

WOMEN, GENDER AND EXTRACTIVISM IN AFRICA
A COLLECTION OF PAPERS

**BACKGROUND
NOTE AND
EXPLORATION OF
KEY CONCEPTS**



AN  **IANRA** INITIATIVE
International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa

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1. BACKGROUND TO THE COLLECTION

In this *starter collection* of six papers, which focuses on Sub-Saharan Africa so far as the available literature allows, WoMin¹ begins to explore some of the themes and questions that are raised by extractivism² and industrial mining in particular, and its impacts upon, and 'relationship to' peasant and working-class women. By 'relationship', WoMin refers to the myriad ways – within the home, in the fields and in the workplace – in which women, in mainly invisible and unremunerated ways, participate in, shape, and contribute to the ambitions and profits of the extractivist industries.

WoMin has been developed to respond to the rapid growth of the extractivist industries in the region, leading to the displacement of poor peasant communities from the lands and forests upon which their livelihoods, well-being and identity rest, and the degradation and pollution of these same lands, water sources and air. These impacts are disproportionately borne by peasant women who are responsible for 60% to 80% of domestic food production in Sub-Saharan Africa (ASQ, 2002), and who lead on the day-to-day reproduction and care of their households and communities. Women's work situates them closest to polluted soils and waters, placing them at greater risk for ill-health, a vulnerability they share with their menfolk who labour in the mines. But it is the women who labour on an unpaid basis to care for sick workers and family members, subsidising industries for poor living and working conditions, and releasing the state of its obligations to care for its citizens and hold mining companies accountable for their social and environmental impacts.

The research presented in this collection is one activity in a much larger emergent regional programme encompassing participatory action research and support to grassroots organising and movement-building at country level;³ capacity-building and exchanges involving grassroots-impacted women and staff from support organisations, including a feminist activist formation school to be implemented with the regional Rural Women's Assembly (RWA); advocacy and campaigns targeting key regional and global institutions; and a large regional assembly of peasant and extractives-impacted women to support the building of a more cohesive continental movement of women, offering real alternatives to destructive extractivism.

In light of the growing social and ecological crisis linked to the rapid expansion of the extractives industries in the region, and the linked climate crisis which is already having devastating impacts in Sub-Saharan Africa and other poor regions of the world, this collection of papers aims to make a modest, but important contribution to informing our efforts to support grassroots women, and the movements of which they form a part.

The papers are written and designed so each can be read separately from the whole, permitting readers to select the themes that are of most interest to them. The primary audience we had in mind when writing was civil society organisation (CSO) practitioners, activists, campaigners and policy staff working on land, natural resources, mining, water and other forms of extractivism. The collection will also be of interest to academics, policy-makers and decision-makers in government, multi-lateral bodies and regional institutions. We have not written for grassroots community activists, but hope that CSO users of these materials will translate the content into useful grassroots information, campaigns and training materials. At a regional level these papers will be used to inform exchanges, training, advocacy and campaigns, and regional forums. The collection starts with a set of six papers and an Advocacy Tool, to which we will add with time.

1 WoMin is a programme of activism and research related to women, gender and extractivism in the Africa region and is housed in the International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa (IANRA), a network of 29 formal member organisations – 28 in Africa and 1 in Europe – plus 10 national IANRA networks in Africa, all working on natural resource questions.

2 See section 2 of this Background Note for an explanation and discussion of this concept.

3 In the first two years of the programme, the regional work will build on solid work in five countries – Nigeria, the DRC, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe – but will involve many more countries through regional network meetings, advocacy and campaign work, and through a regional assembly to be implemented with the regional Rural Women's Assembly (RWA) in 2014.

