When extractives come home: An action research on the impact of the extractives sector on women in selected mining communities in Zimbabwe

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Abstract: The fact that mining constitute a major contributor to Zimbabwean economy cannot be overemphasized with the sector contributing more than 60% of the country`s export earnings. However, its contributory role to the economy has been overshadowing its impact on communities, especially women. This paper, thus, is a result of an action research on the impact of mining and the extractive industry in general on women in selected mining communities in Zimbabwe. The study was commissioned by Actionaid International Zimbabwe and conducted by the Development Governance Institute between March and May 2015. The principal focus of the study was to provide a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between women and the extractive industry. In doing so, the research contributes to the design of context specific and appropriate strategies as well as actions to protect and uphold women's rights in mining communities. Further, the investigation identified the strategies adopted by women to safeguard their rights. This put into perspectives of women engaged in mining activities whether small scale or large scale; positive and negative externalities in relation to water, land, environment, violence, pollution and social capital emerging from mining; and the role of women in collective action organisations advocating for mutually beneficial and sustainable mining activities. The study also analysed the legal, policy, institutional and community mechanisms that exist with a view to explaining why some of the negative impacts of mining on women persist. This is because governance is vital to promoting positive relationships between the extractive industry and the community in particular, women. In this regard, the research investigated mining governance arrangements (law, policy, institutions) and ascertained how these are reinforcing negative impacts on women. Further, the research assessed the effectiveness of mining governance arrangements in advancing women's rights and proposes changes to safeguard women's rights in the mining sector.

The third focus of the study was on citizens' agency in affected communities, women in particular in bringing mining companies to account for reinforcing women's rights. Suggestions on how to strengthen women`s agency in claiming their rights in the mining sector are made on the back of analysis of field data. The research focused on the feasibility of women movements being at the centre of advocating for desired change. Most importantly, focus was placed on how women and civil society coalitions can change the relationship between women and mining companies; and an institutional mapping of key authorities and stakeholders to which lobbying, advocacy and action can be directed

Keywords*:* Extractives, Governance, Mining, Rights, Women

Introduction

This report is a result of an action research on the impact of mining and the extractive industry in general on women in selected communities of Zimbabwe. The study was commissioned by Action Aid International Zimbabwe (AAIZ) and conducted by the Development Governance Institute (DEGI) between March and May 2015. It was undertaken as part of AAIZ's Fair Green and Global (FGG) program with on-going interventions aimed at reducing the negative impacts of extractive industries on mining-affected communities. The research was meant to inform AAIZ's work on extractives regarding the building in of gender analysis or a women's rights perspective within the rubric of its Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA). This research, therefore, strengthens AAIZ's work with communities affected by extractive industries by bringing in the missing focus on women's rights and the gendered impacts of the sector. The study gathered the insights of local authorities, mining communities (women in particular), civil society organisations, government ministries and agencies, AAIZ and its partners.

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Report structure

The report is divided into 6 sections. The first section introduces the study by outlining the purpose and objectives of the study. Section two provides the framework of the study by analysing issues in women and mining research. The section concludes by providing the gender impact assessment – a framework used to conduct this study. The third section explains how the study was conducted while section four analyses the legal, policy and institutional framework for mining in Zimbabwe. Thereafter, the report presents the how mining activities are impacting on women and concludes by offering recommendations to improve women's agency in mining communities.

Women, mining and development

Research on mining and women is vital in the global South as it provides information which can inform the adoption of just, responsible and sustainable extractive industries. Extractive industry actors and public sector regulators do not readily disclose information on mining operations. As such, mining activities constitute some kind of Pandora's Box that communities and non-mining stakeholders are rarely aware of. Issues of access to mining related data and key informants affected the operationalization of the four intersecting research focal areas of i) women as mine workers; ii) the gendered impacts of mining with a particular focus on women; iii) women's changing roles and identities in mining communities; and iv) gendered inequalities in relation to the benefits of mining (Jenkins, 2014). The points are elaborated below in terms of how they framed the study.

There is a tendency to stereotype women's roles as insignificant in mining though the reality is that women participate in a wide range of mining activities (Lahiri-Dutt& Macintyre, 2006). Women as mineworkers are either engaged in artisanal small-scale mining (ASM) or large scale mining corporations. artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) is 'low-tech, labour intensive mineral extraction and processing' (Hilson & McQuilken, 2014), characterised

by 'low levels of environmental, health and safety awareness' and usually located in remote rural areas (Hilson, 2002: 4). In Guinea, women make up 75% of the ASM sector, while in Mali and Zimbabwe, women's participation is around 50% (Hilson, 2002).Women's work in ASM is overwhelmingly concentrated in the processing of minerals – carrying out arduous and often hazardous manual tasks such as crushing, milling, grinding and sorting rock, and subsequently concentrating gold, a process which uses extremely toxic materials, predominantly mercury (Hinton et al., 2003; Lahiri- Dutt & Macintyre, 2006). However, these tasks tend to be those with the lowest economic returns and that require high levels of manual labour (Jenkins, 2014).

A World Bank study indicated that women's employment in extractive companies is low and rarely exceeds 10% of the workforce (Eftimie et al., 2009). The stereotype of mining as men's work is making women's contribution to the sector largely invisible and creating barriers to their full participation (Jenkins, 2014). What is however prevalent in the global South is the employment of women in ancillary and administrative positions (Chaloping-March, 2006; Lahiri-Dutt, 2006). While women are employed in leadership and management positions numbers remain very low. The often used Fly-In Fly-Out (FIFO) practices by mining companies where workers undertake concentrated periods of work in isolated locations far away from home (Macdonald, 2006) is not ideal for women with caring responsibilities. research indicates that employing more women as mine workers in large-scale mining can facilitate women's greater access to the potential benefits of mining (Macintyre, 2006; Jenkins, 2014). On the gendered impacts of mining, the study focused on the negative impacts of mining (ASM and large-scale) on women. The analysis centres on 4 impact areas of water and the environment, health, community displacement and violence against women. These 4 impact areas were a principal investigating lens in this study. Mining activities contribute to environmental degradation through water, air and land pollution. Environmental degradation has a negative impact on subsistence agriculture which is often carried out by women as men migrate for paid labour elsewhere. Such impacts have been noted in Orissa, India. Bhanumathi (2009) argues that:

> 'Mining has resulted in the total destruction of traditional forms of livelihood and of women's roles within subsistence communities. Women displaced by mining lose the right to cultivate traditional crops and due to forest destruction, are unable to collect forest produce for sale or consumption. As a result they are forced into menial and marginalised forms of labour as maids, servants, construction labourers or prostitutes – positions that are highly unorganised and socially humiliating' (2009: 21).

Other studies (cf. Eftimie et al., 2009; Bose, 2004; Isa, 2002) show that the effects of environmental degradation are more felt by women who experience additional pressures and time burdens as food security declines, sources of unpolluted water dwindle and more time is spend on fetching water and firewood. Polluted water through acid mine drainage increases rates of some cancer types and other health problems such as lesions (Jenkins, 2014). Comparatively, women bear the brunt of the health impacts as they are primarily responsible for providing care to family members. In ASM, women miners of child-bearing age are also particularly vulnerable to the effects of methyl mercury exposure; chronic injuries; fatigue; silicosis from inhalation of silica dust created during rock crushing (Hinton et al., 2003). Perks (2011) highlights high levels of stillbirths, deformities and miscarriages amongst women miners exposed to highly radioactive substances over prolonged periods.

Further, mining communities are often characterised by spikes in domestic and sexual violence against women. This is explained by the fact that men have greater access to cash through working in mining communities as well as compensation received in the case of displacement (Simataus, 2009) which increases high incidences of alcohol consumption and may lead to high levels of domestic violence (Byford, 2002; Hinton et al., 2006; Perks, 2011). High in-migration levels of predominantly male workers often spark social conflict and prostitution in mining areas. Often, this results in child sex, sexual violence and harassment, rising incidences of HIV/AIDS and break up of marriages.

Most rural communities rely on land as a livelihood source. The arrival of small or large-scale mining is often associated with community displacement and the associated with disruptions to livelihood activities. Displacements impact on women in terms of coping with decreasing food security (Jenkins, 2014). Community displacement places additional burden on women in relation to other roles like building and maintaining communities as social conflicts emerge within communities and families, with the presence of mining in a local area (Jenkins, 2014; Scheyvens & Lagisa, 1998). Literature shows the importance of disaggregating data wherever possible to improve understanding of and make visible the experiences of different groups of women in different contexts (Lahiri-Dutt, 2011a; Mahy, 2011). This study specifically interviewed women separately and also got women's views from various segments of society.

The changing gender relations and identities in mining communities often manifest through women as sex workers'; women's changing socio-economic status; women's organisations; and women's activism against extractive activities (Jenkins, 2014: 335; Scheyvens & Lagisa, 1998; Byford, 2002; Carino, 2002; Macdonald, 2002). Women's organisations are crucial in advancing relevant issues and social change in mining communities. For instance, in Bolivia women's organisations have an established tradition of campaigning for better pay for their husbands as well as women's employment (Van Hoecke, 2006). Elsewhere, the Tanzanian Women Miners Association (TAWOMA) undertakes support, training, advocacy, and lobbying on behalf of women small-scale miners (Eftimie et al., 2009). In Burkina Faso, women in mining camps are organised through collective associations primarily for savings, support during crises (especially when women experience violence) and organising festivals (Werthmann, 2009). Experience also shows women's collective agency and resistance against negative gendered impacts of mining. Prominent examples include *Red Latinoamericano de Mujeres Defensoras de Derechos Sociales and Ambientales; Genero y Mineria*, and the *Unio´n Latinoamericana de Mujeres* in Latin America. Research in Latin America, Asia and Africa indicates that anti-mining activism may sometimes act as a catalyst for rural women's empowerment (Jenkins, 2014).

On inequalities regarding access to mining benefits Jenkins (2014) argues that actual and potential benefits are unequally distributed with regards to gender. Eftimie et al, (2009: 3) noted that 'evidence increasingly demonstrates that in general, women are more vulnerable to risks [of mining activities] with little access to benefits'. Women are often left behind in negotiations when mining companies arrive, during compensation talks (Scheyvens & Lagisa, 1998; Lahiri-Dutt, 2011a), with men sometimes excluding women fearing that their interests will be threatened (Jenkins, 2014). Others (for instance O'Faircheallaigh, 2013) emphasise the importance of recognising informal settings in which community-company negotiations take place and promote women's roles in these spheres. When women are involved in negotiations, research in the case of Indonesia shows that 'more money remained within the family and was spent on the creation of assets when women were part of consultations involving compensation for land' (Lahiri-Dutt, 2011b: 14). This observation is also supported by Scheyvens and Lagisa (1998).[1] The analysis thus presented points to the negative impacts of mining on women in comparison to men. It is therefore vital to develop interventions that make women more visible and organised to amplify their voices and reduce the negative impacts. To investigate the impacts of mining on women this current study used the gender impact assessment as a framework.

