, as a result of displacement and the development of the Newmont gold mine, Ntotroso youth began dropping out of school, selling sex in response to mine worker demand and engaging in unsafe artisanal mining.⁴³ The loss of life of youths falling in deep pits and gutters, the increased rate of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases, the typically low returns of artisanal mining and sex work, and the loss of the possibility of education for youths who would have constituted the future workforce of Ntotroso all translate into the truncation of chances for sustainable development for Ntotroso as a whole.

As documented by KEBETKACHE and WoMin in the instance of oil-based development in the Niger Delta, loss of community wealth is experienced even where forced displacement does not occur. Women of Ukpenekeang, Mkpanak, and Iwuo-Achang of the Ibeno Local Government Area (Akwa Ibom State) have endured the loss of an elaborate food production system at the hands of Exxon Mobil. This system consisted of subsistence fishing and farming, trading of crayfish, smoked fish and fresh fish, palm oil processing, boat building and fishing net/fish racket making.⁴⁴ As the subsistence farmers and fisher folk of these communities, women testify that this loss is due primarily to water and land damage caused by oil spillage and flooding from Exxon Mobil operations. This reality is shared by women, and by extension the entire communities of most of the 23 other villages of Ibeno, all of which form the major oil-producing area

37 Theodore Downing. 2002. *Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement*, p. 8. London: International Institute for Environment and Development and World Business Council for Sustainable Development.

38 Theodore Downing. 2002. Ibid. p. 8.

39 Femme et Justice Economique (FEJE) and WoMin. 2015. Op.Cit. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/drc-report.pdf>

40 Femme et Justice Economique (FEJE) and WoMin. 2015. Ibid. p. 28. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/drc-report.pdf>

41 Theodore Downing. 2002, Ibid. p. 8. See also Michael Cernea. 1999. *The Need for Economic Analysis of Resettlement: A Sociologist's View*; in *The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges*. M.M. Cornea and C. McDowell (eds). Washington DC: The World Bank.

42 Theodore Downing. 2002. Ibid. pp. 8, 9.

43 ECASARD and WoMin. 2015. Op.Cit. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/ghana-report.pdf>

44 Kebetkache Women and Development Resource Centre and WoMin. 2015. *Dying Slowly: Impact of Oil on Women's Health and Access to Clean Drinking Water in Ibeno, Nigeria*. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/nigeria-report.pdf>

occupied by Exxon-Mobil in Nigeria. At least 75,380 people are affected, as per the 2006 Nigeria census, the latest official census.

As in the instances of land disruption caused by mineral-based development elaborated above, in the case of the Niger Delta, it is water which falls into shortage as oil extraction is established and corporations absorb or contaminate large proportions of what formerly constituted the basis of community wealth. Framing all of this are the unequal terms of relations between mining/oil affected communities and corporations. Not only do these unequal terms affect the distribution and redistribution of community wealth, they affect the possibility for the mitigation of loss. Where the 75,380 people of Ibeno and their future descendants are perceived as having little or no value by the Nigerian state, there is little hope for accountability or responsibility from Exxon Mobil with regard to damage caused. The situation of the Nigerian state body, National Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency (NOSDRA), is an example at the macro-level of the same imbalance. Due to the underfunding of NOSDRA by the Nigerian central government, it depends on oil company donations for its operations.

Suboptimal Use of Women's Labour

Historically women have carried the role of cultivator, and more broadly, of social backbone in African societies. Despite women's limited access to credit and other resources to invest in agriculture, women's labour in agriculture is highly productive. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, if women in Africa and the global South generally had access to the same productive resources as men, they could increase agricultural yields on the land they farm by 20 to 30 per cent. In turn, this would raise agricultural output in the global South by 2.5 to 4 per cent.⁴⁵

Given all this, even where mineral and oil extraction have diminished or destroyed community wealth and food production systems, African women are nevertheless perceived and perceive themselves as responsible for the survival of the community. Turning from their usual production of food and other agricultural goods for consumption and trade, women affected by the environmental and other damage of mining and oil extraction shift from these highly productive activities to activities which are for the most part, less productive. These include trade in petty goods produced elsewhere, selling of mobile phone airtime, artisanal mining in mine dump sites, and sex work.

This is illustrated particularly well in the study of Bubi, a long standing, gold mining affected set of communities in Matebeleland North, Zimbabwe. Composed of 21 villages encompassing some 7,500 people, the Bubi district has endured operations of the large-scale Durban gold mine since the 1970s. Due to the degradation of water, lands and forest by the mine, the traditional system of food production based on small grains, livestock farming, fishing and wild fruit harvesting has been lost. In the past ten years especially, this has increasingly led impoverished women of Bubi to turn to sex work, brick molding and sifting for gold in mine dump sites.⁴⁶ Far from an optimal use of the labour of women in Bubi, these activities fail to replace the loss of food caused by destruction of historic food production systems. Seeing little future based on their mothers' experiences, young girls of Bubi have been increasingly veering towards early marriage to miners, with many ending up in polygamous marriages where power is tilted heavily toward male