Table 1: A Short List of Papers in the WoMin Collection⁴

Introduction	Background Note and Exploration of Key Concepts
Paper 1	A WoMin Perspective on International and Regional Policy and Human Rights Frameworks
Paper 2	Women Miners – Navigating Difficult Terrain Underground
Paper 3	Land and Food Sovereignty Undermined – Impacts on Peasant Women
Paper 4	Women’s Unseen Contribution to the Extractives Industries: Their Unpaid Labour
Paper 5	Extractivism’s Impacts on Women’s Bodies, Sexuality and Autonomy
Paper 6	Transformation of Artisanal Mining: Empowering Women, Sustaining Humanity, Saving the Planet?
Advocacy Tool	International and Regional Provisions of Relevance to Women, Gender and Extractives at a Glance

Each paper has been researched and written by a different lead author, co-writing with the WoMin project coordinator and overall editor of the series when she has not been the lead writer. We have retained the integrity of the lead author’s approach and style in the final editing process, and each paper therefore reads somewhat differently. As the collection grows, so too will the diversity of approaches, thinking and writing styles reflected in the papers. Various respondents who are either specialists in the specific ‘question/s’ addressed by the paper, or have a general interest in the work of WoMin have also supported each paper. The input of these respondents has been critical to the success of the overall project, and we acknowledge their inputs at the end of each paper.

The research and writing of this collection has been greatly challenged by the difficulty of accessing appropriate gender-sensitive literature on extractivism, and mining in particular, which addresses the Sub-Saharan African context specifically. The area that has been most researched from a gender angle, or with women in mind, is the field of artisanal mining in which women are well represented in the workforce. The rest of the literature – whether related to land grabs, livelihoods impacts, environmental and health effects, or mine workers – is generally gender-blind, meaning that farmers or communities or mine workers are treated as a homogenous group in which the experience of one sub-group (usually men) is interpreted as the experience of all.

In the writing of the papers we have looked to research in other regions of the world and have considered what this literature suggests for the Sub-Saharan African context. In addition, we have looked well beyond the research on mining and natural resources, to that on HIV/Aids, care work, sex work, violence against women, food rights, migrancy and so on to extrapolate ideas and conclusions that may be relevant to our questions related to women, gender and extractivism. Very importantly, what we have tried to do is come to the existing gender-blind literature with new questions, on the basis of gender-sensitive research and analysis in another sector.

WoMin is very conscious of themes and questions not yet addressed in this collection and we hope to start the process of exploring these through the commissioning and writing of new papers. These include, but are not limited to (a) women’s decision-making rights in free prior and informed consent (FPIC) processes related to extractivist projects; (b) violence against women in an inherently violent extractivist development model – looking beyond remedial interventions to deep structural transformation; and possibly papers focusing on (c) women’s rights in corporate social responsibility efforts; and (d) the gender-specific health impacts of extractivism in the region.

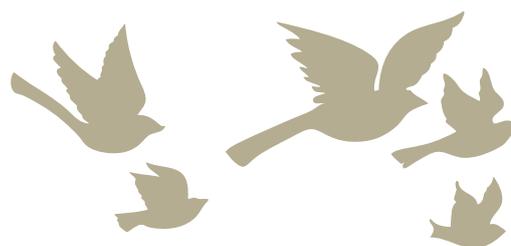
It is important to emphasise that these papers are based on a review of existing literature and material. In 2013 and 2014, leading national organisations under the umbrella of WoMin will undertake new participatory action research (PAR) in specific localities, which we hope will support local organising and allow us to deepen our insights on specific themes and questions related to women, gender and extractivism. Written case studies arising from the PAR will be published as a series and, combined with the contents of some of the papers presented here, will form the basis of a book which we aim to publish in 2014.

⁴ See Table 2 for a fuller description of the contents of each paper.

