

Resources and Resourcefulness:

Gender, Human Rights and Resilience in Select Artisanal Mining Towns of Eastern Congo

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HARVARD
HUMANITARIAN
INITIATIVE



WORLD BANK GROUP

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Introduction

Project Background

There are few things that evoke such passionate and divergent reactions as the issues surrounding gender, conflict, and mining in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). At once reviled by international advocacy organizations and celebrated by local communities, mining is viewed as both the scourge and savior of a region wracked by decades of violence. Numerous studies have reported on human rights as well as on the status of women in the DRC. Although some publications look at the link between mining and sexual violence, there is little research specifically into the gender dimensions of artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) from the perspective of how to promote economic returns for both men and women. Furthermore, there has been little analysis of the human rights of women in the artisanal mining sector in the DRC. This project took a gendered approach to its analysis. Do men and women face similar difficulties when seeking to gain employment in the sector? Are they afforded similar opportunities once they've secured access into the sector? What are the most prevalent social, economic, and health impacts experienced by individuals working in the sector; and are these impacts gendered?

These are some of the questions framing the research in this report. A human-rights-based approach informed the range of issues examined, such as gender, militarization of the extraction process, and free and equal participation in political, judicial, and economic systems. By speaking with a wide variety of actors who live and work in these communities, the research attempted to identify issues that are common to mining-affected areas. Although this report attempts to distill universal themes from the qualitative and quantitative research phases, not one message can easily capture and not one solution can easily address the various problems facing artisanal miners in the DRC.

With improved understanding of the vulnerabilities, opportunities, and human-rights issues facing men and women in conflict-affected ASM areas, government and partners can be better informed both about how to prevent violations of rights and how to promote rights and improved economic and social outcomes for miners, their households, and the broader community. The experiences of both women and men were examined, but a particular focus remained on understanding women's experiences in mining towns. Hence, the research was ultimately guided by the hypothesis that by understanding issues related to safety, security, and economic opportunities for women, significant gains in both economic and social development in eastern DRC could be achieved.

The Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (HHI) in collaboration with the World Bank, conducted two phases of research: Phase 1—qualitative, then Phase 2—quantitative. Research was conducted in North and South Kivu provinces, two of the most conflict-affected areas of the DRC. Phase 1 took place in 2012 with the aim to elicit experiences of male and female miners, using a human-rights framework of inquiry developed specifically for the project. It was qualitative in nature. Five key findings that resulted from Phase 1, which then informed the quantitative, population-based survey in Phase 2, are outlined here:

- **Gender-Based Violence:** Although women were vital actors in mining communities and filled many roles, they were also among the most vulnerable to sexual and economic predation. Sexual exploitation was described as commonplace in mining towns, and many women spoke about engaging in transactional sex out of desperation.
- **Discrimination:** Mining jobs are theoretically open to everyone; however, actually acquiring work was dictated by one's ability to pay for access to the mines. Women and other vulnerable populations were generally relegated to marginal support roles in mining towns.
- **Right to Health:** Health problems were summarized into three categories: poor labor conditions; poor structure of mining tunnels; and public health problems, such as poor hygiene and high levels of infectious disease. The scarcity of public health facilities in mining areas resulted in high prevalence of diarrhea, tuberculosis, respiratory infections, malnutrition, malaria, and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS.

- **Access to Justice:** For the majority of participants, demands for justice after suffering human-rights violations were, at best, unrealistic and, at worst, dangerous. Those most vulnerable to human-rights abuses, such as orphans, widows, sex workers, and displaced persons, were also those least able to access traditional and formal justice mechanisms.
- **Right to Participation:** Highly restricted access to political participation and widespread discrimination were the norm in all communities sampled. Although marginalized groups were often allowed to self-organize and form associations to promote a common profession or interest, they lacked the financial means, human capacity, and political influence to make sustainable change.

Building from Phase 1, Phase 2 used a quantitative survey to examine the scope of human-rights issues emerging from Phase 1 in select mining towns. The survey results affirmed the human-rights issues raised in Phase 1, and provided some indications of frequencies of experience within the total sampled mining populations.

The first section of this report examines current scholarship relating to gender and small-scale mining in fragile contexts. In particular, the section summarizes current lines of debate that exist around the “conflict minerals” narrative in the DRC and elsewhere. In the second section, the results of the research are outlined, combining findings from both the qualitative and quantitative data. The report concludes with some observations on policy and practice.

The Research Context and Methodology

Women, Mining, and Conflict in the DRC

Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining in the DRC

Artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) has a long and varied history in the DRC. Yet no period is so vividly described, researched, and discussed as that of ASM and its relationship to armed conflict in the eastern provinces of Orientale, South Kivu, and North Kivu. The wars in the mid-1990s accelerated the disintegration of agricultural economies that had begun during structural adjustment in the early 1980s. As active hostilities stretched into decades of insecurity, displacement, crop viruses, the threat of violence, and the danger of looting and predation by armed groups shaped entirely new economic and social systems. ASM assumed a more prominent role in rural economic life.

In the DRC, some authors have written of the causes and consequences of “deagrarianization”—the transition away from agriculture toward other rural livelihoods—with respect to the proliferation of ASM (Smith, 2011; Perks, 2011; Geenen, 2012; Kelly 2014). Important to note from these prior research findings is that the manner in which the transformation of the rural economic landscape in the DRC, and the role played by mining in this transformation, mirrors the experiences of other mineral-rich environments. Also important to highlight is the varying degrees of political stability under which “deagrarianization” and ASM proliferated in these environments: from politically stable Ghana (Banchirigah, 2008), Burkina Faso (Luning, 2008), and Tanzania (Bryceson and Jonsson 2010) to outright civil destabilization in Sierra Leone (Maconachie and Binns 2010).¹ Such varied political landscapes under which ASM has proliferated across the subcontinent in the last 30 years begs the question for the DRC as to the extent to which the proliferation of ASM can be best, or perhaps solely, understood from a prism of conflict. Such a reframing of our understanding of ASM might further lead to new methods of inquiry with respect to the social, environmental, and economic externalities associated with ASM today. Are human-rights issues associated with ASM in eastern DRC best understood as a product of instability and armed conflict, or is there a more complex landscape of contributing factors? These are important issues to raise at the outset, for the framing of the cause and consequences of ASM in eastern DRC has often been associated most vividly with conflict, despite, as suggested, evidence from other environments in sub-Saharan Africa that

1. See the Special Issue on De-agrarianisation edited by Hilson (2011) in the *Journal of International Development*.

shows ASM proliferation to have significant roots tied to general economic decline in rural areas since the 1980s, and poor government regulation of ASM equally since that period.

In the DRC, as with other environments in sub-Saharan Africa, ASM is generally described as mining that occurs informally and with minimal government regulation. It is often performed at the hands of men, women, and children who have little formal training on mining, but who are mentored in the skills by more experienced miners. Equipment is often rudimentary technologies and tools.²

Like most environments in sub-Saharan Africa, DRC legislation—in this case the 2002 Mining Code—distinguishes between the two forms of mining. Artisanal is described as follows:

any activity by means of which a person of Congolese nationality carries out extraction and concentration of mineral substances using artisanal, tools, methods and processes, within an artisanal exploitation area limited in terms of surface area and depth up to a maximum of thirty metres.

Whereas small-scale mining is described as:

Any activity by means of which a person carries out permanent small-scale exploitation, requiring a minimum amount of fixed installations, by using semi-industrial or industrial processes, after a deposit has been found.

2. Some differentiate between artisanal and small-scale mining (Hayes and Perks 2012). The Common Fund for Commodities (2008) report defines ASM as: "Artisanal mining as appropriate for higher value and lower volume minerals, which are smaller and shallower in the earth. The labor intensity is high, but requiring little skill, and with low individual revenue. Small-scale mining is defined as appropriate for resources in which some machinery can be cost-efficient, but high intensity labor is still used, and the revenue potential increases through the levying of taxes and licensing fees."

The country's 2003 Mining Regulations set forth the conditions under which the two scales of activity are meant to occur. But despite the possibility of small-scale mining licenses that offer mining operations with security of tenure, the vast majority of the country's mining activity is artisanal. Indeed, of the country's mining sites, 92 percent are artisanal (INS 2012). Different scales of the activity are found in the present day in the provinces of Katanga, Kasai-Occidental, Kasai-Orientale, Maniema, and South and North Kivu (World Bank 2008; World Bank, forthcoming). Artisanal miners work mineral deposits, including columbo-tantalite, cobalt, copper, diamonds, gold, cassiterite, wolframite, and, sadly, uranium (World Bank 2008; Pact 2010; World Bank, forthcoming). New research conducted by the World Bank suggests the figure of direct laborers is less than 1 million individuals (World Bank, forthcoming). As reported by the National Institute for Statistics (2012), one in five rural villages depends on mining as a prime source of income.

The occupations available within ASM span the extent of the mining process: from extraction to marketing. Within the extraction process, typical jobs include mining, digging, pounding, and transporting raw materials such as earth and sand that contain minerals. As the minerals move to the processing stage, cleaners, counters, and porters are involved in the washing, sorting, and transporting of the minerals, which are then sold to individuals or companies. Throughout the process, people also work in the provision of goods and services to mining communities. Due to its informality and the lack of education required, all segments of the population can be found working along the value chain: youths, single or widowed women, orphans, internally displaced persons, and ex-combatants (Garrett 2007; Kelly, King-Close, and Perks 2014).

