Gender-Sensitive Approaches for the Extractive Industry in Peru

Improving the Impact on Women in Poverty and Their Families

Bernie Ward with John Strongman

THE WORLD BANK
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Washington, D.C.

ESMAP
Energy Sector Management Assistance Program
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The World Bank management response to the Extractive Industries Review identified community-related issues as an important area to be better addressed in World Bank extractive industry (EI) activities and made the following commitment:

We will work with governments, sponsors, and communities to ensure that affected communities benefit from projects as broadly as possible, including continuing to encourage and assist [small and medium enterprise] linkages programs. (World Bank 2004, v)

As part of the World Bank Group’s work to implement the commitment, the Oil, Gas, and Mining Policy Unit of the World Bank has been engaging in community issues with a particular focus on women. The work so far has involved World Bank projects and research tasks in countries in Asia (Papua New Guinea, Indonesia and Lao PDR), Eastern Europe (Poland and Romania) and Africa (Tanzania and Mozambique). This work has identified that

- Women usually only receive a very small share of the benefits from extractive industries.

The views presented in this report are those of the author and do not represent those of the World Bank or its officers, staff, or Board of Directors.
The negative impacts of EI projects fall predominantly on women rather than men and are much more significant than generally recognized, including the breakdown of family relations and a significant increase in family tensions and domestic violence associated with the arrival of EI projects in poor communities.

It is possible to increase the benefits and reduce the negative impacts for women, thereby improving both the relationship of the EI operation with the surrounding community and the direct and indirect effects of EI operations on women and their families.

Women are usually not well consulted in the EI development process, but when they are consulted, they raise issues and propose solutions that are often different from those of men. Women concentrate on improvements that contribute to the well-being of families (such as obtaining better health and education outcomes by improving services at existing facilities), whereas men typically focus more on tangible projects such as infrastructure (new roads and buildings).

EI companies can contribute to better development outcomes and poverty alleviation by consulting women.

Initiatives need to be carefully designed and implemented because focusing on women can also conflict with traditional cultural values, especially in remote communities, where women are often not treated as equals by men and where men may push back against actions and initiatives that improve the social status and economic standing of women.

By working with local and national women’s organizations, as well as local governments and other authority structures, EI companies can help women and women’s organizations to have a greater voice in decisions that affect women’s lives.

As part of this ongoing work, the World Bank Oil, Gas, and Mining Unit has commissioned this research to examine these issues in Peru. In Peru, mining is increasingly important as an economic driver in remote locations, and large amounts of funds have been mobilized for economic development in mining regions (through the mining canon and voluntary contribution scheme). The history of tension and conflict between companies and communities and the high degree of poverty at the doorstep of EI operations make this study important.
Reference

This book presents the results of the study “New Approaches for Improving the Development Outcomes of the Extractive Industry in Peru: Improving Impacts on Women in Poverty and Their Families.” The study is a joint product of the World Bank’s Oil, Gas, and Mining Unit (SEGOM), the Energy Sector Management Assistance Program, and the World Bank Gender Action Plan.

The task team was led by Adriana Eftimie (task team leader, SEGOM) included consultants Bernie Ward (researcher and principal author) and John Strongman, with support from Katherine Heller. The authors also wish to acknowledge Cecilia Aldave and Renée Menard, who provided in-country support; Leyla Day for her support in the original set up and design phase of the research; and the nongovernmental organization (NGO) Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán for its background research paper, which supported elements of the report. This report also benefited from the suggestions and comments by several World Bank staff members and consultants, including Nathalie Africa, Clive Armstrong, Gillian Brown, Alison Guzman, Marguerite Monnet, Veronica Nyhan-Jones, and Dafna Tapiero.

The team gratefully acknowledges the extractive industry companies, NGOs, government offices, and other institutions that generously gave their
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Special thanks go to Heather Austin (Energy Sector Management Assistance Program, World Bank) for coordinating the production and dissemination process.
Abbreviations

APCI  Agencia Peruana de Cooperación Internacional (Peru’s International Cooperation Agency)
CommDev  World Bank’s Oil, Gas, and Mining Sustainable Community Development Fund
CONACAMI  Confederación Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería, or National Confederation of Communities Affected by Mining
EI  extractive industry
GAD  gender and development (approach)
GDMDS  Grupo de Diálogo Minería y Desarrollo Sostenible, or Dialogue Group on Mining and Sustainable Development
GRADE  Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo, or Group for the Analysis of Development
GRUFIDES  Grupo de Formación e Intervención para el Desarrollo Sostenible, or Training and Intervention Group for Sustainable Development
IIMP  Instituto de Ingenieros de Minas del Perú, or Institute of Mining Engineers of Peru
MDG  Millennium Development Goal
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<td>Ministry of Energy and Mines</td>
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<td>nongovernmental organization</td>
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<td>ODA</td>
<td>official development assistance</td>
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<td>PB</td>
<td>participatory budgeting</td>
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<td>PRODES</td>
<td>Programa Pro-descentralización, or Pro-decentralization Program</td>
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<td>SEGOM</td>
<td>World Bank's Oil, Gas, and Mining Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNIP</td>
<td>Sistema Nacional de Inversión Pública, or National Public Investment System</td>
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<td>SNMPE</td>
<td>Sociedad Nacional de Minería, Petróleo y Energía, or National Mining, Petroleum, and Energy Society</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction and Methodology

“The men came presenting projects of road construction, but the women wanted to tackle their health and nutritional priorities. Five years later, after pouring money into the area of infrastructure, we are seeing the same levels of unhappiness in the home: perhaps the women were right.”

—Mining company official, November 2006

The Financial Contribution of Extractive Industries in Peru

In recent years, large amounts of “development assistance” in the form of infrastructure and social programs have been made available to communities across Peru as a result of the presence of extractive industry (EI) companies. These funds have come through corporate-managed social programs; royalties; the tax on EI profits, which is redistributed through the various canons; trust funds (fideicomisos); and the voluntary contribution, which was recently introduced.\(^1\) With increasing extractive industry presence, and a decreasing supply of international cooperation aid to Peru,\(^2\) as of 2006, funds from the mining canon alone outstripped international cooperation aid to Peru (Participa Perú 2007). While recent commodities fluctuations have reduced company profits, and therefore taxes, canon, and voluntary contributions by companies, these payments...
are still very significant and are greater than international cooperation aid. Although it is hard in the current international economic climate to make clear projections, funding resources originating from mining in Peru will continue to be key to the development of the poorer communities surrounding the mining operations.

The Sustainable Development of Extractive Industries in Peru

Despite this seemingly high level of investment in sustainable development originating from the presence of the extractive industries in Peru, such investment has not always achieved the social development benefits that were anticipated. Analysis as to why these benefits have not come about must consider both concerns about the use of canon funds and questions about the extent to which the social programs and operational activities of EI companies make an overall positive contribution to sustainable development. Concerns about the scale, nature, and effective targeting of the benefits then are measured against the negative environmental and social impacts of EI projects. Ultimately, the communities then decide: do the benefits outweigh the risks?

Dissatisfaction with the actual or perceived risk-benefit balance sheet reveals itself through various levels of conflict: from the referendum that voted that Tambogrande would not be developed as a mine, to the group of women in Ayacucho who refused to sign an agreement with a company because they said that they could see no overall benefit for their community in doing so, to the regional survey carried out by civil society in Cajamarca in which the principal problem relating to mining resources in the region was identified as “limited support for other sustainable and profitable economic activities,” to the widespread concerns about environmental impacts.

Even in situations where all parties agree that the funds have been invested in projects that were prioritized by the community and were delivered in a timely and professional manner, the projects often do not seem to have the wider, knock-on development effect intended. As one company official interviewed pointed out, “Our company has invested millions of dollars in social programs in our neighboring communities; however, the indicators for child malnutrition and maternal health have seen no noticeable improvement.”

It seems that the scale of funding, or even its timely use, is not the only issue at play. The analysis undertaken for this report confirms an important but often overlooked aspect of the distribution of benefits and risks
of EI operations: men are capturing more of the benefits, and benefits are not necessarily reaching the wider family, but women and children experience more of the risks that arise from the presence of EI projects.

**Unequal Sharing of Benefits**

In terms of the benefits that come from the presence of EI projects, the findings for this report reveal that social programs funded from EI funding sources—be they administered by the public sector or by the company—tend to have the following effects:

- They give greater priority to the projects proposed by (typically more influential) men (which tend to be larger-scale infrastructure or productive projects that generate cash income, which may or may not be shared with other family members) than to those prioritized by women (which tend to be health, education, nutrition, smaller-scale infrastructure, and capacity-building projects that improve the quality of life of the whole family).
- They include men more effectively than women in project consultation, selection, and design, thus increasing the gap between the skills and power of men and those of women.
- The men are much more likely to be the beneficiaries of the social projects because the projects selected tend to favor their interests, and local cultural traditions or educational differences may limit women’s ability to take advantage of programs unless these barriers are carefully addressed in the project design.

In addition to these social benefits that accrue mainly to men, EI companies provide far more permanent and temporary job opportunities to men than to women.

These findings, coupled with observations by companies themselves that their development outcome has not benefited women and families as much as anticipated, reflect learning gained by other sectors about how sustainable development initiatives can fail to have the desired effect on women and families.

The World Bank’s approach to gender issues, like that of other development organizations, has significantly changed over the past three decades. Initially, organizations assumed that development was gender neutral and would address the needs and preferences of both men and women. Subsequent recognition that development might actually benefit men
more than women, or indeed have a negative impact on the status of women, led to efforts to ensure that women were included as project beneficiaries. More recently, the increasing recognition of women’s capabilities, resources, and skills and of their significant ability to contribute to the value of development initiatives as full partners has encouraged the integration of women into leadership and consultative roles. The concept of assisting women evolved into that of investing in women (World Bank 2005).

Internationally, it is now widely recognized that working to enhance equality of opportunities for women—through their education, rights, decision-making processes, income levels, and so on—is a key step toward growth, poverty reduction, and sustainable development.8 Research for this report found that at least the majority of the EI companies interviewed in Peru understood that the education of women is vital to the education of future generations, that women make more reliable project partners than men do, and that women are more likely than men are to share the benefits they receive with other family members.9

So although recognizing the importance of engaging in constructive dialogue, promoting multisector participatory development planning processes, and encouraging stronger environmental management and transparency (to mention but a few of the findings from recent research into mining and development in Peru10), the consultation undertaken for this report finds that these actions are necessary but unlikely to be sufficient to bring about the deeper, long-term sustainable development outcomes that are sought.

One important way in which EI companies and local governments responsible for administering the oil, gas, and mining canons could significantly improve their development outcomes would be to make sure that their development assistance approaches have a stronger influence on women—particularly women from poorer families, who are the least likely to be able to take advantage of the employment opportunities and other benefits offered by the company’s presence.

Unequal Sharing of Risks

To assess the sustainable development effect of companies, one must look at both the benefits and the risks. All the companies interviewed for this report agreed that the majority of risks that a community may experience from the presence of an EI company would accrue predominantly
to poorer women and their children. The risks highlighted included the following:

- Local prices for land, housing, basic goods, and transportation could rise, which would make life harder for women who do not receive a corresponding increase in cash from a partner (because he is not sharing his increased income with his family, he is not employed, or the woman does not have a male partner).
- Increased water contamination could bring health risks, and greater sedimentation could make laundering more difficult and perhaps require women or children to travel farther to collect water.
- Increased traffic could make roads less safe and make child care more difficult.
- Women’s financial dependence on the men could increase because employment related to the extractive industries predominantly benefits men.
- The power differential between men and women could increase as men enhance their negotiating and organizing skills through the greater number of community consultation processes that take place related to the presence of an EI company in the community. Women usually have less involvement in these spaces.
- Women may have to take on men’s work at the family farm as men take on paid work.
- Increased cash can lead to increased negative social behavior by some men, such as alcohol abuse, gambling, and use of prostitutes.
- The social impacts listed could increase the risk of family disintegration or family violence.

Some poorer men who are unemployed, disabled, or elderly may be as vulnerable to some of these risks as women—and perhaps more so than women who are better educated or wealthier. However, it is also on the whole true that even where a poorer man is vulnerable to these risks, his female partner will be even more vulnerable to them. For this reason, the report focuses predominantly on the marginalization of women rather than on the broader area of marginalized groups.

Women are not a homogeneous group in Peru. Their experiences vary greatly depending on many factors, such as local geography and culture, income and education, recent community history, and migratory patterns. However, according to most indicators, the position of women in
Peru is, on the whole, worse than that of men, and this difference usually becomes even worse in highland and rural areas (CEDAW 2007; COSUDE 2004).

Thus, from a development standpoint, it is of considerable concern that women may experience more of the risks and fewer of the benefits than men do arising from the presence of EI projects.

**The Business Case for Taking Steps to Improve the Development Effect on Women**

The overall business case for companies to start to focus on improving their development impact on women includes the following elements:

- Because development funding is increasingly coming from EI sources, there is a strong argument for those resources to focus more effectively on improving the situation of the poorest and most disadvantaged people in communities. These people tend to be female.
- Given that the majority of benefits from EI presence accrue to men, while the majority of risks accrue to women, one could even argue that the company has a responsibility to seek to redress this imbalance. This argument becomes even stronger in instances where the presence of a company may not only fail to benefit, but also actually worsen the position of some of the most disadvantaged women in the surrounding communities.

Aside from the moral arguments of corporate responsibility to the poorer, more disadvantaged members of society, there are also tangible benefits for the company:

- For companies keen to demonstrate sustainable development results for local communities against key performance indicators (which would also include indicators that show the position of women and children), improving the position of women is a recognized key step toward improving the education and health of the family overall and ensuring that women are able to capture development benefits for the rest of the family.
- Obtaining input from women and women’s groups in designing company-supported community programs can result in improved outcomes for the wider community; hence, companies get a greater return from their socially motivated expenditures.
Women who are satisfied with the wider development effect of a company have been known to play a constructive role in reducing conflicts at critical points by reminding the men who are considering action against the company of the wider longer-term benefits.

Women who are not satisfied with the development impact of a company can mobilize across the country against the presence of companies in their areas, and they have been known to refuse to sign agreements with companies.

The Way Forward

The many formal and informal conversations held in the process of this research have made it evident that across the EI sector in Peru there is considerable goodwill and interest in taking action to improve how the industry affects women and the wider family. Similarly, at the level of national, regional, and local government, the conditions inside Peru are currently more favorable to the promotion of women’s rights since the equality of men and women has been prioritized in a supreme decree. Moreover, the Ministry of Economy and Finance (2007) has stated that gender inclusion must be placed higher up in the participatory budgeting agenda. This legislative framework provides the Ministry of Energy and Mines with the basic legal backing necessary to allow it to play the role of monitor and evaluator of the EI sector’s performance in this area.

Interviews with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), universities, consulting groups, and companies themselves reveal that companies in Peru could apply many simple (and some more in-depth) approaches without significant (and sometimes without any) additional cost and that these approaches could make a big difference in the sustainable development effect that these funds have on women and families. Many of these approaches are already being practiced in Peru.

The opportunity lies in bringing these approaches together inside each EI district so that there can be an integrated approach to increasing the benefits and decreasing the risks for women. Such a coherent programmatic approach would create synergies between the main stakeholders (that is, companies, government, and civil society). It would leave behind companies’ current practice of implementing isolated initiatives to benefit women. Instead, it would embrace a more modern perspective on how to ensure that women have full, equal access to socioeconomic development associated with EI projects—through the actions of both companies and local government.
A desirable outcome that could move this process forward more quickly would be a closer relationship between the extractive industries, the local government, and the development industry. Such a relationship would enable the development industry to share its knowledge of thematic issues such as gender (and other areas of interest to companies, such as rights-based approaches or community-driven development) and of practical projects (such as maternal health, bilingual education, or productive chain development) to achieve what the EI sector seeks and what the NGOs, civil society, and local government have within their mandates to deliver: stronger, better-informed social development results and reduced conflict.

Methodology of the Study

The main research for this report was undertaken through semistructured interviews with 10 EI companies; 5 consulting companies that provide services to EI companies; the National Society of Mining, Petroleum, and Energy; 3 staff members of the Ministry of Energy and Mining; 3 staff members of the Ministry for Sustainable Development and Women; 1 university; and 9 NGOs. In addition, two workshops were held with companies and NGOs. Eighteen questionnaires were completed, and phone conversations were conducted with the Ministry of Economy and Finance and one of the NGOs to verify facts. A preliminary think-piece was then circulated among people who had previously been consulted, and a series of follow-up meetings were held to focus and tighten conclusions and recommendations.

Companies

Interviews were sought with a broad range of EI companies to obtain a spread of those with international ownership and those with Peruvian ownership, large and medium-size companies, and EI exploration and operating companies. In practice the larger companies were more open to interviews. The interviews with company representatives followed a semistructured design that explored how each company, in its operations or advice to its clients, included women in each stage of its activities. The interviews also asked what company representatives believed to be the benefits and risks for women in their areas. In the course of the interviews, certain topics arose that were not initially in the interview questionnaire. In particular, it became evident that there was some concern regarding the training available to professionals within the community.
relations area of EI companies; thus, a question about how companies learn became standard in later interviews.

**Nongovernmental Organizations**

Interviews with NGOs followed two separate paths: three NGOs were active in EI impact areas, and six worked with women in Peru on development. This second group comprised four NGOs that worked with women using a more feminist, rights-based approach and two that worked with indigenous women using their worldview as the starting point for exploring development issues. These interviews followed semi-structured questionnaires about the benefits and risks for women in EI areas, availability and use of disaggregated data by gender in Peru, usual practices for including women in project design and consultation or as beneficiaries for social programs, and the different context of women in different regions.

Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán undertook a short piece of commissioned research to provide an input into this report regarding the decision-making powers of women in different parts of Peru, the disadvantages they experience, and the existing processes and tools for improving the situation.

**Workshops**

Two workshops were held. The first provided an overview of the issue to 38 people from companies, NGOs, and government departments and captured their perspectives on the topic. The second, which was attended by representatives of four companies, one NGO, and one international financial institution, was held to further analyze the context and to develop ideas and recommendations for future action.

**EI Company Employment**

Within the initial brief for this research, the issue of EI company employment was not prioritized; however, some of the interviews did touch on this issue, and through the addition of some secondary data, this issue has been developed in the report.

**Women in Communities Affected by EI Projects**

In the course of this research, no field visits were undertaken to consult directly with women in their communities. A conclusion of this report is that this initial analysis should be followed up with fieldwork to explore the benefits and risks for women in EI project areas in different parts of
Peru and also to discover how these benefits and risks affect men and women differently.

**Women, Gender, and Extractive Industries**

In the course of this research, it has become clear that the word *gender*—despite its greater accuracy in terms of exactly what is being explored (gendered roles, power issues and unequal access to opportunities, roles of men and women, and so on)—is not a helpful term to use at this point with EI companies in Peru. People’s response to the word *gender* is three-fold: people may assume that *gender* is about feminism and is an antimale term and so become understandably defensive of male rights, they may become concerned that it is an academic and specialist term about which they know nothing, or they may assume that it implies a Western cultural view that could undermine the diversity of cultures in Peru. Meanwhile, the same people are fully comfortable talking about most aspects of what is understood as *gender* if the subject is explored in nonacademic language: the different ways that companies affect women and men in their areas; the different roles men and women play in community-based organizations, public meetings, and the social and family life of the communities; the ways men and women do or do not avail of their rights; and the limitations placed on many women’s rights in decision-making spaces in parts of Peru. For the purposes of this report, therefore, the word *gender* has been used as little as possible; instead the report adopts the everyday language that companies—and in fact also the majority of NGOs in Peru—use as they approach their work with communities.

**Notes**

1. The rules and regulations surrounding this voluntary contribution are contained in Supreme Decree 071-2006-EM, which can be found at [http://www.leyesdelperu.com/Normas_legales/2006/12_Diciembre/211206_DS0712006EM.pdf](http://www.leyesdelperu.com/Normas_legales/2006/12_Diciembre/211206_DS0712006EM.pdf).

2. The earthquake in southern Peru in August 2007 attracted to those affected areas of Peru a much larger amount of international cooperation for 2007 to 2010 than would otherwise have been the case. The pattern for unaffected communities continues its downward trend. See paper from Participa Peru from February 2007 on [http://participaperu.org.pe/apc-aa/archivos-aa/3c6bb51ada688b58c57cb18308d59d73/NIA_2_2007.pdf](http://participaperu.org.pe/apc-aa/archivos-aa/3c6bb51ada688b58c57cb18308d59d73/NIA_2_2007.pdf).

3. Concerns include delay in spending these resources because of lack of knowledge about how to develop viable projects and poor use of funds on large-scale projects that contribute little to poverty alleviation or economic...
development—for example, a swimming pool development in an area where 87 percent of people do not have sewage systems (Ciudadanos al Día 2005).

4. Information provided by a mining company in Lima, Peru, April 2007.

5. See the regional mining agenda by Red Muqui (2007). The agenda contains a survey, discussions with stakeholders, and interviews.

6. Author interview with a company official, Lima, Peru, April 2007.

7. Author interviews with various companies, Lima, Peru, October 2006 to April 2007.


9. Some companies pushed for family and women’s issues (such as primary education, maternal health, and nutrition) to be put high on the list of priorities for the use of the most recently introduced mining voluntary contribution funds. Hence, it was decreed that a minimum of 30 percent of those funds had to be spent on such areas.

10. For examples of such research, see Bebbington and others (2007) and Office of the Ombudsman (2007).


12. The development industry comprises those NGOs, community-based organizations, universities, research centers, think tanks, funders, foundations, and training organizations for which the development of theories and practices to alleviate poverty is a primary objective.

References


The mining industry has an important role in the national economy for it is its main source of income. However, the population sees it as an activity, whose impacts affect the local communities negatively and do not benefit them.”

—Dialogue Group on Mining and Sustainable Development (GDMDS 2006, 3)

The Extractive Industry and Its Aid Contribution

As a result of the increasing exploration and development of mining, oil, and gas resources in Peru, large amounts of development assistance in the form of infrastructure and social programs have in recent years been made available to communities adjacent to extractive industry (EI) projects across Peru. These funds come from company social programs, the tax on EI profits redistributed through the various canons, the royalties administered by local governments, trust funds that are made up of 50 percent of the purchase price paid for exploration rights, and most recently voluntary contributions.1

For 2009, regions and communities where EI operations were being conducted received more than US$1.6 billion from the EI canons, sobrecanons,
and mining companies’ voluntary contributions (see table 2.1). Although this figure is lower than the figures for 2007 and 2008 (because of a slump in metal prices), when coupled with royalty payments and opportunities for local employment and for Peruvian companies to supply goods and services to EI companies, it shows that the extractive industries are contributing substantially to development in Peru. Given that the majority of mines are located in the poorest parts of Peru, there has been growing expectation that these investments would make a significant contribution to reducing poverty in these communities.

This effect on poverty becomes even more important when one compares the pattern of the development funding arising from EI resources with that arising from traditional international cooperation aid to Peru. As table 2.1 shows, official development assistance (ODA) entering Peru has not been increasing and had been trending downward prior to the 2007 earthquake, which reversed this trend for two years. Peru’s International Cooperation Agency (Agencia Peruana de Cooperación Internacional, or APCI) had predicted the downward trend, saying that “a drop in nonrefundable ODA can be anticipated because of the withdrawal of some international cooperation agencies (worth about US$11.3 million) and Peru’s new condition as a lower-middle-income country, which means that Peru no longer qualifies to receive funds destined for countries that are designated as low-income countries” (APCI 2005). Although the 2007 earthquake slightly reversed this trend, this reversal is not anticipated to continue.

Meanwhile, the contribution from mining resources to development assistance has overall been increasing in Peru (Participa Perú 2007). When

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of aid</th>
<th>Amount (US$ million)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International official and private cooperationa</td>
<td>496</td>
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<tr>
<td>EI canons</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary contributionb</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
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**Table 2.1 Comparison of Development Aid to Peru Arising from EI and from International Cooperation Sources**

*Source:* For international official and private cooperation, APCI (2009, 4); for EI canons, MEM (2010a, 12) and SNMPE (2009, 2010); and for the voluntary contribution, MEM (2010b, 4).

**Note:** — = not available.

a. The 2008 and 2009 figures for international official and private cooperation will be higher than expected because of the earthquake in the southern coastal area of Peru in August 2007.

b. These figures have been converted from Peruvian new soles to U.S. dollars. The following average exchange rates were applied: 2006, S/.1 = US$3.3; 2007, S/.1 = US$3.1; 2008, S/.1 = US$2.9; and 2009, S/.1 = US$3.0.
compared to the results in 2006 and 2007, the reduction in metal prices did reduce profit margins for companies in 2008 and 2009, but by the third quarter of 2009 these margins were recovering. Hence, although companies have recorded a 25 percent reduction on their 2007 highs, their figures still remain high when compared to pre-2006 levels (Tupayachi and Ávila 2010, 8). As a result of this overall upward trend in the EI sector and the downward trend in ODA for Peru, funds from the mining canon alone outstripped funds from ODA in 2006, and mining-related funds for social development were estimated at as much as three times the value of ODA in 2007. Although metal price fluctuations make it harder to predict the extent to which this pattern may continue, in a context of decreasing levels of ODA communities seem likely to look toward EI funds not only to provide sustainable development but also to fill the poverty alleviation gap occasioned by the ODA withdrawal.

Although expectations and, to some extent, dependence on these funds are high, the reduction in metal prices of autumn 2008—as well as the linking of Peru’s voluntary contribution funds and mining canon to these prices and to corporate profit—does mean that the available funding in Peru from EI sources for development assistance to poorer communities is vulnerable to sudden changes. Hence, ensuring strong development results from the existing funding is all the more important.

The Sustainable Development Effect of the Extractive Industry

Despite the high level of development aid flows that has arisen from EI sources, it is widely acknowledged that the anticipated local sustainable development has not on the whole been achieved. Analysis as to why this is the case includes concerns about both the effective use of government-managed funds and the EI companies’ own efforts to foster sustainable development.

Government-Managed Funds

Governments at the local and regional levels are responsible for managing three main types of funding resources arising from EI sources: canon funds, trust funds, and royalty payments.

Canon funds (mining, gas, and oil). Concern exists about the use of canon funds because of

- The delay in spending these resources, which is caused by the lack of knowledge about how to develop proposals that will be declared viable
with the National Public Investment System (Sistema Nacional de Inversión Pública) at the local level.

- The use of some of these funds on large-scale projects that seemingly contribute little to poverty alleviation and increased economic development. For example, canon funding was prioritized in very poor areas to build a “new six-story town hall” (Ciudadanos al Día 2005b), a bullring, and swimming pools—one of which was located in an area where 87 percent of people do not have sewage systems (Boza 2006).

- The lack of knowledge by the community regarding the systems for both allocation and use of canon resources (Ciudadanos al Día 2005a).

- Overall questions as to whether the development model applied (largely focused on infrastructure, biased toward urban rather than the rural poorer communities, and so on) will prove to be effective in reducing poverty and achieving sustainable growth.

Some improvements are taking place, such as the expansion of the work undertaken by the International Finance Corporation in helping municipalities to build local capabilities so that funds can be used in a timely manner, their use can be more widely publicized, and some of the public decision-making processes can be managed more effectively. Few municipalities select their canon-funded projects through the same participatory budgeting processes that are increasingly used for other government revenues. As a result, decision making about the use of these funds is vested in the hands of a smaller and more elite group, which decreases the likelihood that funds will be spent on the highest priorities for poverty alleviation.

These challenges are exacerbated because canon funds on the whole have tended to focus on infrastructure development and maintenance. A growing consensus exists that the focus of canon funds should be broadened “to plans and programs dedicated to improving nutrition, health, and education—the social indicators . . . and at the same time developing the organizational and business skills of local government and communities” (Hurtado 2006, slide 30).

**Trust funds.** Trust funds (*fideicomisos*) were created in specific areas of EI and energy projects. Originally, these funds were to be administered on behalf of the national government by ProInversión with input from local government representatives, sectoral specialists, community representatives, and the respective company, depending on the trust fund. Concerns surrounding these funds included their lack of transparency (Dorregaray
the limited use of local labor or suppliers, the delay in delivery of projects, and the limited participation of the affected communities in decision-making processes. On a more positive note, this funding source is not as restricted as canon funds in how it can be spent, although discontent with the development results were in some areas as severe as for canon funds. After considerable dialogue among companies, government, and civil society, new guidelines on these renamed social funds have given a greater role to both companies and local communities in fund management and a tighter focus to funding aims. Although it is too early to tell whether these new guidelines will create improvements, they have encouraged a focus on education and health as key priorities; however, a significant focus on infrastructure provision continues (Government of Peru 2008).

**Royalty payments.** Debate about royalty payments has tended to focus on companies not agreeing that they are a legitimate “tax” and the extent to which companies have managed to avoid paying them because of tributary stability contracts that they had entered into with the government, rather than on how effectively they have been or could be spent (Dorregaray 2005, 30). The voluntary contribution payments introduced in 2007 are the government’s response to this dissatisfaction.

Additional information on each of the mining sources can be found in appendix C, and details of how these sources fail to affect women equally is covered in the chapter 3 section, “Socioeconomic Development Programs.”

**Corporate-Managed Approaches**

The companies interviewed for this report were in full agreement in one area: they wanted to see socioeconomic development in the communities surrounding them. However, they had different visions about how this goal could be achieved. Some felt the focus needed to be on physical infrastructure, whereas others felt strongly that the time had come to invest in building the skills of the local communities, local authorities, and local service providers, because as one mining company pointed out, “schools without adequately trained and knowledgeable teaching staff are not sustainable development no matter how well built the infrastructure.”

**Social programs and the voluntary contribution.** In the 2006 Peruvian elections, at a time of increasing metal prices, came the electoral debate...
about the need to increase taxes on mining profits. Following extensive negotiations with the sector, the decision was made to set up an “extraordinary, temporary, voluntary contribution” (for more information on this see appendix C). Initially, the parties agreed to collect these funds for four years. The predicted receipts at the time were large, but these predictions were significantly challenged by reductions in international metal prices. However, as box 2.1 demonstrates, although receipts have not stayed at their 2007 high, they have still been substantial.