Gender Impact Assessment

Generally it is a requirement that Environmental Impact (EIAs) and Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) are carried out before the start of mining projects (Arce-Gomez, Donovan & Bedggood, 2015; Esteves, Franks & Vanclay, 2012; Lord, 2011; Ahmadvand et al., 2009). However, research indicates that these tools do not place emphasis on describing the diversity of local communities and to analysing the distribution of the benefits and disadvantages experienced by communities of place (Suopajärvi, 2013). Further EIAs and SIAs are often done as a formality in conformance to mining laws and regulations with very limited monitoring and evaluation. In practice systematic monitoring and evaluation of mining activities is weak. A gender impact assessment would add rigour to relevant analyses.

Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) allows project planners to consider the impact that a project has on women, men, boys and girls and on the economic and social relations between them (Oxfam Australia, 2009). It ensures that negative project impacts are minimised at the same time promoting women agency and empowerment. This study adapted a 5 stage[2] GIA framework for mining projects (Oxfam Australia, 2009) presented in Table 1. GIA has transformational potential as it amplifies women's perspectives, needs and interests; ensures that gender is considered in the planning and implementation of mining projects; and enables projects to be more responsive to women's needs and interests (Oxfam Australia, 2009: 5).

[1] In contrast in Papua New Guinea where resettlement negotiations only engaged men, and compensation for land was paid directly to men by the mining company, women have found their traditional power base supplanted by the power of cash, which can be acquired and disposed of without their involvement (Byford, 2002).

[2] We leave the 6th step of regular audit and review.

Table 1: Gender Impact Assessment

STEP 1: DATA COLLECTION
Collect and compile baseline data in particular for women (refer to socio-economic status etc.) in consultation with women, men, women organisations, indigenous people, CBOs & CSOs.
STEP 2: UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT
Understanding the structure and functioning of mining communities as well as the roles of women and men in mining communities.
STEP 3: IDENTIFYING ISSUES INTRODUCED BY THE MINING PROJECT
This includes issues of displacement, loss of land and livelihoods, influx of migrants etc. and examining how these intersect with and impact on gender relations and roles [gender and power relations; women's access to and control over resources; gender roles and responsibilities; and the gender division of labour and workload; women's participation in community management and decision-making processes; and community wellbeing, including health, livelihood and education.
STEP 4: UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S NEEDS
Examining: Women's practical gender needs; women's strategic gender interests; how mining is (or could) responding to these needs and interests.
STEP 5: SUGGESTIONS TO STRENGTHEN WOMEN AGENCY AND CITIZENSHIP
How to promote women agency and participation Recommendations to minimise or avoid the negative impacts of mining to women.

Source: Adapted from Oxfam Australia, 2009.

Experiences From Other Countries

This section presents community-company relations in mining communities. In broad terms, these cases shows the essence of limiting environmental impacts; promoting close company-community relations and communication, sustaining the community, adding value to the community, consultation and capacity building (Table 2).

Table 2: Cases of community company relations

Mine, Community, Country	**Company-Community relations**
Porgera Mine, Papua New Guinea	Discharged about 17,000 tons of tailings per day into the tributaries of Porgera River, area sparsely populated and company sees no immediate environmental concerns, NGOs keeping an eye of minimum environmental standards,1900 people employed directly, Porgera Community Affairs Department has developed social & business programmes such as professional training; business development; supermarket and bakery; community schooling & health services; sports; and youth & women assistance.
Island Copper Mine, Canada	Mine's daily production of 50,000-60,000tonnes of tailings disposed onto the ocean floor, 650 feet below sea level. Company's economic contribution to region and community totalled US$25billion for 25 years (incl. payroll and other supplies). It provided community with a sewage treatment plant, 400 houses, and support for a new hospital, an ice arena, swimming pool, theatre and parks. Developing of new business opportunities in tourism with workers and community involved in both operations and closure process.
Yanacocha Mine, Peru	Company established a social development programme which spent more than US$13 million from 1994 to 2000 on assistance to local communities in health, education, agriculture, training, income generation, social and productive infrastructure & rural organisation. Company sponsored four NGOs conducting social programmes for farmers, local women, the local university and schools and tourism in the Cajamarca region.
Las Cristinas, Venezuela	Company proposed a co-habitation programme, establishing a small-scale mining operation within the company's property with local community participation (to cater for 2800 people mostly artisanal miners and families),Company invested US$ 1 million for this project to foster a stable relationship with community. Launched a legal framework of operation to organise miners and a training programme focused on the introduction of safety and environmental considerations.
Wassa West District, Ghana	CSR activities providing the infrastructure (electricity, roads, and education) necessary to link communities with the outside world. Expectations about the roles and responsibilities of both companies and communities can lead to growing misunderstandings, mistrust and eventually conflict. Unmet expectations of insufficient local employment and service provision, as well as unexpected environmental impacts.

Sources: Adapted from Veiga, Scoble & MacAllister, 2001; Garvin, 2009.

Study methodology

The study approach was largely qualitative research. The methodology used a holistic approach in which data was gathered from key stakeholders; mining communities (women, men, and young people), government ministries and agencies, CSOs, development partners[3], AAIZ and partners.

Selection of study sites

The most mineral production in Zimbabwe is found along the Great Dyke (see Map 1 below). Among others, the Dyke has diverse mineral deposits; nickel, platinum, asbestos, chrome, gold and copper. Mining activities along the Dyke range include both small and large scale mining. The location of minerals has influenced Zimbabwe's economic geography as depicted in the network of rail and urban settlements (see Map 2 below).

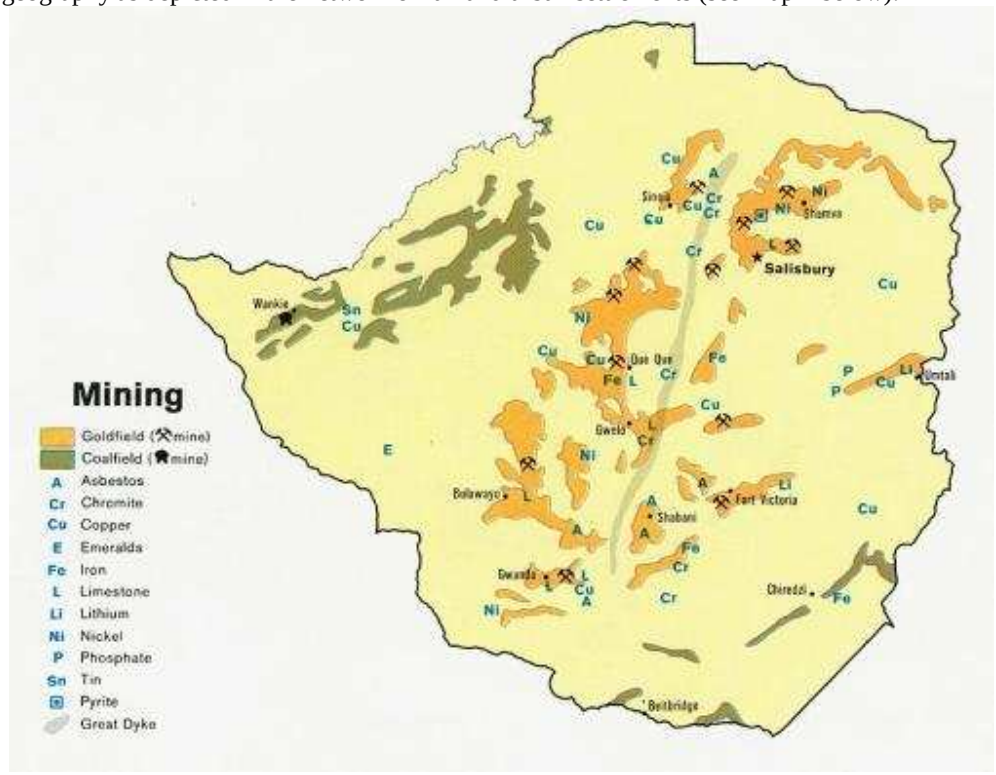


Figure 1: Map 1- main mineral deposit sites
Source: www.google.com (17th June 2015)

The economic geography of mining in Zimbabwe did not directly influence the selection of fieldwork sites for this study. Rather the study used the current AAIZ Fair Green and Global (FGG) project areas of Buhera, Chimanimani, Chipinge, Mutoko and Mutare. These areas are to the North-East (Mutoko), East (Mutare) and Central South-East (Buhera, Chimanimani and Chipinge).

FGG has two objectives; i) building community capacities (civil society organisations) to demand fulfilment of environmental, economic, social and cultural rights and ii) steering legal reforms that promote community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) rights and interests. These two objectives seek to build community participation in decision making around a number of outcomes. These include i) companies and government respect human rights, ii) decent work is made available to locals and iii) companies and government implement poverty reduction or sustainable development practices (DIC & DEGI, 2014: 1). AAIZ found it prudent for the research to focus on FGG sites to capitalize on existing relations with mining communities and to contribute to better understanding as well as planning of necessary actions to respond to women's rights issues in those sites.

[3] In particular those, that have implemented or are carrying our related work.

Research process
Literature Review

The study was informed by a comprehensive literature review process. Reviewed literature included journal articles, work by development agencies, the Constitution of Zimbabwe, mining laws and regulations, the AAIZ strategy and FGG documents. The focus of the literature review was threefold. First, was on understanding the relations between women and mining for development. Second, was on understanding the legal, policy and institutional negative impacts of mining to women. Third, was analysis of the experiences of women in particular and the communities of place in the FGG sites. This was complemented by use of grey literature to cover other equally important mining sites not visited during fieldwork. In the findings section, such literature is used to bolster the study's national outlook.

Fieldwork

Field research was carried out over a period of one week (April 20-24, 2015). The research team visited FGG sites to conduct discussions with women mine workers, women in mining communities, people living in mining communities (men, women and young people), local and national government officials, and CSOs working in mining communities.

Outline of key tools used

Five (5) main tools were used to generate data for this research. These include key informant interviews, focus group discussion (FGD) sessions, literature review, and case studies in mining communities as summarised on Table 3.