45 Food and Agriculture Agency. 2011. Op.Cit. p. 5.

46 Women and Land Zimbabwe, Centre for National Resource Governance, Centre for the Development of Women and Children and WoMin. 2015, p. 13. The Impact of Extractive Mining on Women and Children in Chimpolompolo Community Matabeleland North. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/zimbabwe-report.pdf>



miners originating mainly from outside Bubi and hence beyond the reach of community elders and norms. Among the medium to long term effects of all this is increasing gender inequality in Bubi and the suboptimal use of the labour of an entire generation of Bubi women-to-be.⁴⁷

The AMV and Minerals and Africa's Development aspire to backward, forward and lateral linkages in their vision and strategy for mineral based industrialisation in the continent. The instance of the integrated mining and steelworks production in the Vaal Triangle of South Africa is an example of this vision and strategy actually materialised in the African context and its consequences for women. Dating back to 1928 with the establishment of the parastatal company, ISCOR, the first major activities were in the Pretoria area involving the extraction of iron and the production of steel. Through the years of the Second World War to the Apartheid era, more companies were formed, with state support, to expand into coal extraction and combustion (fueling the making of steel), extraction of zinc and other minerals used in steel production, the production of various types of steel including heavy plate, and coal-based petrochemical production.⁴⁸ As in the ideal of The Africa Mining Vision, this production served local (as opposed to only international) industrial demand, which also happened to be the expanding demand for war goods of the Apartheid state.

Drawing on male labour from throughout South Africa, by the 1990s this purportedly successful industrialisation based on a range of minerals also amounted to the common experiences of occupational health problems, retrenchment, and inadequate pension and other payments to families post-retrenchment.⁴⁹ Of the 11 in-depth interviews

carried out in the Vaal Triangle with wives of former male workers of ISCOR and Samancor Chrome, 10 told of their husbands' health problems leading to retrenchment from the 1990s onwards. These health problems include: swollen feet, liver damage, lung damage, asthma, eye damage, body sores and body swelling. As the backbone of family and community, wives of these workers cared for their ill husbands until their deaths, often leaving their own jobs in the process. In all 11 cases documented by VEJA and WoMin, the wives and remaining families of the deceased workers continue to appeal to the companies for the payment of provident funds and other benefits, as well as coverage of health care and other costs incurred by families due to work-induced health problems of workers.⁵⁰ Needless to say, in addition to excessive hardship for workers and entire families, these experiences do not exemplify the optimal use of women's labour – whether within or outside the home.

50 VEJA and WoMin. 2015. Ibid. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/south-africa-report.pdf>

47 Women and Land Zimbabwe, Centre for National Resource Governance, Centre for the Development of Women and Children and WoMin. Ibid.

48 Company History - Arcelor Mittal. Accessed August 17, 2015, www.arcelormittalsa.com/company/history.aspx

49 Vaal Environmental Justice Alliance (VEJA) and WoMin. 2015. Women Paying the Price for Stolen Tomorrows – Impacts of mineral-based industrialisation in the Vaal, South Africa. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/south-africa-report.pdf>

Stunted Social Reproduction

The overriding result of the suboptimal use of female labour, and damage and outright destruction of community wealth and food production systems is stunted social reproduction. In the medium to long term, for mining and oil affected communities, this translates into the inability to nurture the talents and potential talents of youth, to reproduce the workforce, and to grow culturally and socially. Women and girl children are particularly key to social reproduction given their centrality in biological reproduction and providing caring labour more broadly. In addition to many of the instances cited above, the experience of the 51 villages of Kalsaka, in northern Burkina Faso, following the establishment of large scale gold mining, is an example of stunted social reproduction.

Prior to the establishment of large scale gold mining by Cluff Mines in 2006, women provided food for the communities of Kalsaka through vegetable and tuber cultivation on family plots of land, with additional cultivation on their own plots (alongside family plots) providing goods for trade. In addition to this trade of agricultural goods, women earned cash income through gold panning. This cash income was in turn used by women primarily to cover health and education costs for the family. After 2006, with the loss of the cultivation plots formerly alongside the family plots, as well as the loss of access to gold panning due to prohibition by Cluff Mines, women could no longer look after family needs and men were forced to leave Kalsaka in search of work. Given traditional and religious norms of Kalsaka, women have been diminished to the decision making and control of dominant males of their absent husbands' families. Having not benefited from formal education, women are left with no options for employment other than domestic work within a context of depleted community wealth and gendered allocation of dwindling family resources. With a population of 49,803 inhabitants, the long-term effect of stunted social reproduction for Kalsaka is substantial.⁵¹

51 L'Organisation pour le Renforcement des Capacités de Développement (ORCADE) and WoMin. 2015. Femme et Exploitation Minière à Kalsaka. <http://womin.org.za/images/docs/burkina-faso-report.pdf>



Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper attempts to elaborate the implications of mineral and oil based development for women and communities within the context of an extractives based, 21st century industrialisation plan envisioned by African elites. Drawing from studies of mining and oil affected communities in Africa and around world over the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries, it illustrates the human and social implications of mining induced displacement and environmental degradation caused by mineral and oil extraction. Placing these implications within a framework of collective socio-economic loss – including loss of community wealth, loss of food production systems, inefficient use of women's labour and stunted social reproduction – what is underlined here is the fundamental nature of resources, which are typically undervalued and in turn, unaccounted for in The Africa Mining Vision and its accompanying policy framework, Minerals and Africa's Development.