Artisanal activity should only occur within specific areas (referred to as artisanal mining zones) delineated and overseen by the Ministry of Mines and its related agencies. In theory such oversight provides an important signal of accountability to ensure that

conditions, as set forth in the Mining Regulations, are adhered to. In reality, however, a large amount of artisanal activity occurs outside delineated zones, without legal basis for oversight. Although this should not preclude the possibility for effective governance to regulate labor obligations, experience in the DRC has shown that, more often than not, accountability for basic labor and human-rights obligations in these informal spaces is not forthcoming. The informal setting in which much of the country's artisanal mining activity occurs does give rise to a wide array of potential abuses, many of which have been associated with the armed conflict.

Unpacking Myths and Exploring Realities of Human Rights in the Mines

The nature of ASM in the DRC, given the informality of the sector and the diversity of jobs and types of minerals extracted, has been historically difficult for many in the international community to comprehend, resulting in a wide range of potentially destructive narratives being applied to a remarkably diverse and vibrant local economy.

A prevalent narrative surrounding ASM in eastern DRC is that the wealth generated from mining fuels the ongoing conflict in eastern DRC, and, as a result, exacerbates the conflict-related abuse of women. Advocacy narratives have linked so-called “conflict minerals” as a main driver of insecurity, and with rape as a weapon of war. This prominent storyline offers an oversimplified version of reality, in which non-state or rebel armies exercise control over mines and every worker is essentially subject to slavery. Coercion is typified as the manner in which women end up in mines or mining towns, and thus much of the employment is coerced or involuntary. Several articles have called into question this narrative's simplicity (Autesserre 2012; Bashwira, Cuvelier, and Hilhorst 2013; Geenen 2012; Geenen and Custers 2010; Seay 2012; Spittaels and Hilgert 2013; Perks 2013), the results of which are discussed in Section 4. Against

this backdrop of the challenges framing the research project, the methodology is discussed next.

Methodology

A Mixed-Method Approach

Qualitative results from Phase 1 illuminated the kinds of issues experienced by women in mining towns and provided insight into dynamics that could be explored quantitatively. Phase 2 used a quantitative survey to establish indicative rates around the specific violations established in Phase 1. It went further still to unpack in greater detail how women and men overcome abuses and human-rights violations, and the role that could be played in the future by social organization.

Both studies were approved by the Internal Review Board (IRB) of the Harvard School of Public Health (HSPH), a Congolese Community Advisory Board (CAB) of subject-matter experts, and the Ministry of Mines in the DRC. All potential participants were read a comprehensive consent script that emphasized the voluntary and anonymous nature of the study. Verbal informed consent was obtained from all respondents, and interviews were conducted in a private setting identified in each site. Participants were given a small locally appropriate gift (a bar of soap) for their participation. Enumerators emphasized that nonparticipation or nonresponse of certain questions would in no way affect a respondent's ability to receive the gift or their ability to receive other services in the community.

Phase 1: Qualitative Research

Qualitative questionnaires were developed to mirror the human-rights framework guiding the project, with a focus on key *Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) provisions (see Table 1.1). Once questions were developed to explore each domain of human rights, the draft questionnaire was then reviewed by field staff of the



A gold miner grinds the earth he has brought out of the quarry in Walungu.

partner nongovernmental organization (NGO) who worked in mining sites. The final questionnaire was translated and back translated from English into Kiswahili. All focus groups and key informant interviews were attended by at least one note taker and one moderator. During Phase 2 of the project, the questionnaire was edited and refined through discussions with HHI and local project staff.

CEDAW Provisions

The World Bank, in collaboration with the HHI, identified relevant human rights standards for this project, drawing particularly on the *CEDAW provisions to inform its gender-oriented approach*. These principles provided a human rights-based framework for the research. The human-rights framework ensured the research questions were grounded in universal principles that might be applicable not only to the DRC, but might be leveraged as a framework for other contexts as well. Table 1.1 outlines the research topics with the relevant CEDAW provisions.

Focusing the Research Question and Building an Evidence Base

A local partner organization, the Centre D'Assistance Medico-Psychosociale (CAMPS), facilitated introduction to the following actors in each field site: town administration officials, customary chief, women's group leaders, leaders of economic cooperatives, religious leaders, key actors in mining process. Not all of these actors were accessible in each site; rather, this list provided a guide for thinking about the types of players that could be sought out in each context. In

Table 1.1: The Human-Rights Framework

Human-Rights or Gender Issue	CEDAW Provision
Gender-Based Violence (GBV)	General Recommendation No.19 by CEDAW committee, specifically on GBV
Discrimination	Art. 11: Discrimination in the field of employment (i.e., opportunities, equal remuneration, treatment, etc.)
Right to Health	Art. 11(f): Right protection of health and safety in working conditions Art. 12 Art. 14.2(b): Access to health care (i.e., available, affordable, full information)
Access to Justice/Remedies and Accountability	Mechanisms/institutions that effectively address the nature of the harm caused by discrimination in the field of economic, social, and cultural rights. Institutions include courts and tribunals, administrative authorities, national human-rights institutions, and/or ombudspersons, which should be accessible.
Right to Participation	Art. 7 (b&c) Art. 14.2(a): Right to meaningful participation in formulation of policies Art. 14.2(e): Right to organize self-help groups and cooperatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities in all community activities

initial interviews, the research team requested referrals to other stakeholders involved in the process who could continue to inform the research.

Targeted Questioning and Site-Specific Dynamics

Building on the results from Phase 1, this work further explored gender roles; abuse and protection issues; the structure of the mining industry, especially as it relates to discrimination and participation; and ways that conflict has affected the mining industry. Often, this phase of work followed directly on the first phase; however, in some cases this occurred during a second trip to communities.

Data Analysis

All focus groups were attended by at least one moderator and one note taker. Taking notes from the interviews, rather than recording and transcribing the interviews and focus groups, allowed for near real-time collation and analysis of the data.

Codes were generated by each team member independently and then refined collaboratively in order to identify key unifying themes, explore complexities in the narratives, and generate hypotheses where appropriate. Codes identified as important by two team members defined categories; consistent variations within a category were captured as subcategories.

Phase 2: Quantitative Research

Survey Sites and Sample Selection

The survey was a cross-sectional study from three territories (Kalehe, Mwenga, and Walungu; Map 1.1) in the South Kivu Province of eastern DRC. Sites were sampled from a comprehensive list of artisanal mining sites compiled by the International Peace Information Service (IPIS). This list documented 800 mining sites and 85 trading centers, with information about armed groups' presence and involvement, and the scale of the mining activity in 2012

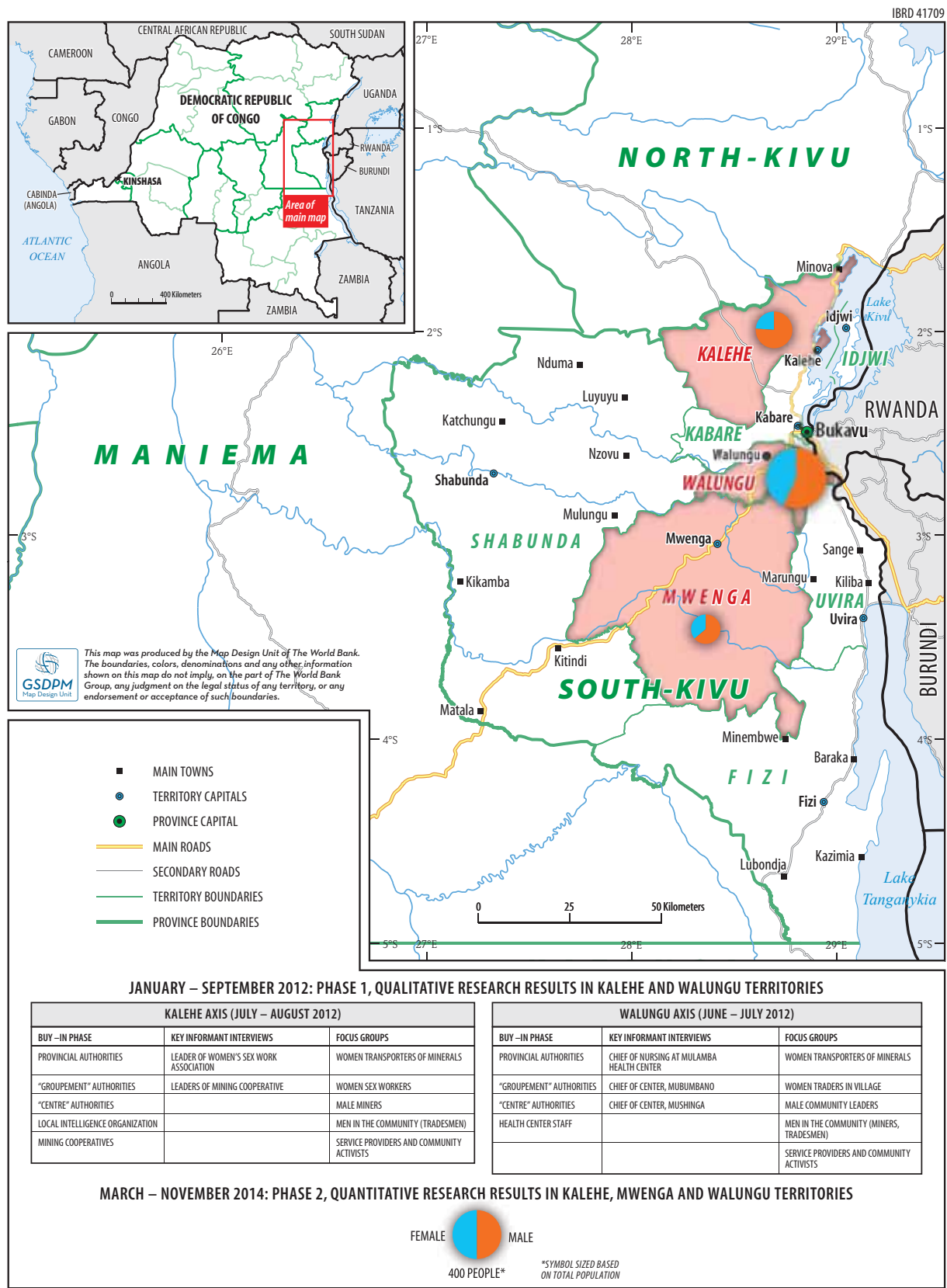
and 2013.³ A total of 998 surveys was collected for this project: 357 individuals (35.8 percent of the sample) were female and 641 individuals were male (64.2 percent).