Table 2: A Fuller Description of Papers in the WoMin Collection

<p>Introduction: Background Note and Introduction of Key Concepts</p>	<p>A background note, which guides the reader on the general content of the collection and explains some of the key concepts upon which the work is built.</p>
<p>Paper 1: A WoMin Perspective on International and Regional Policy and Human Rights Frameworks</p>	<p>This paper discusses the rights, standards and protections offered by broader human rights and mining-specific frameworks according to four thematic areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • women’s economic empowerment • women’s right to adequate health • women’s right to land and food sovereignty • protections against forced evictions and compensation for the loss of land and natural resource rights. <p>The paper offers the reader a useful summary of the different types of frameworks (such as Treaties, United Nations General Recommendations and Comments, African Commission Resolutions, Guidelines and Declarations) and discusses how they can be used by marginalised women and their support organisations to claim rights or effect change. The paper concludes with some recommendations for policy research and development work, as well as suggestions for sub-regional, continental and international advocacy and campaigns. Some of the key content of this paper is presented in the form of a separate Advocacy Tool, for use by campaigners and activists working on gender and extractivism in the region.</p>
<p>Paper 2: Women Miners – Navigating Difficult Terrain Underground</p>	<p>This paper recounts the stories of women workers in South Africa, India, the United States, and Australia and their experiences of sexual harassment, unequal wages, and poor working conditions of a gender-specific nature in the mines. The paper explores women’s formal legal inclusion in the mining sector – in Australia and post-apartheid South Africa – arguing that without significant transformation of the work culture and environment, women’s incorporation is generally not a liberating experience. The paper looks beyond women’s wage labour to address women’s reproductive work, which is incorporated into their roles and work duties on the mines, and subsidises for the poor wages and living conditions of male miners. The paper concludes with recommendations for future work and research.</p>
<p>Paper 3: Land and Food Sovereignty Undermined – Impacts on Peasant Women</p>	<p>This paper focuses on the multi-layered question: how is industrial-scale mining impacting on peasant women’s land rights; their access to, control over and use of natural resources; their access to labour (including control of their own labour) for food production; and hence their own right to food and the food sovereignty of their families and the communities of which they form a part? In exploring this substantive question, the paper examines the correlation between industrial-scale mining and land grabs. It also touches on the polluting effects of mining – the land degradation and poisoning of water supplies in particular – and their gendered impacts. This paper inspires with examples of how peasant women in Sub-Saharan Africa and beyond are organising, confronting, resisting and posing alternatives to the devastating impacts of industrial mining on their lives, their communities and the natural resources upon which survival, life and identity rest. The paper concludes with some recommendations for research and action related to extractivism, land and food sovereignty for African peasant women.</p>





Paper 4: Women's Unseen Contribution to the Extractives Industries: Their Unpaid Labour

This paper explores the impact of mining on women's unpaid care, a largely invisible question in the analysis of mining and its societal consequences. Unpaid care describes work, often domestic or care-oriented, performed mostly by women in the home, which despite its great social and economic value is not recognised, counted, remunerated or valued. This paper explores in depth the concept of unpaid care, and discusses the different dimensions of poverty and women's poverty, in particular, in Sub-Saharan Africa, which gives rise to unpaid care. The body of the paper discusses different dimensions of the relationship between mining industry and women's unpaid labour, making the broad argument that mining capital in Sub-Saharan Africa has, for close to a century, carefully extracted and managed women's unpaid care to support its labour and social reproduction agenda, which has varied depending on the mineral and its labour requirements for extraction, competition with other industries for labour, the level of industrialisation and its associated capital demands. The paper considers how to recognise, count and support unpaid care, and makes general recommendations for action through WoMin.

Paper 5: Extractivism's Impacts on Women's Bodies, Sexuality and Autonomy

This paper addresses, so far as the existing literature permits, the impacts of extractivism on women's ability to make safe and informed choices about their bodies, their health and their sexuality. Much of the research that addresses the relationship between sex, sexuality and the extractives industries does so from a masculine and corporatist perspective. This paper aims to make a small contribution by considering women's perspectives, and suggests some different ways of theorising these questions for future work. The literature is overwhelmingly dominated by the question of sex work, which takes most of our attention. The paper addresses HIV/Aids and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and considers specific risk factors for women related to the extractives industries: migration and migratory status; economic booms and busts, and consequent economic stress on the poor; and the particular construction of masculinity on the mines. The paper also discusses violence against women, arguing that this is intrinsic to extractivism, a model that is inherently violent against eco-systems, against workers, against communities and against women.

Paper 6: Transformation of Artisanal Mining: Empowering Women, Sustaining Humanity, Saving the Planet?