Box 2.1

Benefits of EI Projects for Women

As detailed in appendix A, which summarizes the research findings from more than 50 interviews and questionnaires, the benefits that women can secure include the following:

- Enhanced employment prospects for the men and for some women (directly as EI company employees or indirectly as suppliers to the EI company or its employees or through the company’s social programs)
- Increased local population and income level, leading to a greater local market for selling produce
- Improved social benefits (health, education, and sanitation) and infrastructure (roads, technology, irrigation systems, and electrification) from the company’s social programs or through the increased local spending that arises from taxes the EI companies pay (canon, voluntary contributions, and royalties)
- Improved availability of social services to meet the expanding population or company’s needs or because of the increasing capacity of local government to deliver
- Increased focus on improving local capacity to design development plans and visions (whether through nongovernmental organizations, local government processes for the mining canon, or company social programs), bringing with it a stronger sense of community direction and priorities
- Opportunities to participate in public decision-making processes and social programs that can strengthen organizations as well as individual skills and confidence levels
- An influx of nongovernmental organizations or stronger community-based organizations to respond to the increased availability of funding or the perceived increased risks experienced by the community

Source: See Appendix A.
Significantly, it was also decided that these funds would not be administered through local and regional governments—as is the case with the other major mining fund (the mining canon)—but that instead the companies would oversee the management of these funds directly, with input in terms of decision making from other sectors and stakeholders.

Even prior to the arrival of this new challenge, some companies had received criticism that their development practices were not as effective as they could be. Companies have a broad array of approaches to deciding on and delivering social programs in their neighboring communities (see chapter 3 for an analysis of some of these approaches), and some of these approaches have come under fire for developing relationships that may be considered paternalistic, clientelistic, or at best dependent and for having a short-term vision of development. As Alejandro Camino, formerly of the Áncash Association, put it:

[Extractive industry] initiatives to improve health, education, agricultural activities . . . are on the whole made under a lot of pressure without necessarily having undertaken a prior assessment of the social, economic and cultural reality of the region . . . This is usual in large modern mining, which has adopted policy guidelines on social responsibility and ethical rules, but which does not necessarily have the most experienced staff to translate these policies into solid agreements with the communities and into adequate responses to the reality and needs of marginalized and neglected people. Furthermore, often the communities are “represented” by individuals who are not necessarily those who express the real local needs but rather their own individual interests. (Camino 2006, 3)

One company, located within 12 kilometers of a district with maternal mortality statistics that were among the worst in the country, reported that after five years of the company “investing millions of dollars” in social programs in the area, the key indicators for child malnutrition and maternal health had seen no noticeable improvement.6

As of July 2010, debate still continues as to whether corporate management of these funds creates greater effects than government management of these funds would have. Until evaluations are undertaken, it will be unclear whether the same approach should be taken for the next four-year period in negotiations that will soon take place with the 39 companies that have to date signed agreements with the Peruvian government (Ávila and Tupayachi 2010, 1–5).

Meanwhile, as changes in international metal prices challenge the availability of these voluntary contribution funds, companies will need to seek even greater impact from the resources they have available.
Employment. Socioeconomic development programs are not the only benefit sought by communities from companies; employment opportunities are also key. Although some say that EI projects do not offer much employment⁷ and that much more of it is available during the construction phase than when operations commence (Dorregaray 2005, 18), clearly some potentially important and often unrealized employment opportunities do still exist for many communities both for direct employment and for indirect employment through linked activities that source goods and services from the local community.

One study carried out by Juana Kuramoto (2002) reported that medium- and large-scale mining companies in Peru absorbed 5.5 percent of the national working population, increasing to 27 percent in the highlands because the largest and most important mining deposits are located there and because no business activities other than agriculture are carried out there. In addition, the National Mining, Petroleum, and Energy Society (Sociedad Nacional de Minería, Petróleo y Energía, or SNMPE) estimated that the indirect jobs supported by the mining sector amounts to five indirect jobs for every direct job. Meanwhile, the National Institute of Statistics has estimated that salaries in the mining sector are 43 percent higher than the average for other formal business activities in Peru. “According to a study carried out by the Peruvian Federation of Mining, Metal, and Steel Workers, the total number of workers in the metal mining sector for 2004 was 81,447, of which 27,386 were regular workers and 54,061 short-term workers” (Dorregaray 2005, 18).

A common complaint is that few of the opportunities for direct or indirect employment go to the existing residents of an area, despite the array of employment training and local supply chain development activities supported by some of the larger mining companies; much of the supply chain is provided by Lima-based firms or companies that move into the area specifically to meet the needs of the new mining operation. Thus, although both social and economic benefits are in evidence, many believe that companies are not fully achieving the positive effects they might.

The Community’s Cost-Benefit Analysis: Revealing Itself through Conflict

The size and distribution of the proposed or anticipated benefits from an EI project’s presence are measured against the size and distribution of the perceived or actual negative environmental and socioeconomic impacts; the communities then decide from their perspective whether the benefits
outweigh the costs. Any community dissatisfaction or concern with the cost-benefit balance sheet may then reveal itself through various levels of conflict. As the EI sector and its economic relevance to Peru have increased, so have the conflicts surrounding it. The Peruvian Office of the Ombudsman’s report of September 2008 identified 177 conflicts in Peru, of which 83 cases were socioenvironmental conflicts, with 80 percent of those relating to mining (Office of the Ombudsman 2008, 34).

According to the Peruvian Dialogue Group on Mining and Sustainable Development (Grupo de Diálogo Minería y Desarrollo Sostenible, or GDMDS), whose membership includes EI companies, government representatives, and civil society stakeholders, some of the causes that explain social and environmental conflicts are unequal conditions, extreme poverty, a sense of exclusion, weak authority, precarious democratic governance, and the fact that the MEM is perceived by many actors as a biased government agency (GDMDS 2006). GDMDS also cites an increase in the number of mining petitions, increased levels of distrust, and continued changes and delays in canon distribution.

In a regional survey carried out by the civil society in Cajamarca, participants identified and prioritized the main problems related to mining resources in the region. The principal problem identified was limited support for other sustainable and profitable economic activities. Other prioritized problems included (a) poor management and oversight of water quality and use and (b) irresponsible granting of mining leases without the local community’s consent.

Others say, “the principal cause for this problem is the use of water resources” (Dorregaray 2005, 82) while also providing a long list of other sources of conflict, such as unrealistic expectations of job opportunities, irregularities in purchases of community-owned land at low prices, and lack of mechanisms for participation and consultation with communities about land uses. The Office of the Ombudsman also presented an analysis of the sources of problems, including poverty and extreme inequality in the mining areas and the presence of more radical actors with strong agendas against EI projects. Moreover, the office found that “In some cases, companies have adopted paternalistic practices to obtain support from sectors of the population and have contributed to the generation of internal conflict within communities or the aggravation of existing conflict” (Office of the Ombudsman 2005, 12).

In general, all parties agree that tipping the scales on the cost-benefit analysis toward a definitive “yes” from the affected communities requires both reducing the risks and increasing sustainable development. In response
to this need, government, civil society, and companies have all started to organize, setting up new teams, systems, and networks to deal with the evolving context (see appendix E for more details). Yet despite the large amounts of funds that the presence of the EI sector makes available during periods of high metal prices to some of Peru's poorest districts and regions, the continuing conflicts in many communities demonstrate that, at least for some residents, the benefits do not outweigh the perceived risks.

If one were to accept the argument that the financial investments being made are sufficient,\(^9\) then the following questions must be raised: Are these development funds managed and used effectively? Have the best possible development practices been used by the companies and the local government agencies in their allocation of these funds? Or is the EI sector lagging other sectors in terms of its application of good development practices?

Chapter 3 looks in more detail at the actual practices used by EI companies. First, however, an interesting picture comes to light when the outcomes of these development practices are viewed from the perspective of how any benefits or risks arising from these practices are shared between men and women.

**The Effects of EI Projects on Communities in Peru: Are the Benefits and Risks Equally Shared?**

Although much attention has been given inside Peru to the scale of the benefits and risks that come with EI projects, attention more recently has been moving toward how these risks are shared within society—because even if the economic benefits from the arrival of an EI project are high, if these benefits are captured by a minority of people and do not get shared with other groups, they will not be able to satisfy the wider community and hence will not help reduce conflict. So, for example, while one is analyzing the development effects of an EI social development project, looking only at how much money was spent, whether it was spent efficiently, or even whether the initiative was well implemented is not sufficient. Similarly, when one is seeking to evaluate the development effect of a local employment or sourcing strategy, counting the number of posts created is not sufficient. It is also important to know who benefited from the initiative and whether any adverse consequences affected other groups—especially the more vulnerable groups—as a result of the initiative.

This issue of who receives the benefits and the risks that accompany EI projects in Peru has to date largely focused on (a) whether more or fewer benefits should reach those communities immediately affected by
EI projects, (b) the extent to which the local elites are capturing most of the benefits by not opening up the decision-making spaces to other community members, (c) corruption, (d) the scale of benefits that have reached urban areas compared with the more rural communities, and (e) whether poor communities outside mining regions should also be able to get a share of the mining canon.

The focus of this report is to explore one particular aspect regarding the unequal sharing of benefits and risks: how they accrue differently to men and women. Recognizing the other issues already being debated in Peru, this report particularly focuses on poorer women who live in the areas that are immediate neighbors of an EI site.

Some of the benefits and risks that men and women are said to experience in EI areas are direct and affect the individual or the family in a measurable way (such as a new job or water contamination); other effects are more subtle and so require a more subtle form of investigation to be able to understand fully how the circumstances of a family have changed (such as increased involvement of women in public decision-making processes or family disintegration). Additionally, some benefits (such as increased family income) may in fact lead to a risk (such as higher levels of alcohol abuse or increased local prices), while some risks (such as water contamination) could lead to benefits (for example, increased organizational ability of the community as it moves to monitor water quality and negotiates with EI companies and other stakeholders, including local government, to achieve improved water quality in the longer term). For this reason, categorizing the benefits and risks to men and women without in-depth analysis runs the risk of being over simplistic; it is, however, outlined here to broaden perspectives and provide some insights into trends about how these risks are shared, without any pretense to being exhaustive.

One additional point should be made before starting to explore some of the benefits and risks: they not only affect men and women in a different way, but they also affect people from varying backgrounds differently (depending on wealth, educational level, language skills, access to credit, local cultural approaches to women’s roles, and so on) and vary from person to person (depending on geographic location of the home, the person’s existing livelihood strategy, the person’s marital status and relationship with his or her partner, and so on). Additionally, in EI areas, women’s access to benefits depends on the behavior and policies of the company’s employees, contractors, and suppliers; the local government’s effort to include women; and the local community’s organizing systems. As diverse as Peru is with its many different ethnic groups and cultural
traditions (see appendix G for some insight into this topic), individuals and their contexts are even more diverse. One person’s risk may be another person’s benefit, and vice versa.

Having noted these points, however, one must nevertheless recognize the following overall tendencies:

- Poorer, more disadvantaged and disempowered people experience more of the risks than do wealthier and better-connected people.
- Because, according to most indicators, women are more disadvantaged and disempowered than men, women tend to incur more of the risks and secure fewer of the benefits.

Benefits Communities May Experience from an EI Project

One can see the benefits of EI projects simply by walking through a village: one sees that a new roof has been put up or hears that a company employee has started to send his children to the better schools that are based outside the area. Opportunities for the family—and thus for the women—to benefit from an EI project definitely can and do exist.10

As box 2.1 outlines, women may be able to take advantage of many benefits in the communities adjacent to EI projects in Peru. However, a closer analysis of these benefits reveals that men can access all these benefits directly, whereas many of the benefits reach women and families only if men allow it because the vast majority (over 96 percent) of the direct employment in EI companies goes to men (see chapter 4 for more details). Moreover, at the local community level, women frequently do not have equal rights with men to become engaged in decision-making processes.

Risks People May Experience with an EI Project

The risks that come with EI projects also affect men and women differently. As explained by one Peruvian nongovernmental organization (NGO) that operates in mining areas, changes may be subtle: “With the arrival of mining, there is increased work for women on the farm and increased work for men outside the house, thus perpetuating the role of women inside the house and of men in the public sphere. This increases the marginalization of women from public decision-making processes.”11 Alternatively, changes may be more visible, such as increases in prostitution, domestic violence, or family disruption. Although many of the risks—such as increased traffic or rising local prices—will adversely affect both men and women, often these same risks have a greater impact on women. At the same time, some of the risks—such as the widening gap
between women and men in income-earning and public decision-making potential—fall predominantly on women.

Box 2.2 summarizes some of the ways that women can experience increased risks with the arrival of an EI project, and box 2.3 presents the observations of an EI company employee, an NGO employee, and a focus group. Usually the company’s presence is not the only factor responsible for these risks, but sometimes it is. More commonly, a risk for women arises because of multidimensional effects that the presence of an EI project in the area has catalyzed or accelerated. For example, statistics on family violence are high across much of Peru; however, these statistics are widely believed to worsen with the arrival of an EI project. Even so, one can argue that the company is not at fault in creating these social consequences. A company cannot necessarily absolve itself from responsibility for having contributed to these risks, however, particularly given that the community is likely to hold the company responsible for them.

According to one NGO working with women in mining areas, evidence shows that the arrival of an EI company could make the situation of the most vulnerable women even worse: “Some of the women are not interested in the mining project—a woman with 11 children whose husband comes home most nights drunk is more worried about her personal safety in her home than what the extractive industry project might do to the external environment.”

The Bias of Development
Companies interviewed also noted that their development effect does not seem to have benefited women and families as much as anticipated. Such observations reflect learning gained by other sectors about how sustainable development initiatives can fail to have the desired effect on women and families. As the World Bank (2005, viii) explains:

Initially, it was assumed that development was gender neutral and would address the needs and preferences of both men and women. Subsequent recognition that development might actually benefit men more than women, or indeed have a negative impact on the status of women, led to efforts to ensure that women were included as project beneficiaries. More recently, the increasing recognition of women’s capabilities, resources and skills, and their significant ability to contribute to the value of development initiatives as full partners has encouraged the integration of women into leadership and consultative roles. The concept of assisting women evolved into that of investing in women.
Box 2.2

Risks of EI Projects for Women

As detailed in appendix A, following are the key areas highlighted as being risks for women in Peru in EI project areas. Note that many, though not all, of these risks primarily apply to the poorer women in the communities.

Work
- Limited ability to take advantage of work at the mine (temporary or permanent) as a result of women’s lower skill level, local cultural barriers from family, or the attitude of local authorities or the company
- Increased distance to reach pastures, collect herbal remedies, collect water
- Increased work on the farm if a man gets work and the woman needs to undertake his share of the farm work

Family
- Family disintegration as the man takes on a new partner owing to increased income or as he is exposed to new cultures
- Increased family violence, sometimes linked to alcohol consumption and sometimes caused by the increased gap between the parties’ exposure to new cultures
- Prostitution, linked to migrant workers and to increased available income
- Longer working hours at the site and hours that are unfriendly to families
- Empowerment and self-esteem:
  - The increased number of public decision-making processes in which women are often not effectively included means that men’s skills and “power” in this space increase.
  - Newcomers to the area may ridicule women for their culture and costumes.
  - Women become increasingly dependent on the man as the breadwinner of the family, thereby reducing equality within the family.

- Health:
  - Contamination of water supplies, with women being in greater contact with water because they tend to have responsibility for collecting it, cooking, and doing the laundry
  - Increased traffic, making roads less safe and child care more difficult

Source: See Appendix A.
Box 2.3

Company, NGO, and Focus Group Observations

One Company Employee’s Observations
In the EI project areas in which I have worked, these were some of the risks for women:

• Men sometimes abandon the family, or they take on additional wives.
• In one mine site, the women came to the mine and asked for the men’s pay slip to be given to them because the men drank the money. In some places in Latin America, EI companies have, in fact, partially agreed to this request and hand over a percentage of the money to employees’ wives (Golder Associates 2004, figure 12.)
• Men leave home to work on the site, leaving the women to bring up the children without a father figure and with no one to listen to their needs.

One NGO Employee’s Observations
• The traditional roles of women are embedded by mining because the women become even more confined to the house or farm as the men take the paid work.
• No economic opportunities are available for the women.
• The women become more invisible.
• The workshops offered to women are taken from a “shopping list” and include topics such as needlework rather than chosen by asking people what they want and following those interests.

Perspective of One Focus Group of Women in a Mining Community
• “There are positive and negative changes, both in the city and in the communities. The emphasis on health effects, the increase in unknown diseases, and the social impact attributed to mining is marked: the division of communities and individualism (selfishness) that is reflected in the lack of participation in community activities, insecurity, and a lack of solidarity.” (Arana 2005, 67)
• Environmental contamination (of water, soil, air, and so on) also occurs, along with less access to resources (such as water and medicinal herbs) and limited access to work (Arana 2005, 67).
• “Marginalization and exclusion of women in poverty from access to work [occurs] because they are insufficiently qualified” (Arana 2005, 67).
Development experts now widely recognize women’s contribution to sustainable development: women’s empowerment—whether through their education, rights, decision-making processes, or income levels—is seen as a key step toward growth and poverty reduction. Increasing women’s economic opportunities leads to higher rates of family savings; greater spending on family nutrition, health, and girls’ education; and declining household poverty. Moreover, gender equality in financial services has shown greater business returns because women have a better track record of starting successful businesses and repaying loans.

The majority of the EI companies interviewed for this report also understood the important role women play in advancing sustainable development in their communities. Companies particularly noted the following:

- The education of women is vital to the education of future generations.
- Women make more reliable project partners.
- The benefits women receive from social programs are more likely to be shared with other family members.

Although recognizing the importance of the findings from recent research into mining and development in Peru (such as engaging in constructive dialogue, promoting multisector participatory development planning processes, and engaging in stronger environmental management and transparency), the consultation undertaken for this report finds that these actions are necessary but unlikely to be sufficient to bring about the deeper, long-term sustainable development outcomes that are sought. Instead, one way in which EI companies and local governments charged with administering the oil, gas, and mining canons could significantly
improve their development effect would be to make sure that their activities have a stronger effect on women—particularly those women who are living in poverty.

Notes

1. The rules and regulations surrounding the voluntary contribution are contained in Supreme Decree 071-2006-EM, which can be downloaded from http://www.leyesdelperu.com/Normas_legales/2006/12_Diciembre/211206_DS0712006EM.pdf.

2. The one-off additional funding for the 2007 earthquake in southern Peru must first be removed from the equation.


4. An example is the US$403 million bid in May 2007 by Anglo American for the rights to explore the Michiquillay project in Cajamarca.

5. Author interview with a company official, Lima, October 2006.


8. See the regional agenda of the Muqui Network for Proposals and Action (Red Muqui 2007), which was developed by members of the Provincial Committees for the Fight against Poverty together with civil society actors in a series of workshops. The agenda contains a survey, discussions with stakeholders, and in-depth interviews.

9. Not all are in agreement on this issue. For example, Representative Gloria Ramos complained about the submissiveness of government to mining companies in a conversation with the national radio coordinator, pointing out that the government’s decision to opt for the voluntary contribution had led to losing an opportunity of securing substantially more funds through the excess profits tax that was originally proposed.

10. Author interview with a mining company official, Lima, November 2006.

11. Author interview with a Peruvian NGO representative, Lima, November 2006.

12. Author interview with a Peruvian NGO representative, Lima, October 2006.


15. Some companies pushed for family and women’s issues (such as primary education, maternal health, and nutrition) to be put high on the list of priorities for the use of the most recently introduced mining voluntary contribution funds. Thus, it was decreed that a minimum of 30 percent of those funds had to be spent on such areas.

16. For examples of such research, see Bebbington and others (2007) or Office of the Ombudsman (2007).

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Programas Sociales” [Regulation of Legislative Decree No. 996 Approving the Scheme Applicable to the Use of Resources from the Processes of the Promotion of Private Investment in Social Programs Implementation]. *El Peruano* 25 (10273): 374702–6.


What are companies’ current practices in trying to engage with men and women in neighboring communities and in their workforce? What practices are used by the local government officials responsible for administering resources that originate from an extractive industry (EI) source, such as the canon or trust funds? Are organizations aware of the differential effect they may be having on men and women? Are they taking steps to redress the balance?

This chapter explores some of the current practices in Peru in EI project areas as they relate differently to men and women. Three key “moments of interaction” have been selected for this analysis:

- Research and consultation undertaken by companies in their neighboring communities
- Social development programs designed by companies and local government
- Employment practices of companies
Research and Consultation

“Problems . . . arise where certain stakeholder groups that have specific needs and problems are subsumed in larger ‘communities’ and end up not being heard. Women in mining communities have suffered as a result because they are not identified as a stand-alone stakeholder in mining and hence are generally not consulted or listened to.”

—Musvoto (2001, 2)

In the course of the research for this book, people connected with EI projects made the following remarks in response to questions about how women are consulted in EI areas:

- “Women are consulted as they walk past serving drinks . . . . Sometimes the meeting may be broken so the men can go home to consult the women.”¹
- “Women are consulted by their husbands before the public meetings.”²
- “The women in our communities are strong—they control the men.”³

Social researchers would agree that each of these remarks applies in at least some communities in Peru; however, given the diversity of cultures in Peru and the variety of ways that women are treated in these different cultures, none of these remarks can be universally applied to women’s experience across the country (see appendix G for more insight into this area). Usually they cannot be deemed an adequate form of consultation, even if the practice is the cultural norm. For example, consulting women through their husbands will not be an effective way to secure the opinion of single mothers or widows, and some of the more pressing issues for married women—such as family violence, alcohol abuse, or women’s self-esteem—are unlikely to be adequately presented by men in public meetings.

Companies and governments need to realize that some women in EI-affected areas want to be included more effectively. For example, in Cajamarca some women asked a nongovernmental organization (NGO) to hold a workshop about rights: “We want to participate too,” they said, “but we don’t want men in this workshop . . . . They don’t take us to their meetings at the mines. We have our Glass of Milk program, and we meet every Saturday in the morning. Right now we are going there. Could you come next Saturday to tell us about things? We also want to learn.”⁴

In many situations, mining companies need—or choose—to seek a better understanding of the situation and perspectives of their neighboring
communities: the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM) requires companies to conduct surveys and consultation processes to get an exploration permit, for their environmental and social impact assessment, and for their elaboration of mine closure plans. Companies also hold consultations with communities to negotiate land access, design social development programs, resolve issues of tension, cocreate environmental monitoring processes, and so on.

The challenge of preserving and valuing local cultures and traditions while also promoting greater women’s participation can be a real dilemma for an EI company. Clearly, being culturally sensitive is important for the company to preserve its relationship with the male members of the community; the company would be on weak ground if it promoted gender equality in the face of opposition from local men who say that it challenges their culture. This bias could even become a convenient excuse for the company to leave the issue alone entirely. However, Peru has a legal and policy framework for ensuring gender equality (see appendix I), and both companies and local governments need to abide by that framework. It provides the company with the arguments and legitimacy for a closer dialogue with the community to ensure greater participation from women.

Given this context, what practices do EI companies and their consultants commonly use to gather data, consult, or negotiate with communities? And how are women included in these processes?

This chapter now looks at two aspects of how women are included in this research and consultation:

- The processes used in research and consultation. Are women effectively involved, and are their opinions equitably reflected?
- The content that is looked for in the research. Are issues of importance to women included in the terms of reference for research and consultations?

**The Processes Used in Research and Consultation**

With respect to effective involvement of women and whether their opinions are equitably reflected, research for this report made several discoveries.

**Finding 1: Representative samples by gender are not taken.** Surveys are taken with samples that may be representative in terms of their geographic locale or income level, but samples are not taken that are representative by gender. Consulting firms in general make note of the gender
of respondents; however, they do not use this information. They may even have interviewed a representative sample, but they are not aware of it. For example, one consulting firm initially thought that about 80 percent of its surveys were undertaken with men, but when it checked the data from one recent survey it discovered that, in fact, 60 percent had been undertaken with women because the surveys had been done in a rural area during the day when the men were at work.

Companies collect primary data through surveys, focus groups, and workshops. Because most surveys are undertaken with the “head of household,” generally the man is interviewed (except when the head of household is a widow or a single mother). Hence, married women who live with their husbands have neither the opportunity nor the right to express their opinions in these surveys; they would need the consent of their husbands to do so because they are not considered heads of households.

Interviews are also undertaken with heads of agencies, including police and local authorities, community policing patrols, and health and education authorities. However, on average 80 percent of such posts are held by men. The consulting firms usually made some effort to discover women’s perspectives by seeking to interview women from the Glass of Milk Feeding Program, mothers’ clubs, or female health promoters. Notwithstanding these efforts, the respondents thought having more than 30 percent of interviews with women was unusual. At least one company has told its consulting firm that it did not even want the Glass of Milk Feeding Program included in the baseline study because it is “an organization that is too political.”5

Of the 15 EI and consulting companies interviewed, 10 explained that companies traditionally ask the local authorities to convene workshops on behalf of the company. However, the authorities are usually male dominated, and the presence and participation of women in these spaces is not usually high. Few companies take steps to increase the presence or effective contribution of women in these spaces. Although one consulting company did report having taken steps to broaden the invitation list for meetings where it felt the local authorities were deliberately limiting its ability to reach poorer community members, the local authorities responded negatively at first. Over time, however, the relationship with the community improved significantly, and the consulting company’s approach was later vindicated.6

**Finding 2: Data are not disaggregated by gender.** Of the 10 EI companies interviewed, 7 said that they do not disaggregate any of the data they
collect by gender, 2 were about to start doing so for their beneficiary data or to secure the opinions of women, and 1 was already disaggregating some beneficiary data. Meanwhile four of the five consulting companies interviewed do not disaggregate the data they collect by gender. One company has done so on a limited number of occasions when specifically requested by a major international company.

Although some secondary data (that is, data collected by others and made publicly available) can be found that are disaggregated by gender, neither the EI companies nor the consulting companies interviewed tend to use these data in their baseline studies. At least one of the consulting companies is starting to do so for some of its work.

As one mining consultant put it,

> Except for health issues, we do not have any survey questions that look at impact on women. Even though there are data that could be used, when the time comes to do the analysis, we just don’t use those data. In our most recent baseline study, we did do some interviews with women leaders—but that is about the extent of women’s voice as far as our company is concerned.7

**Finding 3: Women’s opinions, when sought, are different from men’s.** Of the 15 consulting and EI companies interviewed, 13 said that they think that women’s perspectives are different from those of men and that women also have different hopes, aspirations, and needs. Given that almost none of the data arising from the research are disaggregated by gender, however, discovering and documenting these different perspectives is often difficult.

**Finding 4: Different techniques are not used to encourage women to be present or speak openly.** In general, companies were not accustomed to using different methods to undertake surveys with women or to design workshops that effectively include women. Although one consulting firm explained that in 95 percent of its contracts a woman is part of the team so that the baseline studies can be done in a way that makes women feel more comfortable, a mining company said that it does not send women to the field to carry out studies because men do not take them seriously. Even basic practices that enable women to attend workshops are not used (such as providing a crèche for child care or holding workshops at appropriate hours for women), much less techniques to increase the voice of women in workshops (such as the use of a translator, group work, or
drama). Most companies do not reach the basic level of engagement outlined by the MEM (see appendix F), although in light of the legislation passed in 2007 to ensure equality of opportunities for women, one would expect the MEM to tighten this guidance and to more closely monitor the issue (see appendix I). Of the 10 EI companies interviewed, 3 revealed that they had not tried to increase women’s involvement in workshops because they did not want to go against local culture. As mentioned previously, however, not taking steps to ensure that women have access equal to that of men comes into conflict with Peruvian legislation as well as MEM guidance. Companies could use these sources to legitimize the steps they take to increase women’s participation.

Despite these overall findings, some emerging practices and possibilities can enable women to have a stronger input into the research undertaken by EI projects (boxes 3.1 through 3.6).

**The Content of Research and Consultations**

The risks and benefits in EI project areas are unequally shared between men and women. In fact, even before the arrival of an EI project, women are usually at a significant disadvantage to men (see appendix G and chapter 4). Therefore, companies need to know what the risks and potential benefits might be for women in their neighboring communities so that they can take appropriate action (a) to increase the equality of access to opportunities and (b) to decrease the risks. However, the research for this book reveals that companies in Peru do not currently undertake the

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**Box 3.1**

**Emerging Company Practices in Participatory Processes**

Three of 15 EI and consulting companies interviewed say that they have experimented with different techniques that are more participatory and that increase women’s voice, such as workshops that include drawings, social maps, and group work.

In one area where the women were not well organized (one mothers’ club existed, but it was not very effective), a mining company made an effort to promote the use of a parent-teacher association so that it could find the female perspective in that space.

*Source:* Author interview with an EI company representative, Lima, October 2006.
Box 3.2

Emerging Practices in Research

Some companies have started to seek more information about the risks for women in their areas. Rio Tinto undertook a baseline study into the situation of women in the communities neighboring its project in La Granja. Minera Quellaveco, using a less formal approach, learned through its representative (who lives in the community) about the perspectives of women and issues of priority to them.

The NGO CooperAcción ran several workshops in the Tintaya area, including an awareness-raising workshop about gender issues and women’s rights and an analysis of the needs of both the women’s families and the women themselves in relation to topics as varied as agricultural production, environment, and health. The women in Tintaya have formed a women’s group that is part of the main dialogue on mining in Tintaya; however, they do not have their own separate commission, only a seat at the main table. In 2007, CooperAcción, in collaboration with the Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, an NGO with expertise in cultural identity, undertook a diagnostic of the effects of mining on the communities in Cotabambas (Apurímac) and Espinar (Cuzco) with a specific focus on the effects on women.


Box 3.3

Emerging Company Practices in Consulting Women

At least one mining company in Peru insists that women must be in the room during land negotiations because they have a strong voice and because experience has shown that they can overturn agreements afterward if they are not effectively involved in the process.

In its effort to strengthen the land-negotiating skills of campesino (rural) communities, the Group for the Analysis of Development (Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo, or GRADE) has developed some negotiation exercises that help reveal the difference in perceptions, values, and disposition between men and women in their negotiations over land. Results from the application of this tool have then been shared with the company with the recommendation that a deeper analysis be undertaken of the issues underlying these different perspectives. Furthermore, (continued)
GRADE recommends that land negotiations include both marital partners so that their different interests can become visible.

GRADE has undertaken a socioeconomic baseline study in a campesino community using an ethnographic focus to develop family trees that identify the position of men and women in each family. It found gender differences in the cultural norms for the acquisition of rights over natural resource use and the means of production, homeownership, the establishment and maintenance of partnerships and social networks, and family ties relating to migration and transfers.

Additionally, GRADE analyzed perceptions about changes in the environment and about the future in relation to the voluntary and forced migrations, differentiating informants by gender and age. This ethnographic analysis reveals the social, political, and productive organization of the area, shows the family ties that sustained and regulated that organization, and makes visible the differences that the social groups granted to men and to women.

Source: Author interviews, June 2007, Lima.