Public participation is posited in Minerals and Africa's Development as the means of regulating the environmental and social impacts of mining projects and ensuring sustainability.⁵² This includes public consultation around mining impact studies carried out by companies prior to the establishment of mines, and public hearings by that state around such studies. Given the limitations of public participation acknowledged even in Minerals and Africa's Development, in particular, "deep-seated authoritarian elements of local cultures", and participation processes that are "little more than rituals" where the executive is "very strong"⁵³, the recommendations flowing from this analysis involve a much broader notion of public participation:

1. In order to enable meaningful public participation in the policy framework and vision provided in the AMV and Minerals and Africa's Development, WoMin calls

on the African Union to make public the number of displacements estimated for the African continent with the implementation of The Africa Mining Vision over the next half century. Given the potential magnitude of this figure – some 90 million as per the estimate provided in this analysis (see page 10) – such an estimation is merely the starting point of public discussion around the viability of harmonised, natural resource based industrialisation in the continent.

2. In order to comprehensively evaluate the socioeconomic, environmental and thus human impacts of mining and oil-based industrialisation of the future, WoMin calls on African states to carry out studies at the national level of all existing and abandoned mineral and oil-based development projects of the post-independence period. These studies should be shaped by a framework of collective socio-economic loss, as demonstrated here, and should involve the active participation of women's organisations, mining affected communities, policy think tanks, and academics in the fields of social and human development. Until such a set of studies is done, on a nation by nation basis, by all states considering development and expansion of large-scale mining and oil extraction, it is not possible to fully account for the social, environmental and ultimately, economic costs of mineral and oil-based development in African countries, particularly within a context of mounting damage arising from climate change.

⁵² UNECA. 2011. Op.Cit. pp. 53-57.

⁵³ UNECA. 2011. Ibid. p. 55.

WoMin Alliance Members Involved in this Research

WoMin – African Gender and Extractives Alliance brings together nongovernmental organisations and grassroots women resisting destructive extractivism focusing on mining, oil and gas in sub-Saharan Africa. Established in 2013, WoMin and its allies undertake women-led research, solidarity exchanges, education and campaigns to promote development models advancing gender, ecological, energy and climate justice. www.womin.org.za

Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ) works to facilitate the eradication of gender discrimination in access, ownership and control of land, natural resources and related opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. Its focus is the socially and economically disadvantaged and excluded women of Zimbabwe. <http://www.wlzimbabwe.org/>

Vaal Environmental Justice Alliance (VEJA) is a network of ten affiliates from various parts of the Vaal Triangle in South Africa. Since inception in 2004, VEJA has worked with the Vaal Working Class Crisis Committee and the Samancor Retrenched Workers Crisis Committee to demand corporate accountability for the occupational health impacts of steel, coal, petrochemical and iron ore production in the Vaal. <https://www.facebook.com/Vaal-Environmental-Justice-Alliance-VEJA-322703054542182/timeline/>

L'Organisation pour le Renforcement des Capacités de Développement (ORCADE) is a non-profit Burkinabé non-governmental organisation with the main objective of addressing economic and social issues to promote development. It works in partnership with a number of NGO coalitions around the world. It has accompanied the people of Kalsaka since the start of large scale gold mining in the area in 2008. www.orcade.org

National Association of Professional Environmentalists (NAPE) is a lobby and advocacy organisation giving voice to vulnerable communities and the environment of Uganda. Key activities include media campaigns, public meetings (political cafés), commissioning and publishing research and producing documentaries that expose development models with gross human rights footprints. <http://nape.or.ug/>

Kebetskache Women and Development Resource Centre (KEBETKACHE) is a women's rights organisation using community action, education and advocacy to address development and social justice issues affecting women and children in Nigeria and around the world. http://kebetkachewomencentre.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=featured&Itemid=435

Femme et Justice Economique (FEJE) is a nongovernmental organisation working for the emergence of a just society in the Democratic Republic of Congo based on the integration of women, respect for women's socioeconomic rights, respect for the environment, and equitable distribution of resource based revenue.

Ecumenical Association for Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (ECASARD) is a decentralised network established in 1991 and operational in seven regions of southern and middle Ghana (Brong-Ahafo, Shanti, Volta, Western, Central, Eastern Region and Greater Accra). www.ecasard.org

Centre for Natural Resource Governance (CNRG) is a research and advocacy civil society organisation whose mandate is to promote good governance of natural resources, particularly minerals, in Zimbabwe. CNRG advocates that natural resources should be extracted in a transparent, accountable, community inclusive and bio-sustainable manner.