Table 3: Summary tools, coverage and participants

Tool	Coverage	Number of participants
1. Literature Review	Constitution, Mining, and local government legislation, Journal Articles, AAIZ FGG material.	N/A
2. FGD Women in Mining Communities	**4** in Buhera-Chipinge, Chimanimani, Marange and Mutoko	**47** women
3. FGD Mining Communities	**4** in mining communities of Buhera-Chipinge, Chimanimani, Marange and Mutoko	**33** Participants (**10** Men, **23** Women).
4. Focus Group Discussion	Local Government Officials	**13** RDC heads of departments.
5. Key Informant Interviews	Local Government Officials Central Government CSO	**9;** District Administrators (**3)** councillors (3), officials (2 Ministry of Mines) and from ZELA (1)
6. Conference attendance	National	Silveira House National Stakeholder Conference on CSOTs
7. Case Studies	National with a bias towards the FGG sites	Embedded in the discussion (Chapter 5) and 5 separate cases in Boxes 2, 5 and 6

Data analysis and presentation

The analysis and presentation of data followed defined themes (objectives of the study). These themes are the impact of mining on women and identifying the strategies adopted by women to safeguard their rights; policy, legal, institutional and community mechanisms that contribute and enable the negative impact of mining on women and suggestions on how to strengthen women`s agency in claiming their rights in the mining sector. The findings are presented per each research objective. However, in line with the terms of reference, the policy, legal and institutional analysis of women and mining is provided separately in section 4. The findings are context specific so as to avoid generalisation with recommendations developed based on presented findings.

Research Limitations
Data analysis and presentation

The analysis and presentation of data followed defined themes (objectives of the study). These themes are the impact of mining on women and identifying the strategies adopted by women to safeguard their rights; policy, legal, institutional and community mechanisms that contribute and enable the negative impact of mining on women and suggestions on how to strengthen women`s agency in claiming their rights in the mining sector. The findings are presented per each research objective. However, in line with the terms of reference, the policy, legal and institutional analysis of women and mining is provided separately in section 4. The findings are context specific so as to avoid generalisation with recommendations developed based on presented findings.

Research Limitations

The research team had planned to have interviews with representatives of mining companies, women mine workers and civil society organisations. However, AAIZ and its partner ZELA do not have strong relations with mining firms in the FGG sites. It was not possible for the research team to organise meetings with companies operating in the areas visited. This constrained access to women mine workers for interviews. The study relied on information from the communities around mining companies and work by other civil society organizations in mining communities. Of the 4 visited sites, there is one CSO Silveira House working in the Mutoko mining community and another in Manicaland (CCDT) working in the Marange Diamond Fields from whom useful insights were gathered. The team was able to attend a Silveira House (SH) convened stakeholder conference (on April 30th in Harare) where SH disseminated findings of a study on CSOTs while CCDT provided written input following their attendance of the study validation meeting at AAIZ.

Institutional Analysis Of The Mining Sector

The current policy and legal framework guiding mining is considered exclusionary based on a colonial or 'free mining' governance framework (Jourdan et al 2012). This framework requires fundamental overhaul (*Ibid*) to come up with what LEDRIZ (2012) calls an inclusive and comprehensive mining policy and legal framework with active participation of all stakeholders underpinned by '...a Minerals Cadastre Information Management System' (Jourdan et al 2012:ii). Policy certainty and energy instability are the two major problems affecting Zimbabwe's minerals sector and thus the developmental contribution of the sector (Ibid 2012). It is therefore critical from the onset to note that the institutional environment for mining in general and for women's participation in the sector in particular is old and generally inappropriate for the country's stage in development. The constitution (Government of Zimbabwe 2013a) has provisions that enshrine open governance, the right to a safe environment, water and other environmental products with which mining activities are associated. Chapter 2 of the Constitution (Sections 13, 14, 16, 21:1c and d) and Chapter 4 (Sections 51, 62, 63b, 71:3, 72, 73 and 74) provide critical provisions for addressing impairments to women's participation in the sector. The constitution has 97 gender equality provisions and has founding values and principles (Section 3), which recognise the inherent dignity and worth of each human being, recognition of equality of all human beings, gender equality and the specific rights of women, the elderly and youth. The aspect of gender equality is emphasized throughout the Constitution from employment, representation and decision making positions, access to resources and property rights. As such, the mining sector reform that policy researchers and activists have been called for now has constitutional foundations.

Further, the Constitution promotes the need for empowerment and development amongst its citizens. In particular, section 14(1) enjoins the state and all institutions to take measures that empower all marginalised persons, groups and communities in Zimbabwe and it places an emphasis on employment creation. Mining institutional arrangements are anchored on the Mines and Minerals Act (MMA). Because mining impacts on the environment the MMA works together with the Environmental Management Act. The aspect of environmental compliance in mining is very critical and involves monitoring water, air and land pollution as well as land reclamation. The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) issues an environmental impact assessment certificate first before mining activities commence and during the process. However, the Environmental Management Act does not exhaustively regulate mining activities. Other policies and laws that support the two main laws are outlined and discussed below in terms of their relationship to promoting women's rights.

National Gender Policy

The Policy addresses key sectors, namely: Women in Politics and Decision making; Education and Training of Women; Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women and Women and the Economy. The policy's main objectives are mainstreaming gender issues into all sectors in order to eliminate all negative economic, social

and cultural practices that impede equality between the sexes. As such, women involved in mining activities face constraints in terms of access to finance for their mining operations.

The National Environmental Policy

The Policy's main objective is to maintain environmental integrity. It has noted mining as an environmental issue that requires mandatory environmental impact assessments. It recognises small scale mining and recommended the Government of Zimbabwe, in partnership with the mining industry, to address environmental impacts of small-scale formal and informal mining activities. The policy is silent on gender equality issues yet women are major players in small-scale mining.

Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act (Chapter 14:33)

The Act stipulates that at least fifty-one percent of the shares of every public company and any other business shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans. The law requires equitable representation of indigenous Zimbabweans referred to in the governing body of any business resulting from this indigenisation process. It also creates Community Share Ownership Schemes or Trusts which are entitled to 10% shareholding. That 10% should be used to develop the community. The Act seeks to transform blacks from being mere suppliers of labour and consumers by enhancing their participation and ownership of resources. It outlines the following aspects:

a) Ensuring that investment opportunities benefit the indigenous community most. For example foreign mining companies can mine based on a 51%-49% in favour of the Government.
b) It sets up Employee, Management and Community Share Ownership Schemes or Trusts (CSOT). CSOT are a form of social capital that enables the community groups through their leaders to influence the development agenda as well as strategic direction of organisations in contrast to Corporate Social Responsibility, which is only a moral obligation. The Act specifies that 10% will be reserved for the CSOT and the proceeds from the trust will be used for provision of socio-economic infrastructure. The Trusts should are chaired by a Chief, with Chairperson of the RDC being a trustee and the RDC CEO as Secretary.
c) There is a monitoring and evaluation mechanism named the Indigenisation and Assessment Rating (IAR). This mechanism measures the extent of the implementation of the Act with indicators like benefits to the indigenous people. The rating is done after every 5 year period.

Although the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act promotes empowerment for marginalised black Zimbabweans, there have not been deliberate and proactive empowerment programmes that promote women. The legislation itself does not speak to gender equality and empowerment of women. The CSOT are dominated by males as opposed to women due to the nature of the decision making positions outlined in the Act. Chiefs, RDC Chairpersons, DA's and RDC CEOs are usually males (ZWRCN 2014) due to culture and patriarchal attitudes. Further, the Act does not have a specific quota or affirmative action measures that promote the empowerment of men, women, boys and girls especially how these groups can benefit from Community Share Ownership Trusts. In the absence of quota-type measures for women, local authorities, traditional leaders and men may benefit to the exclusion of women because the traditional structures, community-based committees and Council Committees are dominated by men. It has managed to mobilise Zimbabweans as indigenous people but still marginalizes women's participation in economic empowerment. However, as part of the Indigenisation and Empowerment policy, top politicians are shareholders in most mining companies in Zimbabwe, with these politicians curtailing women and civil society agency in mining areas. Zimbabweans especially those in mining communities 'are deeply suspicious that the empowerment laws are not for public good but for private gain' (Magure, 2012: 70; ZWRCN 2014).

Broad-Based Women's Economic Empowerment Framework

With a lifespan lasting through 2030 this policy framework anchors women's economic empowerment as a key strategy for achieving the country's poverty reduction (ZWRCN 2014). The Ministry responsible for women's affairs developed the Framework with World Bank support with the mining, agriculture and tourism sectors as critical. For mining, the framework highlights the need to identify women, their organizations and partnerships relevant to mining, investment opportunities for women, facilitating effective participation of women including identification of investors and building women's capacities (individuals, organizations and partnerships) through training and enhancing access to critical resources (finance, equipment etc). The challenge now relates to implementation of the framework given sector rigidity, male domination and lack of public resources at a national level.

Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET)

ZIMASSET places mining under the value addition and beneficiation cluster. The sector is considered a key driver of economic development and specific outcomes assigned to the sector are revenue generation, employment and human capacity development (Government of Zimbabwe 2013b; ZWRCN 2014). The private sector is expected to play a key role. However, by predicating value addition and beneficiation on water, energy, transport and ICT availability in a struggling economy where women have not accessed key decision-making and benefit realization positions ZIMASSET does now sufficiently inspire confidence that mining will be transformed to allow participation by women.

Environmental Management Act (Chapter 20:27)

This Act is informed by the National Environmental Policy and the National Environmental Impact Assessment Policy. It co-ordinates all environment-related activities including mining, provides for EIAs to be done based on National Guidelines, provides for the setting up of the Environmental Fund for use in reclaiming degraded and polluted areas. The Act promotes community participation in environmental governance. It does not however define the communities in terms of men, women, boys and girls. Further, it does not give clear guidelines on how women can participate in EIAs, the potential benefits associated with mining and potential risks to women. Further, it does not offer incentives for environmental protection. The Act illegalises river-bed gold panning, and provides regulations banning RDCs from issuing mining permits[4] and stringent environmental requirements for ASM miners (Mawowa, 2012); of which the majority of ASM miners are women.

The Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 21:05)

The Act recognises artisanal, small-scale and large-scale mining operations. It focuses mainly on mineral production and the processes of getting various licences, permits, leases and exclusive prospecting orders. It also deals with, inter alia, the preservation of mining rights; the regulation of alluvial and certain other deposits; controls siting of mining works; payments to local authorities; and conditions governing rights on reserved ground and special grants. However, the Act does not strike a balance between mineral production and environmental protection. It also does not promote environmental, economic and social impact assessment of mining activities as well as gender issues. There is no relationship between the Act and other laws that should be complied with during mining. Although there is a provision in the Act for registration of small claims of less than 20,000m^2, there is no law or policy specifically to regulate or govern ASM more broadly (Mawowa, 2012). The majority of women are engaged in ASM, with the operation of ASM curtailed by a legal lacuna.

A Draft Mining Policy has been developed following considerable consultations including with women's groups. It addresses mineral governance issues, the regulatory framework, land rights and mining, minerals marketing and among others the treatment of small scale miners (ZWRCN 2014). The policy provides scope for addressing some of the gender disparities in the sector though a lot of lobbying and advocacy remains critical to ensure that the resultant law is both consistent with the constitution and women's aspirations.