Box 3.4

Emerging Company Practices in Participatory Planning Processes

Some companies have considered participatory planning processes as an opportunity to increase communities’ capacity to get organized. For example, the mining company Poderosa commissioned, at the request of the community, a facilitation team, which supported the community in organizing a series of workshops so that it could form community development committees. In this process, members of the community became increasingly organized and started to increase their control and planning of their own development. In the second stage, Poderosa increased the role of women in these spaces, because in the initial phase it felt it had to work with the limited abilities available in the communities and to build from there.

The Catholic university (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú) has delivered workshops for Buenaventura mining company that have been designed in
Box 3.4 (continued)

a way that more effectively engages women, using techniques such as drama, pictures, and small single-sex working groups to help increase women’s involvement.

The National University of Central Peru undertook an investigation for Doe Run on productive chains by using intergenerational workshops (with women, men, and young people) that looked at priorities, needs, and expectations and sought to identify projects. The workshops undertook personal surveys in the room and included some motivating questions to increase the women’s involvement. When one part of the workshop was done with the young people separated from the adults, a definite difference in perspective between ages was discovered.

Source: Author interviews in Lima, October and December 2006.

Box 3.5

Company Practices on Gender-Sensitive Indicators for Voluntary Contributions

Antamina

Antamina designed four principal programs to receive support from its voluntary contributions: productive projects, health and nutrition, education, and institutional capacity building. Targets and indicators for monitoring their outcomes have been created against which each program is monitored and evaluated to ensure that it is on track.

Some of these indicators were specifically designed to benefit women directly. For example:

• Increasing the percentage of women who give birth in formal health establishments rather than delivering at home from 55 percent to 70 percent (as a strategy to decrease maternal mortality)
• Reducing anemia in pregnant women from 39 percent to 30 percent

One is likely to directly benefit women as long as the project is not accidentally designed in a way that makes it more likely to be taken up by men:

• Decreasing illiteracy from 14 percent to 10 percent

(continued)
Box 3.5 (continued)

Other targets are not gender specific so possibly the resulting projects could hide significant inequalities in access to these opportunities, which could also accidentally encourage male-focused initiatives rather than initiatives that seek to include and engage women:

- Improving family income levels by 30 percent
- Creating 2,000 new sustainable jobs
- Creating 200 new small, formal companies
- Increasing the sales of small producers by US$2 million

Simply setting the targets and indicators and making the theme of gender a priority will not be enough in itself to guarantee a more positive effect on women. One hopes that with effective baseline data, monitoring of the targets and indicators, and adjustments to the programs if notable improvements in equality are not observed, these efforts by Antamina will create a strong foundation for improving the position of women in Ancash.

Compañía Minera Poderosa

Some say that healthy salmon swimming upstream at the right time of year to spawn can be regarded as an indicator showing that all else is well with a river (no need to monitor contamination levels daily). Could the case be that when the women in areas neighboring EI projects say that they are satisfied with the company’s presence, one can rest assured that the major boxes have been checked off in the corporate relations strategy (contamination, employment, social and economic development, fair land agreements, well-designed and well-implemented resettlement measures, manageable negative social impacts, and so on)?

Compañía Minera Poderosa has committed to surveying women in neighboring communities to find out the following:

- How do the women feel about the social programs the company is funding?
- How do they feel about members of their family working for the company?

These questions will give the company a sense of how it “scores” against the indicator of women being satisfied with the company’s performance and, therefore, the extent to which the company is having a strong influence on local development overall.

necessary analysis; instead, the interviews with the company representatives revealed the following findings:

Finding 1: No company has yet undertaken formal investigations into the risks or the benefits that women in their areas of influence may experience because of EI company presence. Nevertheless, all companies understood that women would be affected by the presence of EI projects differently than men. Meanwhile, company officials who gave their perspectives through interviews or questionnaires (see findings in appendixes A and B) were surprisingly similar in their understanding of what the risks and benefits for women could be in EI project areas. Nevertheless, little if any formal gathering of data is done on these risks, other than a few time-limited initiatives to respond to family violence situations. In addition, as one consulting firm explained, “At least one company prohibited us from investigating women’s issues because it didn’t want to take responsibility for these issues.”

Finding 2: MEM requirements are limited, and monitoring and enforcement of compliance with these requirements could be improved. According to the EI consultants interviewed, the information that the MEM requests EI companies to provide does not include any specific form of analysis of the context of women or consultation with women. Yet an analysis of some documents from the MEM (see appendix F)
reveals that the MEM has provided recommendations about public processes for consultation and also has asked companies to undertake some analysis of the risks that women experience. The fact that most of the consultants were not aware of this guidance may be because (a) this focus on women is not carried across all the guides produced by the MEM; (b) it is not required to any particular depth; and (c) according to those interviewed, the MEM has not been reminding companies of the importance of adhering to these aspects of the guidelines. For example, representatives from several consulting companies commented on the MEM’s limited—though improving—monitoring of social issues. As one consultant put it, “In a meeting recently held with three officials from the MEM to discuss an environmental impact assessment, it was our impression that the MEM team addressed technical and bureaucratic matters but did not demonstrate having knowledge or being interested in making comments on the social impact of projects.”

**Finding 3: Where such information is seen as vital, companies can and do take measures to consult women.** Although land negotiations are a very specific aspect of engagement with women, they are discussed here because they are crucial to maximizing benefits and minimizing risks for women. A standard good practice exists for land negotiations and resettlement programs that ensures women are adequately involved in the process. To what extent these good practices are currently used is unclear because the majority of companies studied had not been engaged recently in substantial land negotiations or resettlement programs. However, the company representatives interviewed were on the whole aware that women were likely to be much more vocal and demanding in land negotiations than in other contexts and that, therefore, seeking out women’s opinions would be necessary.

One issue raised by experts interviewed about this area is the crucial need to provide an adequate process to a family to help it decide whether to opt for cash or for resettlement. In many cases, families have chosen cash only to have the man then spend this money irresponsibly to the detriment of the wider family. Whether or not a woman’s name is on the land titles, including her in the decision-making process is good practice. In some instances, a woman who is not yet cotitled would be legally entitled to an ownership right; in other instances, the woman does not have that right, and the man may choose to overrule the woman’s wishes. Hence, clear knowledge of a woman’s rights to be consulted and cotitled are important to ensure that, as a minimum, women secure their legal rights.
in this process.\textsuperscript{11} Good practice, however, would go further than the legal minimum and would dictate that if the man is willing for the future property to be cotitled, then that practice should be considered normal.

Additional risks for women in resettlement programs include the following:

- When women are not effectively consulted, men’s concerns get addressed, which could mean that a cash-producing investment may be focused on whereas the day-to-day subsistence activities (often a priority for women) may be underestimated.
- When informal subsistence or economic activities of the women in a household are underestimated, action may then not be taken to ensure that those activities are restored or replaced with other options following resettlement. For example, a woman’s income from the collection and sale of herbal medicines (which she collects from the high pastures while herding the llamas) can easily remain invisible in the baseline assessment if proper attention is not given to women’s activities.

Company representatives interviewed stated that when they have spoken separately with women and men after a resettlement has taken place, the different parties often have a varying perspective on how the move has affected them. For example, a woman might feel unhappy if she has to walk farther to tend her sheep, yet this issue was not put on the table by the (generally male) participants in the prior planning process.

Appropriate tools and techniques are not always used to help women speak more openly or better analyze their context, and without these tools and techniques, women are not adequately consulted. For this reason, when designing a resettlement program, one should undertake an ethnographic assessment with both men and women to discover how their work rhythms might change.

**Final Thoughts about Research and Consultation**

In general, companies make only limited efforts to secure information on either the risks experienced by women or their views on priorities. Yet to help mitigate conflict or to improve the effectiveness of social programs and land negotiations, seeking to understand better the situation and perspectives of women brings clear advantages. For example, an investigation undertaken by the social workers of a mine in central Peru concluded that women were responsible for 80 percent of the educational development and learning within the family, in particular for young people. As a result,
they decided that to increase educational capacity within the area, they would have to focus their efforts on increasing the skill levels of the women. This greater understanding about roles in the family came from first disaggregating data by gender and then undertaking a qualitative analysis of the underlying causes of lower educational achievement. These two vital steps enabled a better strategy to be formulated.

If the research and consultation practices used do not engage equally with men and women—a reality that is now in discord with recent Peruvian legislation on equality of opportunities—what effect does this inequality have on the design and delivery of the socioeconomic development programs?

**Socioeconomic Development Programs**

Socioeconomic development programs are of two types: those funded by canon resources and company-managed social programs. This book concludes that a strong tendency has existed toward projects that are preferred by men because of the processes used for deciding the allocation of these resources (and the exclusion of women from these decision-making spaces) and the restrictions that have been placed on the use of these funding sources.

Additionally, conversations with company representatives have revealed that women are less likely to be the beneficiaries of socioeconomic development programs. This section examines both (a) the content of programs and (b) the beneficiaries of programs, looking at both government-managed and company-managed processes.

**The Content of Programs**

The content of programs differs depending on how it is funded.

*Programs funded by canon resources.* Use of canon funds has focused on infrastructure development and maintenance despite changes in definitions made several times in recent years (with further amendments expected), which each time increased the flexibility of the funding so that it is not as confined to only infrastructure development and maintenance. As of October 2008, 30 percent of canon funds could be spent on productive investments and sustainable development, 20 percent went to the national universities in the region, and an unrestricted sum could be spent on investments in public service provision. This new flexibility increases the likelihood that women’s priorities—which
tend not to focus only on large-scale infrastructure development—have greater opportunity of being included.

Legislation decrees that the projects selected for the use of canon funds should be decided through public consultation processes known as participatory budgeting (PB). Although women are more likely to be consulted in a PB process than in the more traditional ways of allocating local authority budgets (see appendix G), the majority of the funding decisions about canon use are not currently made through such a PB process. In addition, evaluations of the PB processes in Peru reveal that, even in these spaces, women’s priorities have not been adequately reflected:

- Women generally are not well included in the process. Meeting times, venues, and the way people are invited often overlook them.
- The local cultural expectation may make it hard for women to participate, or they may lack the skills or confidence to do so effectively.
- When women are willing to put forward projects, their projects face a number of obstacles that projects proposed by other groups do not face.¹⁴

Although recent legal changes should increase women’s ability to have a stronger voice in PB processes (see appendix I), the current reality is that women are still poorly included in the decision-making processes about the use of canon funding, and their priorities and concerns are not adequately reflected in the list of priorities for canon use. Canon funding on the whole responds better to male priorities and involves men more effectively in the decision-making processes about its use.

**Company-managed social programs.** Company-managed social programs include those funded by voluntary contributions and corporate social development programs.

**Programs funded by voluntary contributions.** The rules and regulations surrounding the new voluntary contribution state that a minimum of 30 percent of funds must be allocated to the nutrition of children (mostly age five and under) and pregnant women; primary education, educational support, and technical training programs; and health.¹⁵ These priorities reflect much better the priorities of women (see chapter 4) than the priorities that have historically been set for the mining canon. Some of the companies managing these funds have embraced the new priorities wholeheartedly and are seeking to expand well beyond the
minimum 30 percent for these programs; others are allocating the bare minimum to such programs and spending all the remainder on major infrastructure projects.

Unfortunately, the decree that details how the voluntary contribution should be set up and administered gives no guidance on how to ensure that women are adequately included in the decision-making processes. Some NGOs, such as CARE Peru, recommend that decisions on the voluntary contribution be linked to regional or local consensus-based and participatory processes; however, ensuring the adequate participation of women and focusing on gender issues in those spaces would also be necessary. This suggestion echoes the recommendations made by the Ministry of Economy and Finance in its guidelines for PB processes (Ministry of Economy and Finance 2007).

Thus, although the voluntary contributions seem likely to reflect more accurately women’s priorities than do canon funding, whether women will be adequately engaged in the decision-making process or be equal beneficiaries is not yet clear.

Corporate social development programs. The interviews held with company representatives revealed that each company has a different way of making decisions about which socioeconomic development projects it will prioritize. A variety of approaches are used, including establishing internal agreements within a company that are based on the company’s own direct observations of communities, often taking into account guidance from its board of directors; commissioning academics to carry out an external analysis; receiving proposals from the local authorities and making decisions directly with them; or responding to situations of unrest or conflict by reaching agreements behind closed doors with the parties to the conflict.

Some companies have started to move toward more participatory processes in the problem identification phase, thereby increasing the involvement of the communities and women in some of these processes. Sometimes the community is involved not only in problem identification but also in starting to set its own priorities. Almost always, however, the company makes the final decisions about the priorities—not the community. One risk identified is that a company may believe it is letting the community decide only to discover later that community leaders were merely putting forth their own preferred project, which had not arisen as a priority through an open, participatory process inside the community.
In the majority of cases outlined in this section, experience indicates that the role of women in identifying the priority social projects is likely to be weak unless a professional facilitator or researcher has actively sought women out throughout the process. In particular, this research indicates that women are not included in the processes that are held directly between traditional leaders and the mining company, and as outlined previously, women’s voices are usually not strong in surveys or workshops.

From the 15 interviews held with companies and their consulting firms, only three decision-making processes regarding social programs were identified in which women were said to have played a significant role. Interestingly, only one process was identified that was linked concretely to the local government’s PB process. Hence, in areas with extractive industries in which the local government has started using PB and the community consultation processes that PB entails, communities have to participate in two parallel processes: one to explain their priorities to the local government and one to explain their priorities to the EI company.

**Final thoughts about the content of programs.** On the whole, canon and corporate social programs have historically placed substantially greater focus on projects that men prioritize highly, and they have engaged men much more effectively in the selection process for these projects. However, initial steps have been taken to reduce canon funding’s focus on large-scale infrastructure and to increase public decision-making processes to seek greater participation of women. Moreover, the voluntary contribution has placed attention on nutrition, education, and health. Nevertheless, some distance to travel remains—in terms of both the restrictions for the types of projects that can be funded through EI resources and the decision-making processes surrounding these processes—before women’s priorities and opinions will be equitably reflected in the projects selected.

**Beneficiaries of Socioeconomic Development Programs**
Given that the content of socioeconomic development programs is biased toward male priorities, that men appear to make up the vast majority of direct project beneficiaries for both the government-managed and corporate-managed socioeconomic development programs arising from EI resources can be no surprise. The research for this book revealed several findings in this area.
Finding 1: Women do not have equal access to projects, and men are more likely to be the project beneficiaries. In most socioeconomic development programs, companies assume that projects will benefit women and men equally, but when the companies carry out the program, they are often surprised at the results. For example, one company carried out a training program on animal husbandry for which women had written down their names as participants, but on the day of the training, only men attended. Another company was very proud of its support program for a secondary school that had improved in recent years until it analyzed the data and found that no women had been present in the secondary school classes. Another company organized buses to help community members reach a polling station six hours’ walk away on election day, only to see the buses filled entirely with men on the day.16

The evidence provided, however, is largely anecdotal because only 3 of 10 EI companies disaggregated data by gender to reveal what percentage of their beneficiaries were women, and they did so for only some of their projects. Consequently, more companies would likely be surprised at the ineffectiveness of their social projects in reaching women if they were to disaggregate the data.

Finding 2: In projects set up specifically to benefit women, project design could often be improved considerably. Most companies at some level recognize that women in their areas of influence do not benefit equally from their wider socioeconomic development programs. As a result, they fund specific projects to benefit women in their areas. However, research for this book revealed that these projects tend to remain at the level of “women in development” projects—small-scale guinea pig production, sewing workshops, artisan marketing—which are some 10 to 15 years out of date in terms of the evolution of thinking on the concept of gender. Learning by the development industry shows that although such projects may increase women’s income and help them become better organized, if projects are not designed in a manner that seeks to address wider issues (such as women’s self-esteem, skill base, or decision-making powers), they are limited in the extent to which they can help women improve their wider circumstances or capture the full benefits of the initiative.

As the World Bank (2005, 3) put it:

The unequal distribution of power between men and women . . . in multiple areas of public and private life . . . lies at the heart of gender inequality. . . . Consequently, [women’s] voice is less likely to be heard, their ability
to influence others is diminished, and their capacity to participate in and benefit from development is limited. . . . Earlier consensual development models did not see this as a problem, since they assumed individual family members would have common goals that would be pursued to the benefit of the entire family. There has been, however, increasing recognition of conflicts of interests and differences in priorities within the family unit, and specifically between male and female members.

It is therefore now recognized that setting up “women in development” projects is not sufficient to meet women’s needs, nor can one assume that a broad array of projects will not be gender biased. Instead, one must seek technical expertise from community development practitioners—and sometimes gender experts—to know how to design programs so that women can benefit equally from them. (See appendix H for more information on the evolution of theory and practice in this area.)

**Finding 3: Very little gender disaggregation of beneficiary data is done.** Because data gathered by EI companies through surveys or workshops are not currently disaggregated by gender, baseline information against which changes in women’s position can be monitored and evaluated is limited. Such data gathering could be a useful tool for highlighting women’s unequal access to development benefits. It could provide an incentive to program staff members to seek to improve this effect through better program design.

Additionally, only a few of the companies studied disaggregate any of the data on their beneficiaries by gender. The extent to which women are—or are not—benefiting from programs is unclear, nor can one tell whether these programs are genuinely addressing the priorities in those women’s lives.

**Finding 4: Gender-disaggregated indicators are not used.** None of the companies studied had yet set up indicators to specifically monitor women’s situations, and none had sought to look deeper at women’s contexts to be able to understand the extent to which they are improving a woman’s position or making it worse. For example, indicator sets that might seek to understand, monitor, or evaluate women’s empowerment were not used. Although women may be involved in some processes to identify their own needs, the research for this book did not uncover any examples in which women had used such needs analyses as a basis on which to set indicators to monitor their own development.
As one company representative noted:

There is a need to collect gender-disaggregated indicators from the projects in order to change how a company thinks about women. Until we have indicators, it is not clear what is really happening in the projects. I recently sought out some gender disaggregated data on education in our area and that has changed my thinking.17

**Final thoughts about beneficiaries of socioeconomic development programs.** According to the research for this book, men are much more likely to be the beneficiaries of EI-funded socioeconomic development projects because the projects selected tend to favor their interests, and local cultural traditions and educational differences limit women’s ability to take advantage of programs unless these barriers are carefully addressed in the project design. One can also conclude that EI companies design and deliver socioeconomic development programs in a way that is not up to date with the gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive practices espoused by NGOs and community development academics internationally.

However, several companies are trying out some new, innovative approaches in collaboration with universities and NGOs or in alliance with local authorities that could contribute to the development of further good practices by companies as long as learning and innovations can be effectively shared. Additionally, a foundation of goodwill and interest exists within the sector to improve its engagement with and influence on women, from which a more genuinely developmental approach to including women in socioeconomic development programs could be grown.

If women are not benefiting equitably from the socioeconomic development programs arising from the EI presence in their communities, what about employment opportunities?

**Employment Practices**

“If the mining industry wishes to contribute to sustainable development in the country, then increasing women’s participation in the industry, reducing women’s poverty, increasing access to educational opportunities, and enhancing women’s access to power and decision making have direct bearing on the way the industry currently operates and point to areas where there is scope to support women’s advancement through . . . proactive recruitment, promotion and skills building.”

—Nayak and Mishra (2005, 5)
Research for this book concludes that the lack of employment of women in mines indicates that many mining companies have missed a crucial development opportunity. According to a survey by the Institute of Mining Engineers of Peru (Instituto de Ingenieros de Minas del Perú, or IIMP) undertaken in July 2007, as little as 3.74 percent of the workforce of Peruvian mining companies is female. For Lima-based companies, the figures can be as high as 9 percent; however, in the regions, the figures drop as low as 1 percent.18 Although some mining companies have made efforts to recruit women into the workforce, jobs publicized tend to be the higher-level posts, such as those that involve operating machinery (LATIZA 2006). Such jobs require a high level of basic education; consequently, poorer women lack access to permanent jobs in the mines.

Table 3.1 shows the results of a 2002 gender study in Peru undertaken for the mining sector (Golder Associates 2004). Although men predominate in the engineering fields, women are studying in significant numbers in fields that would be of interest to mining, oil, and gas industry employers. So lack of education in the relevant field is not the only barrier to women because they seem to be underrepresented even relative to their attendance levels at universities over the past 10 years (Golder Associates 2004).

Some companies are making efforts to increase at least shift or temporary work for women, as Xstrata is doing in Las Bambas. However, obstacles come not only from the mining company and its workers but also from local leaders who challenge the employment of women: they state concerns about the safety of the women on the road to the mining camp or the behavior of miners toward women, strongly encouraging the company to allow men to undertake the work.19 Reports even exist of companies having piloted programs to increase the employment of women that have led to increased jealousy from the men and ultimately an increase in domestic violence. The employment of women, therefore, must be approached with considerable guidance; however, it is key to ensuring that women have fair access to the benefits that EI projects can bring.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Share of female students, 1990–2001 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chemical engineering</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geological engineering</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental engineering</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering total</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some companies have responded to these challenges with codes of conduct intended to protect women miners, such as the Antamina Code of Conduct. However, the challenges still exist, and lateral solutions to remove them—such as providing transportation to and from mine sites—are usually overlooked.

Equal employment opportunities for women in the EI sector in Peru remain a distant vision. Broadly speaking, obstacles are cultural, relating to the culture of the community, the family culture, and the culture inside the companies. Although some success has been experienced incorporating women into the temporary workforce and even into higher-level posts, this report has found no Peruvian examples to match those in South Africa, where women’s employment is increasing because of the legal requirement that about 10 percent of the workforce be women.

Conclusion

This chapter’s overall conclusion on the current practices of EI companies in Peru in their interactions with men and women is that women have unequal access to employment and socioeconomic development opportunities arising in EI areas and are not equally involved in any of the processes of research, consultation, or negotiation with the community. Consequently, the EI presence likely contributes to an increase in the inequality between men and women in neighboring communities.

Specifically, the practices currently applied by companies, their consultants, and local government officials have not benefited from the learning of the development industry over the past 10 to 15 years about how to increase the inclusion of women and hence increase women’s access to the benefits available from the presence of EI companies in their communities.

The next chapter addresses why companies and local governments that wish to promote investment in EI projects might find it in their interest to take steps to improve the effect of such projects on women.

Notes

2. Comment of a representative of an international government organization at a meeting, Lima, November 2006.

3. Author interview with a mining company official, Lima, October 2006.

4. Information provided by the Training and Intervention Group for Sustainable Development (El Grupo de Formación e Intervención para el Desarrollo Sostenible, or GRUFIDES), Cajamarca, 2007.

5. Author interview with an EI consultant, Lima, November 2006.

6. Author interview with a consulting company official, Lima, October 2006.

7. Author interview with an EI consultant, Lima, November 2006.

8. Author interview with an EI consultant, Lima, October 2006.

9. Author interview with an EI consultant, Lima, October 2006.

10. Particular thanks go to Susan Joyce, On Common Ground; Tania Burnstein, Buenaventura; and Carolina Rouillon, Anglo American Michiquillay SA for information about land negotiations.

11. In Peru, these rights depend on (at least) the following factors: the status of the relationship between the man and the woman (married or cohabiting), the length of time they have been together, the amount she contributed to the purchase of the property, the status of their relationship at the point of land purchase, and the status of the land (private or communal).


13. For information on the use of mining canon, refer to IFC (2006). For further information on canon funding see appendix C.


16. Possibly women were not present because they were undocumented and so not legally bound to vote; however, the company felt it was also quite possible that many women were walking the distance while their husbands traveled on the bus.

17. Author interview with a mining company official, Lima, October 2006.

18. These data come from a survey of 34 medium- and large-scale mining companies, 3 projects, and 3 exploration companies undertaken by IIMP in July 2007 as part of its annual survey of companies (IIMP 2007).

19. Author interview with a mining company official, Lima, November 2006.

References


CHAPTER 4

The Business Case for Taking Steps to Improve the Development Effect of Extractive Industry Projects on Women

Realizing that both the benefits and the risks that accompany extractive industry (EI) projects are unequally shared between men and women and that the EI sector’s and local government’s own actions often fall far short of modern good practice for including women, this chapter explores why companies may wish to take steps to improve their development effect on women. This issue is examined from four perspectives:

• In Peru, women experience greater disadvantage and disempowerment than men, which can be exacerbated by the presence of EI projects.
• Women can be strong agents for sustainable development in EI areas, helping to capture more of the benefits for the wider family.
• Women can help mitigate or escalate conflict in EI areas.
• Women are mobilizing because of their growing discontent.

Disempowerment of Women: The Disadvantages They Experience

Women are not a homogeneous entity in Peru, and they live in regions and communities with many different and distinct characteristics. Thus,
this chapter can give only an introduction to the circumstances of Peruvian women. The issues noted here are only illustrative of the types of disadvantage and disempowerment women can experience in Peru. Those that are most closely connected to other issues explored in this book have been selected:

- Women and decision-making processes—from the informal to the legal and political
- Women and inequality

How women experience disadvantage varies considerably from place to place and among regions, social classes, and individual contexts, meaning that companies will find that women’s experiences differ across their area of direct and indirect influence. For example, one Peruvian mine has two sites: one is a port on the coast where the women are said to be strong, speaking their mind and expressing clear ideas for their development; the other is a site in the highlands where the women are not so outspoken or confident. Another company’s area of influence contains two main communities that also have quite different cultures: in the community nearer to the city, men and women have a more equal relationship, whereas those in the highland areas experience a higher incidence of family violence.

Chapter 3 revealed that EI projects in Peru are not achieving the positive development effect on women that they could. If women in Peru were already securing equal access to opportunities and were not experiencing any specific forms of disadvantage, this situation might not be so great a concern; however, such is not the case, as will be seen from a quick glance at how women fail to be equally involved in decision making and how they are more likely than men to experience disadvantage.

**Women and Decision-Making Processes**

As stated by all those interviewed for this book and backed up by secondary research, in the majority of Peruvian families the man is regarded as the head of the family, and he has the final say in decisions regarding the family and in public decision-making processes. However, as expanded on in appendix G, the situation is not monolithic:

- In some communities, women already have stronger input into public decision making, and movements exist to strengthen their role in other places.
A wide range of women’s organizations provides a useful training ground for women to develop their skill base and builds their confidence while also meeting basic needs.

In some areas, most women are frequently able to make decisions within the family.

Research has demonstrated that sometimes women’s involvement is stronger than it may appear at first glance.

Nonetheless, the exclusion of women in different parts of Peru is evidenced by the following observations:

- In the central jungle area of Peru, in a public meeting, the leader of the community would not allow the women to eat the food being served, saying it was only for those who contributed to the meetings. Even after many months of support and training from one of the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the women succeeded in being allowed only five minutes to give their points of view in public meetings.3
- An NGO representative observed, “In workshops the women often sit on the floor and the men on seats—when the issue is mentioned everyone just laughs.”4
- A public official from Andahuaylas stated, “The women only come to the meeting to gossip and knit.”5

A variety of studies undertaken in different parts of the country have sought to identify how women engage in public decision-making processes. In general terms, they have made the following conclusions:

- Women have the right to vote in public meetings only in some Peruvian communities and under certain conditions.
- Women do not have the right to vote or even to speak in some communities; they must instead speak through a selected spokesperson.
- Frequently, the women sit at the back of the room or stand behind their husband’s chair. Although some companies interviewed have interpreted this position as indicating a lack of interest, some researchers say it may mean that they are listening carefully and checking that their partner is indeed saying what they previously agreed on.
- Women may find attending public meetings difficult unless such meetings are held close to their homes and during hours that are convenient to them (DFID and World Bank 2003, 63).
- Some women may prefer not to seek to change the existing status quo; however, others do wish to see it changed.6
Several of the companies interviewed for this book feared clashing with local cultural traditions by seeking to engage with women in any way different from the normal practice for that community. However, EI projects can easily engage with women in a variety of spaces without risking conflict with traditional approaches inside the community. Some of those spaces relate to where the women on an everyday basis make decisions at the family level; others relate to those public decision-making spaces that men consider the domain of women. Additional areas are opening up because of the national focus on increasing the equality of opportunities of women in public spheres (see appendix I). This national policy and legal framework legitimizes the steps that companies take toward greater gender equality within the areas in which they operate.

The overall point of this section is that women across Peru have been denied their rights to inclusion in decision making, creating a situation in which EI companies are challenged to ensure women’s equal engagement in company consultations. However, this situation makes taking such steps even more important: a company clearly cannot leave it to chance that women’s perspectives will be picked up within the current decision-making processes used in communities across Peru. Additionally, sustainable development by its nature needs to survive into the future when the EI company is no longer in the area; therefore, initiatives undertaken by EI companies to improve the position of women need to be linked with the approaches of the local community and the local government. EI companies can use the national policy and legal framework to encourage local governments to adopt good practice in these areas, building from the National Plan for Equality of Opportunity between Women and Men, 2006–2010 (Ministry of Women and Social Development 2007, 120), which lists several goals related to this issue such as

**Goal 21.4:** In 2010, 50 percent of regional governments and 25 percent of local governments will have implemented information and training programs for women in citizenship and leadership.

**Indicator:** Percentage of networks and women’s organizations that take part in participatory planning and delivery processes for development.

The Peruvian Ministry of Health has already created its own action plan for implementing this legal framework on equality of opportunity between women and men, and the Ministry of Energy and Mining will also need to develop its own in response to the law, thus providing companies the ability to explain any actions they take to promote gender
equality and giving the community the ability to hold to account local
governments that are not living up to the laws of Peru.

**Women and Inequality**

“We regret the lack of reliable statistics that are disaggregated by sex, by
rural and urban areas and by ethnic origin . . . which makes it difficult to
evaluate with accuracy the real situation of women [in Peru].”

—Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
(CEDAW 2007, 2)

As the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women pointed out in February 2007, accurate sex-disaggregated data are not available to help understand the situation of women in Peru, and any such statistics tend to hide the fact that conditions may be substantially worse for women in rural highland and jungle communities than in urban centers. This lack of data and the great variation in quality of life experienced by women living relatively close to one another were substantiated through the interviews done for this book. So although this book illustrates women’s disadvantage in some key areas, one must bear in mind that data appearing positive at first glance, such as the nearly universal enrollment of girls in primary school, hide the fact that in poorer areas—often those adjacent to EI projects—girls are regularly kept home from school.

In 2004, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation reported that access to education for females became less and less equal as they advanced from primary to secondary to higher education, a trend that is exacerbated in poorer communities. “In 2002, approximately 6.5 girls for every 10 boys had access to secondary education, and 6.2 young women for every 10 men had access to higher education in the rural Highlands” (COSUDE 2004, 2). Although literacy levels between men and women 15 to 24 years of age show only a slight difference at the national level (5 percentage points in detriment to women), “Such disparity is aggravated if only the rural population is considered . . . and the differences are much more visible among older people” (COSUDE 2004, 4).