This paper sets out by defining artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) and women's role in it, pointing out that women's participation in ASM in the Africa region is the highest (estimated at 50% and more) as compared with all other regions of the world. The paper discusses the various barriers – economic, social and cultural – that women confront participating in ASM, and touches on the gender-specific environmental, health and safety impacts, as well as violence against women in the ASM. The paper highlights some voices of women miners and makes a few key recommendations for transforming the sector to empower and support artisanal miners, and women artisanal miners in particular. This paper makes the central argument that the transformation of ASM cannot be separated from and must in fact be part of a wider rethink of development paradigms and of extractivism in particular.

Advocacy Tool: International and Regional Provisions of Relevance to Women, Gender and Mining at a Glance

This tool extracts contents from Paper 2 and will be useful for organisers, campaigners and policy researchers working in the area of women, gender and extractives as well as the related areas of women's health, land and natural resources, and women's economic empowerment.

2. DEFINING SOME KEY CONCEPTS UNDERPINNING THE COLLECTION

2.1 Extractivism, neo-extractivism and post-extractivism

The term extractivism refers to the extraction of minerals, oil and gas, and in the understanding of the writers, water, forest products, new forms of energy such as solar and hydro, and industrial forms of agriculture, which grab land and extract vast quantities of water in the production process.⁵ But extractivism also importantly refers to the conditions under which these resources are extracted and whose interests they serve, speaking to a dominant and highly unequal model of development which “organizes – on the basis of the exploitation and marketing of resources for export – the political, socio-economic and cultural relations within the respective country or region: the economy and class structures, gender relations, the state and public discourse” (Brand, 2013).

This development model has been in place, and substantively unchanged, since colonial times. Under colonialism, the extraction of natural resources in the colonies fed the colonial centres with the raw materials, energy, minerals and food the colonisers needed to accumulate capital⁶ and fuel their development (Galeano, 1971). Colonial forms of capitalist extraction were characterised by mass land dispossessions, environmental devastation, and the deadly exploitation of the labour of colonised subjects, including through indenture and enslavement (Gedicks, 1993; Banerjee, 2000). While the post-colonial independent nation states were freed of direct colonialism in a political sense, they were unable to as easily free themselves from their given economic role of providing cheap raw materials and low-cost labour in a system of global capitalism.

In the last decade, on the back of the global financial and energy crisis, financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have encouraged extractivism as the major engine to fuel economic growth (which International Finance Institutions [IFIs] promote as the fulcrum of ‘development’) in countries of the global South and North. In addition, financiers and investment bodies, in their constant search for new areas for profitable investment, have identified natural resource extraction as a site for rapid and substantial accumulation (profit-making). Much of this accumulation occurs through the creation of financial instruments or derivatives of financial instruments (i.e. stocks, bonds, futures etc.), which are traded in the market and through which investors, banks and financiers derive enormous profits. Powerful Northern and emerging economies of the global South, particularly the BRICS [Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa] group, direct investment and aid towards resource extraction in support of their raw material interests. And blocs such as the European Commission have coordinated policy frameworks, such as the Raw Materials Initiative, which aim to safeguard their access to raw materials in the international market, and give strong backing to multinationals to secure premium investments in European interests (Aguilar, 2012).

Extractivism is also driven by the global energy crisis, which since the early 2000s has seen demand exceed the supply of energy. This is rooted in the continued overconsumption of energy in many of the countries of the global North, with the United States leading, and by the emerging consumption and energy needs of the rapidly growing middle classes in parts of the global South: the BRICS group plus Mexico, Indonesia and Turkey. This ‘energy crisis’ has intensified the search for forms of cheap existing and new energy (solar, biofuel, hydro etc.), both of which, in varying degrees bring about extremely negative social and environmental impacts on affected communities.

5 The value of unpaid labour and natural resources, such as water and soil minerals/nutrients, which are embedded in the agricultural outputs, but not valued and acknowledged in the setting of market prices. We refer to this as embedded value.