The primary sampling unit for this survey was mining sites. Sites had a probability of being selected proportional to the number of workers in a given site. Thus, larger sites had a greater probability of being selected than smaller sites. The survey had a goal of sampling 1,000 respondents. In anticipation of security issues, refusal to participate, nonresponse, and challenges related to logistics of reaching some survey sites, the sample aimed to target 1,200 respondents.

The data-collection teams were trained for this survey with a week-long training on research ethics, creating positive and appropriate interaction with survey respondents, monitoring for psychological distress, ensuring appropriate data collection and storage, use of the electronic tablets, and safety protocols in unstable settings. Three survey teams were assembled to address the travel to three main geographic axes. The data-collection team was comprised of data enumerators, each led by a data supervisor from the Congolese organization Institute of Research and Evaluation for Development (IRED). Each team had one supervisor and at least one female enumerator to conduct interviews with women at the mining site. Seventeen survey enumerators (11 men, 6 women) were trained and deployed. All female respondents were interviewed by female survey enumerators.

Enumerators were trained to monitor for respondent distress. In the event of respondent stress, the enumerators offered to either terminate the survey or to set up a time to come back if the respondent expressed wanting to resume the survey at another time. In addition, all enumerators had a location-specific referral card for psychological and medical services in the area that was shared in the case that the respondent requested referral information or exhibited signs of stress.

3. http://www.ipisresearch.be/publications_detail.php?id=428



Map 1.1: Territories Sampled in Qualitative and Quantitative Phases

Survey Instrument

Data were collected using the open data-collection software KoBo ToolBox on Android tablets. Skip patterns were programmed into the survey. The use of electronic data collection enabled global positioning system (GPS) and time-stamped data, which enabled better data supervision and quality control. A complete version of the survey can be found in Appendix 1.

Statistical Analysis

Data were analyzed using the STATA 21.1 statistical package; $p < 0.05$ was considered significant. All variables were analyzed disaggregated by sex of the respondent, as examining gendered differences in experiences was central to this project. In those cases where there were notable differences in the gendered experiences, this was noted in the results.

Limitations to the Research Project

There are a number of challenges inherent in a project like this. Artisanal mining communities are often remote and difficult to access. Mining is a dynamic process, so quarries active during the data-collection phase may have closed and new ones may have opened—a challenge of particular salience when trying to create a representative sample of mining sites during the quantitative research phase. Furthermore, the concept of “artisanal and small-scale mining” is remarkably diverse. Gold, coltan, cassiterite, and tantalum all have different extraction processes and supply chains, and mining processes for each mineral have many steps and contributing players. For this work, research focused on the initial stages of the extractive process: the on-the-ground miners in communities and the surrounding economic and social systems. We did not confine ourselves to looking at one particular mineral. Instead, the research team chose active mining sites and examined the minerals being exploited in those areas.

Current global mining dynamics can also influence research results. For instance, mineral prices were

notably low during the data collection for Phase 1. This became an issue that participants mentioned often. High prices might have elicited different responses about challenges in communities. Highly localized factors can also influence results. For instance, at one site (Nyabibwe) during Phase 1, mining activities were largely suspended, as some of the main quarries transitioned to mechanized water pumping. As a result, many research participants talked about this issue and the impact on their work and livelihoods. This may not be an important or salient finding in the future when work resumes.

Insecurity is a constant challenge. At the heart of the project is a goal of understanding the militarized nature of these communities, a particularly sensitive issue in an unstable environment. During Phase 1, the research team had to suspend activities before reaching the third field site (Walikale) because of activity by the M23 rebel group. In addition, armed group control, like the concept of mining, is heterogeneous. As discussed in the results section, there are various ways that armed groups interact with and control mining communities. Militarization, therefore, is not a single concept, but rather occurs to varying degrees and through different control modalities in each place.

Fear that mines would be shut down and livelihoods lost because of negative reports from this research project was another problematic issue. Despite working with trusted and long-established local partners, and repeatedly explaining the academic nature of the work, these concerns persisted to varying degrees on each axis. They were most pronounced in Nyabibwe on the Kalehe axis. Nyabibwe has been the target of a great deal of attention from the national government, multinational entities working on mining issues, and NGO initiatives. As a result, there is awareness of sensitivities around women and children working in mines and great concern about the international perception of mineral exploitation. In sites on the Walungu axis, these issues were much less pronounced and people talked more frankly about women's and children's roles in the mines. Despite these challenges, the results of this project did triangulate in on important themes.

SECTION 2

Results

This section outlines the research findings combining both qualitative and quantitative data from Phases 1 and 2. A picture is painted of how people generally enter the mines, followed by a discussion on the gendered distribution of types of jobs, and then on aspects of the mineral value chain's governance. Through these three aspects we begin to understand the fundamental challenges facing any laborer in the sector, and why the impacts and human-rights discriminations discussed in Section 3 occur.

Why People Have Entered the Mines

The Rise of War and the Demise of Agriculture

Mining is described by participants in this research project as a vital source of income in the sites visited. Decades of insecurity, displacement, agricultural decline, and the danger of looting and predation by armed groups undermined traditional trade and agricultural systems. Mining emerged as one of the only viable ways to earn money. Exploitation of minerals became progressively more appealing as a primary source of income, particularly among younger generations who were wary of farming as a way to make a living. As mining became increasingly widespread and lucrative, it gave rise to social, economic, and political structures, and although communities in this project emphasized the importance of mining profits in their towns, they clearly outlined the detriments as well. The mining system is described as inequitable to the point of being predatory, dangerous, violent, and deeply entrenched in existing power dynamics.

However, it is a system well adapted to conflict. Before the conflict, farming and raising livestock were described as the main economic activities (Table 2.1). However, these systems were some of the least suited for survival in war. Displacement led to the destruction of the agricultural system, because farming—and, to some extent, raising animals—by definition, requires permanency on the land. In some cases, forced population movement seemed to be deployed as a deliberate tactic to destabilize societies. As a medical provider in Mulamba described:

These men [the Hutu militia] exploited our land and exploited our people, and used our labor to feed themselves. This created a domino effect as people decided to flee one militarized place to go to another. Now, the people that took flight left their homeland. This meant they had no land of their own anymore and nothing to eat. The native population became the slaves of those in uniform.

Table 2.1: Comparison of Agriculture (Pre-War Income Generation) to Mining (Post-War Income Generation)

Agriculture	Mining
Slow return on investment	Cash in hand when minerals are found
Requires travel on roads to access markets to turn goods into cash (or trade for other goods)	Markets (<i>comptoirs</i> or <i>negociants</i> are in place)
Wealth is highly visible and difficult to protect (field full of crops)	Wealth is in the form of cash payment, easier to protect and conceal
Requires access to land and long-term commitment	Requires small start-up costs, either through gifts or transactional sex
Requires specialized knowledge, often passed down through generations	Requires little or no specialized knowledge
High perceived risk of looting and sexual violence from militarized armed groups	High perceived risk of injury from dangerous work, risk of sexual violence

The men in uniform exploited the earth and used the local population to work. After exploiting the people like this, they forced out other people from other places, so soon no one had anywhere to farm.

Exacerbating an already dire situation, plant viruses ravaged the agricultural sector in some areas during the war, and continue to make farming unviable in many areas. Mosaic virus affects a number of staple crops in the DRC, including beans, cassava, and bananas. Discussions of this crop virus most commonly arose in the Walungu area, where the population heavily relied on agriculture before the war. As miners' wives from Mulamba described, "Before the war, we farmed, we raised animals and did small commerce. Now, people don't have work anymore. We try to farm but the fields don't give any more because of mosaic. So we eat only with great difficulty. The beasts were taken, pillaged so there is nothing left to do." Women working in the mines in Mushinga echo this narrative:

Before the war, the fields produced and the men were still working on the plantations because the latter existed. Now, we make money by growing in the fields of others and by carrying things from the mines. What has changed life now is that the fields no longer produce anything and our husbands are no longer working. The land became infertile because of the mosaic.