Perhaps the statistics of most concern relate to family violence. In 2000, “42 percent of women 15 to 49 years of age report[ed] being physically assaulted by their partners. This national average hides disparities to the detriment of women in rural Andean regions with the highest levels of poverty and the lowest educational levels” (COSUDE 2004, 8).
Of similar concern are the maternal mortality rates, which are the second worst in Latin America. The maternal mortality rate in 2000 was 410 deaths for every 100,000 live births, a situation that is worse in rural and indigenous areas (World Health Organization, 2006).

Because land rights and many other legal such as the ability to file an official complaint, depend on having legal citizenship documents, the high number of citizens who do not have these documents is of particular concern. Although no updated statistics are available, an estimated 9 percent of the population over 18 years of age has no identity papers, and in 2004 over 20 percent of children did not have their births registered (Ministry of Women and Social Development 2007, 118). According to research by Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán, 50 percent of women in rural areas did not have identity papers in 2005.8

In 2005, women’s involvement in governance, particularly at the local level, was low: women held only 6 percent of the mayoral positions, 12 percent of the regional presidencies, and 18 percent of the congressional positions (Dador 2006, 75). In the parliamentary elections in 2006, 35 congresswomen were elected, representing 29 percent of the total 120 representatives (Ministry of Women and Social Development 2007, 125). Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3—promoting gender equality and empowering women—uses the following indicator: proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament. Obviously, locally based companies are unable to influence the national statistics; however, creating equivalent locally tailored indicators on women’s role in governance could provide useful information for companies to review and monitor, particularly as evidence exists of a correlation between the increasing role of women in governance and reductions in corruption.9

**Final Thoughts about the Disadvantages Experienced by Women**

These snapshots of disadvantages experienced by women provide an insight into the lives of many women before the arrival of EI projects. On this baseline of disadvantage and disempowerment, the new benefits or risks that come with the arrival of an EI project will be built. Therefore, the revelation of this research that women experience more of the risks and fewer of the benefits arising from the presence of EI projects, thus exacerbating their relative disadvantage, is of concern. It provides a strong argument for why companies should seek to address women’s development priorities and to include them more effectively in all consultations, social programs, and employment programs.
Women as Agents for Sustainable Development: Capturing the Benefits

This section looks at how working with women can help EI companies deepen their sustainable development effect on communities. First, it provides evidence from the wider development industry to back up the assertion that women can help capture the benefits of EI projects for the wider family. It then looks at the choices women in Peru make in project selection to see if their choices are more sustainable than those made by men.

Women’s Role in Capturing Benefits for the Wider Family

“We also work with women because it makes good investment sense. Women, more than men, tend to parlay improvements in their own lives into the lives of their children and communities. Increases in income typically translate into greater investment in children’s education and health care. Education for girls and women plays a strong role in the next generation’s health and well-being.”

—CARE (2005, 2)

The wider development industry recognizes that investing in women’s empowerment—be it through their education, rights, decision-making processes, or income levels—is a key step toward sustainable development in a community. Research for this book also found the same understanding among the majority of the EI companies interviewed. Companies recognize that educating women is vital to the education of future generations, that women make more reliable project partners, and that the benefits women receive from social programs are more likely to be shared with other family members.

One Peru-based EI company noted the following:

- Women’s participation is more committed, reliable, and responsible.
- Women tend to organize themselves better and are more respectful of the norms and agreements.
- Women show greater commitment to learning and to embracing changes that will improve the activities they undertake.
- Women have a medium- and long-term perspective; their proposals are more realistic and, on the whole, more viable.10

Studies of lending and borrowing by the Banco del Trabajo in Peru show that women spend the money they receive for the purposes for
which it was lent, and they repay it punctually. For every 10 women, 7 pay on time, 2 pay late, and 1 does not repay, whereas for every 10 men, 7 do not repay, and 3 pay punctually.

A 2005 United Nations (UN) report on the state of world population explained: “Every year of mothers’ education corresponds to 5 to 10 percent lower mortality rates in children under the age of five” (UNFPA 2005, 11). Such UN statistics have been verified by the social workers for mines in the Cerro de Pasco area who undertook a social analysis in which they concluded that in their communities women are responsible for approximately 80 percent of the educational input of the children. “Yet,” reported one of the social workers, “the society is male dominated, the women have low self-esteem, and the main family income is from the man. Faced with this ‘social problem,’ the social workers for the mines have come together to take joint actions that might help overcome these issues by working specifically with women, adolescents, and children.”

Thus, theory and practice as well as the personal experiences of EI companies suggest that seeking to improve the ability of women to capture EI benefits is likely to broaden the effect of the company’s socio-economic development efforts.

**Women as a Legitimate and Important Target for Development Assistance**

The Millennium Development Goals are eight goals set in 2000 by 189 UN member states, committing their nations to stronger global efforts to reduce poverty; increase health; and promote peace, human rights, and a sustainable environment. These eight MDGs are specific, time-bound, measurable targets. The Peruvian government has demonstrated its commitment to these targets through its efforts to develop partnerships with companies and to prioritize specific elements of the MDGs in the guidelines for EI social funds and voluntary contributions. Two of the MDGs specifically focus on women: MDG 3 (promoting gender equality and empowering women) and MDG 5 (improving maternal health). An additional four of the MDGs are implicitly related to the actions of women and moreover to the power of women to take action inside their families to ensure the wellbeing, health, education, and equal sharing of resources:

- MDG 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- MDG 2: Achieve universal primary education.
- MDG 4: Reduce child mortality.
- MDG 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases.
EI companies can therefore argue that they should focus a substantial part of their efforts on the advancement of women because women form such an important underpinning to six of the eight areas internationally agreed to be the most urgent for sustainable development action. At least one company in Peru—Antamina—has chosen to focus its voluntary contribution spending on several of these MDGs, allowing the company to measure and report its development effectiveness against internationally recognized indicators and targets.

**Women’s Choice of Social Development Projects with a Longer-Term Vision**

All the NGOs and 14 of the 15 companies interviewed believed that women make decisions about social programs that have a longer-term perspective than men. One company representative interviewed commented:

> The men present projects for road construction, but the women want to tackle their health and nutritional priorities. Five years later, after pouring money into the area of infrastructure, we are seeing the same levels of unhappiness in the home. We think we should have listened to the women.13

This view was validated by another company representative, who stated:

> The men want the bullrings and the football stadiums. They aspire to be like an urban area so they seek the key signs of that ‘development’ in their community. There is a need for participative diagnostic processes to facilitate the development of a vision of their own development—one that can be grown from where they are now. People do not always see how their own efforts can move them forward in terms of development.14

Julia Cuadros of the NGO CooperAcción noted, “Lots of work was undertaken in Tambogrande on economic development—and whereas the men sought infrastructure, the women often sought training workshops.”15

Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán points out that when women are included effectively in a planning process, even the infrastructure projects take on a different dimension. In one process that the center accompanied in Ancahuasi near Cuzco, the women chose projects that would reduce their own workload. So while the men were pushing for a new main highway (an expensive option), the women were seeking the construction of small, lightweight bridges and steppingstones, which would allow them to shorten their journey for gathering water and wood, or a local market for the sale of livestock, with a space nearby where the children could be while the mothers were attending to their market stalls.16
Yet one NGO did provide a word of caution, saying that women’s choices are not always more realistic and viable than those of men. Lourdes Blanco of Red Perú (a network for local development initiatives) has been present when women have voted for projects such as a coliseum. When she asked them why they voted this way, they answered that it was “for the future of their children—so they could compete in games in such a place.” However, Blanco believes that with tighter facilitation—such as the use of a scoring matrix with categories that show the extent to which a project helps alleviate poverty or helps improve the position of women—women would remember and pay greater attention to their own and their families’ more immediate needs and priorities.17

A wide belief and some anecdotal evidence suggest that women choose social development projects with a longer-term vision. If so, then including women more effectively in the selection of mining canon or corporate social program priorities would help reduce the community’s selection of “white elephant” projects, one of the challenges to the mining canon mentioned in chapter 2.

**Women and Conflict: Resolution and Escalation**

Women’s commitment to looking after their family’s health and nutrition can lead them to strongly defend their family’s interests in negotiations with companies. This commitment may make them protective of the family income received from EI sources, or it could lead them to be fearful of rumored or actual social and environmental risks arising from the company’s presence. Where women’s concerns are not resolved, four of the EI companies interviewed noted that the women move toward confrontation and use of violence more rapidly than men do. Those interviewed reported that the women’s response to EI companies on the whole depended on the particular context of the women, including the behavior of the company and the women’s perception of the company’s effect (positive or negative) on their community.

**Women and Conflict Mitigation**

“Mining has been sexist, very action and result oriented. The capacity of women to understand and address the issues more subtly, through persuasion, may become the guide for a new approach to mining.”

—José Luis López, Labor (LATIZA 2006)
This research revealed considerable anecdotal evidence that women can and do help mitigate conflict in some mining contexts. Following are some examples.

- Two of the companies interviewed stressed how agreements with women are harder to reach but last longer—the women’s decisions were definitive. Hence, less work is necessary in the medium and longer term because agreements that take months to negotiate with communities but are subsequently overturned are a major challenge and frequent occurrence for companies.

- One government representative explained that, “At one mine, the men were considering going on strike, but the women explained to them the impact of losing the income from the mine for the strike period, and as a result the men decided not to go on strike.” Whether women persuading their husbands not to go on strike is considered positive depends on myriad wider issues; however, the story illustrates two facts: women’s priorities may be different from men’s, and women can persuade husbands to change their decisions.

- As one representative from an international governmental organization in Peru noted, “It is true that in most cases women do not make decisions ‘directly or openly,’ but it is also true that men, after ‘reaching an agreement’ with the mining company, take back what they said because ‘they thought better of it.’” He added that “‘thinking better of it’ actually meant that they had talked to their wives about it. If women’s opinions were taken into account from the beginning, perhaps both time and money could be saved in these projects.”

- One EI company representative interviewed related how the company had experienced a challenging situation in which it felt that members of one community were not taking a long-term perspective regarding a decision about available funding. In fact, the community was pushing for the funds to be divided among community members in a way that broke the funding guidelines. Although not wanting to enter into direct conflict with, or to disempower, the decision-making group, the company noted the group’s lack of female membership. The company raised the issue separately with a group of women in a different forum: the women’s perspective was a longer-term one that fitted better with the funding guidelines, and at the next meeting of the decision-making group, the women attended and were able to contribute to the resolution of this issue.
Although detailed research has not yet been documented on this issue, a growing body of anecdotal evidence suggests that women can be actors in helping to develop stronger agreements between companies and communities and in helping to reduce conflict.

**Women and Conflict Escalation**

“Women are not simply passive victims of logging and mining activities. . . . They are often the first to feel dissatisfaction . . . and it is such dissatisfaction which fuels civil unrest, from family break-up to sabotage of machinery . . . It may thus be useful for companies to more carefully monitor the effects of their activities on women and involve women more actively in decision-making bodies if they wish to avoid such unrest in the future.”

—Scheyvens and Lagisa (1998)

As the stories, observations, and declarations that follow demonstrate, women in different parts of Peru are taking action to protect their land and families from what some of them see as “the problem of mining.” They may sit quietly throughout a consultation process without saying a word and then move straight to confrontation and violence, they may play a support role in protest actions, or they may unite and hold back from giving their agreement to land access at key points in the mining cycle. Following are examples:

- “Very often women get directly involved in conflicts when they see that it is not possible to reach agreements. In December 2005, leaders from affected communities . . . asked for a visit to the site where the mining company was carrying out works to extend the leaching pad. The visit was rather difficult; there were many discussions among representatives of the company, authorities from the municipality, community leaders, and the GRUFIDES [El Grupo de Formación e Intervención para el Desarrollo Sostenible, or Training and Intervention Group for Sustainable Development] team (they had been invited to participate in representation of the population). At a critical point in the discussion, the women who had been sitting on one side while knitting, stood up and said: ‘it is time for the women to get involved; we are going to teach these miners a lesson, because we cannot allow them to yell at the GRUFIDES engineer who has come to help us. The men should go back; it is now time for us to intervene.’ The women stood up, grabbed stones and whips, and started to get closer.”  

21
• “In the dialogue processes, the women go to the back of the room; but at the point of signing, they are quite vocal and can overturn decisions.”

• In reference to a protest march in Cajamarca, “We confirm that the participation of female peasant patrols was crucial in the protest march of March 5, 2001” (Chacón 2005, 103).

• “Women justify their participation by explaining that it is part of their duties in taking care of their children or looking after their children’s well-being in general. There is no doubt that this underpins the role that many women have to play. Other reasons that surface are ‘for justice’ or ‘for the future,’ though these reasons are held by a minority. Justice and future are related to considering themselves as citizens with the right to health and to a healthy and safe environment in which women and their children can live without fear” (Arana 2005, 78).

• One mining company interviewed undertook a social diagnosis in which it realized it had a high proportion of particularly disadvantaged women (about 30 percent). In the company’s experience, women do more of the mine site invasions. For example, when the company was extending its pit, some of the area proposed to be taken over was inhabited by very poor people. In particular, single mothers felt very threatened because they were renting homes and so would not receive compensation but would be left homeless. About 120 people invaded the mine to put pressure on the mine to give them land. The company sought to work with these women to increase their skills so they could provide for themselves more easily.

• In at least two Peruvian examples in recent years, women were pivotal in securing community agreement to the signing of a contract or to overturning such an agreement. In one case, it became clear that the women were mobilizing toward a “no vote” position, requiring extensive last-minute consultation and meetings between the company and the women’s groups to address their issues of concern. The company reported that the meetings with these women were crucial and that it would have been much less stressful for the company to have planned such meetings in advance and to have worked with the women at an earlier stage in the process rather than deal with a last-minute panic. Follow-up agreements with the women included an
ongoing relationship with women’s groups and an increasing role for women in the negotiation and consultation processes and as beneficiaries to the social projects.24

Although women at the local level may mitigate or escalate conflict, women—including Peruvian women—have been organizing beyond the boundaries of their own communities and are increasingly involved at the national and international levels.

**Mobilization of Women: The Growing Discontent**

At the international level, pressure is growing steadily (as illustrated by World Bank 2003) on international organizations that invest in EI projects, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to take action related to the effects that the EI sector has on women:

> [I]nvestors in the extractive industries sector rarely assess adequately the negative gender impacts and the possibilities of compensating and empowering local women through local development programmes. Indeed the associated knock-on effects witnessed repeatedly . . . [such as] damaged access to subsistence sources and the temporary increase of cash incomes in the investment area, combined often with social inequalities—almost as a rule increase both the burden for local women and gender inequality.” (Bacheva, Kochladze, and Dennis 2006, 3)

International NGOs have also started to document the ways that EI projects internationally affect women as a means to put pressure on wider stakeholders:

> [W]omen tend to be excluded from the economic benefits of mining and bear the burden of many of the negative social and environmental impacts. . . . [There is a] need for all stakeholders to proactively pursue gender equality and women’s empowerment in all activities and projects.” (MacDonald and Rowland 2002, 3)

Significantly, the women in communities affected by EI projects are also taking action into their own hands and are building women’s movements internationally, including one that took place in Lima in 2005, which issued a declaration that included the following statement:

The arrival of mining companies causes and increases the marginalization, impoverishment, abuse, displacement, violation of territorial rights, environmental degradation, destruction of traditional livelihoods, discrimination
against, and inequality of, women in Latin America. (Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres en Resistencia a la Minería 2005, 1)

CONACAMI (Confederación Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería, or National Confederation of Communities Affected by Mining) also held an event on “Globalization and the Impacts of Mining on the Indigenous Women in Lima” in October 2007. For more details on these developments, see appendix D.

Women in Peru, supported by women in other parts of the world, are starting to demand stronger development outcomes from EI projects and are doing so in an increasingly organized manner.

Conclusion

Diverse arguments can be made for supporting a movement inside companies and among local government teams responsible for the mining canon to work to improve their effect on women, but they can be summed up as follows. Working to improve women’s access to development benefits is a route toward improving the company’s overall sustainable development effectiveness, which in turn will improve the cost-benefit score sheet against which neighboring communities are assessing the company’s performance. The result of this process should be a stronger local social license to operate and less conflict.

Ultimately, the companies and local governments need to decide whether the benefits outlined here outweigh any additional costs of implementing the recommendations that follow in this book. The good news is that both the will and the know-how to take the required actions exist inside Peru; the challenge lies in bringing these together.

Notes

1. Author interview with an EI company representative, Lima, October 2006.
2. Author interview with an EI company representative, Lima, November 2006.
3. Author interview with a Peruvian NGO representative, Lima, October 2006.
5. Author interview with a Peruvian NGO representative, Lima, October 2006.
6. Author interview with a representative of Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán, Lima, December 2006.
7. The Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 2007 identified key areas of concern regarding discrimination against women
and made important recommendations to the Peruvian state. This was the first one (see CEDAW 2007).


9. Not all academics agree on the cause-and-effect correlation of women’s involvement in governance. For example, it could be that because women are less likely to make the investment in their private careers than men, they are excluded from participation in corrupt governments. Nonetheless, the correlation does exist, and some research, such as Swamy and others (2000), argues for a direct causal relationship.

10. These data came from a completed questionnaire from an international mining company in Peru, February 2007.

11. Author interview with a mining company representative, Lima, November 2006.

12. For information about MDGs and Peru’s performance against these MDGs, see the United Nations Development Programme’s MDG Web site (http://www.undp.org/mdg/), which tracks countries’ performance.


15. Author interview with Julia Cuadros, Cooper Acción, Lima, October 2006.


18. Comment made by a government participant at the October 31, 2006, workshop held as part of the early stages of the research for this book.

19. Comment written by a representative of an international governmental organization in personal correspondence to author, November 2006.

20. Author interview with an EI company representative, Lima, October 2006.

21. Information provided by the Training and Intervention Group for Sustainable Development (El Grupo de Formación e Intervención para el Desarrollo Sostenible, or GRUFIDES), Cajamarca, 2007.

22. Author interview with a mining company representative, Lima, October 2006.

23. Author interview with a mining company representative, Lima, November 2006.


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Arana Z., María Teresa. 2005. “Representaciones Sociales de las Mujeres Cajamarquinas sobre la Contaminación Medioambiental Minera” [Social


LATIZA (Asociación Latinoamericano de Zinc). 2006. “Mujeres Desafían Machismo de Dios Andino en Minas del Perú” [Women Challenge the Sexist Attitude of an Andean God in Peruvian Mine Sites]. Articulo Semanal,


CHAPTER 5

The Way Forward: Policy and Practice Recommendations

Why Gender Is Still an Issue

At a workshop of the World Bank’s Oil, Gas, and Mining Sustainable Community Development Fund (CommDev), one participant questioned why people in the room kept saying that there was a need to understand and improve the effect of extractive industry (EI) projects on women: “The battle for gender sensitivity was won before 1998—why are you still talking about it?” Meanwhile, in a plenary session of the same meeting, a presenter from Peru answered a question about consultation with women by saying in all seriousness that one could consult with women “as they walked past serving the drinks” or the session could be broken so that the husband could “go home to consult his wife.”

These exchanges highlight the gulf between the community development practices of the development industry (which prepared its gender-mainstreaming guidelines and toolkits many years ago) and the community development (or community relations) activities of EI companies and local government officials responsible for the mining canon, who must engage with gender issues in the heart of the workplace and community, where opposition can be commonplace even though Peruvian law should now ensure that such discrimination is no longer tolerated. Despite some very strong efforts, many years of catching up are still needed in this area.
How can the EI sector integrate the many years of knowledge and experience within the development industry into the practical realities faced on the ground by the companies and the local governments charged with administering the mining canon? How can it ensure that they are fully up to date with community development practices and thus fully discharge their functions and responsibilities within the good practices defined by the law on equality of opportunity? Because the voluntary contribution is directly administered through the mining companies, this issue has become even more urgent.

This chapter addresses not only the role of EI companies but also the role that civil society, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and government can take. In particular, recommendations are made about what EI companies and local and regional governments can do to set up a framework within which NGOs and other civil society actors can bring to the table all the knowledge they have on how to create sustainable development—particularly as it relates to the empowerment of women. This terrain is not straightforward—even the NGOs and community-based organizations that specialize in this area have many divergent opinions, as illustrated in box 5.1.

Box 5.1
The Different Opinions Held by Feminists and Indigenous Organizations

One Peruvian NGO noted that while some indigenous women think that “gender” is an occidental vision of the world and so not relevant to them, other indigenous women believe it is relevant but that the starting point for work on women’s empowerment needs to grow out of their reality and vision of the world: what they refer to as their own cosmovisión. “Our way of ‘entering’ a subject is different: the women in our communities see the world differently and it is necessary to start from where the women are. . . . At a very personal level, some of the indigenous women are concerned about taking on a feminist perspective. They look at their sons and worry that such perspectives will mean that women will not treat them well.”

Meanwhile, some feminist NGOs believe that one obstacle to their efforts to increase equality for women lies in countering the arguments that are presented by those who focus on social customs and anthropological aspects that hide discrimination against women behind “tradition.”

Source: Author interview with a representative of an indigenous NGO in Peru with a women’s program.
The Important Role Played by Consultants. The need to bring company practices up to date vis-à-vis their effect on women in communities where they operate also raises the question: How does the EI sector learn about good practices in improving its social effect? In the interviews with companies, the conclusion reached was that for small and medium-size companies, consultants play a pivotal role in guiding the companies on the approaches they should take within the available budget. For larger companies—particularly those whose headquarters are not based in Peru—guidance on how to approach social programs comes at least in part from the policies and practices of the head office. Nevertheless, such policies and practices need to be adapted to the Peruvian context and cultures, which requires the knowledge and recommendations of local consultants and local in-house specialists in community relations.

All companies said they work to adhere to guidelines from the Ministry of Energy and Mining (MEM) as best they can; however, they usually defer to their consultants to ensure that adequate attention has been paid to MEM guidelines. The MEM could play a key role here in ensuring high-quality standards from companies on social issues. Moreover, as mentioned earlier in this book, greater vigilance in monitoring and enforcement would enhance the effectiveness of the MEM’s guidelines; if the guidelines could be tightly linked to the legal framework in Peru, EI companies would have greater negotiating leverage for these issues within the cultural context of their communities.

Many of the recommendations that are outlined in the following sections do not require a major investment of resources. For this reason, those interviewed believed that the consultants who provide specialist advice on social issues to the mining companies could persuade most companies to adopt the measures recommended.

If an EI company wishes to deliver on the findings in this report, it will benefit from seeking out those consultants who have particular experience and expertise in how to work with women in a culturally appropriate manner. Such consultants are in limited supply among EI consulting companies in Peru. If consultants wish to maintain or increase their market share of contracts advising and guiding companies through the improvement of their social outcomes, they will increasingly need to offer expertise and experience in the area of gender.

Achieving better development outcomes for communities in general and women in particular is an agenda that needs to be addressed through a multisectoral approach that engages the government, companies, and communities. The issues that affect women (from family violence to
access to education, to employment, to land tenure) are multidimensional challenges and require changes in the attitudes and actions of communities as well as additional resources and technical support from the government and companies. Drawing on the information and observations presented in this book, this chapter outlines approaches for all these stakeholder groups to improve the effect of EI projects on women in communities adjacent to EI projects.

**Government**

Government has many roles to play at national, regional, and local levels to ensure that significant sustainable development benefits can be generated when a concession is awarded to an EI company. To demonstrate positive sustainable development, which includes a more peaceful relationship with the surrounding communities, many EI companies have started to invest significantly in the local communities near their operations. Often these investments have not brought the peaceful relationships that the companies were seeking, leading to a more politically charged situation for government. Governments can work to address this situation and to improve the development outcomes and opportunities for women in five key ways:

- **At the national level:**
  - Set up the internal organizing structure to oversee this work.
  - Create the regulatory framework.

- **At the regional, provincial, and local levels:**
  - Ensure that local use of tax revenues generated from EI projects is managed in a way that benefits and includes women equally with men (is gender inclusive).
  - Strengthen and protect women through the government’s own actions.
  - Convene a dialogue between the sectors in response to opportunities and concerns.

If the government performs these roles, it will contribute to ensuring that women in communities adjacent to EI projects will benefit from the presence of the company and to keeping the risks women might experience to an absolute minimum. This action should ensure stronger,
longer-term development outcomes; a less antagonistic relationship between company and community; and a smoother relationship and role for government at all levels.

The National Level
The national role involves establishing an internal structure to oversee the work and a regulatory framework.

Internal structure. To ensure an integrated approach and delivery of gender-focused initiatives, governments will need to assign someone to the role of “gender champion.” This person will (a) develop policies and practices and (b) oversee how they can be translated into action. Because this person will be responsible for both internal issues within his or her own government ministry and external issues in other government departments, he or she will require high-level political support. Thus, the gender champion needs to have a clear mandate and budget to bring about the desired coordination and change in practices and to report to someone sufficiently senior to ensure that this issue stays an overall national priority.

Although the ministry responsible for minerals stands to secure the most direct, visible benefits (in terms of development outcomes) from adopting these approaches, the ministry for women (or equivalent) likely will initially be the most committed to the approaches suggested—and the most skilled to oversee their implementation. Each country’s context will be different, so the recommended approach is that the main entities (the ministries responsible for minerals, women, social issues, economics and finance, and the environment and possibly also the president or prime minister’s office) meet. In this interministerial meeting, they should agree on how they will organize actions to improve the effect of EI projects on women and thus achieve stronger development outcomes from EI operations. In this meeting, they will reach agreement on the following:

• Appointing a gender champion and where the gender champion will be located
• Setting up close coordination between the various agencies with clear roles, division of labor and responsibilities, and a plan of action with dates
• Ensuring a budget will be available to support such interministerial work
**Regulatory framework.** The regulatory framework has five key steps: (1) policy framework, (2) laws and regulations, (3) clear guidance to the companies on good practice, (4) system for monitoring and evaluation, and (5) implementation plan and communication strategy.

**Step 1: Policy framework**—Although many laws and regulations are put in place without a specific policy framework, the best practice would be for the ministry of mines, in conjunction with other relevant ministries (such as the ministry for women, the social or labor ministry, and where appropriate the environment ministry) to prepare a gender strategy for mining to submit to the cabinet for approval. It need not be a long or complicated document but should make the basic points that the government’s objective is (a) to see broad-based sustainable development benefits from mining that are shared equally between men and women and (b) to see all of the risks from mining (including social, cultural, environmental, health, and safety risks) mitigated with a special focus to avoid women bearing an undue share of the risks compared with men.

**Step 2: Laws and regulations**—The licensing, permitting, environmental, and social laws that govern exploration and mining (including mine closure, reclamation, and post–mine closure) should be reviewed and, where appropriate, modified to ensure that gender issues are properly included and addressed. At the same time, the enabling regulations that implement the laws should be reviewed to ensure that gender issues are properly included and addressed in implementing the laws. This review applies to gender issues in the mining workforce (for example, adequate provision of separate hygiene facilities, such as showers and toilets, and provision of gender-appropriate uniforms and safety equipment) and opportunities for women to take jobs that have been traditionally reserved for men. It also applies to the mining company–community interface, such as providing information to and consulting with women and women’s groups, taking their views into account, and making women’s representation mandatory in company-community meetings (including any joint monitoring activities). The ministry responsible for natural resource development, with support from the ministry responsible for women’s development or equal opportunities, should then monitor and ensure that companies implement the laws and regulations.

To help companies adopt these changes, an interministerial gender team should prepare a document that summarizes and references gender
aspects of the applicable regulations and laws. Although this document would not reduce companies’ responsibility to know and follow the law, it could help focus their attention—especially with respect to changes that may have been made to existing laws and regulations. This document should include the following information:

- International commitments signed by the country that relate to equal opportunities between men and women or to gender equity (for example, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, New York, 1979; the World Conference on Human Rights, Declaration and Program of Action, Vienna, 1993; the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994; the World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 1994; the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, Belém do Pará, Brazil, 1994; the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995; the Millennium Development Goals, New York, 2000)

- National and local policies and regulatory frameworks related to equal opportunities between men and women or gender equity, such as the national constitution; any equal opportunity laws or plans; and any laws, supreme decrees, or regulations that mention equal opportunities between men and women (with respect to education, health, budget, participation, and so on)

This legal and regulatory foundation should then be formally published to demonstrate to companies why they are legally bound to adhere to the ministry’s issued guidance notes on increasing benefits and reducing risks for women in EI project areas.

**Step 3: Clear guidance to the companies on good practice**—In some jurisdictions, such as Peru, the ministry responsible for natural resource development issues guidance notes for all reports and documents that must be submitted to it (from environmental impact assessments to mine closure proposals). In such cases, the guidance notes also need to be amended to incorporate women equitably in consultations, impact assessments, social development programs, and employment practices.

In recent years, some governments have been tightening the guidance they provide to companies on how to interact with communities. Governments will need to amend any such existing guidance (whether
on baseline studies, social license processes, land negotiations, exploration, resettlement, or the like) so that it includes gender-aware guidance. Specifically, governments may request that companies take the following steps:

- **Work to capture more of the potential benefits for women.** A minimum list could include job opportunities for women, increased income, and increased social benefits.

- **Work to reduce the specific issues of risk to women.** A minimum list could include work pattern changes in the family, alcohol and prostitution, family abuse and family disintegration, and women’s access to and control of cash. Companies should also detail plans to monitor and minimize these risks.

- **Include equal consultation with women.** For example, baseline study guidance that refers to interviews with the “head of family” or “head of organization” should be amended to request additional strategies of data gathering that will increase women’s involvement in interviews and obtain equal representation of women.

- **Disaggregate key data by sex in the written reports submitted to the ministry.** Such data will ensure that women’s perspectives on key situations are clearly presented. For example, a social and environmental baseline study should note men’s perspectives separately from women’s perspectives on issues where their perspectives are likely to differ, such as family violence or alcohol use, and on issues where the company or government is going to take action, such as the location of a proposed resettlement site, the selection of community development projects for funding, or the design of and payment arrangements for compensation packages. The company should then separately detail these perspectives to the ministry in its written reports and specify action plans to manage the identified differences in perspective between men and women.

- **Ensure equitable employment benefits for women from EI projects.** This step will require the following: engaging in strategies to increase employment opportunities for women in permanent, temporary, and rotational employment; training women; setting targets; proactively seeking internal promotion of women; and working with communities to change their attitudes toward the employment of women and to reduce cultural barriers.