6 The amassing of money or financial assets required to make further investments in order to make more money.

Children awed by toxic and environmentally destructive gas flare, Niger Delta.
Photo: Elaine Gilligan, FOEI and Peter Roderick, the Climate Justice Programme. With thanks to ERA, FOEI and the Climate Justice programme for the use of this photo



BOX 1: TYPES OF EXTRACTIVISM

Following theorist Eduardo Gudynas (2010), we can usefully identify three types of extractivism: (a) what he calls *predatory extractivism*, which is the dominant form, and occurs at significant scale, with little concern for social, environmental and climate impacts; (b) *cautious or moderate extractivism*, which does consider some social and environmental standards, and may provide for some level of community participation, but which still functions as the economic basis of a country or region; and finally (c) *indispensable extraction* which Eduardo argues is not a model of extractivism because its intent and practice is a reduced extraction of resources and the promotion of sustainability through recycling, the tightening up of laws, policies and regulatory systems to close unfair material and resource flows, radically reducing pressures on eco-systems, and minimising contributions to emissions (Gudynas, 2010). See Table 3 at the end of this section for more detail on and a comparison of these three models.

Extractivism under capitalism is generally controlled and driven by multinational and transnational corporations, with the state typically assigned the role of putting in place and retaining the conditions necessary for significant and sustained wealth accumulation by these corporations and their allied interests (see, however, discussion on neo-extractivism trends which describes shifts in some countries of the world in these neo-colonial relations). These conditions include policies, laws and regulatory systems or their absence which generally encourage extractivism on terms highly unequal to countries and their citizens – externalising environmental and social costs; maximising the repatriation of funds to corporate headquarters, usually in the global North; and guarantees of a cheap labour force and a compliant citizenry, patrolled by the state police and military often working in concert with the private security arms of the corporates. The powerful global financial institutions, on whose advice indebted states often act, counsel countries on the significance of extractivism to attract sought-after FDI, leverage economic growth, and assist them to put in place the necessary conditions to attract and retain such investments.

Extractivism's immediate social and environmental impacts on rural, peasant and indigenous communities are great, as these communities lose their lands, their access to natural resources upon which they depend for livelihoods, and very importantly a way of living that often has deep cultural and spiritual significance. The impacts also reach across *space* – affecting communities along the many hundreds or thousands of kilometres of the whole extractives chain, at the points of extraction, processing, transportation and shipping of raw goods.⁷ The impacts are also felt spatially in the rural labour-sending areas where families and women in particular, endure severe impacts upon labour availability for food production, subsistence and market-oriented crop production, and the unpaid labour effects of caring for ill miners. Impacts are also felt across time (often decades or centuries) as communities continue to bear the brunt of polluted water supplies, soil and air, and accumulated impacts, in the form, for example, of acid mine drainage⁸ and climate change.

Our analysis of extractivism would be incomplete without attending to the surge of neo-extractivism (or new extractivism) by the progressive, left or socialist states in Latin America,⁹ and repeated in a less overt form by many countries in the Africa region in the past decade. Neo-extractivism refers to the growth of laws and policies that strengthen the role of the state in the exploitation and ownership of natural resources (Gudynas, 2010; Aguilar, 2012). Under conditions of neo-extractivism the state seeks a greater share in the benefits of natural resource extraction for national redistribution, typically through public and social service provision. Neo-extractivist policy efforts have included the outright nationalisation of some or all extractivist industries, the

7 World Social Forum (WSF) political declaration (2013).

8 Refer to Glossary for an explanation of this term.

9 These countries include Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay and Bolivia.

wider national development agenda, Eduardo Gudynas and Carlos Aguilar, argue that in the Latin American context, the model is substantively untransformed. According to Aguilar, “Latin American neo-extractivism has demonstrated the limitations of this model of expecting exports and foreign investment to solve historical and structural problems of inequality, inequity, and above all, the destruction of the environment ...” (Aguilar, 2012: 7). Instead, extractivism – now scaled up and intensified by many of these governments – induces further natural resource conflicts, fails to create jobs, and continues to pass on the most substantive social and environmental costs to communities.

These Latino theorists, in line with environmental and social justice thinking globally, call for a radical rethink of extractivism and for a transition to a post-extractivist model of development. What might this look like and how would it differ from the current extractivist or neo-extractivist models? According to Gudynas (2010: 8) post-extractivism seeks to move beyond a dominant Western economic model, articulating instead an alternative vision of Latin American societies, built upon a transition to a development alternative that “aims to eradicate poverty and to concede Rights to Nature¹⁰ which necessarily means a reorientation of production to give priority to the ecosystem and to create regulations and public policies which deal with issues such as land tenure, disproportionate accumulation of wealth and use of the commons” (Gudynas, 2010: 9).