Development Planning Laws

The main Acts that govern the planning, development and governance of rural and urban areas in Zimbabwe are Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13), Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) and Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12). However, these Acts are subservient to the Mines and Minerals Act; making them largely insignificant and powerless in mining communities. Put differently, local authorities have no planning powers in mining compounds; a development that can lead to spatial structures and service design that is not inclusive and sensitive to women's needs. According to Section 234 of the Mines and Minerals Act, the Mining Commissioner, 'who hardly knows anything about planning' (Kamete, 2012) approves plans for sewer, waste water, roads, housing, permanent buildings, recreation and machinery. The planning authorities in mining settlements are thus the Mining Commissioner and the Mining Company with local authorities having little to no say. It is therefore not surprising that over the years, 'national minimum housing and infrastructural standards have always not been applied in the mining towns' (Kamete, 2012: 601). Such negligence of planning standards has resulted in squalid mining compounds with no respect to space which is vital for women's privacy.

[4]The Mining Regulations of 1990 allowed RDCs to license ASM and regulate environmental impacts.

The work of Ministries responsible for women and youth in mining

The Ministry of Women's Affairs Gender and Community Development launched its main priority areas for women's economic empowerment in the broad based economic empowerment framework in 2013. The framework focuses on three main areas namely tourism, mining and agriculture. The Ministry has been advocating for the registration and recognition of women to participate in mining. This has seen a number of women getting claims in their own right or as tributes of major companies like ZIMASCO in the Shurugwi-Zvishavane area (ZHRC and Oxfam 2014). Attempts were made under this study to access data on the numbers of women that have benefited under this scheme without success. Confirmation of the scheme was made but its performance remains something that requires further inquiry to draw lessons from. Unfortunately, because the legal framework remains silent on gender equality and promoting women's rights in mining not enough sustainable progress is expected. Also, access to such schemes seems to be shrouded in secrecy and partisan veils further evidencing the need for more open institutional arrangements for mining and governance generally.

Summary of mining-related institutional issues

Zimbabwean mining policies, laws and institutional arrangements remain largely fragmented and gender neutral. The MMA is the main legislation and is generally seen as an overbearing piece of law. A common joke used to emphasize how the law empowers miners suggests that 'if a mineral is identified in one's nose the miner is entitled to blow the head off to retrieve the minerals'. This is perhaps corroborated by evidence gathered by ZHRC and Oxfam (2014) where deaths of and injuries to humans, animals and pollution of the environment are not properly compensated. The MMA has been under revision for the past 7 years but no concrete revision has been done. Consequently, mining sector practice remains steeped in the 'free mining' doctrine of the pre-independence era with institutional arrangements that are generally inaccessible. Government institutions (central and local) are generally not sufficiently empowered to regulate mining enterprises both formal and informal something that has also been made worse by a generalizable decline in the rule of law in Zimbabwe. Further, new empowerment policies and laws have also been open to multiple interpretations and allowed capture by politicians creating an environment where the state is no longer a neutral arbiter between the state and communities of place. In some instances the state, through its Parastatals (ZMDC for instance) impairs its regulatory role (see for instance Campbell, 2010) where the state is in partnership with private companies. As such, that there are no deliberate provisions in mining legislation to promote women's rights, the continued fragmentation and absence of a Mines and Minerals policy points to regulatory weaknesses. Some of the key policy challenges of relevance to communities are summarized in the Box below.

See next page

Box 1: Key policy concerns raised by stakeholders

1. Geographical location of mining operations is such the presence of government institutions may be absent, weak or lacking in capacity. This seriously affects regulatory oversight and is often compromised by actual lack of resources;

2. Socio-environmental footprints of mining operations require compensation and mitigation programmes e.g. relocation, physical injuries, not adequately provided for in existing laws;

3. Employment and economic development in host communities. Because mines are location specific the expectation that locals benefit visibly needs proper regulation lest the national nature of mineral resources gets compromised by the pressure to meet legitimate local development needs;

4. Closed nature of mining industry – unknown goings-on in the mines versus community benefits. Information of the profitability of operations is often unavailable resulting in both communities and local level regulators working from or with perceptions. This starts with negotiation of contracts and valuation of mineral assets which are serious 'Pandora's Boxes';

5. Sharing of benefits and payment of compensation to communities- focus shouldn't be on compensation only but on overall development of the affected communities; e.g. the ARDA Transau case in Manicaland. Mining companies should have social licences granted by communities which should go beyond compliance with national laws on taxation, payment of compensation etc;

6. Laws hardly address CSOTs on objectives, governance and benefit sharing mechanisms. This is an inevitable consequence of lack of institutional co-ordination and coherence. There is no co-ordinating forum, no institutional financial framework that sets and enforces the benefit sharing mechanisms, no forum on strengthening of the CSOTs. Benefits of institutional framework include transparent revenue collection and allocation, transparent rules on when and how to allocate resources, audits/reports and clear roles and functions by organisations;

7. Lack of public participation: there is no transparency in negotiations of mining contracts. Community participation is not a new thing. CSOTs should take lessons from CAMPFIRE so that their governance structures are effective. That they are led by chiefs with 4 out of 275 being women raises gender issues. They are also not integrated into the Local Development Plans and lack adequate financial mechanisms with the 10% benefit lacking a formula and CSOTs not aware of what it is based on. Some countries like Kenya and Indonesia have formulas they use. In Alaska communities get direct cash transfers;

8. There is no clarity between CSR and benefit sharing. There is need for clarity that CSR is different from benefits including through CSOTs. There is also need for clarity on how benefits should be shared at National, district and community level; and

9. Frameworks for dealing with corruption, which is rife in the mining sector at the expense of the communities and the environment, are needed.

Source: Notes from a Silveira House Validation Workshop (Harare, April 30th 2015)

Impact of mining activities on women

Conceptually access to, control and ownership of resource are fundamental to securing livelihoods. In particular resources provide security (economic and social), collateral for credit and access to services such as health and education. The extractive industry possesses such resources. However access to, control and ownership of these resources is constrained for society in general, the poor, young people and women in particular. A pro-poor and gender sensitive mining policy aligned to the Constitution is needed to guide formulation of new extractive sector laws that help reduce gender inequalities. Of significance is the drastic increase of artisanal mining after 2000. While providing livelihood options for many poor regulations and strategic support for artisanal and small-scale mining activities resulted in social, economic and environmental challenges including water pollution. In some communities mining stressed and disrupted existing livelihoods in ways that escalated poverty particularly amongst women and children.

Women Engaged in Mining Activities

Women in Zimbabwe are engaged in mining activities either through ASM or LSM. While accurate and up-to-date statistics are unavailable, it is estimated that in Zimbabwe, women constitute about 50% of mineworkers in ASM (Hilson, 2002). A 2002 estimate suggested that 500,000 people engaged in ASM activities in Zimbabwe (Shoko, 2002). That shows that up to 250,000 could be women though other estimates put this at 150,000 including children while in formal mining 7,000 of the 30,000 (23.3%) are women (ZWRCN 2014). Other available data (cf. UNDP, 2009; LEDRIZ, 2012) however, do not disaggregate engagement in ASM activities by gender. In the study areas (Mutoko, Mutare, Chimanimani, Buhera and Chipinge) there is no ASM. In the Marange Diamond Fields an early rush of informal alluvial diamond miners was forcefully evicted in a process that saw considerable human rights abuses (HRW 2009; PAC 2009; 2012). Like in the granite quarries of Mutoko diamond mining is mainly formal and large scale. This has affected women's employment in the sector, which is very insignificant.

The research could not get official data directly from mining companies. However, information shared by the communities and other civil society organizations active in the Marange Diamond Fields confirmed that not many women were formally employed. The table below is based on data collected in December 2013 by the Chiadzwa Community Development Trust on the Diamond Mining firms in Marange.

Table 4: Percent women employees in diamond firms as of December 2013

Company	Total staff	% women	Comments
Marange Resources	1063	23%	Mainly in diamond sorting, casual work with only 7% (17) in supervisory positions
Mbada Diamonds	689	19%	CEO is a woman but no other woman sits in the board
Anjin	1800	0.1%	The two women with national army links and in the personnel and security sections

Source: Chiadzwa Community Development Trust (2015)

Company executives interviewed by CCDT cited lack of appropriate sanitation facilities, accommodation, the difficulty of having pregnant women working in the plant and complications in including breast-feeding women on shifts as reasons for preferring male to female mine employees. As such, the reproductive roles of women are used to deny them employment. In Mutoko, the five operating companies employ 2 women[5]. The general perception is also that women are incapable of taking key mining jobs. However, a former quarry mine worker argued that such a perception is a fallacy citing jobs like blasting, handling explosives, security and secretarial as positions which women can do and should be given top priority.[6] Further, even where females were employed single women were given preference. In the diamond mining areas interviewed women stated that companies preferred this category of women arguing that mining was not suitable for housewives. CCDT's work also shows discrimination of girls with potential to study and take meaningful part in mining. Citing the case of Marange Resources' scholarship scheme for

[5]Interview with Mutoko Ward 5 and 12 Councillors, Mutoko.
[6]Interview with Evelyn Kutyauripo, Mutoko. She worked as a general hand and 2 other women who worked at the nursery where the only 3 women employees at the mine.

'A' level graduates from the area to study at the Zimbabwe School of Mining where only 1 of 8 of the beneficiaries was a female (CCDT 2015).

Two sets of factors are often cited in this regard. One is the odd hours that miners work, which may interrupt married women's other household roles particularly child care. The other is the arduous tasks that most miners (especially without specialist skills) perform, which are said to require physical strength. Related are the crude jokes, friendships including pastimes and living conditions considered unsuited to married women. To reinforce the stressful nature of mine work for females a case was heard in Manicaland of a woman employed by a diamond company who later divorced her husband. The community narrative was that she found that her husband was too poor and thus could not adequately provide for her. The case and reasons cited regarding why women are 'unsuited' to mine work reinforce a stereotyping of women as 'suited' to household and home building work. It is a narrative stronger in mining than say in education and the health professions where women tend to dominate up to middle management. It thus masks the patriarchal lenses through which socio-economic opportunities are distributed. Essentially, the study found that the seemingly clear and widely 'accepted' if not simply repeated narrative constituted a form of discrimination against women with severe impacts on women and communities. What is however important is to note that the perceptions of women's unsuitability for mine-related work means that the work environments were not being transformed sufficiently to meet women's strategic and practical needs.