Crops serve as a visible good that is difficult to protect from looting. People described going to their fields for harvest, only to discover that armed groups had already come and picked the field clean. Livestock are also difficult to hide and easily taken. In societies where wealth is often kept in highly visible goods rather than money, looting is easy. Community leaders in Mushinga described the changes in the agricultural system:

Before the war people had money, thanks to the soil, also to agriculture. It's not everyone who used to go to the mine of Mukungwe because people were otherwise occupied. Some would leave to go to Fizi, Walikale, Lugushwa . . . to sell the products of our soil and in exchange they would return with money to support their families. And so the community benefited. In addition, there was livestock like cows. We could usually raise large and small livestock but this has all been looted during the war, and that's where the poverty began.

Trade dissolved as travel on roads became increasingly hazardous and transport of goods was impracticable. One community leader in Mushinga described how this pushed people toward mining as a more viable option: "After the war, people find it very difficult to find money. Commerce is very weak, it's hard to say . . . that's why people now usually going to

Mukungwe quarry [to mine], where they are able to find money with difficulty.”

The fear of sexual violence during conflict was specifically cited as a reason that people ceased farming. Women in the mining town of Nzibera described how rape in particular affected farming: “If people went to their farm, they can get raped or even gang raped, because we think if we say ‘no’, they will kill us.” A young woman in Nzibera explained, “There is lots of hunger here. But if you have been raped on your farm, you will never return, and the farm will just die.”

Before the war, mining was described as haphazard and very small scale. People noted that mining was not particularly appealing as a way to make a living, but that it might provide supplementary income. In these cases, there were fewer conditions on being able to enter mines, and, without the involvement of military and state actors, communities profited more directly from mineral exploitation. Miners in Mulamba described this:

Also before the war, people mined minerals in the forest without difficulties and we benefited and got money . . . Now, we only mine minerals only because there is no more farming, and no more way to raise animals.

Those who did choose to mine during the war were often migratory workers, but many locals chose to farm or trade rather than exploit minerals:

Before the war, the mines were owned by the administration of the territory, the chief of the group, and the person who owned that particular hill or the customary chief . . . People would take a little on the side secretly sometimes and the people that mined paid taxes. It didn't benefit the population at large. During this time, those who owned the mines still used people for manpower [main d'oeuvre] because there are no machines. Before the war, the people who worked in the mines were those who didn't have their own land, people who had sold their fields, people who came from far away,

*or mendicants—those who had nothing. So, before the war, people who were the chiefs of the hills got rich off of the work of those who had nothing.*⁴

Land disputes proliferated as people returned home when insecurity waned, as one health care provider in Mulamba explained:

After the war, those who took flight came back, but they had to re-find their place in the community. They had nothing, no seeds, no hoes, no shovels, no money and no jobs. They lived like displaced people. They had nothing, not even fields. These people had trouble reintegrating and poverty was at the heart of this.

In Nyabibwe, women described insecurity and violence as an ongoing deterrent to resuming agricultural activities:

There is lots of hunger here. But if you have been raped on your farm, you will never return, and the farm will just die.

During the war things changed, if you tried to go to the farm they would rape you, take your things, the biggest consequence of war is that it locked people in, there was no freedom to move to different areas to sell your goods or to look for work . . . After the big war still things remain difficult, people tell you there is peace and that it is OK to go to the farm, but when you go, if they don't kill you they will rape you, so now we still are scared to go do different activities.

Mining towns served as defined areas that could be controlled and protected by armed groups. Occupation by one armed group was safer than living in an area that was disputed by many. People came to mining towns for protection, and for the possibility of economic opportunity. But relative stability came at a price—occupying forces often robbed miners and other vulnerable groups of profit or demanded high taxes for the right to work.

Whereas older respondents described a deep longing to return to agricultural systems, younger

4. Health care provider, Mulamba.

generations expressed little interest in farming. Youth participating in the focus groups said they couldn't remember life before conflict, and looked upon farming as an outdated and unviable way to make a living. A young woman in Nyabibwe highlights this, saying, "We could do any work but farming, I could never farm! Everyone has adapted to the mining society now, we can't get back to farming."

Motivations for Entering the Mines

Phase 1 results revealed a general decline in the viability of agriculture as a sole source of income due to the conflict and general insecurity following the war. These factors seemed to frame the historical motivation for entry into mining, particularly with older respondents. The quantitative survey examined the drivers of migration to mining towns in more detail. Mining populations participating in the survey were highly migratory: 48 percent of women and 38 percent of men stated that the town they currently worked in was not their place of origin (N = 412). Women's rate of migration was statistically higher than men's at ($p < 0.05$). Those individuals who identified as migrants were asked why they sought work in mining towns. The results are shown in Table 2.2. Fifty-five percent of respondents stated that there was no work in their communities of origin, and almost

Everyone has adapted to the mining society now; we can't get back to farming.

as many stated they sought work in mining because there were no services in the areas from where they came. Women were more likely than men to cite lack of money or employment as a driver to migrate, whereas men were more likely to cite lack of services as a motivation. One-third of women and men stated that lack of food drove them to migrate to mining towns. Violence and insecurity were less commonly cited as drivers to migrate than economic reasons—15.7 percent of respondents stated these were factors in their decision making, with relatively little difference between men and women. One of the least cited reasons for migration was direct displacement by armed groups. These results suggest that the conflict may have created the conditions by which mining became an appealing industry, but direct conflict-related considerations were less important than economic drivers.

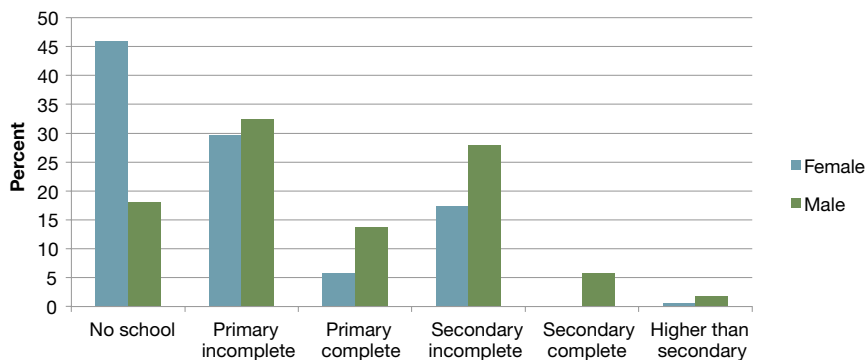
Actors in the Process

"All Kinds of People Live in Mining Towns"

Phase 2 tried to establish a profile of the surveyed population—those men and women working in the mining areas. To that end, participants in the survey were asked about education levels. Levels of education were generally extremely low among respondents,

Table 2.2: Reasons for Moving to Mining Towns (Respondents Allowed to Select More Than One Option)

	Female (n = 171)	Male (n = 241)	Total (N = 412)
I did not have money/job where I came from	63.7% (109)	49.8% (120)	55.5% (229)
I did not have access to services where I came from	32.2% (55)	58.1% (140)	47.2% (195)
I did not have access to food in where I came from	26.9% (46)	25.7% (62)	26.2% (108)
I was feeling insecure violence	16.4% (28)	15.4% (37)	15.7% (65)
I did not have land/access to land where I came from	12.9% (22)	14.1% (34)	13.6% (56)
I was displaced by armed groups	2.3% (4)	1.2% (3)	1.7% (7)
No response/I don't know	0% (0)	0.58% (1)	0.2% (1)
Other	38.0% (65)	24.9% (60)	30.3% (125)



Graph 2.1: Education Level of Female and Male Respondents

although men reported higher education at every level of schooling, as shown in Graph 2.1. Forty-six percent of women and 18 percent of men reported having no schooling, and roughly 30 percent of both men and women had not completed primary school.

Furthermore, in Phase 2, stark differences emerged between men and women in patterns of marriage for those working in mining towns. Whereas almost all men stated that they were either single (70 percent) or married (27 percent), women were far more likely to report being widowed or divorced than men. Whereas only 2 percent of men stated that they were divorced, almost one in three women reported being outside of a union. Similarly, only 1 percent of men and 12 percent of women reported being widowed. This stark disparity speaks to a potentially important finding: Women who have been deprived of a male partner (whether through death or separation) may look at mining towns as places where they can seek work. This emerges as a particularly important point when examining those women who end up in the sex trade, for the findings from Phase 2 would seem to suggest that economic vulnerability due to one's marriage status has a particular influence on the potential for women to end up in the sex trade. This is discussed in detail in Section 3.

Although there are many ways one could theoretically become involved in the mining trade, individuals were frustrated that their options are almost entirely dictated by their gender, age, and socioeconomic status. For instance, it was reported in Phase 1 that wealthy individuals, frequently with the backing of an armed

group or the national army, control the trade and make the most profit. Poor, marginalized populations supply the labor, seeing little if any profit at the end of each day. The following sections provide a brief overview of the types of roles available to those in mining towns. The roles of women will then be further discussed to examine the role of gender in mining towns.