A post-extractivism future does not preclude extractivism but rather presses for a different orientation – for

10 Refer to Glossary for a definition of this term.



ABOVE: Artisanal miners at work, Sierra Leone. **Photo:** Tommy Trenchard, IRIN



ABOVE: Small scale miners hand-crushing waste rock from Golden Pride's dumping site in Nzega District, Tabora Region in Tanzania. **Photo:** Evans Rubara

growth of public shareholding, the renegotiation of contracts, efforts to close taxation loopholes and grow resource rent (through different taxation mechanisms), and the development of beneficiation activities. In the Africa region, the most ambitious of such programmes is being implemented in Zimbabwe through its Indigenisation Policy, which compels foreign-owned companies, including mining companies, to transfer 51% of their ownership to indigenous 'locals', a move aimed at ensuring local benefit for communities and other stakeholders, including the politically well-connected elite. Global and regional institutions such as the United Nations (UN), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the African Development Bank (AfDB), and global initiatives such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), the Africa Progress Panel, and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as Oxfam, are all promoting elements of a neo-extractivist agenda which broadly aim to improve the ability of resource-rich countries to receive a greater share of revenues to promote national development agendas (OECD, 2013). The state's role in safeguarding the conditions for extractivism continue largely unaffected in this new phase of neo-extractivism, as the state continues to patrol and curb 'threats' to extractivism, including by communities whose land, lives and livelihoods are undermined and destroyed. This role is, however presented as one performed in the 'national interest' with critiques of continuing destructive extractivism now directed towards a new set of interested actors (the state and its parastatal bodies) cast as imperialist and anti-developmental (Gudynas, 2010; Aguilar, 2012).

While neo-extractivism represents an important effort to hold corporates accountable, and increase or, in some instances, achieve outright control of revenues flowing from extraction to support public services and a

indispensable extractivism to be driven by local and regional interests and demands (as opposed to global corporate interests), for low intensity and smaller scale projects with minimal social and environmental impacts, for decisions to be informed by a desire to preserve ecosystems and reduce carbon emissions, and for community participation and social control/ownership all within the framework of a diversified economy which breaks down the “cycle of specialisation in raw materials”, and offers employment alternatives oriented towards poverty eradication (Aguilar, 2012: 9). Employment alternatives should be created at a local and regional level, embracing and strengthening existing land-based livelihoods, and developing new income sources and forms of employment that are not solely limited to the extractivist industries; commitments to safeguarding food sovereignty and local food systems should be paramount in a transition model. In Latin America, the impact of the extractivist industries, the pressure on natural resources and the quest for alternatives has also pushed to the fore debates about “new forms of local and regional autonomy, with proposals ranging from Multinational States to the autonomy of indigenous communities in the Amazon basin” (Aguilar, 2012: 12).

A transition orientation also introduces important questions about what we ‘value’ in developmental terms. The Africa region is experiencing significant growth in gross domestic product (GDP)¹¹ but is at one and the same time depleting precious non-renewable natural resources, destroying whole eco-systems, undermining the social and cultural practices of communities, threatening food sovereignty and in some cases undermining the very basis for the social reproduction of many of its poor citizens now and into the future. A transition towards a post-extractivist future demands a different developmental logic – one which values the oil or the minerals but also values nature, human well-being, non-renewable natural resources, cultural beliefs and practices, and the protection of the commons as a basis for social reproduction. The World Bank has argued similarly in its 2005 report titled “Where is the Wealth of Nations?” that resource depletion is draining the “net savings” of the poorest countries and crippling future generations; its study calls for a new measure of wealth, going beyond the traditional GDP and including other variables, such as environmental damage (Guardian, 2012).