Outside the visited sites, women are engaged in ASM at 'Kitsiyatota' in Bindura. ASM at Kitsiyatota started in 2010 after the area was abandoned by Freda Rebecca. At one point there were more than 2,000 people engaged in ASM at the place.However, ASM at Kitsiyatota is disorganised as shown by divisions among women. More than 200 women paid $50 for a period of about 12 months thinking that they were in a mining syndicate trying to meet mining procedures. However, only 6 women came to register the claim defrauding the rest of large sums of money. There is tension and fighting between the 6 and the rest with the process politicised to an extent that even ZRP is now 'incapacitated' to put order in the area.[7] Further, women in ASM[8] have 'no equipment and resources to fully engage in mining operations i.e. compressors, water pumps and generators. In most cases 'women use *makorokoza* (illegal miners) to mine but *makorokoza* can take advantage of these women'.[9] A research conducted in Zhombe (Midlands Province) revealed that most women opt to remain illegal miners running away from EMA Officers because they could not afford the money required to obtain an EIA certificate (WLSA, 2012).The heavy EMA fines further prevent ASM from complying with environmental regulations. The process of obtaining an EIA is not only expensive but cumbersome. One goes through many service providers like the DA, and RDC for certain aspects needed on the EIA forms.

The Kitsiyatota case above and findings of the WILSA (2012) study suggest a conundrum of factors that are not fiction but realities not just peculiar to women. However, women in and affected by mining experience these as realities because formal mining institutions are heavily masculine in Zimbabwe. This calls for further interrogation of the environment for women involved in ASM from the perspective of how they are organized and how they interact with (and are supported or curtailed) by regulatory institutions.

Mining and Women's Rights

Many urban settlements in Zimbabwe have mining-related economic activities mostly and in some instances solely (mining settlements)[10]. The growth and decay of these mining towns presents several opportunities and challenges to families with women experiencing some of the worst social problems. Decline in mining activities has resulted in ghost towns affecting the livelihoods of many people; though women bear the most brunt. In the wake of the post-2000 crises, shrinking fortunes of mining towns have precipitated poverty (Kamete, 2012), rampant environmental degradation putting the livelihoods of mining communities at high risk. Mining activities affect everyone (women, men, young people) living in and nearer mining areas. Emotional, economic, environmental, social and physical impacts are common. However, there is a thin line between direct and indirect impacts on women. The study focused on the impacts of mining on women including displacement and relocation, prostitution and violence against women, abuse of young women and abortion, water pollution, livelihoods, and community safety,

[7] Case as relayed by mining commissioners in the Ministry of Mines.

[8] Mainly small scale in terms of number of employees (self to at most 10), organization of operations (usually informal to semi-formal with localized associational life often unrecognized by the state), scale and structure of business (often entering the market through intermediaries) and operating often without medium to large-scale mining equipment (often hired when needed);

[9]Interview with mining commissioner, Harare.

[10] These include Kwekwe, Kadoma, Chegutu, Zvishavane, Redcliff, Hwange, Shurugwi, Mashava, Inyati, Bindura, Penhalonga, Mhangura, Mutorashanga, Chakari, Alaska, Arcturus, Renco, Patchway, How Mine, Shangani, Mvuma, Dorowa & Brompton.

employment, mining accidents and widows, good CSR and women as well as the disturbance of the social fabric as explained below.

Traumatic displacements and relocations

The relocation of communities in Marange (Mutare District) to give way to mining was top-down, unjust and not sensitive to the rights of women. Like other state-induced displacements (Operation Murambatsvina and land reform) witnessed in post-independent Zimbabwe, multi-layered structural, social and psychological violence accompanied such processes (Hammar, 2008). Rather, they appear to be the state and society in struggle and antagonism over socio-economic transformation, with the former neglecting key dynamics of survival and adaptation after displacement. Mining operations displaced communities from prime, sizeable and secure agricultural lands where livelihoods were guaranteed and relocated them to new places where they are starting life all over. This has hit women hardest as they oversee the setting up of new homes amidst significant psychological devastation associated with resettling and coping with new neighbours.[11]

The study explored relocation from Marange where the largest mining-induced displacement took place recently. The process involved engaging mainly with men leaving women behind. Issues of water, energy sources, agricultural land (dryland and irrigated gardening) and housing which predominantly affect women were not adequately planned for. As such 'women and children wake up before 4am stealing firewood from far'.[12] Some children wake up to fetch firewood, store the firewood in classrooms whilst attending classes and then take the firewood home after school. For water, the settlement is serviced by ZINWA though there are water affordability issues. This leaves women with no choice but to look for alternative water sources, which are not close by. Women further pointed that they are having challenges especially when their girl children are about to get married largely because their aunties may have been left behind in Marange during relocation. This affects cultural practices that some still value. Despite marriage rites resolution of social conflicts has also been affected especially where key family members were left behind.

The relocation process seems to have considered and counted men, leading to severe housing design and allocation challenges at ARDA Transau especially for those in polygamous unions. Of the 1,000 families that were relocated to ARDA Transau, about 60 with more than 4 wives and many children expected to live in a 4 bed-roomed house. Women's privacy and dignity is jeopardised as they have no specific or fixed space to call 'my bedroom' while others also do not have kitchens. In order to cope with the housing challenge, families have partitioned dining rooms usually with curtains as a way of increasing the number of bedrooms for extra wives. These families sleep using a system of rotation in which children regardless of their age, sex and marital status share a bedroom with their father's wives where the father slept the previous night with his wife. Thus, children share bedrooms with their father's wife, '...a development that is resulting in our children running away from home as they won't be comfortable in sharing a bedroom with their father's wives'.[13] Further, women argued that such a system 'is destroying our minds as women' as respect among family members is threatened. In summary, there are unresolved issues in relocation as communities are unhappy and devastated by the whole relocation process.

It is important to highlight that the mining, polygamy, relocation and housing nexus is not linear. Further, not all polygamous unions induce poverty considering that some of the relocated households had considerable assets (physical, natural e.g. livestock, housing and land etc) which were lost because the relocation process and the facilities (land, housing etc) at the new site could not accommodate the social and economic circumstances of those relocated. Interviews with women in polygamous unions confirmed that they had land (for dryland cropping and gardening), houses (living, sleeping and cooking) and social spaces from which they have been uprooted. In a way therefore the relocation site and services are not adequate for certain categories of the displaced villagers. CCDT's work in the community has resulted in the documentation of a number of injustices arising from the involuntary and inadequately managed relocations (CCDT 2015). The critical ones are:

- A total of 104 families yet to be allocated houses despite having had houses back in Marange rendering them homeless and forcing them to squat with relatives in the 3-roomed housing units. Of these 67 families (64.4%) were displaced by Anjin, 15 (14.4%) by Mbada Diamonds and 22 (21.2%) by Marange Resources;

[11]Interview with District Administrator, Chimanimani.
[12]Interview with ARDA Transau women, Mutare.
[13]Interview with ARDA Transau women, Mutare.

- 5 (1%) of the homeless families are girl-child headed families who had houses back in Marange which they inherited from their deceased parents. They are now squatting with relatives but they are no longer going to school;
- 31 families not relocated from Marange were given houses by Anjin. These families claim to have bought the houses from Anjin with the District Administrator for Mutare mentioned in the transactions. However, most of the beneficiaries are alleged to be political activists and some are retired army officials; and
- Women in polygamous unions did not receive houses even if each wife had a house back in Marange but now occupy 3-roomed houses with their children.

For women, social and economic spaces as well as basic services are not a luxury but necessities for their dignity and performance of their multiple roles within the home and society. In Mutoko, there are cases of looming relocation. In Ward 5, there are 5 families affected by a recently sited granite quarry. A number of options are under consideration but remained inconclusive at the time of fieldwork. One option is for families to be relocated to Mutoko Centre, urban setting with a full house built for each family. The other is for the village head to allocate affected families alternative land elsewhere with the company building houses for them. The first option was initially selected and the quotation was $30,000 which the mining company was unable to pay arguing it was too costly. The affected families are waiting for the second option to materialise. The affected women noted traumatic experiences that characterise their daily lives as they are not sure of their future.

Another company (DTZ-OZGEO), a joint venture between a Russian company and the Development Trust of Zimbabwe, is mining diamonds in Chimanimani. It relocated people to Spring Field where there are no schools, clinics, roads and enough land.[14] The absence of social services burdens women. Those relocated include widows who depended on agriculture selling their produce but are now vulnerable after relocating to new areas where their livelihoods are compromised forcing them to adjust at a cost'.[15]

Making life skills redundant, enforced prostitution and violence against women

In all the 4 mining communities FGD participants and key informants spoke of a significant increase in prostitution and violence against women. Migrants working in mines normally leave their families behind. Some are reportedly having sexual liaisons with school children leading to cases of unwanted pregnancies and the spread of HIV/AIDS. In Mutoko, migrants are using money to lure young women into sexual relationships with girls as young as 15 years falling victim and many not completing Ordinary Level.[16] Further, the District Administrator's office stated that such practices are exposing young women to early marriages. In Manicaland province, the Hot Springs, Mukwada, Bambazonke, Mutsago and Birchenough Bridge areas have turned into prostitution sites largely driven and sustained by mining activities in the Marange diamond fields. In this area 'mining brought us severe prostitution be it young girls, women and men are now vulnerable to HIV/AIDS'.[17] These prostitutes charge around '$200 a night and $20 for "short time"; amounts which professional prostitutes in Harare and Bulawayo might not be getting'.[18] Mining brought brisk business to women engaged in prostitution.

Community estimates put infidelity related marriage breakups at about 100 involving both men and women. The reality is that a perceived rise in actual and alleged cases of infidelity and/or prostitution increases social tensions within homes largely because of a surge in the number of 'strangers' in a community. FGD session participants repeatedly noted that the mining-induced heightened circulation money was a key factor driving prostitution 'with some married women and local prostitutions now preferring immigrant miners to their unemployed husbands or other local men'.[19] Prostitution is also evidenced by Chinese babies being born to some married women. Cases of Chinese babies have been witnessed in Hot Springs (2 children), Odzi (1 child) and Mafude (1 child). Apart from cases of prostitution, violence in the diamond fields has been reportedly rising. About 4 men were killed in cases of violence leaving widows and orphans.[20] These cases leave women with the burden of fending for families. Communities attributed such violent acts to people from Shurugwi. Further, it was alleged that some ZNA soldiers and illegal miners rape women especially when women go fetching firewood near mining operations.

[14]Interview with Chimanimani RDC Heads of Departments, Chimanimani.
[15]Interview with Chimanimani District Administrator, Chimanimani.
[16]Interview with women in mining communities, Mutoko.
[17]Interview with Marange mining community, Mutare.
[18]Interview with Chimanimani Ward 20 councillor, Hotsprings.
[19]Interview with women in mining communities, Mutare.
[20]Mafude village: Edmore was killed and left a wife with two kids; Gamunorwa village: PanganaiMakova was killed and left a wife and 2 kids; Kusena Village: TsorosaiKusena killed by ZRP left his wife and children; Chikwariro Village: men was killed and left a wife and 2 kids.