Despite apparent ease of entry into the mining economy, both Phase 1 and 2 of the research project exposed stark gendered differences in employment. It was revealed over the course of Phase 1 that although in theory mining jobs are open to everyone, work is dictated by your ability to pay for access. In order to join a mining team, you must offer a goat, crate of beer, or money. Family or political ties also facilitate access. For women, transactional sex is often their only means to gain an economic foothold in mining towns. Women might have to trade sex for any number of reasons: to be allowed to open a small restaurant, to gain patronage for their bars, to become the "favored" beer seller in a mining tunnel. Many women said that often they had to exchange sexual favors simply to keep clientele at their restaurants or small businesses, offering themselves in exchange for customer loyalty. The issue of transacting sex for securing livelihoods is discussed further in Section 3.

Roles played along the mineral value chain (miner, transporter, trader, or otherwise) are largely determined by one's financial means, political power, and voice within the community. Miners from Nyabibwe described the large range of actors at play:

There are all kinds of people that live in the mining areas—there are transporters, porters, miners, clearers, people who bring tools, those who bring sand out and into the river, prostitutes, restaurant owners, businessmen, many different players involved.

Phase 2 attempted to measure the distribution of mining jobs by sex in the areas of South Kivu subject

Table 2.3: Distribution of Mining Jobs by Sex

	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
<i>Chef d'équipe</i>	0% (0)	3.2% (20)	2.1% (20)
Cleaner	9.0% (28)	6.8% (42)	7.5% (70)
<i>Comptoir</i>	0.0% (0)	0.2% (1)	0.1% (1)
Miner	1.3% (4)	63.5% (395)	42.8% (399)
Food vendor	53.7% (167)	5.6% (35)	21.7% (202)
<i>Negociant</i>	1.3% (4)	1.9% (12)	1.7% (16)
PNG	0% (0)	0.3% (2)	0.2% (2)
Porter	2.6% (8)	2.3% (14)	2.4% (22)
Sex worker*	20.9% (65)	0% (8)	7.1% (65)
Other	10.1% (34)	16.2% (101)	14.5% (135)
No response	0.3% (1)	0% (0)	0.1% (1)
Total	100% (311)	100% (622)	100% (933)

* When asked directly if they engaged in sex work later in the survey, 72 women and 8 men stated that they engaged in this profession.

to the survey. This included miners, mining bosses (PNG), *comptoirs* (traders), and others working in jobs directly related to mining, as well as those who sold goods and services to miners. Table 2.3 depicts the distribution of jobs disaggregated by sex. As in other contexts in the DRC, there are sharply gendered patterns in most professions. Notably, no women reported being *comptoirs*, PNGs, or *chefs d'équipe*—all of which are relatively privileged jobs. Similarly, only 1.3 percent of men reported being sex workers, whereas one in five women (20.1 percent) reported this as a profession.

Transporters

Transporters are among the most vulnerable of those who work in the mining community. They are charged with bringing raw material, often earth or stones, to the next step of processing after the mine. In the case of gold or cassiterite, this means bringing ore mixed with earth waste to the nearest washing point, where the material is cleaned and processed. In the case of gold, this is often done in a river or

at its banks where, after having been pounded into dust, the material is re-washed, and the gold is separated from waste, often using mercury. For cassiterite and other base metals such as columbo-tantalite and wolfram, washing is normally done away from rivers but at a water point where ore is washed and separated from earthen material. In some cases, columbo-tantalite may be mined in sandy surface areas, requiring a much more sophisticated form of gravity washing to separate the seemingly black dust from the sand. Transporters stop near the mines only long enough to receive their load of material, and when they reach the river or village, they are paid and sent on their way. Pay is dictated by the amount of material one carries to the washing site.

Although some of those in the mining process have been able to form cooperatives, transporters say that they are too transient and too disempowered to get access to existing cooperatives, or to form their own.

This is an unfortunate circumstance, as the work they undertake is literally backbreaking. Although transporting seems like a task that would be undertaken by young men, it is often the elderly, women, and children who do this work. A community leader in Mushinga described the hardship:

These carriers/transporters of minerals have many problems. They carry things beyond their weight for very little money, you will find for example a woman who carries 50 kgs or 60 kgs for 4,000 francs⁵ at a distance which occupies the whole day, the cost of life is very hard, when along the way she takes a glass of banana juice (kasiksi), she buys flour, which costs 1,000 francs . . . and what you see it is very little money!

5. Roughly 4.50 USD currency.

In many of the sites, particularly in Walikale, transporters were elderly women widowed during the war. Too old to run restaurants or engage in the sex trade, they are left to take whatever tasks no one else will undertake. As one female transporter in Nyabibwe said:

It is the women who do the transport and carrying of bags, but they do so while suffering because they are often deceived on the weight of the bags. For example they can be told the bag is 50 kg when it is really 70 kg, this makes women sick and suffer physically.

Many of these female transporters suffer prolapses and severe physical problems as a result of the strain on their bodies. As one female transporter describes, “Pregnant women often had children aborted because of that, carrying too heavy of bags.” Both male and female transporters suffer hernias, trauma to their upper bodies due to the heavy loads they carry, and extreme pain. Because transporters are paid by weight, there is an incentive to take increasingly heavy loads beyond what one person is able to safely carry.

Miners

The only prerequisites to being a miner are fitness and strength. Having one’s own tools—hammer, flashlight, and shovel—is helpful but not required. The *chef dequipe*, or head of the team, is the senior role on a given site, and is usually filled by men with family connections or enough cash to rent or buy access to a quarry. Regardless of their roles, miners collectively cited that they saw very little profit after all of the expenses and taxes they have to pay. A complex system of taxation relentlessly diminishes cash-in-hand profits. As one miner describes:

The miners are also impoverished, the negociants are the ones who are really in control, the miners work 24/7 but they don't get anything, they have to then pay for food, for rooms, materials, to patrons, then the miners don't get what they deserved in terms of work.⁶

6. Site.

Participants said that men often rotate and change roles on a daily basis—for example, one day guarding a tunnel and the next acting as a conductor. By spreading different tasks across members of the team, they ensure each person has an opportunity to spend time looking for minerals in the tunnels. Miners in Walungu described the different roles:

We have head of the teams, those that guard the tunnel, assistant of the head of the team, the conductor, the person who guides people into the whole, and the one that takes out and cleans sand.

Although the majority of participants either deny children’s presence in the mine or avoid talking about it for fear of backlash, those that do explain how children fill a variety of roles in the mining process. As the chief nurse in Mulamba describes:

Children transport the broken earth and do the actual mining. Girls and boys do this and they don't study as a result. You can see them walking by with bags of cassiterite on their heads. Carrying heavy packages is why we see a lot of trauma, especially of the thorax, here.

Participants in the research also describe how children are cheated by adults. Even if they are able to successfully navigate the numerous barriers and access the mines, they may be cheated of their hard-won pay. As a miner in Nyabibwe describes, “If they [children] actually find cassiterite, it’s fine, they can work, but then they get ripped off by adults, so usually it is not even worth it for them.”

Comptoirs and Negociants

Miners point to the top of the division of labor, namely, *comptoirs* (where minerals are aggregated from various mine sites and exported abroad) and *negociants* (the middle men and sometimes women who aggregate the minerals from distant mines to deliver to *comptoirs* in the major urban towns), as those who truly profit. Participants in the research noted that powerful and wealthy individuals in Goma and Bukavu are generally *comptoirs*, buying minerals

from mining towns and exporting them from the DRC. Most saw this step as being the most lucrative in the entire process. *Comptoirs* usually purchase their minerals from *negociants*, relatively well-off men living in mining communities with enough influence and cash to purchase or secure minerals from local mines. *Negociants* are seen as those who profit most after *comptoirs*. Female transporters in particular describe *negociants* as those who really run mining operations, as they have immediate control over the purchase of minerals and greater on-the-ground visibility than *comptoirs*. As one woman notes, “*Negociants* are the bosses, they bring some money there and buy kilos, then they call the women there to help carry bags. Payment will depend on how wealthy the *negociant* is.”

Defining the “Vulnerable”

The *Wakosefu* and *Wafupi*—Vulnerable Populations

The findings about who has access to which jobs also begs the question of which groups are the most disenfranchised from economic systems. Women, children, and displaced persons were described in focus groups as the most vulnerable groups in mining communities. The close links between having money and power were described by participants. Even the Swahili word used to describe vulnerability drew the connection with poverty. *Ukosefu* means poverty, or wanting, but also captures a meaning beyond material destitution, and symbolizes disconnection from all social as well as financial opportunity. Young women in particular described themselves as *wakosefu*—“those who lack, the impoverished.” Women and others who felt disenfranchised from the process also described themselves as *wafupi*, which means “short or little people.” A phrase commonly used in focus groups was *hawatuoni sisi wafupi*: “they [big men, powerful people], don’t ‘see’ us short people [the impoverished, marginalized populations].” The two terms were often used together to emphasize their point: “They don’t see us short, poor people” (*wafupi*, *wakosefu*).

Women traders in Mushinga spoke of some of the factors that contribute to vulnerability:

We can say that the women in this community are those who are most vulnerable because they have no shops, no money, and they carry heavy loads long distances for very little money. Life is really difficult for them. There are also children who do not study because they do not have the money.