This post-extractivist or *indispensable extractivism* (as opposed to neo-extractivist) vision begins to address the mobilisations and demands of affected communities in the global South and increasingly also in the global North who have mobilised to defend their lands, forests, water, ways of living and often their very lives. Their tactics have been diverse and include resisting forced removals, blockading roads and construction efforts, mobilising to demand compensation for impacts on water and forests, building networks and movements of defiance, undertaking hunger strikes, and organising tribunals in which extractives corporations have been ‘placed in the dock’. Rural and peasant women have been central to many of these struggles, often forming the core of defiance because they typically have the most to lose. These local struggles have, in many contexts, been supported through national and cross-continental alliances, involving solidarity actions to shareholders, pressure to Northern ‘host’ governments and media exposés, and extractives corporations have come under pressure through significant compensation claims, often reaching across national boundaries, and global campaigns demanding justice and accountability. A running theme of this collection of papers is to understand and celebrate the resistance of communities and women’s defiance, in particular.

In this collection we embrace much of the political analysis and ideas associated with the broader concept of extractivism, but at this time focus much of our attention on industrial or large-scale mining, as one form of extraction.

11 Refer to Glossary for a definition of this term.

Table 3: Extractives Models – Proposal for a Transition in Latin America

MODEL	FEATURES	IMPACTS	EXAMPLES
Predatory Extractivism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensively practised, large-scale • Creates an economy of enclaves • High level of dependence on foreign investment • No social control/transparency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pollution and destruction of water sources and forests • Displacement of communities • Source of rights violations (ILO Conventions 169 & 176) • Semi-slavery working conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opencast mining • Soybean monoculture
Moderate (sensible) Extractivism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medium to low scale activities • Existence of environmental, social and fiscal regulations • More adequate use of technologies • Has mechanisms to consult citizens and for their participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moratorium on the expansion of extractive activities • Links with local and regional industries in the productive process • Transparency in the investment and social control over income created 	Legislative decree which forbids opencast mining in Costa Rica
Basic (indispensable) Extractivism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small-scale extractive activities driven by local and regional market demand • Special regulation on health and employment • Strong fiscal and environmental legislation • Community participation and social control • Diversification of the economy and reinforcement of local and regional markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of the ecosystem • Decrease in labour accidents and poverty reduction • Diversified exports and investment 	Initiative for not exploiting oil of ITT-Yasuni

Source: Aguilar (2012) inspired by the work of Eduardo Gudynas

2.2 Gender terms and concepts

Throughout the collection we use concepts such as women, women's rights, gender/gender relations and the division of labour and patriarchy, which are explained here and summarised in the glossaries of the various papers.

Women and men are biologically different, but the social construct of what it means to be a man or a woman is shaped in specific contexts by culture, belief systems, religion, and ideology. Different contexts create a social construct or set of expectations about what it means to be a man or a woman, i.e. how s/he is expected to behave, what s/he is expected to wear, what work s/he may do, how much education s/he may enjoy, and what resources s/he may access and control. These social constructs are created by the state – for example, through law, policy, and the contents of an education curriculum – and by other institutions such as faith bodies, traditional structures and corporations, and by individual families and households. When we refer to differences on the basis of biology then we use the terms men and women. But the socially inscribed differences between men and women we refer to as *gender*, which create context and socially-specific *gender relations* between men and women. These relations are not equal – they are always hierarchical in nature, with differences in power and status between men and women of the same race and class usually skewed in favour of men.

Gender roles and relations are **not fixed in time**, but rather shaped in a given historical moment depending on the requirements of capital and patriarchy. For example, in times of war or social crisis (such as in

human-made disasters), gender roles and relations are often radically transformed to compensate for death and the absence of the labour of men and/or women. Survivalism itself often requires that people step outside of the bounds of social convention so that the species may reproduce itself. Gender roles and relations also shift over time as social norms and values change, as societies and economies evolve, and as the struggles of women yield change.