Chimanimani is affected by prostitution since most workers in diamond companies reside in the district. Married women are also lured into prostitution 'saying I cannot stay with a poor husband opting to leave behind families for Chiadzwa miners'.[21] A case in point is in Muyedzengwa village in Marange (Mutare District) where a man is reported to have died of stress after being dumped by his spouse in favour of a *gweja* (illegal miner). Interviewed women pointed that 'we as women are destroying our marriages because of affairs with *magweja*'. In Buhera and Chipinge, young women are also involved in prostitution especially at Birchenough Bridge.[22] In these two communities, there are cases of husbands running away from marriages in favour of staying with commercial sex workers. In these cases, women argued that they are disempowered as they cannot claim their husbands as they had no registered (Chapter 5:11) unions.

The cases from the diamond fields also resonate with what happens in other mining areas in the country. For instance, in Kadoma District the discovery of gold in the Chakari and Gokwe areas led to temporary homes for some miners. The competition for natural resources within these mining communities further caused domestic violence in the homes. Usually male miners engage in multiple-concurrent partnerships causing emotional and psychological abuse to their partners. Women involved in mining and in mining communities thus always face social, security and economic challenges. At times they are victims of abuse, forced into prostitution and remain vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. The spike in cases of prostitution at some of the economic centres in the mining areas is consistent with what has been observed with transport nodes and routes (ILO 2005). The study did not set out to explore the full gamut of factors resulting in married locals (women and men), youths and miners engaging in prostitution (alleged and/or actual). However, it heard authentic stories from communities of place that confirm that prostitution had become rife and that miners and the socio-economic circumstances related to mining accounted for such growth.

Sexual abuse of young women and cases of unsafe pregnancy terminations

The vulnerability of young girls to sexual violence and abuse especially school girls is well pronounced in mining communities. Communities pointed that the most affected were school girls under the age of 16 years (mostly Form 3) who are being married to mine workers. Other young women become second wives (dropping out of school) though most of such marriages have broken down.[23] However, these young women left their husbands after the latter ran out of 'diamond money'. Most of these young women are now engaged in prostitution. There are also cases of abortion by young girls as shown in Box 3. What is critical to note is that abortion is illegal in Zimbabwe according to the Termination of Pregnancy Act (Chapter 15:10) and it is frowned upon under customary law. This suggests that under the country's dual legal system those that choose to terminate pregnancies do so mindful of its illegality and thus it reflects that they will be desperate. Further it means expert services necessary for women's enjoyment of their sexual and reproductive rights appear not to be extended to termination of pregnancies. Case law confirms the predicament that women with unwanted pregnancies are in (see Mapingure v. Minister of Home Affairs HH-452-12) reflecting that access to safe abortion is as illegal as it is nearly impossible in Zimbabwe (UZSJ 2013[24]). What this shows is that the cases of girls in the mining areas (Box 3) are part of the estimated 70 000 illegal abortions that are undertaken in Zimbabwe annually (Ibid) reflecting that the sexual and reproductive rights question is both a local and personal one as much as it is a national one.

Before mining, marriages were done procedurally with women taking pride in the process of their children getting married. Things have however changed with most children less than 18 years especially between 12-13 years being impregnated and left behind. In Chimanimani Ward 5 (Hot Springs) there are over 40 secondary school girls drop outs due to early marriages. Of these young women, about three-quarters are now back at home after their marriages broke down. In ward 20 of the same district, there are about 30 underage girls were impregnated but not married. One community member summed the challenge as 'most of the children are married but they do not understand what is life and marriage'. This may create trans-generational social challenges in the affected communities some of which were considered to be conservative.

Water course siltation, pollution and livelihood stresses

Research indicates that mining alters and undercuts livelihood strategies and sources respectively (Lu & Lora-Wainwright, 2014). In all the mining communities visited water pollution is causing serious livelihoods and

[21] Interview with women in mining communities, Hotsprings.
[22] Cases of young women who died after reportedly getting HIV/AIDS from prostitution were reported in Ward 28 Buhera and Ward 3 Chipinge.
[23] In Chimanimani mining community, cases of polygamy involving school girls were reported in Muedzengwa village - 14 years, Pemhiwa Village - 16 years, Mazwi village - 15 years, and Muyedzengwa village - 14 years. All these are now divorced.
[24] University of Zimbabwe Student Journal, Volume 1, Issue 1

community safety threats. Mining activities pollute water for domestic use and animals, and takes over land which is the major livelihood sources in rural areas. In Chimanimani; Nyabamba, Nyahode, Rusitu and Odzi Rivers have been seriously polluted which has disturbed fishing, and water for drinking and washing. Chimanimani RDC officials noted that more than 100 cattle have died due to sludge and water pollution in the Nyanyadzi River Valley alone.[25] However, the matter of water pollution has been raised to state and non-state actors and the media by Mai Jena, which shows some promising women agency initiatives in mining communities.[26] Mutare RDC and EMA 'tried to engage the companies over pollution of Save and Odzi rivers but our [their] efforts hit brick walls as there are big political names behind these companies that protect them resulting in non-compliance with laws and regulations'.[27] Another issue that ZHRC and Oxfam (2014) also established was state institutions' lack of capacity to monitor companies' compliance with environmental and other regulations citing EMA as an example.

In parts of Buhera and Chipinge, women complained of skin diseases, and miscarriages in both people and animals. Water from Save River has too much iron and vegetables can no longer grow well, affecting the ability of women to raise income. Fishing along Save River, which used to be a major livelihood means along the Save river is no longer possible due to water pollution. One can no longer see sand in Save River due to pollution prompting the prevalence of crocodiles as the reptile favour such conditions. In Chipinge's ward 3, 4 people have been bitten by crocodiles when washing clothes while in Buhera's Ward 28 a child was bitten. Further in Chipinge's Ward 1, a woman was bitten on her buttocks. Women are now afraid to do their routine activities along the river. At a Birchenough Bridge FGD 6 women noted that cattle and goats were dying because of water pollution. In Buhera and Chipinge, some 500 cattle and countless goats have died as a result of drinking polluted water from Save River.[28] A study focusing on the impacts of Dorowa Mine on water quality in the Save River confirmed an increase in conductivity, iron, manganese, nitrates and hardness affecting water quality (Meck, Atlhopheng & Masamba, 2009). This has worsened with the arrival of LSM in the Marange diamond fields downstream from Dorowa Mine.

Polluted water is causing itches to people after swimming or bathing. Women complained of stains on sanitary ware and laundry which is a result of high iron and manganese content in water. Children also drink such water when swimming leading to stomach complaints. Women interviewed argued that such water is causing reproductive challenges to them. A case in point is in Ward 20 'where a widow's reproductive organ is oozing out water, with the hospital requiring $600 for treatment'.[29]Although, the researchers could not get an official medical explanation on the ailment, women attributed the disease to water pollution. In Chimanimani's Ward 20 (Gudyanga) the local irrigation scheme is affected as beans *dzirikuita kagofa* [dimple-like defects], with tomatoes *achitatamuka serekeni* [rubbery or plastic-like] *haaibvi* [not ripening] affecting 89 farmers at the scheme.[30] Farmers at the irrigation scheme attributed this to polluted local water sources.

All the mining communities have witnessed the local community loosing land thus affecting peasant farming and market gardening which is predominantly done by women. In Marange, fire wood is now a big challenge as the forests are now a protected area. Instead locals are buying from those who steal firewood in protected areas. Further, disused mine pits have resulted in the trapping and death of livestock. Mining effluent with cyanide is affecting the health of domestic animals. Further, most baobab trees which were a livelihood means through women selling *mauyu* and mates have been cleared to pave way for mining. Men were usually engaged in carpentry but the clearance and 'protection' of forests, further compromising the ability of women to support their families. In ARDA Transau, more than 40 cattle, 50 goats[31] and 6 donkeys have been killed by NRZ trains. Essentially the relocated families face significant livelihood risks for which they are neither prepared nor supported by the state to address.

Quarry mining in Mutoko is affecting the safety of both people and animals. Blasting is causing cracks and ultimately leaks on houses. There are cracks on houses emerging from vibrations especially near mining companies and there is no help from mining firms to repair these houses. 'I have a 3 roomed house that collapsed from blasting vibrations'.[32]At Nyamakupe primary and Kowo secondary schools, blocks have cracked from blasting vibrations,

[25] Interview with Chimanimani RDC, Heads of Departments.
[26]Mai Jena engaged Veterinary Offices and EMA. Dead carcases of cattle oozed about 2 drums of water. The Veterinary Office took samples but up to now there are no results.
[27]Interview with Mutare RDC heads of departments, Mutare.

[28]Interview with Buhera-Chipinge Mining Community, Birchenough Bridge.
[29]Interview with women in mining community, Chimanimani.
[30]Interview with Women in mining community, Chimanimani.
[31]Belonging to Mr. Maswarwe.
[32]Inteview with Mutoko Women.

which are affecting women who have high blood pressure. Mining companies are digging and leaving disused pits everywhere trapping and killing many cattle. There is no rehabilitation of abandoned pits with people and domestic animals falling inside. Snakes and robbers are also taking hide outs in these disused pits. Kids are swimming in these deserted pits where the water has chemicals. Moreover, women are losing their children after drowning in these disused pits. Cases include Natural Stone pits where an 8year old drowned in 2013 in Ward 7 (Makochera Village) and CRG disused pits where a 7 year child drowned in 2012 in Ward 5 (Chisakuwana village).[33] The Mines and Minerals Act overprotects the mining operators and even if they fail to implement agreed rehabilitation works and other interventions to facilitate the advancement of women's rights, local authorities are incapacitated to act.

Large mining companies are not reclaiming land after conducting open cast mining. Small –scale miners are also leaving open pits after digging for minerals. This has caused the injury and death of many children and livestock in the rural communities. A study conducted by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission reflected that mining activities undertaken by ZIMASCO in Shurugwi were causing human rights violations. ZIMASCO, its tributes and illegal miners were not reclaiming land in the Shurugwi area resulting in people losing livestock (ZHRC and Oxfam 2014). Moreover, there was no proper and timely compensation to the aggrieved families (ZHRC and Oxfam, 2014).This challenge affects women in mining communities as they are care givers and also conduct farming activities using that same livestock .The loss of livestock represents the loss of livelihood for a family. EMA provides for a dispute settlement and the need to compensate communities for any loss due to environmental damage. However, this aspect of the Act remains greatly unexplored.

Women engaged in ASM are directly using mercury in gold panning without any knowledge of the long term effects. Mercury is a dangerous chemical that when inhaled can damage the internal organs of one's body. Any contact direct or indirect will eventually lead to death. Pregnant women in Mazowe District continue to experience miscarriages due to the water they drink that is polluted by mercury. Zimbabwe has not yet ratified the international convention against Mercury. Women using mercury for gold panning thereby spread the effects to children through practising their gender roles of cooking, baby bathing and breastfeeding. Some children in Mazowe are disabled due to indirect contact with mercury. The box below shows some of the negative effects of mining (large and small-scale captured by ZHRC and Oxfam 2014).