- **Ensure equitable benefits from sustainable development projects and land negotiations or resettlement programs for women.** This step will require
Baseline studies that clearly show the separate conditions of men and women (in particular, studies looking at the risks women may experience and the benefits men experience)

Monitoring of strategies to understand how these conditions change over time and to capture any inadvertent side effects (with the support of specific indicators and regular collection of data that are analyzed in a participatory manner and disaggregated by sex)

Strategies such as the use of gender project checklists to ensure that the sustainable development projects are well designed and do not unintentionally favor men over women

• Work in collaboration with sectors, sometimes catalyzing this collaboration, so that issues can be addressed appropriately. See “Tool 3: Designing Gender-Inclusive Social Programs” in appendix J for more detail on including women in consultation and negotiations related to land rights.

**Step 4: Monitoring and evaluation**—The ministry responsible for natural resource development will need to monitor closely the social aspects of all studies and reports submitted to it to hold EI companies accountable for implementing agreements reached, with a particular focus on how issues affect women. These ministries should use specific indicators and pay close attention to sensitive issues and targets to enable them to challenge the quality of a company’s proposed strategies for improving its effect on women.

Ministry officials will need to look for data disaggregated by sex in the reports, monitor changes in the context of women, and ensure that approved plans exist and that actions are taken to improve opportunities and decrease risks for women. When such actions are not taken at the local level, the ministry will need authority to insist on this action and to apply appropriate sanctions, which should be included in the monitoring and evaluation framework.

**Step 5: Implementation plan and communication strategy**—The ministry responsible for natural resource development will need to create an implementation plan so that all the documents created can be translated into improved corporate behavior. The implementation plan will need to name not only the tasks required, but also the time frames and responsible people and coordination spaces to ensure successful implementation.
The revised gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive guidance notes on corporate behavior, together with the legal and regulatory foundation, should be published formally and shared widely with all actors involved in EI projects. This action will ensure that all parties are formally aware of their obligations in relation to this issue. The dissemination of these documents, together with the implementation plan, and the monitoring and evaluation framework—and sanctions for noncompliance—will ensure that companies have the knowledge, the arguments, and the legal necessity to implement such policies.

**The Regional, Provincial, and Local Levels**

At the regional, provincial, and local levels, governments must ensure that women benefit from local use of tax revenues, strengthen and protect women through government action, and convene a dialogue between the sectors in response to opportunities and concerns.

**Incorporating women equitably into local tax expenditures.** All levels of subnational government need to work to ensure that women are effectively engaged in decisions about the local use of tax revenues (whether those revenues arise specifically from EI projects or otherwise). Local governments need to take the following actions:

- Ensure that women are equally represented in participatory decision-making meetings about the allocation of tax revenues (for example, participatory budgeting workshops).
- Ensure that women’s perspectives are heard, noted, and taken into consideration equally with those of men.
- Ensure that the projects prioritized by women are prioritized by governments, which may require separate meetings with women to increase their awareness of options, their confidence, and their ability to represent themselves.
- Ensure that women are equal beneficiaries of the projects by identifying indicators; by applying gender project checklists to mitigate against accidental project bias or inadvertent side effects (for example, women taking on temporary work could lead to older girls being removed from school to cover their mothers’ household duties); and by making project changes when monitoring reveals the need.

**Strengthening and protecting women through government actions.** One way to ensure that women are able to take advantage of the benefits
available to them and to protect themselves from risks is to work with women through their organizations. For this reason, in EI project areas, all levels of subnational government should seek to strengthen, in collaboration with other stakeholders, women’s organizations, women’s commissions, female leaders, and female candidates for elected positions in local authorities as a means of increasing women’s potential for empowerment.

In certain countries, this activity may also require taking actions to ensure that women are able to avail themselves of their basic rights by ensuring that women secure their identity documents and have equal rights with men to land title and tenure. These rights are particularly important in EI project areas, because without identity documents, women will not be able to benefit from employment opportunities or certain sustainable development initiatives. Likewise, they may not be able to legally denounce their abusers without proper identity documentation. Additionally, women’s access to land title and land tenure will increase their ability during resettlement negotiations to persuade their male partner to accept noncash compensation in lieu of cash, because the former is more likely to protect the family in the longer term.

**Convening dialogue between sectors.** Increasingly, EI projects include a space for dialogue between communities and companies. Often this dialogue is limited to the community making demands and trying to hold the company to account. Although other members of civil society may be present, often government is missing. Given the multidimensional nature of poverty and of sustainable development—and a company’s need not to enter into a relationship in which the community starts to regard the company as if it is responsible for providing all its needs—it is in the interest of all sectors to come together not just to hold the company accountable, but also to plan multisectoral responses to multisectoral issues. Efforts to improve sustainable development outcome for women should be included in this dialogue.

Local governments should obtain from key information-gathering services in the region data on the risks that women may be experiencing in EI project areas (for example, from the police on family violence or prostitution, from the health service on increased alcohol abuse, from the municipal child and youth protective service on family disintegration, and so on). This information should be backed by data directly from the company’s own baseline studies and studies submitted to the ministry responsible for natural resources. This information should then be monitored, and regular meetings should be convened of EI company
representatives, public service providers, and civil society to analyze the risks and plan appropriate multisectoral action to mitigate those risks.

Similarly, efforts should be coordinated among all sectors to maximize the benefits for women. Such coordination will require identifying the benefits, creating targets for women’s inclusion in receiving these benefits, and applying gender project checklists to all actions planned by each sector to maximize women’s ability to benefit. Women’s participation should be at least 50 percent in this action planning space.

Government’s role in EI project areas is pivotal to the sustainable development of the project and to a peaceful relationship between company and community. EI projects are increasingly a generator of local taxes, which are vital to the success of local government. Fostering fruitful results from the presence of EI projects is therefore in the interest of local, provincial, and regional governments. Working more effectively with women in EI project areas is one approach for improving the development outcomes of extractive industries.

**EI Companies**

For companies, the overarching priority is to make investments that will generate profits for their shareholders. Companies know that they need to invest time and money in building positive relations with the local community because such investments will enable them to avoid project delays and increased costs caused by difficult negotiations, unresolved community opposition or grievances, local strikes, or community attempts to renege on previous agreements.

From the community’s perspective, a positive relationship with the company is more likely if the community feels that it has secured fair benefits from the company’s presence. Communities say their main demand is to see strong sustainable development outcomes from EI projects near their homes. These demands often become very specific: communities want guaranteed jobs and productive projects. Many companies enter tough negotiations from this starting point. Yet further down the line, the company may discover that the demands continue to increase and begin to conflict: the demands seem unending. A more strategic way for companies to fulfill the community demand for sustainable development is to include women more effectively as partners at the local level. This strategic approach does not require additional resources or even new programs; it does, however, require a different way of working, a multisectoral approach.
Companies can improve their effect on women in the following seven internal and external priority areas:

- **Internal**
  - Improve the company’s internal systems (appoint a gender team, create policies and practices for how the company wants to behave, and create an internal training program to support implementation).
  - Incorporate women equitably into the workforce.

- **External**
  - Understand, minimize, and mitigate risks that women experience in the areas neighboring an EI project.
  - Ensure equal consultation with women.
  - Incorporate women equitably into land and resettlement negotiations and social development programs so they share more equitably in the mining-related benefits.
  - Participate in and convene dialogue between sectors to increase opportunities and decrease risks for women.
  - Strengthen women’s organizations.

**Internal Priority Areas**
To improve their development outcome on women, companies must look at their own internal policies and practices.

**Improving the company’s internal systems.** As discussed previously for governments, EI companies can create a “gender champion” role. This person will both develop the internal policies and practices and oversee how they can be translated into action. Because the gender champion will be responsible for both internal issues with the company workforce and external issues with the company-community interface, she or he will work closely with two people: one responsible for staff and internal issues (usually the head of human resources) and one responsible for external issues (usually the head of community relations or social affairs). Because gender awareness potentially affects many of the company’s policies and activities, having the support of senior management is vital. Thus, the gender champion needs to have a clear mandate and budget from top management to bring about the desired change in practices and to report to someone sufficiently senior in the management of the organization to be able to acquire the relevant resources.
Gender champion—The gender champion will need the support of a small but well-qualified and experienced gender team that has similar standing to midlevel management in the organization. The gender champion, together with the gender team members, will have the following responsibilities:

- **Internal**
  - Ensure that existing corporate policies and practices are gender aware.
  - Oversee in-house training and awareness-raising efforts for the company’s staff addressing how the company wishes to engage with women.
  - Set up a monitoring system to track issues of women and gender in the workforce.
  - Advise staff members and consultants of appropriate tools and practices for increasing the empowerment of women.
  - Create an internal communications system for staff members to report situations in which men and women have responded or benefited differently.

- **External**
  - Develop relationships with local women’s organizations.
  - Set up a system to monitor with local women’s organizations the issues that are important to them.
  - Use the convening power and influence of the company to bring about positive actions by local authorities to improve the position of women and families and to attract to the area public and NGO development programs that can improve the situation of women.

In line with company procedures, the gender champion will appoint and supervise the gender team, which will support the company in designing and implementing gender-sensitive programs and initiatives.

Gender team—The team should include a sociologist or anthropologist, at least one woman from the company, a facilitator who has mastery of the local language, and ideally also a woman from the community who is widely connected and trusted by local women.

Internal coordination—Action is needed by all parts of the company, making ownership across the company essential to successful implementation.
Therefore, gender should be added as an item for the regular company management team meetings, and a gender committee (consisting of senior managers from units such as community relations, communications, health and safety, and human resources, as well as the production units) should be established and chaired by the gender champion and should meet monthly.

Policies and practices—The gender team, working with the company’s human resource manager and her or his staff, should first set up a framework by developing a nondiscrimination policy or an equal opportunities policy, as a minimum, to underpin all other actions and codes of conduct and then set up systems across the company.

The gender team’s most substantive and challenging task is to systematically go through the company’s internal policies to identify gender impacts and then gender-proof the policies. This work covers a broad range of corporate policies and practices, such as recruitment; retention and employment conditions, including gender-specific issues such as maternity and paternity leave; mine and plant operating procedures, including changing and bathroom facilities and gender-suited uniforms and safety equipment; procurement; community relations; communications; social programs; and physical infrastructure design. This task will require a high degree of collaboration with different functions and a clear message and commitment from senior management to ensure that all departments in the company support this corporate policy. Without doubt, implementing some of the policy changes—for example, changing and bathroom facilities at the mine site (especially for underground operations) and the plant—will require capital expenditures. So along with the policy changes, an implementation plan will need to be prepared that includes any additional funds needed.

Companies must provide in-house training on gender sensitivity so that staff members do not feel cynical, uncomfortable, or threatened by the gender-related changes being promoted. Training should cover how employees behave both in their communities and on site. Training in community behavior should cover aspects that could have a detrimental impact on women in their families or communities, including prostitution, family violence, and alcohol abuse. Training in on-site behavior should emphasize complying with the on-site codes of conduct that companies should create and monitor, sensitizing staff to understand that women workers can do jobs equally well or sometimes better than men, strictly adhering to procedures for sexual harassment, and so on.
Targets will need to be set to encourage accountability, and auditing systems will need to be put in place.

Incorporating women equitably into the workforce. Women make up less than 10 percent of employees in most EI companies and thus are a long way from achieving anything close to equality in employment within the industry. Following are some simple steps companies can undertake to improve the scale and quality of employment for women:

- **Implement family-friendly work practices for female and male staff members.** These practices would include establishing child care facilities; setting work hours for women that fit with family schedules (that is, weekday daytime hours, not nights or weekends, at least for women with children); and considering possibilities for splitting one full-time job into two part-time jobs so that one women could do the job in the morning and be home in the afternoon while her “partner” would be home in the morning and work in the afternoon.

- **Increase female employment in the workforce.** This goal can be achieved by targeting advertising and promotion to women, developing training programs, identifying internal barriers to the promotion of women in the workforce, setting organizational targets for women’s employment, changing working conditions to address any perceived discrimination, and working with the community to change its attitude toward female employment and to decrease cultural barriers.

- **Increase opportunities for women to take higher-skill jobs, for women to be promoted within the company, and for the company to retain female staff members.** The mining industry is still dominated by a male culture where the general expectation is that women are suitable for clerical or low-skill jobs such as cleaners. Increasingly, however, companies recognize that not only can women do highly skilled work such as heavy equipment operation and maintenance but also they can often do it in a more reliable and efficient manner than their male counterparts. Thus, a key element of a gender-aware employment policy is providing both the training and the openings so that women can have access to and compete for high-skill and high-paying jobs in the mine and plant. The company should offer training, opportunity, mentoring, and pay parity for women, and companies must reduce opposition and resentment of male workers and supervisors by coming down
hard on harassment. Other aspects include decreasing internal discrimination and monitoring pay parity.

- Increase external female employment opportunities. Companies can do so through women’s involvement in the temporary or rotational workforce and in the supply chain of the company (offering targeted training, seeking out partnerships with NGOs or women’s organizations, and setting targets for numbers of female employees). Companies can increase employment opportunities for women in the community by offering vocational and skills training to women as well as microcredit schemes and banking services.

**External Priority Areas**

Companies can improve their development outcome in a number of external areas.

**Understanding, minimizing, and mitigating the risks that women experience.** To be sure that a company’s operations affect women positively in the communities neighboring company operations, companies will first need to understand the current context of women in these communities. Some of these issues will have preexisted the presence of the EI project; however, EI activity will cause or exacerbate some risks. As appendix A outlines, women experience more of the risks in EI areas (increased workload, environmental pollution, family violence, and local costs) and less access to the benefits (employment and social programs), so understanding and then monitoring the situation carefully is important. To identify the women’s organizations in the area and to identify issues to explore in greater depth, see appendix J, “Tool 1: Identifying Issues of Importance to Women.”

When the research has been undertaken, use indicators to monitor progress and hold multisector consultations to deepen mutual understanding about how to design and implement appropriate initiatives and measures to minimize and mitigate the risks.

**Ensuring equal consultation with women.** In most situations, women are likely to hold a different perspective from men. Women’s perception of the company, their view on a potential resettlement location, the priorities they set for social investment, and so on will differ from those of men, and these differences of opinion will exist inside the company (and are therefore relevant for those overseeing internal processes) as well as outside the company. Yet the company is not going to learn of
women’s perspectives if it simply follows traditional guidance for the EI industry on research, which suggests that surveys and consultations be undertaken with the “head of family” or “head of organization,” who is often male.

The female perspective may prove useful to the company in the short term (for example, where women prioritize a community-related health initiative over the men’s desire for all benefits to be through direct employment at the mine) or in the long term (where women push for initiatives that are more sustainable instead of larger, often “white elephant” infrastructure projects). Often the female perspective is essential to enable the company to avoid issues of conflict. For instance, in one case, a company failed to identify that the community members most directly affected by a project were not the local homeowners who were being bought out but rather the women who rented the homes and who were being rendered homeless. The company did not realize these gender effects until the women began to march on the mine.

To learn of women’s perspectives and properly research the issues of priority and risk to women, companies need to include women equally with men in research and consultation processes, as outlined in appendix J, “Tool 2: Including Women Equitably in Research and Consultations.”

**Incorporating women equitably into land and resettlement negotiations and social development programs.** Failing to incorporate women equitably into land and resettlement negotiations and social development programs can be detrimental to a company’s business.

**Gender-inclusive negotiations about land and resettlement**—Negotiations about land use, land purchase, and resettlement are the most vulnerable moments for women in an EI company’s interactions with communities. Because men may either overlook or deliberately ignore women’s interests, having the woman of the house present when such negotiations take place is essential. Otherwise, she may later try to overturn these agreements. The approach taken should include at least the following components:

- Support women in securing land titles and citizenship documentation so that their rights are protected or enhanced.
- Ensure that women’s livelihood strategies are captured in the baseline studies for resettlement negotiations; even those strategies that are very informal (such as collecting herbs for medicine while tending sheep) may be pivotal to women’s well-being.
Facilitate family decisions on livelihood strategies (cash, savings, and land). This process might include appointing a social worker to help community members think through the implications of resettlement or a small business adviser to help open bank accounts, review options, or provide savings advice. Before making compensation payments, companies must ensure that communities receive advice and guidance in considering options.

**Gender-inclusive company social programs**—Mining brings benefits to communities through increased employment and income and through company social programs for communities. Company social programs are a newly evolving area for companies, whereas they have been the bread and butter for NGOs for decades and for communities for even longer. Companies are on an enormous learning curve and in much more complex territory than other actors because they enter the community subject to enormous expectations and often unrealistic demands for socio-economic development outcomes. In addition, communities are worried about their food security if agricultural land is turned over to EI uses or if they believe their access to clean water may be threatened. Concern is heightened if the EI presence in the area is the only source of social programs reaching their community.

Whereas NGOs have had 15 to 20 years to gradually evolve their approach to incorporating gender into their work, EI companies have just started to take the first steps on that 15-year journey. To get the industry up to speed on this area of gender and development, appendix J, “Tool 3: Designing Gender-Inclusive Social Programs,” outlines different types of interventions that companies could support to address various issues. Because women benefit not only from being beneficiaries of well-designed social programs, but also from the process of identifying and analyzing the issues and selecting the projects, Tool 3 also outlines the steps of the process that companies should take to include women. The tool also explores how to monitor the outcomes of these processes.

**Participating in and convening multisectoral dialogue.** The issues that affect women (from family violence to access to education, employment, or land tenure) are multidimensional. They require changes in the attitudes and actions of communities, as well as additional resources and technical support from government and companies. For example, maternal health may require that a company provide financial support; that the government improve its provision of health care and women’s access to
such care; and that government, NGOs, and community leaders support attitudinal changes in health care staff members, communities, families, and women. Therefore, to make sure that women benefit from the presence of an EI project, a multisectoral approach among companies, government, and communities is needed.

Ideally, government would convene such a dialogue. In many EI areas, however, government does not have a strong presence. In those contexts, the community or the company may choose to convene the multisectoral dialogue on sustainable development to ensure that not all responsibility for promoting sustainable development falls on the shoulders of the companies. Other actors should be invited to come to the table to play their roles, including government, community, and civil society organizations.

Sharing analysis and information on the gender dimensions of EI can be a strong first step toward developing a multisectoral relationship. Developing indicators and a monitoring framework jointly with other sectors will further strengthen that relationship. Developing a coherent strategy in which each sector plays its role to bring about the desired changes is the goal.

The gender champion and the gender team would be particularly active in this space, using their relationships and programs of support for local women’s organizations, as well as their convening power and influence, to bring about actions by the local government and NGOs to improve the position of women and families. Their activity may include attracting programs to the area and providing partial funding.

**Strengthening women’s organizations.** Improving EI project effects on women requires working with local women’s organizations. Although women’s groups may not reflect the interests of all local women, they are the means through which many women have chosen to organize themselves. Frequently these organizations need support to

- Define their mission and vision
- Formally register
- Improve their skills at project formulation and implementation
- Give voice and priority to their interests

How a company behaves to the communities neighboring its operations will determine the relationship it has locally and will affect the profitability of its operations. It is also pivotal to the local sustainable development effect of its activities. Working more strategically with and
through women in EI project areas is one simple, coherent approach for improving the development outcomes of extractive industries and relationships at the local level.

**The Role of Consulting Firms**
Consulting firms advising EI clients have an important role to play in improving how gender is considered and addressed in EI projects. EI consulting firms should include gender specialists and analysts into their programs to

- Reduce the risks to which women are exposed
- Improve how women are considered and consulted in social development programs
- Increase capacity for gender awareness

*Working to reduce the risks that women experience.* Where EI consulting firms invest in gender specialists and a mainstreamed understanding of how gender relates to EI, they can better advise clients on how to improve outcomes and opportunities for women, thereby reducing the risks to which women are exposed. As discussed previously, reducing the risks to women can also reduce tensions and potential sources of conflict, work stoppage, and reputational risk.

*Incorporating women equitably into consultations and social development programs.* EI consulting firms can advise clients on gender-appropriate practices, including gathering gender-disaggregated data, adapting women-only consultations, scheduling consultations to reflect women’s priorities and schedules, and devising gender-appropriate indicators.

*Offering training on gender issues or encouraging companies to train on such issues.* EI consulting firms should cultivate appropriate skills among their staff teams, as well as among clients, to build capacity for gender mainstreaming and sensitization.

**Civil Society, Donors, and Nongovernmental Organizations**
Communities want to make the most of the opportunities offered by the presence of an EI project in their area. Doing so means ensuring that the community achieves the maximum positive results while minimizing any negative effects.
When a community is asked what sustainable development benefits it wants from the presence of an EI project, the men usually dominate discussions. They push for increases in income through direct or indirect employment with the EI project or for productive projects to increase cash incomes. These benefits are important; however, they are only one dimension of sustainable development, neglecting the wider issues of education, health, environment, infrastructure, access to finance, and so on. Additionally, employment opportunities and increases in family income may not reach the wider family; they may be largely retained by the men.

Communities and the NGOs and community organizations that support them therefore need to take action to ensure that the EI presence brings them long-term, sustainable development outcomes—not simply increased cash in the present moment that will disappear as soon as the EI operation is finished, if not earlier. Reaching this objective means widening the scope of benefits to incorporate the full array of sustainable development benefits as well as taking steps to enable those benefits to be widely distributed. Elite capture and marginalization of the poorest or weakest must be avoided, and equitable inclusion of women must be ensured.

In some communities, men take steps to exclude women from decision-making processes as well as from receiving benefits. They may do so because they undervalue the women’s contribution to discussions and decision making (“What could she possibly have to say that is useful to this discussion?”2), or it may be a way of making sure that the outcomes favor men. Nevertheless, women in EI areas have demonstrated that they can both escalate and mitigate conflict between communities and EI companies: thus, women’s active involvement in discussions and benefit receipt is crucial to a peaceful relationship. Community leaders and men will therefore need to be open to changing their attitudes toward including women, listening to their perspectives, and sharing the benefits.

To ensure that an EI project can be a vehicle for sustainable development in their area, communities also need to work to include and improve the situation of women. Because communities contain many different subgroups, the next three sections address the actions that each of the following groups can take:

- Community leaders and community men
- Community women
- Community authorities, community organizations, donors, and NGOs
Community Leaders and Community Men

The attitude of community leaders and community men is the main factor that limits the ability of women or allows them to access a fair share of the benefits in EI project areas. Male attitudes at the community level may mean that women do not have equal rights in public decision making, land- or homeownership, or employment. This issue may be deeply cultural, based on traditions that may even be legally bound into community constitutions. At the private level, male attitudes may limit women’s ability to access education, training, and health care and to make decisions about how to spend family income she has earned.

Therefore, for women to be able to access their share of the benefits from the presence of an EI project, they need to be allowed to do so, at both the community and the family levels. They will need positive support from the men; in particular, the male leadership will have to open access to public spaces and support both women and men in safely bringing about changes at the family level.

As benefits become available—whether they are work and training opportunities or social projects—women’s ability to take advantage of them will largely depend on community leaders and community men taking the following steps:

- **Not explicitly limiting women’s involvement.** “It is not safe for women to work at the mine; they will be attacked on the way,” or “It is right that the men should get the jobs and the women stay at home” are frequent arguments put forward by community men. These arguments directly stop women from getting the jobs or the opportunities women say they want.

- **Championing the benefits that the men will receive when the women are able to secure their fair share of the benefits.** For example, when women get more access to education, children tend to be healthier and better educated; when women have access to income or finance, they tend to share these benefits and invest in the home or children’s nutrition; when women see the benefits, they are less likely to object to the EI operation; and so on.

- **Addressing the concerns of the community men so they feel more comfortable enabling women to take advantage of opportunities.** Dialogue will need to take place about sensitive family issues to mitigate the negative impacts that can occur. For example, when both parents are working, looking at issues of child care, housework, farm work, and the like is helpful to facilitate broad-based solutions, in particular to
avoid older daughters being pulled out of school or women being blamed for not maintaining their previous family duties. When the woman is earning more than the man, the man may experience low self-esteem, potentially resulting in increased family violence. In this instance, having NGOs work with men on issues of self-esteem, analyzing family workloads, and talking about household decision-making rights may be useful.

These approaches need to be handled very sensitively because they may provoke a backlash from the community men. Carefully framing the issues and providing support for men and women to adapt are crucial to ensure that all parties move forward positively.

**Community Women**
The women themselves are ultimately the main actors for bringing about change. All others around them may make the changes suggested; however, if the women do not avail themselves of the opportunities, no benefits will be felt. In most communities, women will have developed some form of organization. It may be formal, through organizations that are legally constituted, or highly informal. These organizations may have the capability to develop independent development projects to support women in achieving their goals, they may be recipients of government aid to provide food for the poorest people in the community, or they may be passive recipients of handouts. Over time and with support, these organizations may grow in strength to enable women to develop their skills and become stronger development agents for themselves and for their families. The most proactive organizations will link with regional or national NGOs to further support their members. They will also realize that any changes sought need to win over the full agreement and support of men and that this support will be more swiftly and safely achieved through persuasive arguments and training, rather than aggression and conflict.

Women can therefore have more of a voice, increase their knowledge of their context and ways to improve it, and develop their skills in participating by joining or setting up women’s organizations and networks. These spaces allow women to discuss what they want and need and to present their views with a single voice rather than many individual voices. The following factors are important:

- Formally registering such organizations will increase their power to apply for funds from the government and EI companies, as well as
increase their involvement in formal negotiation processes or consultations.

- Women are not a homogeneous group, so they need to take steps to facilitate consensus and fair representation of views as ways to reduce fighting among themselves (an issue in Papua New Guinea) and to avoid elite capture (an issue in Indonesia).
- Support is likely to be needed to strengthen the women’s organizations, develop their skills, and provide joint training for men and women to respond to new opportunities and changing contexts.

**Community Authorities, Community Organizations, Donors, and NGOs**
Although individual leaders, men, and women can bring about the changes outlined previously, the community and its organizations, donors, and supporting NGOs can support these attitudinal changes in four priority areas:

- Understanding the context of women in areas neighboring the EI project
- Raising awareness and supporting training of company and government employees in gender-sensitive practices
- Strengthening and protecting women through the community’s actions
- Participating in and convening dialogue between sectors in response to opportunities and concerns

**Understanding the context of women in areas affected by EI projects.** Community authorities and organizations, donors, and NGOs can promote understanding through the following actions:

- **Work with local women’s organizations to improve the situation of women in the community.** Although they may not reflect the interests of all local women, these organizations are the means through which many women have chosen to express themselves. As noted previously, these organizations frequently need support to formally register, to improve their skills in project formulation, and to give voice and priority to their interests. One priority for the community authorities, donors, NGOs, and civil society organizations needs to be the inclusion of women and their organizations equally with men in community meetings and decision-making processes.
• **Undertake and disseminate research on the opportunities and risks that EI projects can bring to women.** Communities, and the women in them, may not be fully aware of the many ways in which women experience disadvantage within a community or the many positive and negative effects that the arrival of an EI company could have on women. Although baseline studies are done of the environment and many social issues, companies do not usually do a separate assessment of the women’s context. Yet without such studies, the changes to women’s lives, for better or worse, cannot be measured. Such evidence is important to incentivize the companies, the government, and the communities toward positive working methods. Community authorities, organizations, donors, and NGOs could encourage companies or the government to undertake such a baseline study, or they could do it themselves. The first step is to identify the main benefits and risks that women tend to experience in EI areas. The secondary and primary research would then identify (a) the priority issues for women, (b) the current baseline for those issues so they can be monitored over a period of time, and (c) actions taken to improve benefits and reduce risks. Following this research, the key issues are as follows:
  - **Share this analysis with men and women in the community.** Sharing the analysis will increase the knowledge and perspectives of both men and women. NGOs are very well placed to facilitate this mutual analysis and to use it to support action to encourage both women and men to achieve their desired outcomes.
  - **Work with the women in the community to set indicators with which to monitor changes in the position of women, and collect and share the baseline data on these indicators.** The indicators might be broad indicators, such as “percentage of women who say their lives have been improved by the presence of the company in the area,” or more project-specific indicators, such as “percentage of women who say they have increased access and control over income” or “percentage of land titles that include women.”
  - **Set up working groups on specific issues.** These groups can monitor and minimize the negative consequences (such as increasing female documentation or reducing family violence) or maximize opportunities (such as increasing female access to education or to paid employment).

*Raising awareness and supporting training of company and government employees in gender-sensitive practices.* Various means can be
used to raise awareness and promote training in gender-sensitive practices:

- **Share research on the context of women in the area with the companies and the government.** Ask companies and the government to monitor their effect on these issues and to hold themselves accountable for any change in this baseline. Ideally, this research should be shared and the indicators should be common among all the sectors. Such an approach would be very supportive of multisector work.

- **Encourage good practices.** Community organizations, donors, and NGOs can work to encourage the government and companies to use good practices. They can also provide practical support and training where a skill deficit exists.

- **Advocate for and encourage gender-sensitive consulting.** Government and companies should be persuaded to engage in such consulting.

- **Support companies or local government in designing and managing gender-sensitive consulting and in designing gender-sensitive community social programs.** NGOs and women’s organizations have the most experience working in a gender-inclusive way. Many company staff members who have come from such backgrounds are also likely to have such expertise, although they are unlikely to use it unless asked. The community and NGOs could support good company practices by providing gender-inclusive facilitation training, supporting the convening of meetings, advising or training companies in the use of gender tools for project design, encouraging intercultural awareness, and so on.

**Strengthening and protecting women in areas affected by EI projects.** As companies and government work to implement an EI project, they will hold many community meetings, take surveys and baseline studies, engage consultants, and provide opportunities for employment and social programs:

- **Include women equally in all consulting and negotiation processes.** Community authorities, donors, organizations, and NGOs can play a strong convening and facilitating role to ensure that women are equally included in such processes. They can also encourage governments and companies to use inclusive practices. Appendix J, “Tool 2: Including Women Equitably in Research and Consultations,” outlines how to ensure that women are equally represented in survey samples,
that their perspective is reported separately from that of men, that they are present in meetings, that their voices are heard, and that their views are noted and included. Skilled NGOs and donors could provide training in these areas or offer to implement these processes in collaboration so that these best practices can be brought to the fore.

- **Support attitudinal changes that may be necessary to enable women to take up employment, take advantage of education and health opportunities, and attend and participate in consultations and decision making.** This area is much harder for companies to work on because they may be seen as interfering in local culture. However, many of the issues that increase the risk of EI projects for women or lead to women securing a lesser share of the benefits are rooted in the local culture. Donors, NGOs, or communities could undertake participatory analysis of key issues (from family violence and alcoholism to family work patterns and management of household income) to support men and women in renegotiating these issues and developing practices that promote stronger development outcomes for women and the wider family.