One important part of these gender relations is the *gender division of labour*, i.e. the labour that men or women are expected to perform in a specific context and historical moment. While it is impossible to fully generalise this division of labour across very different contexts, we can make some broad statements about how labour is typically distributed:

- Women (and girls) are more likely to hold greater responsibility for domestic work and caregiving, such as cooking and cleaning, and caring for children, the sick and the elderly. This is usually referred to as women's *reproductive role*.
- Men are more likely to be associated with *productive roles*, particularly where the work is paid or market related, while women are more likely to carry primary responsibility for productive work in the realm of subsistence food production and/or the informal sector, including home-based work. Women's labour is, however, critical to successful market-oriented crop production leading to competing labour demands in the productive realm.
- The third role that poor rural and working-class women must carry is what Caroline Moser (1993) refers to as *community management* work. This work bridges water management, school governance, food gardening usually for the sick and child-headed households, home-based care work etc. This work is critical to the reproduction of communities and their 'vulnerable households and members', which have come under increasing threat as markets encroach onto common resources, as bodies are ravaged by dangerous and degrading poorly remunerated work, and as spirits are undone by divided families, rising individualism and deepening societal decay.

The gender division of labour is socially created but presented and understood as 'natural' and often given mystical, spiritual and religious qualities. The assigned roles are underpinned and supported by social and cultural beliefs, with penalties applied when the 'rules' are transgressed. In addition, and very importantly for the arguments we explore and build on in this collection of papers, the work performed by men and women in a gendered division of labour is differently valued. This *devaluation of women's labour* stems from the 'naturalisation' of much of this work in the household, family and community setting. If it is natural and women are born to nurture or cook or clean then this labour does not need to be given an economic value and compensated for.

The gendered division of labour is always unequal with women performing multiple roles and consequently working longer hours, often working harder and enjoying less leisure time as compared with their male counterparts in their families and communities. See Paper 4 addressing the relationship between extractivism and women's unpaid labour.

These inequalities and power differences between men and women within and across the same social groupings of class, race, gender and ethnicity can be explained by the system of *patriarchy*, defined as the "systemic societal structures that institutionalise male physical, social and economic power over women ... these structures work to the benefit of men by constraining women's life choices and chances" (Reeves & Baden, 2000: 28). The roots of patriarchy can be found in women's reproductive role (the work required to reproduce labour power), and in the control of women's bodies – their sexuality and their biological reproduction – including through sexual and other forms of violence.

This collection of papers links women, gender and extractivism, exploring a number of themes and questions that arise from the ways in which extractivism impacts upon peasant and working-class women in Sub-Saharan Africa, and very importantly accumulates substantive profits on the back of their cheap paid and (substantively invisible) unpaid labours. The papers aim to inform and deepen understanding, and most importantly inspire and assist you to work alongside affected women to collectively dream and struggle for a different future.

ACRONYMS

AfDB	African Development Bank
ASM	artisanal and small-scale mining
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CSO	civil society organisation
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
FDI	foreign direct investment
FPIC	free prior and informed consent
GDP	gross domestic product
IANRA	International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa
IFI	International Finance Institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NGO	non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAR	participatory action research
RWA	Rural Women's Assembly
STI	sexually transmitted infection
UN	United Nations
WSF	World Social Forum

GLOSSARY

Acid mine drainage

Acid mine drainage is the flow, or seepage, of polluted water from old mining areas. Depending on the area, the water may contain toxic heavy metals and radioactive particles. These are dangerous for people's health, as well as plants and animals. See http://www.earthlife.org.za/?page_id=584 for more information.

Gender-blind

Analysis and interventions which fail to recognise gender differences and inequalities between men and women of the same social category.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

The total value of officially recognised goods produced and services provided in a country during one year. GDP per capita, the aggregate income or production per head, proxies for well-being of individual citizens, with changes in this measured by a corresponding rate of growth in the GDP.

Rights of Nature

The Rights of Nature, established in the Cochabamba Declaration adopted by thousands of the world's citizens in Bolivia on 8 December 2000, and the Ecuadorian Constitution in 2008, recognises the Earth and its numerous ecosystems as "a living being with inalienable rights: to exist, to live free of cruel treatment, to maintain vital processes necessary for the harmonious balance that supports all life. Such laws also recognize the authority of people, communities, and governments to defend those rights". See <http://www.pachamama.org/advocacy/rights-of-nature#sthash.QCaVzs1Q.dpuf> for more information.

Silicosis

Silicosis is an incurable lung disease resulting from the inhalation of very fine silica dust, which causes inflammation of the lungs. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silicosis> for more information.

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