See next page

[33]Interview with women in Mutoko mining community.

Box 4: Who bears the biggest cost of mining? Some Cases

1. A 9 year old girl disappeared while herding her family's cattle having fallen into one of the open pits left by mines. She was eventually found dead in one of the pits. The pits are very deep such that one cannot see the bottom and are filled with water. Following the accident ZIMASCO closed that particular pit but left others open. On compensation, ZIMASCO came after the funeral with USD200, 10 kilograms mealie meal, some sugar, 4 loaves of bread and tea leaves. The mother is not happy at all with how the company handled the case.
2. One widow recounted how her husband fell and died in one of the pits when he was coming from beer drinking. The mine neither compensated the family nor did it help with the funeral costs.
3. The Shurugwi community has not lost their cattle as they are falling into the pits. No compensation for their livestock is provided to the communities.
4. Water is being polluted by mining activities especially by illegal miners who use mercury. Mining also causes siltation of rivers.
5. Access to water is also an issue. Mines like Unki have dams where local communities could draw water easily but no arrangements exist for that to happen prompting nearby villagers to 'poach' water. They also feel the mining companies should put up more boreholes.
6. Not much is done regarding employment for locals as companies recruited skilled workers from other mines which have closed. They only take general hands from those who have 5 'O` levels. Communities consider this as unfair feeling they should be given first preference for them to benefit from activities being done in their community.
7. Displacement/disruption of farming: local farmers displaced by mines are finding it difficult to have grazing land for their livestock and end up walking long distances to get pastures. Existing national policy gives mining precedence over farming leaving farmers with no options but to accept what they are given or left with although they will be unhappy.
8. Equitable distribution of resources: Mines like ZIMASCO are owners of claims some of which they registered as far back as 1904. Locals feel it is unfair as the companies are not even mining on some of those claims rather they are 'tributing' them to locals. Locals ask for redistribution of the claims so that they also benefit arguing they lack access to the resources and thus feel economically oppressed.

Source: ZHRC and Oxfam (2014)

Employment, mining accidents and widow`s welfare

The arrival of mining came as a 'fortune' due to promises of employment. However, this didn't materialise as immigrants got employed with women being discriminated from employment. In all the mining communities visited, the local community complained that mine managers were taking people from places very far away leaving locals unemployed. In Marange diamond fields, 'people were being trained there overnight diffusing the excuse of qualifications and training used by companies to justify hiring of migrants'.[34] Women from Marange and Chimanimani mining communities argued that for the few local men who were employed; some are now lodging in Birchenough Bridge staying with prostitutes and leaving their families behind. Local people were paying 1 beast or USD300 to get a job in diamond mining companies especially Anjin. At least 35 people reportedly paid these bribes in the Hot Springs and Nyanyadzi areas. Unfortunately, some of them were fired after an industrial action which affected 1,200 people.[35] Women who had paid for those bribes are now exposed since their husbands and children are now out of work. Further, women interviewed told compelling stories of how they are harassed and abused by guards with security dogs when prospecting for work at the gates of diamond mining companies.

The discriminatory nature of employment is not only peculiar to Marange and Chimanimani but also in Buhera and Chipinge where communities estimated that there were less than 10 people employed in mining previously with most having been terminated. Local communities pointed with great concern that 'most of the workers are from Bulawayo and Zvimba; *mazezuru ndovakawanda pamine*[36]'. Rather, women are convinced that if local people (women, men and young people) are employed in mining, there would be positive changes in their lives and society

[34]Interview with women in Marange mining community.
[35] These were replaced by people bused from Matabeleland.
[36] People from Mashonaland form the bulk of mine employees

at large. Validating this claim, it appears as if the period of 'informal' mining has widespread positive impacts to mining communities visited.[37]

Mining accidents and the devastating situation of subsequent widows is more pronounced in Mutoko. The study learnt of the case of 5 widows affected by mining accidents (4 for Natural Stone Company and 1 for Quarry Enterprises). These widows noted that their lives had changed after the death of their husbands. They were struggling to raise school fees, and provide uniforms for their children as the mining companies are not consistently honoring their pledges to assist them.[38] From the evidence presented by the widows, it seems that most mining accidents are a result of poor safety procedures at the mines. Unfortunately, follow-up support seems whims-based suggesting there are limited insurance and pension schemes at some of the mining companies. Further, these women showed their desperate situation by saying 'we are now afraid of non-action by ZELA and AAIZ after giving them a lot of information'.[39]

Disrupted social fabric and stressed families

The arrival of mining activities and the subsequent relocation of communities have disturbed the social fabric. Mining operations moved whole communities, breaking and disrupting their social fabric. Socio-economic ties were altogether cut increasing the burden to start a new home for women. Setting up alternative food production and child care environments has further being strained with the increased burden falling on women making them much more vulnerable. Sacred places have been invaded, with graves dug up. These things affected the way women thought about and valued society. Disruptions have occurred in many communities with the most recent mining-related relocations happening in Mutare District's Marange area where diamonds were discovered and mining activities commenced in the mid-2000s. In Mutoko displacement has usually been within the same communities and for selected households considered too close to quarrying operations. In the Marange case whole villages (at least four villages were displaced by Anjin Mining alone[40]).

Marange displacement resulted in loss of arable land, gardens and orchards, homesteads, sites of religious and cultural importance. Local economic networks were also lost. At ARDA Transau land is not even enough for production (1ha per household) let alone to bequeath as inheritance to future generations within the family and community. A recent survey by CCDT in the Anjin Relocation site at ARDA Transau found 56 out-of-school children with 34 (60.7%) being girls (CCDT 2015). The same survey also highlighted that displaced/relocated women had also lost some of their skills including farming as they are now in a new agro-ecological region, basket and mat making (handicrafts). Having been used to sorghum, groundnuts and millet production most of the women found it difficult to grow maize in the new area also costing them the nutritional diversity they had had been used to. Only Mbada Diamonds made efforts in working with the Zimbabwe Farmers' Union to train the relocated households in maize production.

Where some mining employees decide to settle locally, traditional leaders are being accused of diluting society by allocating land to new migrants with other cultural practices[41] and potentially disrupting family ties as often new migrants have families and homes elsewhere. Increases in theft and robbery in the areas are alleged to be a result of miners. In March 2015, a Form 2 pupil at Birchenough Bridge was raped and killed and the murderers were arrested and found to be from Shurugwi while a child had their teeth violently removed by people alleged to be from Shurugwi. The box below provides insights into how women's experiences with and of relocation appear stressful in the main. The case is based on interviews at of some women on the 29th of May at ARDA Transau (see pictures of the settlement and a model homestead).

[37] Some of the positive changes include new houses, vehicles, and buying of domestic animals and utensils by the local community during informal mining.
[38] Interview with women in Mutoko mining community.
[39] We are of the view that this issue requires further investigation by AAIZ and ZELA.
[40] Gamunorwa, Muyedzengwa, Dzoma and Kusena
[41] Interview with Buhera and Chipinge women

Box 6: Rural kitchen as basis for a woman's dignity and social control

Patricia (38) and **Charity** (35) are wives four and five in a six-wife polygamous union. They were relocated to ARDA Transau together with other families from Gamunorwa village, one of five affected by diamond mining. In their village (four 4 ago now) each had a kitchen and a separate two-roomed house, garden, chicken-run and an arable plot of at least 3 acres. Both have four children each (Patricia: 3 girls and 1 son, Charity: 3 sons and 1 daughter). Their family was allocated four 1 hectare plots each with a three bed-roomed house and a kitchen. On allocation the first three wives took a plot each leaving the other three to share one plot despite having been promised a plot each.
Each woman has a bedroom which she shares with her children. During 'spousal visits' the host wife's children either share with others or use the kitchen. Even in such circumstances Patricia and Charity noted this was far from desirable. All three women share the kitchen and the rest of the plot where they grow and share crops. Each has partially (if not wholly) lost control of production decision-making. They hardly harvest enough to eat. Food preparation and plot maintenance are posing social problems. Morning rituals like yard sweeping and preparing food have become contested social roles. Each is a sphere of power, control and self assertion. Those with older children that do piecework and buy groceries either keep it in bedrooms or risk communal consumption if left in the shared kitchen raising further conflicts. The ladies indicated the difficulties this posed for child socialization, access to food (own and others') and noted that child abuse cases were rising including some food poisoning all largely due to sharing kitchens. Lacking kitchens costs social control (of one's household) while lack of land costs women their livelihood security. They depend on grossly unviable fuelwood vending.
Patricia and Charity indicated that the 475 plot settlement complete with piped water (a stand pipe for each 4 plots), a school and a common burial site (up to 5km away) was a closed community. The Coordinator or Liaison Person is not part of the relocated community, has reportedly been imposed on the community by local government and former traditional leaders have lost their power. Men in the settlement have repeatedly been threatened with disappearance if they linked up with non-government actors. Even liaison with mining companies is mediated by a layer of non-community institutions blocking free civic and developmental participation. For Patricia and Charity their husband knows his family circumstances are abnormal but is powerless. As children grow the socio-cultural and economic strain is evidently growing. The two ladies repeatedly shrugged their shoulders expressing powerlessness when asked to reflect 5 to 10 years into the future.

Patricia and Charity, their children, families and other similar (polygamous) families have concerns about tenure insecurity (not able to decide on extra housing on the plots), food shortages (land access and non-materialization of promised irrigation scheme), limited economic activities (in comparison with Gamunorwa), no participation for and in development, cost of water (and that any gardens increase ZINWA bills), a school with ever-rising enrolment, transport to go to the burial site, absence of development organizations (seen as supported by diamond companies), community cohesion and running of families. Individual women, households and the whole community are not receiving structured support to manage socio-economic transitioning from communal to semi-urban livelihoods in a weak regional and national economy. Further, local institutions to which Patricia, Charity and other women are accustomed do not exist or are powerless in the settlement.

Monica (wife 2 in a separate family) and **Mary** (wife 14 in another) recounted life stories showing social strains of relocation. For Monica her family got one plot, which (according to officials) belongs to wife 1. Monica cannot sweep the compound and often family tensions rise unbearably. Mary got a plot after living for 4 years in a compound, which strained her marriage (relocation *'yakatirambanisa'*). She joked that her husband had to propose again when she and 8 other wives got houses after demonstrating. Her other 6 fellow wives found housing in a separate settlement. **Margaret** is a widow who stays with her son who has 3 wives. She had been promised her own plot but on arrival she was told 'you are being carried by your son'. Margaret has a disabled 23 year old daughter whose care is now compromised by the living arrangements and accompanying food insecurity.