- **Deliver social programs in a gender-inclusive way.** Companies and the government, sometimes with donor support, are likely to increase their delivery of socioeconomic development in EI project areas, which can be an opportunity for securing funding from these sources to implement community-led or NGO-led approaches. Where women’s organizations or NGOs design and deliver the projects, a greater chance exists that they will be delivered in a way that is more inclusive of women. Hence, there is a strong reason for NGOs and women’s organizations to seek to partner with companies and government in EI project areas. Such a partnership could mean taking on the direct delivery of the program or simply advising and guiding on it. As a minimum, communities, donors, and NGOs can encourage all projects to be implemented in line with appendix J, “Tool 3: Designing Gender-Inclusive Social Programs.” This tool gives a brief overview of a comprehensive approach to understanding how development projects can best affect women. It highlights the different types of roles that women take in a community (productive, reproductive, community management, community politics), as well as their strategic and practical needs, and the desired balance between these roles and needs so that women’s overall quality of life can improve. The tool then identifies how to include women in the identification,
selection, and monitoring processes of projects to ensure that women can learn not only from the development project itself but also from being included in the analysis and decision-making process.

- **Strengthen women’s organizations in their formal registration, organizational development, vision and mission development, and skill development in project formulation and implementation.** This support will ensure that women’s organizations can be better involved in public processes and in the strengthening of women. It will also increase the likelihood that women will take on leadership roles at the local level and move on to take roles in local governing organizations.

**Participating in and convening dialogue.** The issues that affect women (from family violence to access to education, employment, or land tenure) are multidimensional challenges. They require additional resources and technical support from donors, government, companies, and NGOs as well as changes in the attitudes and actions of community leaders, women, and men. For example, maternal health may require that a company provide financial support to improve local facilities and that government improve the technical skills of its health care workers and transportation to the facilities. However, the attitudinal shifts are most likely to affect women, such as in terms of

- Health care staff members treating woman respectfully
- Community members and husbands supporting women to go to their prenatal or postnatal checkups and to be allowed to relinquish other duties for health reasons and to have access to cash to pay for services and medicine if required
- Women having a high enough level of self-esteem to ask for their rights
- Women not distrusting public services as much as before

Facilitating these attitudinal changes is not an area that companies can easily address: it could be perceived as interfering in local culture. Yet for community organizations and NGOs, this work is a natural extension of their roles of increasing awareness and providing educational support to encourage good practices. It is pivotal that community leaders, men, and women provide their active support.

Ensuring that women benefit from the presence of an EL project requires a multisectoral approach between companies, donors, government, and communities. Within this alliance, community authorities and
NGOs have a pivotal role to play, without which the efforts of the other actors will fail to achieve positive sustainable development results.

Ideally, government should convene these spaces; however, in many EI areas, government does not have a strong presence. In those contexts, community authorities, donors, organizations, NGOs, or the EI company may choose to take on the role of convening the multisectoral dialogue on sustainable development. In such a space, the community’s organizations and NGOs will need to advise and work in collaboration with government and EI companies so that their efforts to empower women use the most up-to-date learning and best approaches.

**Conclusion**

Unsurprisingly, the main actors for change to shape positive development outcomes are the community, its leadership, its members, and supporting NGOs and donors. If the focus is on short-term jobs and instant cash access, long-term development opportunities will be lost—and worse, local inflation is likely to absorb much of these short-term benefits. Increasing women’s role in the decision-making and development process is a strong approach to improving the positive sustainable development effects from EI operations and making them available to the wider family in the longer term.

**Notes**

1. For details on CommDev, see http://commdev.org.
2. In 2008, when an EI company requested women’s opinions, a Peruvian community leader made this comment while pointing to a middle-aged woman.
APPENDIX A

Benefits and Risks to Women in Peru Arising from Extractive Industry Projects

This appendix summarizes the answers to questionnaires, interviews, and surveys undertaken with extractive industry (EI) companies, EI consulting companies, nongovernmental organizations, community-based organizations, and one university in October and November 2006.

Benefits

Depending on the particular context of an EI project and the behavior of the various actors who are directly or indirectly involved, an EI project could benefit women in the following ways.

1. *Open up a new perspective for women about their future:*
   - A project could enable women to envision a future that includes development.
   - A project could allow women to enter into a relationship in which the company could be a partner for community development.

2. *Improve employment and family income for women and their families:*
   - In companies with policies on recruiting local labor or on local sourcing of goods and services, women may benefit from an increase in family income if a family member is hired.
• Companies that have a gender equity policy enable women to participate in the corporate supply chain, take advantage of business development or agricultural development, and become providers of goods or services to the company or its employees.

3. *Provide more participation for women in decision-making processes:*
• Companies that have a communication and consultation policy that encourages the presence of both men and women in meetings may help women in the following ways:
  o Enhance their ability to contribute to the development of project ideas and the analysis of their situation.
  o Develop their skills to communicate more effectively with other sectors.
  o Build organizational and leadership capacities.
  o Improve decision-making processes, because women have a broader, longer-term perspective and often have different priorities than men.
• Companies that provide women with information and offer them training to take an active role as leaders in their communities enhance women’s skills and allow them to expand their roles.

4. *Ensure that women share equitably in the benefits of company social programs by taking the following measures:*
• Provide women with improved education and health care services, transportation, sanitation, access to training, and technology.
• Use health indicators to improve immunization programs, personal hygiene, health care services for pregnant women, prevention of diseases, marriage counseling services, and so forth.
• Improve women’s educational status by reducing illiteracy, helping women to complete primary and secondary education, and helping them to develop partnership skills that can be applied in productive projects.
• Set up participatory monitoring activities and, where public services are lacking, hold the providers of those services to account (education, health care, police, and so forth).

5. *Increase the share of women in company-supported business programs by doing the following:*
• Design income-generating programs that can promote an interest in individual development and enhance self-esteem for women.
• Provide employment training for women in different stages of technical and professional studies.
• Support the start-up and operation of community-based banks and microenterprises that encourage and facilitate women’s participation.
• Provide opportunities that develop women’s skills for local management and leadership positions.

Risks

Depending on the particular context of an EI project and the behavior of the various actors who are directly or indirectly involved, an EI project could pose certain risks.

1. Harm women’s health in different ways, such as through increased violence, alcohol abuse, prostitution, and environmental pollution:
   • Increase prostitution, sexual abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted pregnancies.
   • Cause a more polluted environment and increase women’s risk from exposure through contact with water during cooking, laundry, and so forth.
   • Result in a more aggressive or violent community and family environment caused by an increase in alcohol use by men.

2. Exclude women from decision making by having the following effects:
   • Increase gender gaps in companies that hold their meetings predominantly with men. When women are not included in decision making or consulted about their needs, companies do not know how to meet those needs.
   • Exclude more vulnerable women (single mothers, widows, elderly women) from decision-making spaces and, as a result, ignore their particular concerns and fail to recognize or meet their needs.
   • Marginalize women’s priorities and their sense of identity and power by enabling men to develop as individuals in the public space, make decisions, and increase their control over decisions that affect community life.

3. Create unemployment for women in the following way:
   • Limit women’s opportunity to benefit from company-related employment programs, because they are not sufficiently qualified educationally for the jobs.
4. **Cause harm to and disrespect for the local culture and cultural practices important to women because of certain influences of EI activities:**
   - Attract new people into the area, who have their own customs or cultural backgrounds, which can affect how local people, and in particular women, feel about their culture.
   - Result in changes in culture, identity breakdown, and the loss of traditional ways of life, especially for women.
   - Cause gender discrimination against women, who can experience offensive behavior toward their habits and customs.

5. **Increase women’s dependence on men in the following ways:**
   - Because the vast majority of jobs are for men, cause many women to be dependent on their husband.
   - Adversely affect women’s income, if they have one.
   - Generate submissiveness in and harm to women in rural society and decrease their self-esteem, while strengthening the power of the husband because he “brings more money” (paid by the mining company as a salary).

6. **Increase discrimination against women in the following way:**
   - Cause women to become more and more invisible because of the “male dominance” culture of extractive industries.

7. **Create risks to family life because of the following:**
   - Men and women inadequately administer family income because they lack experience, basic training, and guidance.
   - Increased income results in a greater number of common-law wives and unstable families (as income grows).
   - Increased income causes increased and often excessive alcohol use by men.
   - Women may need to leave children at home to work at the mines.
   - Long working hours at the company may mean that the worker is away from the family for long periods of time, which adversely affects the family unit and family life.
   - Women have increased family responsibilities and duties because men are absent from home to work in the company, so women have to take over the male family members’ duties on the farm.

8. **Result in increased attitudes of dependence on handouts or welfare:**
   - Increased incomes, especially from nonemployment sources, may increase people’s dependence on the mining company and its activities.
9. **Create significant social harm and disruption when the mines close down:**
   - When mines are closed down, there is a risk that hospitals, health centers, schools, and so on will also be closed down.

10. **Require harmful, involuntary resettlement:**
    - Women may lose their homes and sources of income without receiving compensation or alternative suitable income sources. The effects are often worse for the most vulnerable, such as renters (the building owners, not the tenants, generally receive compensation) or people who work on other people’s land (the landowner, not the worker, receives compensation).
    - Women may have to look for new ways to earn a living in a new and unfamiliar place.

11. **Provide social programs that do not meet women’s needs in certain cases:**
    - Projects offered to women come from a “shopping list” offered by the company to the community. They rarely come from women’s demands related to their own priorities, and as a result, they often do not meet women’s real needs.

12. **Erode women’s organizations:**
    - Community women’s organizations are unable to match more “efficient” services (health care and education) that become available, causing women’s organizations to disappear and eroding women’s organizational skills.
Government policies can incorporate gender issues by doing the following:

1. **Oversee mining companies:**
   - Increase the presence of government in remote areas.
   - Increase access to information regarding the rights and duties of those who hold the legal titles for mining exploitation in an area.
   - Promote legislation and institutional mechanisms for encouraging the promotion and protection of women within a context of development dominated by extractive industries, such as policies and procedures governing relationships of workers and mining companies with communities.
   - Include women’s issues in the environmental impact assessment.
• Incorporate specific indicators of groups of women (for example, rate of prostitution, number of households without male heads, level of family violence) into the government census to ensure that companies implement internal policies that mitigate risks for women.
• Disseminate legislation that authorizes communities to exercise their rights with respect to the social license to operate and carry out environmental surveillance.
• Ensure that regulations comply with existing international norms and standards and good international practice.
• Promote transparency of financial payments to regional and local governments as a result of EI project activities and transparency of how this income is spent locally.

2. Provide public and participatory planning processes:
• Provide more spaces for community participation and social development planning, particularly in remote areas.
• Develop government policies that promote women’s participation in design, implementation, and management of participatory budgets and other development processes.
• Include women in the consulting processes regarding participatory budgets and the use of the mining canon so that they can prioritize their needs and those of their children.
• Encourage equal access for women to benefits from development within communities and local governments.

3. Facilitate sustainable development planning:
• Take on the role of facilitator in processes in which the government lacks experience, but maintain a leadership role where the government feels qualified to do so, implementing processes efficiently and with high-quality approaches.
• Set up spaces in which companies, communities, and nongovernmental organizations can together discuss local development issues and potentially broker partnerships, particularly in the more marginalized communities.
• Ensure that only sustainable projects are selected for development purposes.

4. Provide social and educational programs:
• Have a more visible presence in welfare programs such as Wawa Wasi, health care, and education.
• Increase efforts to achieve better education for girls and technical training for women.
• Reduce and eradicate illiteracy in women and men.
• Focus on improving the quality of education for women (companies often contribute to infrastructure of schools but overlook the need to improve the quality of teaching).

5. **Provide programs intended to reduce violence:**
• Strengthen and increase the presence of protection and counseling authorities for women, such as the Office of the Ombudsman, the Municipal Office of the Ombudsman for Children and Adolescents, and so forth.
• Provide better education for men and women regarding their relationships.

6. **Improve family income:**
• Promote the employment of women in EI companies.
• Encourage training for women in areas where women could enhance their prospects of securing EI employment.
• Facilitate and promote the inclusion of women in the productive chains of the EI company.

**Companies**

So that women receive benefits from EI development, companies need to understand what problems women are experiencing, what their interests are, and what solutions women propose as being suitable to their context. Businesses need to be aware of their industry’s effects on the economy, social framework, and environment at individual, family, local, regional, and national levels. Those businesses that do so will be more likely to respect cultural patterns and encourage practices that promote positive workplace and civic behaviors in the community. Companies can address issues of importance to women in the following ways.

1. **Provide training and opportunities:**
• Promote women’s career development, provide professional and technical practice, and create job opportunities for women in different areas of the company’s operations, according to women’s educational background and competencies.
• Encourage women’s overall development in their different roles as mothers, wives, employees, community members, and citizens.

2. Develop avenues for participation and consultation:
• Consult with both men and women.
• Carry out a baseline survey with a focus on gender and include women and their organizations in the company’s community relations plans.
• Create spaces for training and reflection to allow women to deepen their understanding of their socioeconomic circumstances, to generate positive attitudes toward participating and making commitments, and thereby to address their needs and priorities, particularly in collaboration with local organizations.

3. Provide employment and technical training:
• Provide equal access to employment opportunities to both men and women and eliminate discriminatory practices and conditions.
• Smooth the incorporation of women into the company’s activities (for example, by considering rotational work and including women’s views in the company’s policy on labor force recruitment and productive projects).
• Set up savings schemes for employees, including women.
• Facilitate and promote the development of agricultural productive chains, including training and market links.

4. Coordinate the closing down of operations, such as mine sites:
• Work together with government agencies before closing down a site to ensure that any health care, educational, and other services and facilities are transferred to the state.

5. Coordinate with the public sector:
• Undertake greater coordination with government so that the government is encouraged to increase its presence in, and assume its responsibilities to, remote communities.

6. Avoid a handout mentality or relationships of dependency:
• Avoid mistaking social responsibility for welfare.
• Avoid paternalistic, handout, or rent-seeking approaches and focus instead on helping to develop women’s abilities and capacities (for example, through organizational development, nutrition and hygiene programs, microfinance programs, and coaching in the development of productive projects).
• Have a corporate donation policy that mitigates the funding of unsustainable projects that do not strengthen the self-reliance of community members.

7. *Decrease negative impacts on workers’ behavior:*
• Promote responsible employee behavior by increasing employees’ access to training programs on alcohol abuse, sexual health, family relationships, the role of women, family violence, family planning, and so on.

8. *Use professionally run social programs as partners in development:*
• Offer support to civil society and government in their development of local development plans while encouraging those sectors to include women equally in those processes and, if requested by the women’s groups, strengthening the ability of women to be effectively involved.
• Look favorably on financing development projects that are sustainable and have been promoted by groups that include a large majority of women.
• Consider projects, programs, and approaches that have been recognized as having a particularly positive influence on women by organizations that have a specific focus on gender (at the local, regional, and national levels), so that local communities may consider these initiatives as potential projects for local adaptation.
• Assess all projects that are to be funded for their “gender sensitivity”—that is, whether (a) the projects affect men and women equally and (b) the projects have no unrecognized or inappropriate adverse consequences for men or women.
• Support civil society and government at different levels to provide education and training to women.
• Offer the company’s project management capability to strengthen the community’s skills in this area, in particular, encouraging and monitoring women’s involvement in any support programs.
• Ensure that internal policies on corporate social programs explicitly address the need to research, analyze, and assess the direct and indirect impacts of programs on women before developing mitigating actions.
• Recognize that resources for capacity building will need to accompany programs for women who have low self-esteem and limited experience in project or institutional management.
• Use direct and indirect indicators to measure the extent to which conditions for women are improving in the design, implementation, and evaluation of development projects.
• Make existing resources as effective as possible by gathering proven experiences but without offering a “shopping list” to a community. Introduce a range of options in response to the priorities the community has identified and enable the community to learn more about each option. Allow community members to be closely involved in the final decision making about the most appropriate option for them. This process of participation is a strong tool for preventing dependency, enhancing self-reliance, and strengthening analytical skills and responsibility—and women must be equal partners in such processes.

9. **Initiate respect for culture:**
• Analyze and share knowledge within the company about the practices and customs of women in the neighboring communities, and be careful to promote change only in coordination with the civil society within the community.

10. **Involve women’s organizations:**
• Contribute to women’s individual capacity building and to strengthening of women’s organizations.

11. **Ensure that policies and codes of conduct are aligned:**
• Ensure that policies and codes of conduct include the following:
  o A section on community relations that encourages respect and support among employees, contractors, and the surrounding communities
  o A disciplinary process for employees or contractors who instigate or commit discriminatory, disrespectful, or abusive behaviors toward women employees or women in the communities, as well as toward men
• Encourage good occupational and family health practices.
• Implement a social monitoring system that considers specific indicators regarding the existence and strength of women’s groups (their degree of formalization, political power, and practical project delivery skills).
• Promote policies that appreciate the value of women as coworkers and partners in social development.

12. **Engage with government:**
• Intercede on behalf of and in collaboration with local communities to ensure that government provides public services to the community.
Civil Society

Community members and community groups can address issues of importance to women in the following ways.

1. **Build citizen participation:**
   - Encourage the use of cutting-edge practices in community involvement in project design and with regard to the involvement of women.
   - Support the formation of citizenship, with the engagement of women.
   - Strengthen women’s capacities to build consensus so that they can participate in decision making and project formulation in a well-organized way.
   - Encourage democratic behavior in grassroots organizations.
   - Facilitate channels for communication among community leaders, government, and the private sector to address women’s issues.
   - Share with other sectors any knowledge about best practices for including a gender component to proposal design, implementation, and evaluation.
   - Develop conflict prevention and resolution programs that make women’s participation a priority.

2. **Provide oversight and surveillance methods:**
   - Use oversight to ensure that legal regulations on the participation of the entire community in consultation processes are enforced, with an eye toward the most marginalized groups, such as poorer women.
   - Promote and oversee company activities so that they not only are environmentally and socially acceptable but also benefit communities and surrounding areas, with a particular focus on effects on women.
   - Report any types of abuses, and support and counsel victims of abuse with respect to how they can defend themselves and file complaints with the relevant authorities.
   - Disseminate information on rights and duties of the different actors and stakeholders in the sector.
   - Objectively share information about the effects of EI operations.

3. **Strengthen family incomes through support for an entrepreneurial culture in women:**
   - Provide opportunities for training and income generation (for example, by starting microenterprises through which women can receive training).
• Develop productive projects in coordination with companies to help develop synergy in the many development initiatives taking place in an area—particularly projects that benefit women, because such projects increase the likelihood that more of the income will benefit the wider family.
• Support women in developing their skills to access markets for their products.
• Create community-based banks for the benefit of women.

4. **Support women’s organizations:**
   • Provide support and encouragement to the women’s organizations to strengthen their ability to seize opportunities or to suggest actions that may resolve their problems.

5. **Support training and education:**
   • Support training for teachers to improve the quality of education.
   • Encourage the provision of bilingual education in communities where Spanish is not the primary language.

6. **Encourage leadership:**
   • Support the women’s commissions.
   • Ensure that women get equal access to training programs on leadership skills.
   • Encourage leaders to adopt a consensus-building culture that reaches out to women.

7. **Develop a gender approach:**
   • Encourage spaces for the protection and promotion of women’s rights.
   • Promote training for women that focuses on integration, social strengthening, and improved working conditions, and on those possibilities in family and social organizations.
   • Support communities, the government, and mining companies in carrying out initiatives in favor of women by providing training and monitoring of efforts.
   • Encourage gender equity as a major component of every project developed by companies, the government, or the communities themselves.
APPENDIX C

Mining Funding Resources

The Canon (Mining, Gas, and Oil)

The canon funds are 50 percent of the tax on profits from the exploitation of natural resources, which the government of Peru then provides to local and regional governments. The distribution of different canon earnings from extractive industries is one way these industries contribute to the well-being of their neighboring communities. As shown in chapter 2, table 2.1, the receipts for 2009 for the various extractive industry (EI) canons and sobrecanons were in the order of US$1.61 billion.

The rules and regulations that govern how the canon funding is distributed among areas have been changed several times since their inception. At the end of 2009, the mining canon generated by each mining company was distributed at the local level using the following percentages and spending criteria:

- Ten percent goes to local governments in the district or districts where a natural resource is exploited (from this amount, 30 percent should go to productive investments for sustainable development of communities in the area).
- Twenty-five percent is distributed among district and provincial governments in the area where a natural resource is exploited.
• Forty percent goes to district and provincial local governments of the department or departments where a natural resource is exploited.
• Twenty-five percent is allocated to the regional government (which earmarks 20 percent of the funds for universities in the department).

The main focus of canon funds was infrastructure development and maintenance, although this focus was loosened a little in 2007. According to the Ministry of Economy and Finance, since 2003, when the participatory budgeting (PB) process was started in Peru, the canon—as money assigned for investment purposes—should have gone through the same PB process as other sources of government revenues. However, not all municipalities incorporated all their funds into the PB process, although the sums of money that are included in the process are increasing.

Detailed guidebooks on PB are available for municipalities that choose to put their canon funding through the same process as their other funding resources (see appendix J). For those municipalities that use other decision-making processes, another guidebook describes how to arrange an effective consultation with local communities specifically about the use of the mining canon (Arias 2006). Guidebooks are also available about how to develop viable proposals through the National Public Investment System (Sistema Nacional de Inversión Pública, or SNIP), such as the series produced by the Pro-decentralization Program (Programa Pro-descentralización, or PRODES).3

In spite of the existing guidebooks and some current good practices, these resources still have not translated into widespread good practice. As a result, some concerns surround the use of the canon and the transparency of those funds, as outlined in chapter 2.4

The Voluntary Contribution

As mentioned in chapter 2, extraordinary temporary voluntary contribution agreements between the government and EI companies were initially agreed to in 2006–07 for a four-year period to fund development initiatives within EI project areas. This funding is also known as the Mining Program for Solidarity with the People (Programa Minero de Solidaridad con el Pueblo). It seems likely that the agreements will be extended for a further five years, as is currently being promoted by the National Mining, Energy, and Petroleum Society and the Ministry of Energy and Mining. In total, 39 companies have signed agreements with the Peruvian government, resulting in a contribution for 2006 to 2009 (the first four years)
of S/.1.788 billion (Ávila and Tupayachi 2010, 1). Although not all of these funds are additional funds—some mining companies already had substantial social programs in place in their neighboring communities—a significant amount of additional income has been made available in certain regions as a result of this new arrangement. Voluntary contribution funding is payable only if the average price of metals across a year is more than a 2006 reference price for metals. Given the fluctuations to the financial climate since 2006, the income raised has not been as large as anticipated. However, other than for zinc, it is expected that in 2010 prices for metals will still be above the reference prices set; thus, companies will continue to make substantial payments.5

The rules and regulations surrounding voluntary contributions are contained in Supreme Decree 071-2006-EM,6 which states that during the years when a company is required to make a voluntary contribution, a minimum of 30 percent of those funds must be allocated to (a) nutrition of children (mostly those ages 0 to 5) and pregnant women; (b) primary education, educational support, and technical training programs; and (c) health.

Significantly, the decree also stated that the voluntary contribution funds would not be administered through local and regional governments—as is the case with other mining funds such as the mining canon—but that instead the companies would oversee the management of these funds directly, with input in terms of decision making from other sectors.

Key members of the mining community in Peru have been vocal about their disagreement that mining companies should be directly delivering development projects (Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana and Revenue Watch 2006).

According to CARE Peru’s assessment in 2007, when hopes were high that these funds would continue for the foreseeable future, “the voluntary contribution could either reinforce existing dynamics of distrustful and unequal relations, or it could generate new ways of partnership working between sectors. It could either cause significant changes in the attitudes people have toward the contribution that the mining sector makes to reducing poverty and inequality in regions of extreme poverty, or it could intensify polarization between those who believe in the importance of extractive industries and those who feel they pollute, corrupt, and exclude” (CARE Peru 2007, 2).

Companies have adopted a broad range of models to administer voluntary contribution funds. CARE Peru (2007, 2) points out that “a key factor is to consider how the funds will be managed, who are or are not
involved in decision-making about its allocation, and the extent to which these are incorporated into, or articulated to, regional/local consensus-based and participatory processes” (emphasis added).

Current concerns regarding the voluntary contribution relate to the limited, if any, technical evaluation of the effects of the spending of these funds to date. Without such technical evaluations—which according to the legal framework for the voluntary contribution should be undertaken during the third year of the program and also in the final year—it is argued that the existing agreements simply should not be renewed for the next five years. In particular, evidence is sought to confirm the assumption that administration by EI companies of the voluntary contribution funds has been more efficient and effective than administration of the canon funding by local and regional governments (Ávila and Tupayachi 2010, 3–4).

Royalties

Mining royalty payments are to be paid to the government on the basis of the value of metals extracted. The following criteria are used: 1 percent up to US$60 million per year, 2 percent for figures exceeding US$60 million up to US$120 million per year; and 3 percent on all amounts exceeding US$120 million per year (Córdova 2010, 80). When the royalty payment law was passed in 2004, the National Mining, Energy, and Petroleum Society in Peru hotly contested it. As a result, many companies entered into tributary stability agreements lasting many years with the Peruvian government, which allowed them to pay only a highly reduced amount of these royalties. The voluntary contribution was created as a result.

The royalty payments do not have as strong a focus as the mining canon does on disbursement close to the mining operation. The original 2004 law on royalty payments ruled that the funds be disbursed using the following percentages: 20 percent to the local production district, 20 percent to the local distribution district, 40 percent to the remainder of the municipalities in the country, 15 percent to regional government, and 5 percent to the universities in the producing region. No reporting is available that shows how these funds are subsequently spent.

Prevailing Operating Rights Payments

Companies make prevailing operating rights payments to the state for the rights to explore or exploit a deposit in a particular location. For mining,
these payments are US$3.00, US$1.00, or US$0.50 per hectare, depending on the strata. There are also penalties if the company fails to invest. As of 2007, of these payments, 75 percent are redistributed to regional and local governments, 10 percent go to the Peruvian Institute for Mining Geology and Metallurgy, 10 percent go for the operation of the National Institute for Concessions and Mining Cadastre, and 5 percent go to the Ministry of Energy and Mining (for the upkeep of the mining metallurgy system).

Notes
1. For information on the use of the mining canon, see Arias (2006).
5. See terms and conditions of Antamina’s voluntary contribution agreement—and those of other companies—at http://www.minem.gob.pe/descripcion.php?idSector=3&idTitular=1481&idMenu=sub1175&idCateg=565.

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International nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are starting a campaign to put pressure on those financial institutions that invest in extractive industry (EI) projects, such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the World Bank, to address the impacts that the EI sector is having on women. Bacheva, Kochladze, and Dennis (2006, 3) report on the need for action:

[I]nvestors in the extractive industries sector rarely assess adequately the negative gender impacts and the possibilities of compensating and empowering local women through local development programmes. Indeed the associated knock-on effects witnessed repeatedly . . . [such as] damaged access to subsistence sources and the temporary increase of cash incomes in the investment area, combined often with social inequalities—almost as a rule increase both the burden for local women and gender inequality.

International NGOs such as Earthrights International, with its work in Myanmar (see Earthrights International 2004), have been documenting the ways that, internationally, EI projects affect women to put pressure on wider stakeholders to improve this situation. Oxfam Community Aid
Abroad, in its *Tunnel Vision* anthology (MacDonald and Rowland 2002, 3), notes the following:

Women tend to be excluded from the economic benefits of mining and bear the burden of many of the negative social and environmental impacts . . . [There is a] need for all stakeholders to proactively pursue gender equality and women’s empowerment in all activities and projects.

Another insight comes from Bhanumathi (2002, 24):

From a gender perspective, what does mining have to offer to women—atrocities, violence, degradation of social and economic status, deprivation of a decent livelihood, and powerlessness? . . . [F]or women from the communities in India, a few bags of seeds, . . . a training program on micro-credit, or an awareness camp on health, are no compensation for what they have lost to mining. . . . Therefore, they have an important challenge to pose—can governments and the mining industry carry out gender audits in mining regions and prove the sustainability of mining to women?

In a significant action, the women in communities affected by EI projects are also taking matters into their own hands and building women’s movements internationally. Activities include three conferences, held by the International Women and Mining Network. The third, which took place in India in 2004, resulted in the following declaration:

We have created an international platform for ourselves as our voices . . . need to be heard all over by the world to understand that extraction and processing of minerals has serious negative impacts on women and communities, which are invisible.¹

Another event with higher participation by women from inside Peru was the Latin American Conference of Women against Mining Exploitation, held in Lima by Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres en Resistencia a la Minería in November 2005. The result was an announcement issued and signed by 50 women, including 27 from Peru from regions such as Ancash, Ayacucho, Espinar, Lima, Pasco, Piura, and Tacna. The announcement included 13 points, the first of which follows:

The arrival of mining companies causes and increases the marginalization, impoverishment, abuse, displacement, violation of territorial rights, environmental degradation, destruction of traditional livelihoods, discrimination against, and inequality of women in Latin America. (Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres en Resistencia a la Minería 2005, 1)
Four months later, a declaration was issued following a meeting of the same organization in Ecuador:

In this meeting, we have heard from their protagonists about numerous fights of resistance, women from different communities throughout the country, who, together with their children and partners, show us that resistance is successful and that this approach can make it possible to continue to maintain traditional and sustainable livelihoods.2

In July 2006, the National Confederation of Communities Affected by Mining (Confederación Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería, or CONACAMI) held an event in Cuzco for women from its National School of Women Leaders. Statements following the event included a complaint that women are not being involved in decision-making spaces and 11 recommendations to establish a women’s organization called Rikcharisun Warmikuna (Waking Women Up) within the framework of the Third National Congress of CONACAMI and to implement a permanent space for training indigenous women leaders in the management and implementation of projects and activities. CONACAMI also organized a public forum on globalization and the impact of mining on indigenous women in October 2007.

Women in Peru, supported by women in other parts of the world, are increasingly organized and are starting to demand stronger development benefits from EI projects.

Notes
1. The text of the declaration is available at http://rimmrights.org/statement.htm. The Third International Women and Mining Conference took place October 1–9 in Visakhapatnam, India, and included participants from 21 countries.
2. The text for this declaration is available at http://www.accionecologica.org/webae/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=663&Itemid=39. It was signed on March 11, 2006, in Yunganza, Ecuador.