Economic vulnerability was cited as a driver for seeking work in mining towns. Having income was a way women said they could regain a sense of agency even when they did not have a male family member to provide for them. As is further discussed in Section 3, their vulnerability leads to other forms of exploitation once they are entrenched in the mining economy.

Because young men feel as if they are part of another marginalized and exploited group—youth—they seek to frame their plight through a gendered lens. For example, the common perception is that rape of women is the only issue that attracts international NGOs and humanitarian assistance. This leads many men to express themselves as if they were also victims of such violence, as illustrated by this quote from a young miner: “Young women [are] the most vulnerable people here, although young men are also ‘raped’ in the sense that they have no work, no opportunities, they have their small money stolen from them. In that sense they are raped.”⁷

Youth in mining towns make up the majority of the workforce. Despite this, both young men and women described being disenfranchised from political processes. Miners in Nyabibwe described failed promises from politicians, in-fighting between leaders, and exclusion of the population from leadership, saying, “They don’t put any youth in their groups, youth aren’t represented, they just promise people over and over again, leaders are politicians, and they don’t always understand each other, which can lead to fighting. Women also aren’t included.”

7. Site.

Those moving to mining towns from other areas were also described as being particularly at risk for exploitation. As miners in Nyabibwe explained, “IDPs⁸ suffer the most, they have no way to get anything, they can’t pay for homes, food, school, IDPs are more vulnerable than *autochthones*⁹ definitely.” The link between owning land and economic stability was described by respondents, and took on special importance.

Having land is directly tied to vulnerability in the study sites. Miners and others explain that given the unpredictable and unstable nature of mining work where salaries are erratic and debts high, those who do not own land are often most vulnerable to the vacillations of the mining market and the unpredictability of finding minerals. Without land, those in mining towns must rent land and may be evicted without notice.

The Subtlety of Militarized Power and Its Exertion on Vulnerable Groups

The link between powerful groups in mining towns and armed groups or the national military has been documented in existing literature. In the communities visited for this study, armed group control was

8. IDP = Internationally Displaced Persons.
9. Those originally from the area—“locals.”

present and an influential factor, but it was often hidden. Control could be exerted through links to powerful cooperatives, customary authorities, and taxation. These various forms of control are summarized in Table 2.4. Meanwhile, a health care provider in Mulamba explains this invisible control:

Now, in the mines, some of the mines are still run by armed groups, even if it is not visible. They run things through taxation. Of the mines, at least seven [of the eleven] are occupied by the government—police or military.

Taxation can occur through a number of methods, including granting armed actors access to mines for a certain time per week. For example, in Walungu, a local overseer discussed how he was forced to give the FARDC one hour per week of access to mines: “Every Saturday for one hour the FARDC are allowed to go up to the mine and can get all of the profit, they don’t actually mine but they make the profit [of those who do mine] for that one hour.” This practice, known as *salongo*, or “community service,” has precedent in the DRC in various forms. The same health care provider described how *salongo* was imposed during the conflict:

But during the war, armed men threw out the traditional leaders and took over. They forced all of the people to work in the mines using threats. The armed men distributed the hills like candy; ‘you get this, you

Table 2.4: Modalities of Armed Group Control

"Community service"	Imposing forced work, either for long amounts of time or more subtly by mandating that profits won on certain days or at certain times go to the armed group
Taxation	Ensuring a portion of the profits go the armed group operating in the area
Control of roads and trade	Constraining access to and from mining towns, guaranteeing that all profits coming in and leaving an area can be accessed
Direct control of mines	Taking charge of certain mines and managing all aspects of their operation
Security	Providing protection against other armed groups and external threats for a fee

get this'. The armed group imposed salongo. There were those who left because of the salongo and took refuge in another place. Soon, people were no longer aligned with where they came from. Such as someone leaving Madaka takes refuge in Mushinga. That was how the abandonment of the land was perpetuated.

People also described how access to mines and markets was controlled through access to roads. A young woman in Nyabibwe stated:

Before the war, people were doing good mining, many different mines, men were going there to mine,

there were no rebels on the road to block them and bother them, but since war came many mining areas are controlled or blocked off by rebels.

Community leaders in Nzibera assert that, "There were more mines before the war, and [now] people can't get out to the good mines because they are controlled by armed groups, so there is not as much access." Mine owners may forge alliances with armed groups to ensure security in their area. Although this may involve sharing profits from the mine, it is more beneficial to have one armed group protecting the mine than risking predation from multiple groups.

SECTION 3

Framing the Results Along the Human-Rights Framework

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) takes on many forms in the mines surveyed. Women described the close links between economic and sexual exploitation, describing how they aren't paid or are underpaid for the work they do; are sexually harassed or raped while working; are physically beaten; and are forced to perform sexual favors in order to get clients or employment.

The Blurred Lines between Sex Work and Sexual Exploitation

Phase 1 explored the narrative of rape, mining, and armed conflict in the selected mining areas of eastern DRC. Phase 1 emphasized how, although women were vital actors in mining communities and filled many roles, they were also among the most vulnerable to sexual and economic predation. Indeed, in focus groups, rape was described as commonplace in mining towns. Many women spoke about engaging in transactional sex out of desperation, a profession that placed them at an increased risk of experiencing rape and other forms of abuse. Sex workers were often migratory and without social or financial support. Sexual predation by armed men was also described as a concern, although it was generally less pressing than the everyday violence and abuse that women suffered as a result of living in mining towns.

The qualitative research illustrated how running a restaurant, engaging in sex work, and transporting materials are by no means mutually exclusive roles. Instead one leads to, or requires, doing another. Indeed, in Phase 1 of the research project, women spoke about having to transact sex simply to survive. Often, this is because they do not have husband or other male relative to bring income home, so they are forced to fend for themselves. As one woman in Nyabibwe explained, "When I was carrying bags and fetching water so that my children could eat, it then turned into prostitution because they (men) say they have no money to pay me. I have to carry bags and sand because I don't have a husband to do anything." They went on to describe how trading sexual favors was a prerequisite for gaining access to small jobs in mining towns:

People also make women have sex with them by saying that if you don't sleep with me you won't get to keep carrying bags, he tells his friends not to work with her because she refused to have sex with

them. People do the prostitution so that they can get other work. You are selling yourself, tiring yourself to get some money for your children.

Women described the close links between economic and sexual exploitation, describing how they aren't paid or are underpaid for the work they do; are sexually harassed or raped while working; are physically beaten; and are forced to perform sexual favors in order to get clients or employment. Miners, women, and community leaders all described how women are forced to exchange sex to gain access to the most basic goods and services, or to avoid other forms of predation. Miners stated:

Women are also beaten out there [near the mines], especially those at restaurants. Another issue is that men will only buy things at someone's store if they are their women, so in order for a woman to get clientele she needs to start sleeping with people, [then she] gets unwanted pregnancies.

Those women who speak out about their exploitation are forced out of the area under threat. As a young sex worker in Nyabibwe said simply, "If you refuse them (sexually), they will tell you if you return again to the area they will kill you."

All actors interviewed in the qualitative phase of this project emphasized that sex work was widespread and commonplace in mining contexts. As one man said, "The soko [market] of the prostitutes is the mining quarry." Miners noted:

It is [the prostitutes'] territory there [in the mines]. That is the main work there, actually. Once the movement in the mining area starts again, for example, you will see women climbing up towards the mines with their mattresses, and while you may think they are soldiers' wives they are really prostitutes.

Exchanging sex for goods is one of the only ways women can provide for themselves and their families. Poverty was described as a defining driver of prostitution. Even wives of miners spoke frankly about the temptations for their husbands "Yes—it [prostitution]

exists because of poverty. Around the mines, women prostitute themselves to get money that then miners give them and because otherwise they wouldn't have anything to eat." Community leaders in Mushinga elaborated:

Yes, there are "loose women" here with their children. There are no women in the mines that belong to a particular person—so every woman belongs to the whole world. These women [in the mines] don't work. They just wait until the miners find money and then come sleep with them, that's their work. A man who gets ten dollars will go eat with five of the dollars and give five dollars to a whore and go spend the night with her. And that's how life continues.

Young women spoke about the slippery slope that drew them into sex work: "It [sex for money] will happen and you won't even know, all of a sudden you just find yourself with a man so that you can survive. Oftentimes we don't tell anyone else about it because we are embarrassed. . . . It just happens."

In many sites, sex workers came from other areas and had to build a life without the benefit of social networks or peer support in their new environment. Women may also migrate from mining town to mining town looking for a better situation. Miners emphasized the transitory nature of the work, saying, "There are also many prostitutes from all over, Uvira, Bukavu, they here when there is action [movement] here. They call their friends, everyone comes, we don't even know their faces." As the leader of a sex workers' association explained:

It depends, some women come for 5 months, get tired, go to a different mine. Some have kids here they become permanent here . . . [There is] movement—activities involving money, commerce—their bodies are their business. [They go to] Misisi, Moroc, Walikale. They are used to moving to different places for money.

Women engaging in sex work may face stigma and social rejection in their home communities when they return, particularly if they have children out of

wedlock. This means that, once a woman begins to trade sex in mining towns, it can be difficult for her to leave this line of work. Women may find themselves caught in a cycle of traveling to look for working in places with the most productive mines where men have disposable income.