The rural kitchen defines a social and economic management unit. Communal land is allocated depending on whether one has a kitchen on not. Patricia and her fellow women confirmed that relocation planning used this concept but unfortunately, plot allocation didn't. This compromised women's personal, socio-cultural, economic and political rights within and outside the home. Responses are needed but the institutional framework didn't seem to exist in the area.

Source: Interviews at ARDA Transau (May 2015)

Corporate social responsibility and women

The main method through which mining entities can address women issues in mining communities is through CSR. However, most mining companies are not honouring their CSR pledges in time resulting in resentment by mining communities. In Mutoko, Natural Stone Company promised to drill boreholes, repair roads and build schools, dams and clinics but it is not delivering. The company promised to drill boreholes and advised communities to buy pipes but it reneged on the deal.[42] About 50 community members went to the company with the intention to see the

42 Case presented as narrated by some of the women who were arrested and fined

company head. However, police arrived at the scene arrested everyone. They asked for ring leaders but people could not divulge anything. However, the Police had been given names by workers at the mining company. When these people were arrested, about 120 people from the community came volunteering to be arrested with the group as well. Realising this, the police detained only 8 people (4 female) and Mutoko Magistrate ruled that they pay US$300 as fine. Failure to pay would attract 6 months in jail and community service was ruled as not an option. The fine was however paid by a well-wisher organisation. The box below cites some positive contributions by mines that impact on women in particular and communities in general.

Box 7: Some positive contributions by mines

1. Construction of a secondary school block by RED Granite at Gurure Secondary School, construction of clinic in ward 5 by ZIQ and CRG, construction of a school block and toilets at Kowo primary school, a cattle dipping facility constructed in the Charehwa area, and provision of transport to take ill villagers to Mutoko General Hospital (Sigauke, 2015);
2. DTZ[43] installed a tank in Chimanimani town servicing 718 stands (including 2 church stands, 6 commercial stands, and 6 service industrial stands), a development that has significantly increased water supply in the town.[44] Availability of water means that less work and time for women in fetching water (Field findings, April 2015);
3. Construction of roads, schools and dams, a mothers` shelter at Chirombe Clinic, refurbishing of various schools and clinics in Tongogara RDC, building of new houses for those displaced in Village 17, helping farmers with seeds, fertilisers and tilling of the land, employment and business opportunities to the communities, (ZHRC and Oxfam 2014).

Sources: Various

However, RDCs make the point that more could be provide in terms of development resources if mining companies were providing resources as previously. While Sigauke (2015) concedes that granite quarrying in Mutoko has provided jobs to locals because most of them use unskilled labour he however argues that because the

> 'Quarry miners are reluctant to pay council its dues. For example in 2009, the district produced 121 000 metric tons of black granite worth US$12.1 million and yet the mines were prepared to pay a paltry US$18 400 to the District Council' (2015: 7).

Chimanimani RDC also noted that the DTZ tank was only USD800 and no further benefits were received from the mining entity [45] reflecting that companies may be cunning in their dealings with communities. In fact when DTZ engages in any CSR activities it wants to substitute CSR for RDC levies. In summary, mining firms 'talk of CSR but they sponsor Dynamos and not us communities'.[46] In Marange, these entities are building mansions for chiefs leaving aside communities. This development is also peculiar in Mutoko as it was raised that 'mining companies give perks to bribe local traditional leadership and ruining the relationship between council and the communities'.[47]This is encouraging divide and rule between communities and local authorities affecting the effectiveness of CSR initiatives.

In conclusion, the challenge is that 'mining companies always avoid big and serious community projects that benefit the communities on a large scale preferring low level projects that are cheap'.[48] In other words, projects being supported through CSR are not transformational. Relations between mining companies and local authorities are frosty and antagonistic, with the former mainly respecting and recognising only the national government. In essence, 'Council's role in the mining operations is ceremonial… [they] cannot do much to lobby and advocate for the advancement of women in its mining communities as it is just an spectator and cannot do much'.[49] There is cosmetic

43 This company is mining diamond at Charleswood about 12-15km along Tilbury road in Chimanimani.
44 Interview with Chimanimani RDC Planning Technician, Chimanimani
45Interview with Chimanimani RDC Heads of Departments, Chimanimani.
46 Ibid.
[47]Interview with Mutoko RDC heads of departments, Mutoko.
[48]Interview with Mutoko Ward 5 and 12 councillors, Mutoko.
[49]Interview with Mutare RDC heads of departments, Mutare.

interaction between the local authority and the mining entities affecting the crucial interventions that would otherwise benefit women in the mining areas. This explains why in other jurisdictions major mining companies have instituted formal mechanisms for community consultation, such as permanent forums and regular engagement processes. Some are undertaking participatory environmental performance monitoring and evaluation (Kemp, Owen & van de Graaff, 2012).

Collective forms of community organization

The predominant arrangement of collective forms of community organisations addressing the impacts of mining to communities manifests as community share ownership trusts / schemes and women associations. However, the role of women in community trusts is muted and these schemes are not entirely meant to address women issues in mining communities. In general, the effectiveness of CSOTs in advancing responsive, just, and sustainable and development oriented mining activities is still very insignificant. In all the mining communities visited, there are CSOTs despite these trusts struggling to make an impact in communities. In Mutoko, the CSOT is yet to be launched despite preparations for the trust being initiated in 2010. Disbursements by quarry companies to Mutoko Community Share Ownership Trust (MCSOT) as of April 2015 were $2500 by Natural Stone, and $25,000 by Quarry Enterprises against pledges made amounting to $286,000 (Quarry Enterprises), $100,000 (ZIQ), and 1million (Natural Stone) payable in 30 years. In terms of plans, MCSOT has clear development priorities though these remain a pipe dream.

The Save-Odzi Community Network Trust is an organisation advocating for mining communities affected by downstream effects of diamond mining along Save and Odzi Rivers. The network has 15 trustees; 5 of them being women. To date the network conducted 4 workshops each in Buhera, Chimanimani and Chipinge aimed at equipping communities with basic rights. The research team interfaced with some women who are part of the network and there are indications that they are actively involved in training and disseminating information to other women. The network however requires structured support for lobbying and advocacy training.

In the Marange community, the collective agency of women is structured through Chiadzwa Community Development Trust (CCDT). The Trust is a platform for women to raise their issues in the mining community. Further, women are community monitors taking women's issues to respective stakeholders i.e. ZLHR, CNRG, ZELA, and AAIZ among others. At the same time, women also monitor people whose rights are violated in addition to teaching and recruiting community monitors. At the time of conducting this research, the footprint of CCDT in addressing the negative impacts of mining to the affected community was however faint. In addition, mining companies 'have so far contributed $400,000 towards the Zimunya-Marange CSOT which communities are not happy with given that companies had pledged $10 million dollars each'.[50] Out of this figure, Mutare RDC in agreement with the communities allocated each ward $5,000 and would go on to agree with their councillor on how to use this money.

At present, Zimbabwe has more than 10 Associations of Women in Mining. These critical organizations face organizational and institutional development challenges including 'disagreements amongst the associations'.[51] They lack coordination and organisation. Their leaders mislead other women members with wrong information as the Kitsiyatota case shows. It seems that women are not separating mining from politics, a feature that is destabilising women's agency. The potential for organisation and coordination of women remains available. What is however needed is a process of harnessing, restructuring and consolidating existing women's initiatives.

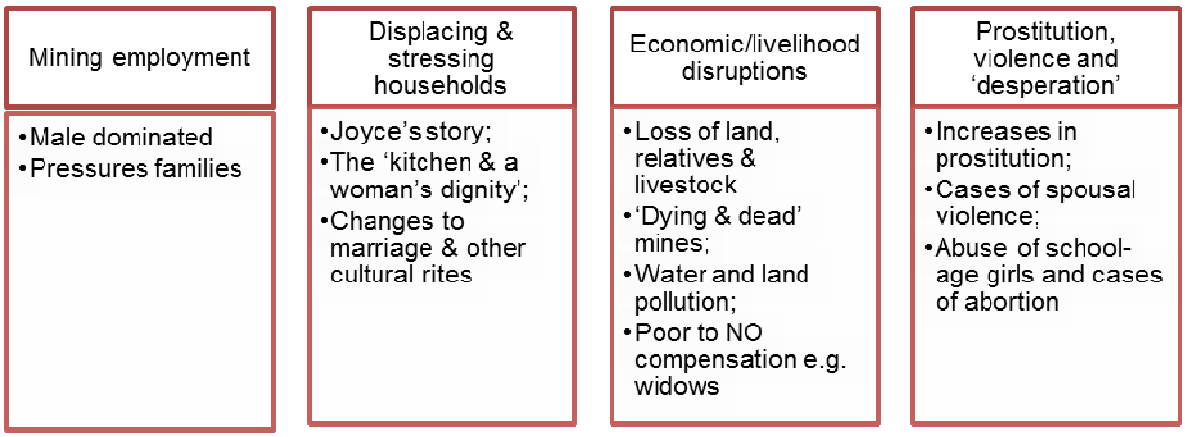
Conclusion and recommendations

Building women's agency and active citizenship requires strategic planning, organising, and actual struggles. In those struggles, women 'must break the silence; they must tune out the cultural racket; they must speak their own lives' (Meyers, 2002). At the same time, women's agency and empowerment are muddled in deeply entrenched political contestations both in the extractive industry and society at large. Economic empowerment or independence helps women assert their sexual and reproductive health rights. Women in polygamous families without houses of their own at ARDA Transau are exposed to serious inequalities that potentially compromise their children's prospects of avoiding poverty. Women have more constraints in terms of access to resources than men especially economic resources. Power relations in society determine strategies for building women's agency and active citizenship. It is the nexus between action and reaction that characterises women's movements and shapes their agenda, strategies, and quest for empowerment (Steady, 2006: 1). What makes a difference is how women act on the

[50]Interview with Mutare RDC heads of departments, Mutare.
[51]Interview with Mining Commissioner, Harare.

impacts of mining. The capacity to act collectively is not just a matter of groups sharing interests, incentives and values, but a prior and shared understanding of the constituent elements of problem(s) and possible solutions (Gauri, Woolcock & Desai, 2013). Such collective action helps in confronting socio-economic and political impediments inherent in Zimbabwean society generally and in mining areas as well.

The mining impacts uncovered by this study are in a number of areas and require redress. The key challenges facing women in mining areas as well as those directly involved in mining are captured in the figure below.



Recommendations

The key findings that inform our recommendations to Action Aid, ZELA and other relevant organizations are as follows:

1. The local importance of mining is shrouded in current economic and governance challenges;
2. Institutional designs & administrative practices at all levels from national to local are weak and lagging making the facilitation of meaningful participation in mining by women poor. Further, it also makes addressing of rights violations difficult;
3. Further, the sector regulated in a coercive and non-responsive manner with the diamond mining areas of Marange reflecting the most negative extreme of such coercion and lack of transparency; and
4. Communities (particularly women and children) are being affected negatively the most.

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