References


With the growing presence of extractive industry (EI) companies in Peru, the industry’s importance to the national, regional, and local economies has also grown, along with conflicts between some companies and the communities, organizations, and individuals within the companies’ area of influence. At the same time, an institutional evolution inside Peru is looking for ways to improve the development outcomes of EI projects. The following is an overview of certain aspects of this institutional evolution and their focus on sustainability.

In 1997 the industry organization, the National Mining, Petroleum, and Energy Society (Sociedad Nacional de Minería, Petróleo y Energía, or SNMPE), set up a social affairs team to improve cross-sectoral dialogue and promote the use of better project management tools. In addition, the Institute of Mining Engineers of Peru (Instituto de Ingenieros de Minas del Perú, or IIMP) runs annual conferences on social affairs issues and is considering developing a diploma course for community relations staff.

To improve understanding between the mining sector and its counterparts in civil society and government, multisector dialogue groups started to evolve. The Dialogue Group on Mining and Sustainable Development (Grupo de Diálogo Minería y Desarrollo Sostenible, or GDMDS) in 2006
promoted a statement signed by many individuals from across all sectors with recommendations for the sector (GDMDS 2006). Myriad regional and local dialogue tables also were created to navigate development concerns, such as the dialogue undertaken in the area of Tintaya (De Echave and others 2006).

Communities concerned about the negative impacts of the local presence of extractive industries have formed alliances to strengthen communities’ skills and influence, with national networks such as Red Muqui3 organizing regular conferences and the National Confederation of Communities Affected by Mining (Confederación Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería, or CONACAMI) developing training programs for community members on issues such as environmental impacts and globalization.4

Nongovernmental organizations have started to build knowledge on conflict prevention and negotiation skills: Socios Perú;5 CooperAcción, with its growing body of knowledge on extractive industries and conflicts;6 and ProDiálogo, which provides ongoing support in a series of mining conflicts.7 Meanwhile, international development actors have been strengthening the skills of the government, such as PERCAN, the Canadian government’s Peruvian-Canadian cooperation program;8 the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative;9 and the International Finance Corporation’s program on the mining canon in Peru.

Companies themselves have focused on strengthening their social affairs teams, sending community leaders on training programs so that they can improve their use of development opportunities,10 and setting up social development foundations to invest in local programs.11

The Peruvian Office of the Ombudsman12 has also taken a special interest in the issue of extractive industries, and in June 2007, the Ministry of Energy and Mining created a General Office for Social Management to promote good relations between companies and communities through appropriate policies, as well as guidance and monitoring, to ensure compliance with laws and frameworks.

In 2008, in a country whose economic future is increasingly linked to mining, a new position, minister for the environment, was created following a push from mining-related organizations to increase the vigilance on environmental issues within the sector. Key responsibilities for this ministry in relation to mining include dealing with socioenvironmental conflicts linked to EI activity, sanctioning companies that infringe laws, and training communities about the implications of EI processes.
Notes

1. For information on the activities carried out by the social affairs team, see the Web site of the SNMPE at http://www.snmpe.org.pe.

2. For more information about the IIMP’s programs, see http://www.iimp.org.pe/ArchivosAdjuntos/Noticias/Noticia199.htm.

3. For more information about Red Muqui, visit the organization’s Web site at http://www.muqui.org.


5. Socios Perú is the Peruvian partner of Partners for Democratic Change. For more information about this organization, visit http://www.partners-intl.org/centers/centers_peru.html.


7. For more information about ProDiálogo, see its Web site at http://www.prodialogo.org.

8. The PERCAN Web site is at http://www.percan.ca.

9. For information on what Peru is doing on this initiative, see http://eiti.org.

10. An example is the program Avanza Perú, run by ICA-Perú for mining companies. For more details about the program, visit ICA-Perú’s Web site at http://www.ica-peru.org.

11. For example, the Cajamarca Andean Association was set up by Yanacocha. See http://www.losandes.org.pe.

12. See the agency’s Web site at http://www.defensoria.gob.pe. For full details of the roles, structure and activities of this office, see http://www.minem.gob.pe/descpcion.php?idSector=3&idTitular=41&idMenu=sub34&idCateg=41.

References


This appendix contains information from two of the guidance notes of the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM) as they relate to actions that companies are required to take regarding issues of gender inclusion or gender sensitivity. It is not an exhaustive list of all MEM guidance but does provide illustrations to demonstrate that the issue has been raised, albeit not enforced.

For example, in the *Guide on the Elaboration of Mine Closure Plans* (MEM 2006, 26), in relation to the areas directly or indirectly affected by a company’s operations, MEM requests companies to provide both quantitative and qualitative information related to social, economic, and cultural changes that have occurred during the life of the mine. MEM (2006, 26) then makes a specific reference to the need to include women: “This information should include data reflecting changes in population subgroups such as women.”

In the same guide (MEM 2006, 27), in relation to identifying stakeholders, MEM gives guidance to companies regarding whom to include in the list of stakeholders with particular reference to the closure of operations. Within this list, MEM goes beyond employees and those indirectly employed to include people who benefited from special support programs, specifically citing women.
Also, in the section of the guide on consultation processes, MEM (2006, 28) asks companies to make special efforts toward different population subgroups and specifically highlights the need to include women. Perhaps the most detailed piece of guidance for companies from MEM is a section on consulting women that appears in the *Guide for Community Relations* (MEM 2001, 46). This guide highlights how, in some communities, men and women have different roles in social life and how, as a result, women may have little—if any—involvement in decision making. As a result, women may not be heard in a consultation process or, worse, may even be excluded from the lists of stakeholders. The guide then provides some specific strategies that companies can use to increase women’s ability to be heard: (a) holding separate meetings with women to understand their economic and social roles, as well as their worries and expectations regarding the project, and (b) organizing meetings for women at times and places that are more convenient to them.

**References**


APPENDIX G

Women and Decision Making in Peru

At the community level, as mentioned in chapter 4, Peru on the whole has a hierarchical approach to decision making. To a large extent in many cultures in Peru, the voice of women is not heard with equal authority to the voice of men and is frequently excluded from formal processes. The first section of this appendix provides some insight into the way a woman’s geographic location and cultural context can influence her involvement in decision making. The second section outlines how women in Peru come together to increase their influence. The third section outlines the extent to which women are able to influence a key aspect of public decision making—that is, the allocation of the municipal budgeting process—as an example of how efforts are being made across the country to increase women’s roles in decision making.

Women, Decision Making, and Family Violence in Four Different Areas of Peruvian Societies

The following information is taken from an independent source, so the accuracy of the material cannot be vouched for. It is an extract from the book Physical Marital Violence in Peru (CIDE 2006, 37–46) and provides an overview of the power relations that women experience and the roles
that they play in four different parts of Peru. It offers some insight into the variety of contexts in which women live, the issues that affect their decision-making abilities, and a few areas in which they do retain such power, although notably it does not cover women in the southern coastal areas.

**Andean Peasant Families**

In Andean rural areas, family decision making places the man as the head of the family; the leaders are males, and fathers are recognized as the representative of the family. However, several studies show that women, just like men, inherit land and resources such as livestock, and therefore, they have an important place within the family, leading to their inclusion in decision making regarding certain key issues such as income and production. In relation to income, women on the whole look after the money and administer and distribute the family income, both money that comes from the sale of products and the wages earned by the husband as a manual laborer. Women also make decisions about production relating to crop distribution, because they are responsible for storing agricultural products.

In community meetings women tend to rarely speak or participate. In community meetings one gets the impression that women, sitting generally at the back of the room, are unaware of the issues being discussed. But while knitting or looking after their young children, they are at the same time speaking in Quechua, exchanging ideas, and ensuring that what the family had previously agreed on is being taken into account. According to Flores (2001), many decisions that appear to be made by men themselves are backed up and confirmed by women in the community, or else they are questioned or rejected.

In relation to the sexual division of labor, Andean women actively participate in almost all farm tasks, from sowing to harvesting. There is some division of labor for some tasks; for example, the sewing of seeds is exclusively carried out by women, as it is associated with fertility, and livestock breeding is a task almost exclusive to women and children. In other farm tasks, there is also a gender division of labor for harder physical work, such as the use of the plow and chakitaklla, which are undertaken by men.

In household chores, women are responsible for cooking and housekeeping (cleaning, washing). They are also responsible for raising children.
Lund Skar (1982) suggests that the conceptual public-private framework is not applicable to families in the communities of the southern highlands, because the sexual division of labor does not create exclusive spheres of female and male activity. According to her observations, women have continued to keep their status as agricultural producers and do not take on the identity of housewife instead of being the producer. The more appropriate concept to understand this dynamic is the *yanantin*, which is used in different fields of interpretation. In geographic terms, it refers to high area versus low areas; in anatomical terms, it refers to the right hand versus left hand; even in the patterns of ponchos, half of anything is exactly the opposite reflection of the other half. In short, *yanantin* means “opposite but equal.” For Lund Skar, between spouses there exists this idea: one spouse feels incomplete without the other, and both of them should work together so that their work can be successful.

... It is important to note certain differences analyzed by Anderson (1990) between Andean and Amazonian families. She points out that there are cultural conditions within Andean families that enable women to enjoy a higher status in their community. Besides their role as wife and mother, Andean women play an important role as sisters. Therefore, it is socially acceptable that brothers get involved when a sister suffers ill treatment or help their nephews and nieces when a sister has been abandoned by her husband. This situation is different in Amazonian societies.

Drawing on a study carried out by Ralph and Charlene Bolton in the mid-1970s in a Qolla community known as Intihuataná (Puno), a register was analyzed that included 800 disputes that had required the intervention of local authorities (Bolton and Bolton 1975). Some of the causes of these conflicts that could lead to family violence included infidelity, the fact that both men and women would fail to fulfill their roles, disagreement over decisions relating to children’s education, and so on. The Boltons associated infidelity with the frequent absence of men for economic reasons, as temporary migration is an important part of life in Intihuataná.

... Amazonian Families

The Amazon region constitutes 62 percent of the Peruvian territory, but it is inhabited by 300,000 indigenous people from 56 ethnic groups. As a result
of cultural diversity, it is difficult to provide a summary overview of gender relations, as has been done for Andean peasant families.

In an attempt to define the basic elements of family structure, different ethnographic studies explain that a distinct sexual division of labor exists in Amazon families, where women are responsible for household chores and smallholding near the house, and men carry out forestry and farm tasks, as well as hunting and/or fishing. Anderson (1990) maintains that, unlike the Andean chachawarmi family unit, the Amazon couple has very differentiated and even antagonistic spheres of performance.

Marriages are fragile and are supported by the number of marriage deals made by parents, as well as a marked age difference between spouses, with the aggravating factor that women usually get married when they are still adolescents or reaching puberty.

On the other hand, a sense of intragender solidarity and intergender hostility is apparent in the community. Women tend to gather, spend most of the day together, and support each other in doing their daily duties; in the same way, men develop their solidarity through their employment activities. Though in the family sphere women are subordinated to men, in their daily life they do not have to spend much time with their oppressors.

However, Paredes (2005) indicates that Amazon indigenous law tends to be very lenient in cases of domestic violence and provides for very mild sanctions in cases of sexual violence against women and even girls. Amazonian women who are organized are currently trying to steer these cases into the national system of justice, but this makes them vulnerable, particularly Aguaruna women, to continued attacks and, consequently, to a dangerous situation.

The study carried out by Paredes (2005) on Asháninka, Aguaruna, and Shipibo communities reveals how Amazonian women experience subordinate relations and violence. There are, however, situations of exception that warrant different responses such as where political conflict, community displacement, and militarization of those who did not leave ended up changing traditional roles as a result of family desertion by men and their failure to fulfill their roles as providers. The number of woman heads of family has forced them to take steps to access food support programs and to participate as woman leaders in their communities even when their personal, family, and social fragility is evident.

For Aguaruna women, it has been noted that from being a warlike tribe they have moved to develop alliances with other ethnic groups, creating
federations such as the Aguaruna-Huambisa Board in Alto Marañón. However, indicators for malnutrition and illiteracy for Aguaruna women are extremely worrisome, to which can be added the increase in suicide rates among women. Though it appears to have been an ancient practice, now this practice seems to have increased, and the subordinated position, relegation, and ill-treatment of women contribute to it. Paredes notes that causes for committing suicide are the pressure fathers put on women to marry men they do not want, men's refusal to acknowledge paternity, and violence against women, among others. Promoting women’s organizations in this community has been more difficult than in others, mainly due to the opposition of men’s organizations.

Families from the North Coast Region

... At the end of the 19th century, the need for increased productivity led to the mechanizing of sugarcane agriculture, which in turn led to the exclusion of women from employment, because of their low or nonexistent level of education. Most of the women from the north highlands had to accept being confined to the domestic sphere or to looking after small farms assigned by the landowner to their workers’ families. Additionally, owing to the nature of sugarcane production, physical strength was important (for example, handling a machete during the harvest of sugarcane), which meant that male labor was considered more productive.

Complementary studies show how sugarcane workers developed loyalty- and solidarity-based relationships with coworkers over and above their family. Union struggles in the first half of past century, which were of great political significance for the country, showed that women were absent from these, having been exclusively male struggles. In conclusion, we can confirm that in the north coast region, unlike the highlands, the family is not a production unit because women lost their status as producers.

In terms of family structure, in the north coast region men’s role in decision making is even more dominant. ... According to the study (Sara-Lafosse 1982), when it comes to decisions about expenditure, the use of agricultural technology, and community participation, it is the husband who makes these decisions. ...

In the north coast region a stronger male chauvinist family pattern has developed than in other regions, which coexists with a patriarchal pattern. Data
reveal that there is a higher incidence of cohabiting than in other regions of the country, and the local culture does not formalize this type of consensual union, as it does with Andean servinacuy. A direct consequence is the high number of women abandoned with their children.

Legitimacy is granted and enforced through the social and cultural values of the community. When a community is weak, control over legitimacy is weak, and the rewards provided by legitimacy are few.

Mixed-Race Families from Intermediate Cities

Peru ceased to be a highly rural country approximately 50 years ago. People left rural areas as a result of poverty, unemployment, and violence, and this has led to accelerated urban growth, which includes not only Lima but also a large number of principal cities in departments and provinces.

[In this process] social control has, in some cases, been lost and this is related to increased rates of illegitimate children, sexual abuse, and domestic violence. Between two indigenous individuals—a man and a woman—who arrive in the city, she is considered to be more “Indian” because she is illiterate and speaks Quechua, while he is considered to be a more mixed-race person because he speaks Spanish better or wears more Western-style clothes. This way of perceiving differences ends up exacerbating women’s subordination and provides a basis for a social framework that allows domestic violence by indigenous men against indigenous women, but also between mixed-race men and indigenous women or mixed-race women.

Women’s Organizations

In rural areas, there are no specific organizations for environmental protection; it is the existing organizations, such as irrigation users associations, the community organization, community kitchens, the Glass of Milk program, and female peasant patrols that are the organizations in which women participate in some way and make decisions.

—Arana (2005, 78)

Although women have limited ability to participate in public decision-making processes and have limited political representation, they do have influence in those organizations that the men consider to be the domain of the women (DFID and World Bank 2003, 53). It is therefore generally accepted that women can increase their confidence within and with
the support of their own organizations. These organizations may be entirely female run, such as the Glass of Milk program, community kitchens, mothers’ clubs, female campesino community policing patrols, or health promoter groups. Or they may be organizations that are predominantly female, where women’s involvement is at least equally legitimate as men’s, such as parents’ associations linked to schools or the conditional cash transfer program Together (Juntos). In particular, the entirely female-run organizations allow women to develop skills that enable them to move into other public spaces and even political positions. However, in organizations that also have some male members, such as the parents’ associations, although women make up 70 percent of the parents who participate, they do not make the final decisions because the fathers must be consulted to reach an agreement. Despite the high percentage of mothers registered in the many years that parents’ organizations have existed, women have rarely held the position of president of such associations.

Today in Peru there are women’s organizations across almost the entire country, some with national, regional, provincial, and district-level presence, as is the case for community kitchens. For this reason, in most extractive industry project areas, an organization that is largely or entirely made up of women will likely exist, and these organizations are natural partners through which companies can access the women’s opinions and seek to strengthen women’s capacities to be strong agents for development. Likely, however, such organizations would benefit from the company’s support in making the organization formal, strengthening its management processes, or developing its projects.

So although women suffer significant disadvantages in terms of access to decision-making processes in both the public and private spaces, legitimate spaces do exist through which companies and local governments can seek to hear—and hence strengthen—women’s voices.

Chacón (2005, 100) provides another perspective on the nature of women’s organizations:

As a last resort, female peasant patrols, more than anything else, have provided the conditions (especially through the training of women) to get the male peasants out of the habit of beating their partners. However, training sessions are not necessarily provided for female patrols, since they can also be provided in areas where there are only community kitchens. . . . It should also be noted that the collectivist logic that encourages female patrols is very different from the logic that encourages community kitchens: the former is
basically a collective effort to stop robberies; the latter is about people avail-
ing themselves collectively, with the least possible effort, of food donations
from the state. That is why some leaders say that the [government]-sup-
ported community kitchens undermined the social organization.

Public Decision Making
As a very practical example of the implications of women’s exclusion
from public decision making in Peru, the participatory budgeting (PB)
process is an interesting case study that has been widely researched
from a gender perspective (box G.1).\textsuperscript{6} The PB process was initiated in
Peru in September 2003 as the key process for allocating expenditures
at the local level. The representation of women in the spaces where the

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Box G.1

Evaluations of Participatory Budgets from the Perspective
of Women’s Involvement

The following quotations assess the situation of women’s involvement in partici-
patory budgets:

Actions to promote the participation of excluded groups such as women,
youth, children (girls and boys), adolescents, indigenous people, and so
forth remain limited, as do investments in the development of the capac-
ity of the participating agents. (Collective Interinstitutional Promoter of
the Participatory Budget 2006, 9)

Women attend meetings, but they do not participate. (PRODES 2004, 13)

[It is recommended that] regional and local governments adopt proac-
tive measures to ensure participation of sectors that are not actively
involved in the process, particularly indigenous people and women. It is
recommended that participation quotas be established for these groups.
(PRODES 2004, 22)

It is recommended that the actors’ language, and the integration of cross-cul-
tures and gender be taken into account. (PRODES 2004, 23)
PB process is being implemented is, therefore, important to women’s ability to influence the local government’s most important decision: the allocation of its budget. According to Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan, in the first few years, the involvement of women’s organizations in the PB process was very weak; many could not participate because they did not fulfill the requirements (such as having legal status and municipal registration). They also initially had limited ability to develop good project proposals or could not persuade others to prioritize their projects. Even if the projects were prioritized, the municipalities’ technical team often failed to approve them. At each stage in the process, women were encountering a variety of different obstacles. These issues were confounded by a lack of training support for women’s organizations to help them formalize and to strengthen their analytical and project development skills.

An examination of those PBs that have been created with the support of gender experts—who provided, for example, advanced workshops for women, tools such as decision-making matrices and indicators to enable the women to focus on their own priorities, and focused facilitation—reveals that the gender experts chose to integrate gender equity into the overall PB process rather than to simply push for more projects for women. One investigation by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) into the PB budget created for Villa El Salvador involved breaking down public expenditure by sex to reveal how the benefits from such expenditure were allocated between men and women and between boys and girls. In this way, UNIFEM could shed light on inequalities.

One challenge was that Ministry of Economy and Finance guidelines for 2003, 2004, and 2005 on how to deliver a PB process had not placed emphasis on equity and equal opportunity issues; however, gender and capacity-building approaches were adopted in 2006 (Ministry of Economy and Finance 2007). As a result, some organizations in Peru have developed their own guides about how women can be best included in these processes (see appendix J).

Aside from women’s involvement in the PB process, women’s involvement in the wider elements of local government management seems to be even weaker, with even less involvement on local government councils. Although no data exist regarding the number of female local councilors, the lowest proxy for this involvement suggests that women hold only 6 percent of mayoral positions.
Conclusion

Women’s decision-making abilities are highly context specific, and when understood within the constantly changing legal environment, they present both challenges and opportunities to companies to strengthen women’s ability to foster sustainable development within their communities. However, the baseline is clear: in the vast majority of communities, women in Peru are denied their rights to engage equally to men in decision-making processes.

Notes

1. The *chakitaklla* is an ancient Andean farming implement.
2. *Servinacuy*, a test or trial marriage, is an ancient Andean rite.
3. For more details on this program, see http://www.predes.org.pe/ayudatemat ica_pdf/programa_vaso_20leche.pdf.
4. For information on the laws surrounding the male campesino community policing patrols, see http://alertanet.org/proy-reglamento-RC.htm.
5. For more details on the Together program, which is now being widened across different parts of Peru, see http://www.juntos.gob.pe/quienes_progr-juntos.php.
6. Such research has been conducted by, for example, PRODES (Programa Pro- descentralización), a decentralization program; Red Perú; the United Nations Development Fund for Women; and the Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán.
7. This investigation was undertaken in 2002 as part of a wider program of work on PB in the Latin American region by UNIFEM. For more details, see http://www.presupuestoygenero.net/index.php?option=com_content &view=article&id=509:los-presupuestos-sensibles-al-genero-en-el-municipio-de-villa-el-salvador&catid=59:iniciativas-peru&Itemid=400030.

References


Between 1950 and 1970, the international development focus was largely on developing programs (such as food programs) that would benefit poor women, often in a passive, dependent way. In the 1970s and 1980s, this emphasis evolved into what is known as “women in development,” an approach that assumed that women’s poverty was due to their economic or productive exclusion, and so efforts to address women’s poverty focused largely on income-generating programs.

By the 1990s, it was recognized that the unequal power relations between men and women, and in particular the subordination of women, were at the heart of women’s more severe experience of poverty than men, and so the theory and practice of “gender in development” was developed to promote equal opportunities, including in the areas of decision making, the exercising of rights, and the development of personal abilities.

Development initiatives started to look at incorporating capacity and skill-development activities into their work with women and to examine more closely equality of access in their mixed development initiatives. This approach evolved over time to include a key component on women’s empowerment—women’s knowledge of their rights and their ability to make decisions about their own development. The approach also came to include affirmative action—the assigning of quotas, targets,
and indicators as a way to increase pressure toward greater equality between men and women by making current inequalities visible.

As one international nongovernmental organization summarizes the current state of thinking on this issue:

[O]ver time, we have shifted from understanding poverty as a phenomenon of unclaimed rights as well as of unmet needs, and now have a greater appreciation of the human-made, structural elements that underlie the poverty of entire groups of people. That’s why we are transitioning from working with women as victims of poverty to empowering poor women to challenge and change the contexts in which they live. (CARE 2005, 4)

The extract that follows, from a paper by Virginia Agüero Muñiz (2007, 13–15), gives another perspective:

The focus on gender has been gradually constructed and developed as learning has also increased about wider approaches to sustainable development. The approach has changed and evolved according to the historical and sociopolitical context. Its application and modification took place across many decades, influenced by experiences, criticism, and efforts made to find an adequate comprehensive approach.

a. The charitable approach from 1950 through 1970: It defined women as being the most vulnerable in terms of poverty conditions; women were perceived as recipients of specific benefits, for example, food donations, implementing welfare-oriented public policies.

b. The “Women in Development” approach from 1970 through 1980: It criticizes the charitable approach by holding that women contribute to the basic productivity of their communities, and their contribution is not reflected in the national statistics. It assumes that the unequal situation of women is due to their exclusion from productive development; therefore, it proposes strengthening the productive role of the women by getting involved in income-generation activities. Public policies and nongovernmental development projects emphasize antipoverty and efficiency programs with a women’s component but do not question the traditional roles in the sexual division of labor.

c. The “Gender and Development” (GAD) approach from 1980 through 1990: By the end of the 1970s, the organizations working with women and international agencies identified that it was inadequate to the development of women and the end of women’s subordination to place the problem as one based only on women. Therefore, power relations between genders are incorporated into the discussion.
This approach is linked to Max Neff’s human-scale approach to development. It is seen as a way of redefining development and avoiding discrimination. The GAD approach is associated with equal opportunities for all human beings, not only to access resources and services but also to develop their potential, take decisions, and assert their rights.

GAD connects development to the promotion of equitable relations and the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on sex, gender, class, and ethnicity. It is aimed at overcoming gender inequities, reformulating the roles and models of exclusion.

This approach emphasizes women’s empowerment as a strategy to impact on public policies through developing a critical consciousness and individual and collective capacities, which enable them to strengthen self-reliance and have greater power to make decisions about their lives, their environment, and the development processes.

d. Empowerment (Diakonia 2004, 54): Empowerment is the strengthening of the capacity (access to information and training) and the possibility of influencing decisions related to individual, community, and social development, as well as the participation of agencies and social dynamics associated with such development. Empowerment is not about obtaining power over other people, but is instead about creating a favorable impact for oneself, with a full perspective on the rights of all people.

It places emphasis on critical consciousness-raising and building of individual and collective capacities so that women can strengthen their self-reliance and have greater power to take decisions on their lives, their environment, and as regards development processes.

e. Affirmative action measures: The gender perspective as a political action is based on affirmative action measures that are usually incorporated into the national and international regulations as mechanisms that benefit a population group affected by open disadvantage, which are oriented to promote greater equity. That is why affirmative action measures for the whole population do not exist.

The quotas are measures of affirmative actions that seek to support more effectively and quickly the involvement of women. Argentina was the first country that incorporated into the national electoral legislation the quota of 30 percent, apart from indicating that candidates should be located in places where they had chances to be elected. This measure was adopted in Peru in 2007, with the incorporation of the mechanism equivalent to 25 percent into the lists of
candidates to Congress and municipalities. In 2000, the quota was increased to 30 percent and was incorporated into regional election processes. An indigenous quota equivalent to 15 percent for regional and local/provincial elections was also adopted.

While affirmative actions often identify with measures focused on increasing women’s political participation, these can be designed to eliminate or reduce situations of discrimination where these exist and can adapt to the reality of organizations and rural development projects.

Muñiz (2007, 12) also asks:

What is a gender approach? It is an analytical category that interprets the unequal social relationships between men and women and analyzes the institutional and cultural causes and mechanisms that structure the inequalities.

It is also a political commitment to resolve the existing gaps between men and women and to redistribute power in order to transform current inequalities.

References


Regulations and policies in Peru have been strengthened to favor equal participation of women in society.

**National Regulations**

The main Peruvian regulations include the following:

* Constitution of 1993. The constitution establishes a principle of equality and nondiscrimination and calls for government branches to promote the conditions necessary for freedom and equality to be real and effective, to eliminate any obstacles that prevent or hinder their full realization, and to facilitate the participation of all citizens in political, economic, cultural, and social life.

* Equal Opportunity Law. Law No. 28983, approved on March 16, 2007, aims to establish a normative framework for public policies at the national, regional, and local levels that ensures that men and women can assert their rights to equality, dignity, free development, well-being,

The author is grateful to Red Perú and the Ministry of Women and Social Development for their input into this appendix.
and autonomy and prevents discrimination against them in all the spheres of public and private life (see table I.1).

Regarding the promotion and provision of equal access to resources on an equal footing, the Second National Equal Opportunity Plan for Men and Women, 2006–2010, approved by Supreme Decree 009-2005 on September 12, 2005, establishes policies and guidelines involving joint action by the state and civil society, thus constituting a policy instrument that will serve as a guiding framework for the implementation of actions to eliminate all forms of discrimination and inequality between men and women. Its implementation is conceived as a creative process in which each sector in the regions and localities can define and adjust strategies and actions to their realities and the particular situation of the female population. This approach ensures women’s access to the decisions, resources, and benefits of development and promotes the cultural transformations that bring about real equality, social justice, and democracy (see table I.2).

Normative Frameworks: International Commitments and National Policies That Support Gender Equity Policies

Latin American countries like Peru, under the influence of international treaties signed worldwide from the early 1990s, have an important array of policies and regulations to reduce gender gaps. The following are some of the international treaties signed by Peru as well as some national policies and regulations that support the promotion and implementation of a gender approach in local management, particularly in spaces for joint decision making:

- International commitments
  - World Conference on Human Rights, Declaration and Program of Action, Vienna, 1993
  - Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994
  - World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 1994
  - Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women, Belém do Pará, Brazil, 1994
<table>
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<th>Provision</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principles of the law</td>
<td>The state promotes equal opportunities between men and women under the following principles:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recognition of gender equity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Prevalence of human rights in its full conception</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Respect for multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic reality</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Recognition and respect for boys, girls, adolescents, youth, elderly people, people with disabilities, or age groups most affected by discrimination</td>
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<tr>
<td>State’s role</td>
<td>The state is responsible for the following:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Promoting and ensuring equal opportunities between men and women to eradicate all forms of discrimination</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>• Taking the necessary measures to allow the elimination of any obstacles that prevent the full exercise of this right</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Promoting and incorporating the use of inclusive language into written communications and documents that are developed in all government agencies and at all government levels</td>
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<tr>
<td>Compliance with provisions of the law</td>
<td>The following are responsible for ensuring compliance:</td>
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<td>• The Ministry of Women and Social Development is the governing body in charge of equal opportunities for women. It is responsible for coordinating and monitoring the enforcement of the law at the national, regional, and local levels.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• The president of the Cabinet Council annually supports the progress made in implementing the law to the Plenary of the Peruvian Congress.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Important provisions</td>
<td>Provisions include the following:</td>
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<td>• The Ministry of Economy and Finance will adjust the activity referred to in this law within the “classifier of functions and programs,” according to the budget procedures currently in force.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• The National Equal Opportunity Plan for Men and Women, 2006–2010, remains in effect for the purpose of implementing this law.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Goals</th>
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| Objective 1. The state incorporates gender equity into public policies. | Goals to be accomplished by 2010:  
- The Equal Opportunity Law with gender equity will be approved.  
- Guidelines will be issued for the incorporation of the gender perspective into participatory budget processes.  
- Official statistical data disaggregated by sex and with gender indicators will be available.  
- Fifty percent of national and regional government authorities and 25 percent of local government authorities will have regulations, guidelines, and procedures for public policies, plans, programs, and projects with gender equity. |
| Objective 3. Equal access to quality social and cultural services for men and women is ensured. |  
- The illiteracy rate among women will be reduced by 50 percent through bilingual intercultural literacy, based on cultural codes and language diversity.  
- The maternal mortality rate will be reduced to 100 per 100,000 live births. |
| Objective 5. Women fully assert their civil, political, and citizenship rights. |  
- Fifty percent of regional governments and 25 percent of local governments will have information and training programs on citizenship and leadership oriented to women.  
- Participation and appointment of women in mechanisms for management and decision making in decentralized spaces of power will be increased by 30 percent. |


- Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995
- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), New York, 2000
- Policies and national normative framework (see tables I.3 and I.4)
The policy states, “For this purpose the State will: (a) fight against all forms of discrimination by promoting equal opportunities; (b) strengthen the participation of women as social and political individuals to discuss and coordinate with the State and civil society; (c) strengthen an institution at the highest level of the State in its leading role in policies and programs for the promotion of equal opportunities between men and women, that is to say, gender equity; (d) provide equal access to productive resources and employment for women; (e) develop systems that allow the protection of girls and boys, adolescents, elderly people, female-headed households, people without means of support, people with disabilities, and other excluded or discriminated people; (f) promote and protect the rights of members of ethnic groups that are discriminated against by furthering social development programs that completely favor them.”