The “choice” to engage in sex work is made against a backdrop of desperation, violence, and coercion. This reality meant that respondents in the research saw sex work and sexual violence as closely linked. Participants described sexual violence as forcing a woman to have sex against her will, but they also described other forms of this abuse, including men refusing to pay for sexual services. As one miner described, “The meaning of rape is to take someone by force and even if you haven’t already agreed to do it you make them have sex with you, this is a common thing in our area.” Female transporters reinforced this, saying, “When a man is drunk he can also rape a woman without have a conversation, and even if it looks like prostitution, it is rape. This happens a lot of time to prostitutes.” One young miner simply stated, “*Ya kila qualite na aina iko hapa nyabibwe* [There is sexual violence of every quality and kind here in Nyabibwe]. When god built the mine here he knew that rape would be there as well with the mine.”

Men also described that women could be at fault for their own rape, either by dressing provocatively or by getting themselves into dangerous situations. The responsibility for avoiding violence was put squarely on women’s shoulders. As one young miner explained:

How can we fight rape? It is a personal decision. You [a woman] must protect yourself, if you don't expose yourself in front of a man they cannot rape you . . . Here there is more sexual violence because there are rebels up high in the mountains, that is why it is here. But the real reason there is rape is here is because the women expose themselves and comport themselves in a certain way.

These kinds of attitudes illustrate the gross inequality that women face on a day-to-day basis. Excluded

from power structures and decision-making structures, the only thing they are perceived to be responsible for is the violence that is perpetrated against them.

In a number of cases, women describe differences in sexual violence from civilians versus armed men. People speak of miners raping by promising money and not paying. In contrast, soldiers are described as engaging in the forms of militarized rape that have become common as a result of conflict in the DRC. These attacks may occur on roads and in fields. As miners in Nyabibwe noted, for example, “Soldiers are the ones who are used to raping people . . . but it is usually driven by a gun, if people went to their farm they can get raped or even gang raped, because we think if we say no they will kill us. But it is not that common among us civilians.” As women transporters described: “Is it here—yes, when there is war. Ntaganda, Nkunda—their soldiers rape IDPs, then others keep the practice going.” The leader of the sex workers’ association in Nyabibwe said, “Soldiers they usually don’t pay for sex, sometimes demobilized soldiers as well, but even miners themselves, many don’t pay for sex after they do it.”

Phase 2 followed up on the experiences of SGBV in an attempt to measure rates. Women commonly reported having to trade sex for basic goods and services, and did so at rates that are between four and five times higher than those of men (Table 3.1). Money was the commodity that was most often traded for sex; 38.1 percent of women reported this. Also common was the need for women to trade sex for protection, with one in five women (20.4 percent) reporting this experience. Protection, as described in Phase 1, could include being granted access to safe working conditions or protection from violence due to other actors. In contrast, men’s rates of exchanging sex for any good or service (money, protection, or work) was quite stable at roughly 6 percent. This implies that there is a small but stable population of men who engage in transactional sex among those sampled.

Active sex work in mining towns is at least in part influenced by the transient nature of the work and

Table 3.1: Males and Females Who Reported Having to Trade Sex for Basic Goods or Services

Reported Trading Sex for Money			
	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	48.7% (174)	89.7% (575)	75.1% (749)
Yes	38.1% (136)	7.2% (46)	18.2% (182)
No response	13.2% (47)	3.2% (20)	6.7% (67)
Total	100% (357)	100% (641)	100% (998)
Reported Trading Sex for Protection			
	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	66.7% (238)	91.0% (583)	82.3 (821)
Yes	20.4% (73)	6.0% (39)	11.2% (112)
No response	12.9% (46)	3.0% (19)	6.5% (65)
Total	100% (357)	100% (641)	100% (998)
Reported Trading Sex for Access to Work			
	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	73.1% (261)	91.1% (584)	84.7% (845)
Yes	13.7% (49)	5.9% (38)	8.7% (87)
No response	13.2% (47)	3.2% (20)	6.7% (67)
Total	100% (357)	100% (641)	100% (998)

the fact that men often come to mining areas without a spouse or partner. Women may come to mining towns expecting to engage in other kinds of work, such as trading or selling of small goods, but will find themselves then compelled to engage in regular sex work. One-fifth of all women (20.1 percent) working in mining towns identified themselves as sex workers, whereas only 1.3 percent of men did (Table 3.2). Of those women reporting engaging in sex work, 93 percent of women and 100 percent of men say they work for themselves, rather than for a boss or association. These findings suggest that although sex work is a common profession for women, those engaging in it are not controlled by an outside entity.

The reasons that women went into sex work were largely driven by poverty. Twenty-eight women said

Table 3.2: Males and Females Who Reported Sex Work as a Profession

	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	77.9% (278)	98.8% (633)	91.3% (911)
Yes	20.1% (72)	1.3% (8)	8.0% (80)
No response	2.0% (7)	0% (0)	0.7% (7)
Total	100% (357)	100% (641)	100% (998)

they were sex workers, but had not planned on going into this work when seeking work in mining. Of these women, three-quarters said they were compelled to do sex work because of poverty, and another 18 percent said that sex work was more profitable than the work they had originally intended to do. One-third of women said that they went into sex work because they weren't able to get other jobs, and 18 percent said they did sex work to gain access to other types of work.

Above and beyond the varied forms of SGBV, women surveyed in Phase 2 reported on incidences of harassment. For instance, one-third of women stated that they had ever been harassed by men in the mines. Of these women, 89 percent said they had experienced harassment in the past 12 months. Sex workers had 10 times greater odds of reporting harassment than non-sex workers (odds ratio [OR] = 10.6, $p < 0.001$). Only 7 percent of women stated that they had ever discussed this harassment or discrimination with others, although, encouragingly, almost 30 percent of women stated that associations might be able to help with these kinds of problems. When asked what kind of help might be offered, 82 percent of women said these organizations could provide advice and 18 percent said that the organizations would be able to speak to authorities on their behalf. We return to the pivotal role to be played by forms of social organization later in this section.

Correlates to Sex Work

In order to examine correlates with the experience of sex work, a logistic model was run in Phase 2. Variables that might correlate with sex work were

chosen based on previous qualitative and quantitative research. Bivariate models examined the unadjusted odds ratios (ORs), and then all variables were added to a logistic regression model to examine adjusted odds ratios (aORs). Results are presented in Table 3.3. It is worth noting that this model is not intended to be a predictive model, but rather looks at a range of variables that could be correlated (rather than could be causative or predictive) of sex work.

The pseudo-R² for this model—an indication of the goodness of fit—is modest at 0.36. The pseudo-R² is the square of the correlation between the model's predicted values and the actual values, which can range from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating the best fit.

The odds of sex work diminished by 8 percent with each year of age, starting with 18 years of age ($p < 0.001$). After adjusting for other variables, the odds of sex work increased with each child a woman reported supporting (aOR = 1.2, $p < 0.05$); this is perhaps because the pressure of caring for others increased the need to engage in transactional sex.

One of the most notable findings is that the odds of sex work increased drastically for women who reported being widowed or divorced, as compared to married women. Single women were not significantly more likely than married women to engage in sex work. However, widowed women had almost 7-times-greater odds of engaging in sex work, and divorced

Table 3.3: Associations of Demographics and Mining-Related Experiences with Sex Work among Workers in Eastern DRC (N = 80; 72 Females, 8 Men)

Characteristic	Sex Work			
	Unadjusted Odds Ratio ^a	P-Value	Adjusted Odds Ratio ^b	P-Value
Age	0.94	<0.001**	0.92	<0.001**
Education				
No education	1.0		1.0	
Primary	0.37	0.1	0.4	0.15
Secondary	0.19	0.1	0.2	0.09
Children	1.0	0.2	1.2	<0.05*
Marital status				
Married	1.0		1.0	
Single	4.2	<0.001**	2.0	0.17
Widowed	6.5	<0.001**	6.7	0.005*
Divorced	19.2	<0.001**	11.2	<0.001**
Number mines worked at previously	0.7	0.002	0.91	0.42
Migrant into mining town	3.2	<0.001**	3.2	0.001**
Experienced dispute in past year	2.2	0.001	3.1	0.002*
Sleep at mine versus in nearest town	9.7	<0.001**	9.6	<0.001**

CI: confidence interval.

a Unadjusted estimates of sex work for each variable separately.

b Final model of sex work odds ratio, adjusted for all other covariates in column.

*Indicates significance at the $p < 0.05$ level.

**Indicates significance at the $p < 0.001$ level.

women had 11-times-greater odds of engaging in sex work compared to married women.

Women without any education had 6.3-times-greater odds of engaging in sex work compared to those with secondary school education, and 2.3-times-greater odds than those with primary education. Although these results were not significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, a larger sample size might have brought these results to significance. The number of mines that sex workers worked at previously did not reach significance in either the unadjusted or adjusted odds ratios. Women who were not originally from mining towns, and women experiencing a dispute in the past year, had greater than three times the odds of ($p = 0.001$) of being sex workers. Finally, sleeping at the mining site, rather in the nearest town, was also associated with sex work ($aOR = 9.6$, $p < 0.001$).