Article 18, Equity Measures, states, “To ensure equal education, education authorities undertake the following within their areas of responsibility:

a) Implement affirmative action policies to compensate for inequalities in those sectors of population that need it.
b) Develop and implement education projects that include objectives, strategies, actions, and resources aimed at reverting inequality and inequity on the basis of national origin, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, opinion, economic status, age, or any other status.”

This law establishes in final provision 8 that in the evaluation of Budget Performance for Public Sector Fiscal Year 2007, government entities will incorporate an analysis of impact on gender equity policies. As a result, public sector and institutions will be forced to evaluate their effects on gender equity. However, the Ministry of Economy and Finance has partially incorporated a gender approach into the instruction manual on participatory budgeting.

This decree defines and establishes national policies that national government entities are required to comply with. The second provision of article 2 on National Policies in the Field of Equality between Men and Women stipulates the promotion of equal opportunities between men and women in public policies, national plans, and practices of the state.

Table I.4  Normative Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normative framework</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organic Law of Regional Governments, Law No. 27867, November 2002</td>
<td>Article 60 lists the following responsibilities of regional governments in social development and equal opportunities:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Supervising and reviewing compliance and enforcement of sector policies by local governments and the performance of the state’s social development and poverty programs, with emphasis on quality of services, equal opportunities with gender equity, and strengthening of the regional economy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Formulating policies and regulating, leading, implementing, promoting, supervising, and controlling actions aimed at preventing political, domestic, and sexual violence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Promoting citizen participation in planning, management, and monitoring of development and social investment programs in their different types and providing the advice and support that relevant community-based organizations may require</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Formulating and implementing specific policies and actions aimed at including, prioritizing, and promoting indigenous and peasant communities in the sphere of competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Formulating and implementing specific policies and actions providing orientation so that social welfare services become productive for the region, with protection and support for children, adolescents, youth, women, people with disabilities, elderly people, and groups in situations of risk or vulnerability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic Law of Municipal Governments, Law No. 27072, March 1999</td>
<td>Paragraph 6.4 of article 73 lists as a local social service “disseminating and promoting the rights of children, adolescents, women, and elderly people, by providing spaces for their participation at the municipal level.”</td>
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**Note**

1. The platform includes a number of actions shared by the government of Peru and other countries that signed agreements with the private sector, intergovernmental entities, United Nations agencies, nongovernmental organization, and international cooperation entities. It highlights, among others, six problems to be solved:

   • Unequal access to education and limited high-quality training opportunities
   • Poverty and its impact on men and women
   • Violence against women and girls
   • Unequal access to health care
• Unequal access and participation of women in the definition of economic policies and production processes
• Inequality between men and women in the exercise of power and decision making

Reference
To improve their influence on women, companies should

- Set up internal systems (appoint a gender team, create policies and practices for how the company wants to behave, and begin an internal training program to support implementation).
- Understand the risks for women in areas neighboring the extractive industry (EI) project.
- Ensure equal consultation with women.
- Incorporate women equitably into workforce, land, and resettlement negotiations and into social development programs.
- Participate in and facilitate multisector dialogue to increase opportunities and decrease risks for women.
- Strengthen women’s organizations.

**Set Up Internal Systems**

To establish internal systems, a company needs to appoint a gender champion (see chapter 5). This person will both develop the internal policies and practices and ensure that they translate into action. The gender champion will work closely with (a) the person responsible for staff issues (usually the head of human resources) and (b) the person responsible for
external issues (usually the head of community relations or social affairs). Keeping senior management engaged is vital, so the gender champion needs to report to someone sufficiently high in the management of the organization to acquire the relevant resources. The gender champion needs also a clear mandate and budget to bring about the desired change in practices.

**Role of the Gender Champion**

The gender champion will appoint and supervise the gender team who will support the company in designing and implementing gender-sensitive programs and initiatives. Through his or her gender team members or directly, the gender champion will do the following:

- Ensure that existing corporate policies and practices are gender sensitive.
- Oversee in-house training and raise awareness among company staff members about how the company wishes to engage with women.
- Develop relationships with local women’s organizations.
- Set up a system to monitor with women the issues that exist.
- Advise staff members and consultants on appropriate tools and practices for increasing the empowerment of women.
- Create an internal communications system through which staff members report situations to which men and women have responded differently or cases in which they have benefited differently.
- Use the convening power and influence of the company to encourage positive actions by local authorities to improve the position of women and families and to attract to the area public and nongovernmental organization (NGO) development programs that can improve the situation of women.

**Skill Mix of the Team**

The team should include, at a minimum, a sociologist or an anthropologist, at least one female, a facilitator who has mastery of the local language, and ideally a woman from the community who is widely connected and trusted by local women.

Action is needed by all parts of the company, and ownership across the company is essential to successful implementation. Therefore the gender champion will convene a monthly meeting of the gender committee, which will comprise senior managers from units such as Community Relations, Communications, Health and Safety, Human Resources, and Production.
Policies and Practices

The gender team will need to set up systems across the company. It should first set up a framework by developing a no-discrimination policy, as a minimum, or an equal opportunities policy. This framework will underpin all other actions and codes of conduct that support the company’s policies.

The gender team will then need to check that women are equitably treated in corporate policies and practices, including recruitment and retention, procurement, community relations, communications, social programs, and physical infrastructure design. This equitable treatment may require that additional budgets be provided to some departments for the implementation of policy changes.

In-house training on gender sensitivity will ensure that staff members do not feel distrustful of, uncomfortable with, or threatened by the gender-related changes being promoted. Training needs to cover (a) how employees behave in their communities (aspects of their behavior that could have a detrimental impact on women in their families or communities, including prostitution, family violence, and alcohol abuse) and (b) on-site creation and monitoring of codes of conduct (teaching staff members that women workers can do jobs as well as or even better than men, promoting strict adherence to procedures for sexual harassment, and so forth).

Targets will need to be set to encourage accountability, and auditing systems will also need to be put in place.

Understand the Risks for Women

To ensure their operations positively influence women in neighboring communities, companies will first need to understand the current context of women in these communities. Some of these issues will have preexisted the presence of the EI project; however, some risks will be as a result of, or aggravated by, EI activity. Because women experience more of the risks in EI areas and fewer of the benefits, it is important to understand and monitor the situation carefully. To identify the areas to explore in greater depth, use “Tool 1: Identifying Issues of Importance to Women.” Undertake the investigations with additional support from “Tool 2: Including Women Equitably in Research and Consultations.”

After the research is completed, use indicators to monitor progress and hold multisector consultations to deepen mutual understanding of the risks.
Ensure Equal Consultation with Women

From baseline studies to consultations to better understand the community’s view on any subject (its perception of the company, its view on a potential resettlement location, its priorities for social investment, and so forth), researchers will find that women are likely to have a perspective different from that of men. Thus, in following traditional guidance from government promoting interviews with the “head of family” or the “head of organization”—predominantly males—the company is not going to learn the perspective of women.

The women’s perspective may prove useful to the company in the short term; for example, women may prioritize an inexpensive health initiative, whereas men may desire all benefits to be provided through unfeasible direct employment for all workers at the mine. It could also prove useful in the long term, because women tend to push for initiatives that are more sustainable instead of pushing for larger, “white elephant” infrastructure projects). Often, the women’s perspective is essential to enable the company to avoid issues of conflict. For example, in one resettlement case, a company failed to realize, until the women marched on the mine, that the group of people it was affecting most were not the owners the company was buying houses from but a group of single women who had been renting those homes and who would be rendered homeless once the houses were demolished.

To understand women’s perspective and to properly research the issues of priority and risk to women, companies need to include women equally in research and consultation processes, as outlined in “Tool 2: Including Women Equitably in Research and Consultations.”

Incorporate Women Equitably into Workforce, Land, and Resettlement Negotiations and Social Development Programs

Many aspects must be considered to successfully incorporate women into a company’s plans and activities.

Increasing Women’s Employment

Women make up less than 10 percent of employees in most EI companies and therefore are a long way from achieving anything close to equality in employment in the industry. Some simple steps a company can take
to improve the scale and quality of employment for women include the following:

- Implement family-friendly work practices for female and male staff members (for example, shift patterns, transportation arrangements, and separate accommodations and restroom facilities).
- Increase women’s employment in the workforce (target advertising and promotion to women, develop accompanying training programs, identify internal barriers to the promotion of women in the workforce, set targets across the organization for women’s employment, change working conditions in the company to address any perceived discrimination, and work with the community to change its attitude toward women’s employment and to decrease cultural barriers).
- Increase opportunities for internal promotion and retention of female staff (decrease internal discrimination and monitor pay parity).
- Increase external female employment opportunities through women’s involvement in the temporary or rotational workforce and in the supply chain of the company (providing targeted training, seeking out partnerships with NGOs or women’s organizations, setting targets for the number of women employees).
- Increase employment opportunities for women in the community through vocational and skills training for women, microcredit schemes, and banking services.

**Gender-Inclusive Land and Resettlement Negotiations**

Periods of negotiations about land use, land purchase, and resettlement are the most vulnerable moments for women in an EI company’s interactions with communities. Because women’s interests may be either overlooked or deliberately ignored by the men, companies should ensure that the woman of the house is present when negotiations take place, or else the woman may later try to overturn agreements. The approach taken should include at least the following components:

- Supporting women in securing land titles and citizenship documentation so that their rights are protected or enhanced
- Ensuring that women’s livelihood strategies are captured in the baseline studies for resettlement negotiations, because even those strategies that are very informal (such as collecting herbs for medicine while tending sheep) may be pivotal to a woman’s well-being
Facilitating family decisions on livelihood strategies (cash, savings, and land), perhaps by appointing a social worker to help community members think through the implications of resettlement or by hiring a small business adviser to help them open bank accounts, review options, and provide saving advice, because before making compensation payments, companies should provide community members with advice and guidance in considering options.

**Gender-Inclusive Social Development Programs**

Social development programs are evolving areas for companies; however, they have been the bread and butter for NGOs for decades and for communities for even longer. Companies are on an enormous learning curve and in a much more complex territory than are other actors because the communities they enter will place considerable expectations on them and often unrealistic demands for socioeconomic development outcomes.

Although NGOs have been able to gradually evolve their approach to incorporating gender into their work over 15 to 20 years, EI companies have only just started to take the first steps on that 15- to 20-year journey. To get the industry up to speed on this area of gender and development, “Tool 3: Designing Gender-Inclusive Social Programs” includes a section on balancing program content, which outlines the different types of interventions that companies could support to address various issues.

Because women benefit not only from well-designed social programs, but also from the process of identifying and analyzing the issues and selecting the projects. Tool 3 also outlines the steps of the process that companies should take to include women more effectively.

**Participate in and Convene Multisector Dialogue**

The issues that affect women (from family violence to access to education, employment, and land tenure) are multidimensional challenges. They require changes in the attitudes and actions of communities and additional resources and technical support from government and companies. For example, maternal health may require that a company provide financial support; that the government improve its provision of access to quality health care; and that the government, NGOs, and community leaders support attitudinal changes in health care staff members, communities, families, and women. Hence, a multisector approach, involving companies, the government, and communities, is needed to ensure that women benefit from the presence of an EI project.
Ideally, the government should convene these spaces. However, in many EI areas, the government does not have a strong presence. In those contexts, the community or the company may choose to take on the role of convening the multisector dialogue spaces on sustainable development. This method will ensure that not all responsibility for promoting sustainable development falls on the shoulders of the companies; other actors will be invited to come to the table to play their roles, including the government, communities, and civil society organizations.

Sharing the analysis of the issues that influence women is a strong first step toward multisector cooperation. Developing indicators and a monitoring framework jointly with other sectors will further strengthen that relationship. Developing a coherent strategy in which each sector plays its role to bring about the desired changes is the goal.

The gender champion and gender team would be particularly active in this space, using their relationships and programs of support for local women’s organizations and their convening power and influence to encourage actions by the local government and NGOs that improve the position of women and families. This responsibility may include attracting programs into the area and providing partial funding.

Strengthen Women’s Organizations

To improve a company’s effect on women, companies must work with local women’s organizations. Though women’s groups may not reflect the interests of all local women, they are the means through which many women have chosen to organize themselves. Frequently these organizations need support to define their mission and vision, formally register, improve their skills at project formulation and implementation, and give voice and priority to their interests.

Final Observations

How a company interacts with the communities neighboring its operations will determine the relationship it has locally and the profitability of its operations. These interactions are pivotal also to the local sustainable development effect of the company’s activities. Working more strategically with and through women in EI project areas is one simple, coherent approach to improving the development outcomes of extractive industries and improving relationships at the local level.
Tool 1: Identifying Issues of Importance to Women

Research has shown that men avail themselves of more of the opportunities in extractive industry (EI) areas, and women experience more of the risks. It is therefore important to know the positive and negative effects for women of a new EI project setting up in their area. This toolkit will allow you to take steps to increase the benefits and reduce the risks. The main benefits have been highlighted in box J.1, and risks are in box J.2.

Box J.1

Increasing Women’s Benefits from the Extractive Industry

Benefits that women can secure from EI projects include the following:

- Enhanced employment prospects for the men and for some women (directly as EI company employees or indirectly as suppliers to the EI company or its employees or through the company’s social programs)
- An increase in the local population and its income level, which means a larger local market for purchasing produce
- Improved social benefits (health, education, sanitation) and infrastructure (roads, technology, irrigation systems, electrification) from the social programs of the company or through the increased local spending that arises from taxes the EI companies pay
- Improved availability of social services to meet an expanding population or the company’s needs or the increased capacity of local government to deliver those services
- An increased focus on developing local capacity for designing development plans and visions (be this through the nongovernmental organizations, local government processes, or the company’s social programs), bringing with it a stronger sense of community direction and priorities
- Opportunities to participate in public decision-making processes and social programs that can strengthen organizations and individual skill and confidence levels
- An influx of nongovernmental organizations or stronger community-based organizations to respond to the increased availability of funding or the perceived increased risks experienced by the community

Step 1: Consult with Women’s Organizations

Consult with women’s organizations at the local and district levels to find out what they think are the current key issues for women in their community. To avoid stirring up a political hornet’s nest, you should start by doing a social mapping of the different types of women’s organizations, the roles they take on, who they represent and how, their membership base, and where the organizations are based. Allow women’s organizations to challenge and amend this social map so that it is reasonably accurate. Then hold separate meetings with the main women’s organizations to find out what each thinks are the main issues. Use boxes J.1 and J.2 to frame parts of those conversations and focus on priority areas, both those that already exist locally (such as family violence or relative poverty) and those that may be affected by the EI company presence. Note that different organizations will have a different membership base. Be sure to get clear responses about what risks and benefits the wealthier and poorer women feel are important.

Box J.2

Increased Risks for Women as a Result of EI Companies in Their Communities

The risks women experience when EI companies locate in their areas include the following conditions:

- Increased workload for women as men seek paid work and women have to take on men’s work at the family farm
- Increased power of men over women as men gain more access to cash in EI-related employment and greater involvement in the community decision-making processes
- Growing water contamination, which brings health risks and perhaps the need to travel further to collect water
- Higher prices for land, housing, basic goods, and transportation, making life harder for women who do not receive a corresponding increase in cash
- Increased traffic, making roads less safe and child care more difficult
- Rising alcohol abuse, gambling, and use of prostitutes because men have increased cash
- Increased risk of family disintegration or family violence resulting from compounded risks

**Step 2: Gather Secondary Data**
Following your identification of the key issues, you will then want to gather existing data from secondary resources. These data will include health, education, employment, household structure, income, and police data and information about women’s refuges. Be sure you disaggregate the data by sex so that you can see the differences between women and men.

**Step 3: Tailor Your Primary Research**
Depending on the issues selected and the secondary data chosen, you will want to tailor your primary research to focus on those priority areas. For example, one area of opportunity for women is the increased employment opportunities and the income, networks, and learning that these opportunities bring. However, you may find that the community itself, or even the EI company, limits women’s access to this work. The woman may not be allowed access to the increase in family income her work brings, and the husband may decide how the income is spent. To allow monitoring of such issues, baseline studies usually include an analysis of the following:

- What are the roles and division of labor in the household?
- Where do the various sources of income come from?
- Who makes decisions about which issues in the private domain (in particular, who has control of how the various sources of income are spent or saved)?
- What are the community and family attitudes toward female employment with the EI company?

Another potential opportunity—or risk, depending on how it develops—is that with the presence of an EI project in an area comes an increased number of community meetings and decision-making processes. Men may have traditionally dominated these spaces, and this dominance may increase over time because their skills in this space increase with practice. Yet women’s presence in the public sphere is important to their ability to avail themselves of wider opportunities and to protect their interests. The questions to research therefore include the following:

- To what extent and how are women involved in public decision-making processes?
- In which organizations are women strongly present?
- Which posts (mayor, head teacher, councilor, and so on) do women hold?
- Which organizations provide support to women to improve their lives, and how are they affecting women’s engagement in the EI project?
**Step 4: Identify Which Issues Will Require More Careful, Sensitive Handling**

Many of the opportunities and risks identified are multidimensional and complex. Addressing them effectively requires a deep understanding of the issues. Some issues are also very sensitive, such as family violence, prostitution, alcohol abuse, and family disintegration. Discussion of these types of issues will not arise naturally in a group or workshop setting, or even in a survey. For these reasons, it is useful to have a prior sense of what the most sensitive issues are that women may face. Then you can tailor the research to gather evidence using existing statistics, informal conversations with the heads of institutions, and surveys and workshops to deepen that analysis (where appropriate). This information can then be incorporated into workshops to provide a basis for group analysis of examples of frequently occurring situations for women in general. The workshop context can reduce the likelihood that individual women will feel unable to acknowledge that these issues exist.

**Tool 2: Including Women Equitably in Research and Consultations**

Because research practices are on the whole well established, this appendix provides only an overview of how to integrate women more effectively into those normal data-gathering processes.

**Step 1: Separate Women’s Perspectives from Men’s Perspectives in All Data Gathering and Surveys**

Baseline study guidance that requests interviews with the “head of family” (that is, the man) or “head of organization” (who is usually a man) should be challenged to include additional strategies of data gathering so that the involvement of women in the interviews is increased and an equal representation of women obtained. At the very least, prepare in the following ways:

- Note the percentage of survey respondents or workshop participants who are women. This step in itself will focus attention on female participation and perspectives.
- Get a representative sample of women, and within that group get a representative sample of poorer or more disadvantaged women such as widows and single mothers.
- Disaggregate the data by sex so you know when women have a different perspective on the issue than that of men. In particular, note
men’s perspectives separately from women’s on issues for which they are likely to have different perspectives, such as family violence or alcohol use, and issues for which it is known that the company or government is going to take action, such as the location of a proposed resettlement site, desirable development projects, or compensation packages.

- Report the differences between men’s and women’s perspectives in written reports, and detail action plans to manage those differences.
- Use individual case studies and focus groups to secure the women’s perspective.

**Step 2: Probe Deeper to Get to the Real Issues for Women**
To reduce the need to add more questions to a survey, you may find that many issues can be dealt with through disaggregating by sex the information already being sought, as outlined in step 1. However, some additional questions will be needed:

- Include open-ended questions about the opportunities and risks that affect women, such as, “Are there any issues that are of priority or concern to the women in this community currently?” Ask for information on opportunities and risks for each group of women: married, widowed, cohabiting, or single; old or young; and wealthy, middle-income, or poor.
- Include questions about the issues that you believe may be relevant. For example, for married women, the presence of the EI industry may mean increased work in the house; for single women, it may mean coping with increasing local living costs.
- When you discover that the women’s perspective differs from the men’s, delve deeper to understand better the underlying issues in the situation.

**Step 3: Use Gender-Inclusive Workshop Facilitation**
If a woman’s voice is not heard in meetings or workshops, take special steps to improve participation:

- Get more women in the room by considering the timing of the meeting and venue, provision of child care, and how the event is promoted.
- Increase women’s contribution to discussions. For example, careful facilitation can encourage women to speak out; prior training may increase women’s confidence and knowledge of the issues; and use of
certain methods, such as drama, drawing, social mapping, and single-sex sessions, can help women express themselves better.

- Help see that women’s issues are raised, noted, and prioritized. For example, work with women’s associations at the local level to identify issues in advance of meetings, or ensure that the facilitator records women’s perspectives separately.

**Step 4: Work Interculturally**

Cultural differences often exist between urban and rural communities and different regions, and educational differences occur within the same community. Such differences make it likely that company, government, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) staff will not share the same interpretation of information as those who live in the communities surrounding an EI project. The staff will therefore need to learn—or be trained in—how to work interculturally (that is, to use appropriate language and communication methods to effectively communicate the messages their organization wishes to impart and to receive information correctly).

Additionally, different groups choose to address gender issues differently. What some groups deem a gender-sensitive tool, others may think of as overtly feminist. The local women’s organizations can guide you on what is appropriate in your context.

**Tool 3: Designing Gender-Inclusive Social Programs**

Over the past 15 to 20 years, the area of gender and development has gradually evolved to where it is today. Researchers now know that it is easy to make incorrect assumptions about which programs to invest in or about how to deliver those programs so that women achieve the most positive outcome. These two issues are addressed here separately:

- Balancing program content so that the projects best benefit women
- Taking steps to ensure that women get their share of the benefits from the project selection and design process

**Ways to Balance Program Content So That the Projects Best Benefit Women**

Many different types of projects can improve aspects of the lives of women; unfortunately, most of those efforts that are funded by the EI industry have to date focused on “productive projects” that meet “practical needs”; EI companies are only now starting to come up to speed with
the area of gender and development. The other roles played by women (reproductive, community management) and the “strategic needs” of women are usually left unaddressed. This experience demonstrates a serious shortfall of development knowledge by EI companies and also a surprising oversight by NGOs, which, though usually gender aware, often lose sight of this operational priority as they face a wide array of other issues in EI areas. Box J.3 gives a brief overview of the important issues anyone designing community social programs should understand.

**Step 1: Get familiar with gender and development.** The team involved in the design and delivery of social programs will need to be familiar with good practices in the area of gender and development. The ideas in box J.3 are a good starting point for individual research; conversations

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**Box J.3**

**Key Concepts from the Area of Gender and Development**

*Productive roles* are work by men and women that generates income (in cash or in kind), such as growing vegetables for cash or home consumption. How this role is divided between men and women tends to follow particular patterns, with men securing more of the cash.

*Reproductive (household) roles* are those within the household and community that include family health and well-being; child rearing; and domestic roles such as cleaning, cooking, and fetching water and fuel. Such roles are almost entirely the responsibility of women.

*Community management roles* are those undertaken primarily by women at the community level to maintain resources for collective consumption, such as water, health care, or education. Such work is voluntary and unpaid.

*Community politics* means organizing at the formal community political level. Such efforts may constitute paid work, either directly or indirectly (through status or power), and are generally undertaken by men.

*Women’s practical needs* are needs that must be met for survival—water, food, clothing, shelter, and basic health care.

*Women’s strategic needs* are related to the quality of women’s lives, their status within the community, and their sense of self-esteem.

with women’s organizations and NGOs at the local, regional, and national levels should be able to deepen this learning. Training programs may also be available.

**Step 2: Identify experts in this area.** Your own team may have experts on gender and development, or it may not. This area is very specialized—much more so than gender-inclusive facilitation techniques, which are well known by most NGOs. To design social programs in a way that maximizes women’s share of the benefits, you will definitely find it worth investing in strong advice on how to design and implement social programs in keeping with gender and development best practices.

**Steps to Make Sure That Women Secure Their Share of the Benefits from the Project Selection and Design Process**

Women benefit not only from well-designed social programs but also from the process used to identify and analyze the issues and select the projects. This latter area in itself is a social outcome for women, because it increases their abilities to make decisions about their lives and to build skills in community participation. This appendix does not detail all the good practices on developing community social programs; instead it emphasizes how and where including women specifically is important and how to design those programs so that women can maximize their share of the benefits.

**Step 1: Include women in decision making regarding community projects or programs.** Companies have many ways of analyzing and prioritizing community social projects. Good practice indicates that communities should always be involved in making these decisions. As one interviewed EI company put it, “We have realized that the projects that are the most sustainable are those that the community has decided on for itself. Even some projects we were convinced were in their better interest did not succeed—they did not look after the livestock we gave them, for example.”

Women’s involvement is essential if the projects selected are to address the root causes of the issues that women believe to be a priority.

**Step 2: Do not offer a “shopping list” of “women in development” projects, such as small animal production, handicrafts marketing, or workshops on family violence.** It is important that beneficiaries of social programs be involved not only in the identification of the issues but also in the solutions to address them. This way they are assuming responsibility for their role in the project and are more likely to be committed to it;
therefore, the project is more likely to meet their needs. For the community to identify development programs, they need to have a wide vision of which development opportunities may be possible. However, the ability to obtain information about good development practices often has a gender bias. Written information may be more accessible to men, men have greater networking opportunities and thus are more likely to hear of experiences from outside their community, and visits arranged to see “good practice” are likely to lead to a busload of men visiting a project. Information-sharing processes therefore need to be designed to include women equally.

Step 3: Analyze the issues well—and do it with the participation of the stakeholders. One error made in the design of social programs is to leap from problem identification to solution identification without a participatory analysis of the problem. For example, poor attendance of girls at secondary schools may be due to distance and safety of travel, costs of schooling, perceived lack of relevance of the subjects being taught, family duties, and so on. Without knowing which of these issues are at the root of the problem, a campaign to increase uptake or reduce school fees may not achieve the desired increase in school attendance.

Step 4: Add weight to women’s priorities in the decision making. Even if women are present in the room, they often feel uncomfortable promoting their own priorities, so it is important to do advance preparation with them. Inclusive facilitation practices will enable women to be more active in workshops, and a prioritization matrix will increase the objectivity of the project selection process. Such a tool would allow each project to be objectively evaluated against an agreed-on series of criteria, such as extent to which the project meets the needs of women or extent to which the project’s future sustainability is guaranteed in the project design.

Step 5: Create a balance between productive, reproductive, community management, and community politics roles for projects with women. Balancing different types of projects to support women will increase women’s access to areas in which they have little presence and reduce some of the additional burdens they experience in other roles. For example, community politics can be opened to women by working on leadership development or confidence building, and women’s reproductive responsibilities can be reduced through improved paths to water sources or improved access to education.
Step 6: Build into all projects elements that support women in meeting their strategic needs. Even projects that address women’s practical needs—or men’s needs—can be redesigned to address women’s strategic needs, as in the following examples:

- A project to develop a market for artisan products could also include work on organizational formation or leadership skills.
- Microcredit programs could work with women to improve their ability to negotiate with their husbands, hence allowing women to retain and use more of the income they generate.
- An agricultural program could include a component on the formalization of land ownership, including women’s access to citizenship documentation or to land titles.

Step 7: Assess all projects to understand how they do or do not benefit women. A checklist of questions is a key gender equality tool. To improve project design and to avoid unintended consequences, you may find support from a gender expert helpful at this point. See box J.4.

Step 8: Follow through with monitoring and reporting. The resulting analysis can serve as a baseline against which to plan actions to increase opportunities and minimize risks for women. It will enable you to monitor your outcomes and spot any inadvertent consequences arising from your organization’s actions or mere presence.

This baseline is more effective at providing clear information if it can be translated into a series of indicators and a monitoring framework through which changes can be measured. Involve women, as well as men, in the monitoring and evaluation of the projects. Set indicators that have been chosen by local women on their priority issues. They might be broad indicators, such as “percentage of women who say that their lives have been improved by the presence of the company in the area,” or more project-specific indicators, such as “percentage of women who say that they have increased access and control over income” or “percentage of land titles that include women.”

If these indicators and the monitoring framework are designed in a participatory process, and if the collection of data is participatory, the outcome will be wider ownership of the results and wider commitment to action by all parties to improve opportunities and decrease risks for women.

Finally, you can analyze the data and agree on any changes to the project in collaboration with the community.
Box J.4

Sample Gender Project Planning Checklist

Project Design and Development

- What are the special needs of men and women for this project?
- Have both men’s and women’s needs been considered in the project objectives?
- Have both men and women participated in setting these objectives and in planning the project?
- Have women’s organizations been consulted in the project planning process?
- Without any proactive intervention, is it likely that the target population of the project will have a gender imbalance?
- Are there any factors that might limit women’s—especially poor women’s—involvement in the project? What could be done to reduce the limitations and increase women’s involvement? For example, women may be unable to take part unless provisions for transportation, child care, or food are made available, or women simply may not be allowed to travel.
- Are there any ways in which the project might adversely affect the situation of women (such as increased workload or conflict in the household if the project reduces the time women have to devote to their family’s needs or if an increase in income makes women more independent)?
- If any negative impacts are foreseen, can the project be adjusted to overcome them?
- What are the risks of “project capture” by elites (whether these elite groups are more powerful women, specific social groups, or men)?
- Does the project include work on women’s strategic needs, such as increasing women’s access to citizenship documentation, leadership skills, entrepreneurial attitudes, and self-esteem)?

Project Monitoring

- Have performance indicators been identified?
- Are the performance indicators relevant?
- Is the needed information readily available?
- Do the indicators measure the project benefit for both men and women?

(continued)
Box 4.4 (continued)

- Have indicators disaggregated by sex been drawn up for use in monitoring and evaluation so they can be used to follow the participation of women and men in the project and its results?
- Does the project involve women in the monitoring and evaluation phases?


Note

1. A prioritization matrix is a standard tool used by community development practitioners to facilitate priority setting in community development planning processes.

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The World Bank’s Oil, Gas, and Mining Unit (SEGOM) is leading the work on gender and the extractive industries in terms of analytical work, research and dissemination, and operational support. The program supports the development of instruments and operational tools to address gender issues in extractive industries activities and raises awareness of these critical issues among World Bank staff, client governments, civil society, and major oil, gas, and mining companies. More details on the program can be found on http://www.worldbank.org/eigender.

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