Highlight: Risk Factors for Sex Work

One in four women working in mining towns identified as sex workers. Entry into sex work was largely driven by poverty. More than one-third of women who identified as sex workers stated that they had not intended to enter this work. Of these women, the vast majority said they became sex workers because of poverty, or because it was the best-paying work to which they had access.

Women who were sex workers had 10-times-greater odds of being harassed by men than women who did different work. In addition to harassment, one-third of all female respondents reported experiencing problems that men did not, such as the aforementioned health issues as well as being cheated by men who don't pay for goods or services. Additionally, some women reported being denied work because of problems of home, which largely spoke to them fulfilling female gender roles, such as caring for children or being pregnant. Encouragingly, around one-third of women thought that associations could help with these kinds of problems by offering advice or advocating on behalf of women to authorities.

Lower age, a greater number of children, being widowed or divorced, being a migrant in a mining town, having experienced a dispute in the past year, and sleeping at a mining site rather than in a nearby town were all correlates of sex work. One of the most notable findings from the logistic regression is how much more likely divorced and widowed women are to engage in sex work, compared with single and married women.

Although causality is not established by this model, it is reasonable to hypothesize that women who have lost a partner (either through death or separation) may then have to turn to sex work to support themselves and their children. Looking at the association between migration and marital statuses bears out this hypothesis. Widowed and divorced women are much more likely than married women to report migrating into mining towns. This suggests that, as described by Hilson (2009) more broadly with respect to ASM, these centers may attract vulnerable populations that otherwise would have no opportunity to support themselves.

Migrant status and sex work are also significant in the model, although causality is not established. It may be that women migrate to mining towns seeking to become sex workers, or to find any type of employment. It is also possible that, due to stigma related to the work, women seeking sex work leave their native homes.

Experiencing a dispute in the past year was associated with three-times-greater odds of sex work. Women may turn to sex work if they are in disputes about accessing other jobs; however, it is also possible that sex workers are more vulnerable to being cheated or having disagreements with others in mining sites. The finding that sex workers are more vulnerable to harassment in mines than other women makes it likely that women this profession do experience more exploitation and interpersonal disagreements than those in other professions. Qualitative work from Phase 1 of the project supports this hypothesis. Sex workers said they were especially vulnerable to being beaten, cheated, lied to, and refused pay.

Finally, women who sleep at mining towns, rather than the towns near mining sites, have almost 10-times-greater odds of sex work. This finding suggests that sex work occurs most frequently directly at mining sites, and that women in these professions stay near mining tunnels. This has direct implications for women’s vulnerability to violence, and geographic isolation from potentially protective social networks and organizations.

Discrimination

Five times more men than women reported having ever been denied a job in the mines that they wanted to have. However, women were more likely than men to be denied outright access to mining areas in the first place.

Interestingly, almost five times more men than women reported having ever been denied a job in the mines that they wanted to have (Table 3.4). It may be that men aspire to have more lucrative or competitive jobs, whereas women may not seek these positions. The most commonly desired job that was denied was that of miner for men; a commonly given reason for being denied work was that one was not able to pay the tax associated with gaining employment. When women gave answers about which jobs they were denied, they were more likely, in the open-ended question format, to state that they had been denied access to the mining area as a whole rather than stating they were denied a specific job. Furthermore, 13 percent of

Table 3.4: Men and Women Who Reported Being Denied a Job

	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	93.0% (332)	79.4% (509)	841
Yes	6.4% (23)	20.3% (130)	15.3% (153)
No response	0.6% (2)	0.3% (2)	0.4% (4)
Total	100% (357)	100% (641)	100% (998)

women surveyed in Phase 2 reported that they had been told, once having secured a job, that they could not earn the same money as men. Finally, 16 percent of women surveyed in Phase 2 reported that they had to turn down jobs in the mines because of problems at home. The most common problem cited was caring for children (65.5 percent), followed by caring for others (10.3 percent).

Outright denial of jobs to women in the mines can in part be explained by attitudes toward women’s participation in mines, and general knowledge about their rights under the Mining Code, its accompanying regulations, and broader DRC labour laws on women’s right to work. Phase 1 highlighted a number of misconceptions about mining laws and regulations. Therefore, Phase 2 incorporated a module dedicated to knowledge about and access to information about mining regulations and laws in the survey instrument. The Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices module attempted to assess knowledge not only about the existence of mining-related policies, but also about perceptions around these policies. Only 26 percent of women and 40 percent of men reported that they knew there is a mining code in the DRC (Table 3.5). Seventy percent of women and 94 percent of men stated they would like to know more about it.

Of those stating that they had heard about the mining code, the most common vehicle for this knowledge was through community groups (roughly 40 percent of both women and men reported this response). The second most common way to learn about the mining code was through radio, although almost two times as many men as women had access to this medium.

Table 3.5: Men and Women Who Reported Awareness of Mining Code

	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	45.7% (163)	56.8% (364)	52.8% (527)
Yes	26.1% (93)	40.1% (257)	35.1% (350)
No response	28.3% (101)	3.1% (20)	12.1% (121)
Total	357	641	998

One common misconception was that women were not allowed to work directly in mining-related jobs. This may be related to a poor understanding of the policy that bans pregnant women from undertaking hard labor. Data support the fact that this is a widely held assumption. Only 17 percent of women and 20 percent of men thought that women had the right to work as miners. Interestingly, when the survey asked the same question about women's right to work as *comptoirs* or *negociants*, 60 percent of women and 65 percent of men stated that they did have this right. Therefore, misconceptions about the right to work in mining may, at least in part, be related to ideas about women doing physically taxing work.

The 2002 Mining Code also allows children over 15 years of age to work in mining contexts, as long as the work is not physically dangerous. However, because of intense international advocacy about the dangers of child labor in mining towns, there is great sensitivity about admitting that children work in these areas. Although the practice is widespread, and children often act as porters, washers, vendors, and miners, this is often hidden from visitors for fear that mining activities may be suspended if child labor is discovered. This is reflected in the survey responses. Individuals were asked if children were allowed to work in mining towns if the work was not physically hazardous. Seventeen percent of women and 20 percent of men said that children did not have the right to do this kind of work.

Only 17 percent of women and 20 percent of men thought that women had the right to work as miners.

Right to Health

All actors present in mining communities, without exception, emphasize the need for improved public health infrastructure and access to health facilities in the mining areas.

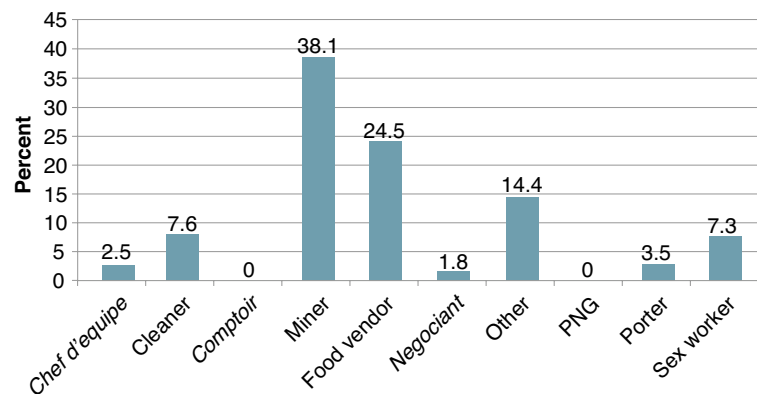
Working in mining towns brings risk for a number of health hazards—from physical injury associated



A local community social worker updates statistics on cases of women who report sexual violence.

with hazardous physical work to sexually transmitted infections because of high levels of transactional sex. Health problems may be compounded by limited access to health care in these areas, or limited access to pay for services that do exist. In the qualitative survey of Phase 1, health problems in mining towns were broken down into three categories by participants: (i) poor labor conditions, (ii) poor structure of mining tunnels, and (iii) public health problems such as poor hygiene and high levels of infectious disease. The scarcity of public health resources in mining areas, such as toilets, clean water supply, waste systems, and primary care facilities, combined with close quartered living conditions, leads to high prevalence of diarrhea, tuberculosis, respiratory infections, malnutrition, and malaria. These problems are consistent across all the sites visited. Sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS are also described as significant problems, although people have such poor access to health care that these conditions often are not officially diagnosed. The head nurse in Mulamba describes the biggest health issues facing his community:

There is a lot of kwashiorkor, and it is more common in the mining areas. There is a lot of HIV/AIDS, poverty leads women to exchange sex. There are also sanitary problems and many accidents and blunt trauma from landslides and rockfalls. There is tuberculosis in the mines. Close to the mines, we see cholera, amoebas, diarrhea, measles, and typhoid. People in the mines drink river water, which is very dirty. There is no clean water in the mines.



Graph 3.1: Respondents Reporting a Health Problem in the Past Year

Lack of access to health care due to financial or geographical obstacles exacerbates these issues. Many participants explain how pursuing health care is not an easy choice. Miners in Mulamba illustrate the sacrifice it often takes to get medical treatment:

When people need care, they are transported to the nearest health center. They must sell their fields or goats to pay for healthcare. They can't make enough to pay for care from the mines. They don't have a "cushion" of money. There is malnutrition, there are no houses where you can really rest, take care of yourself; there is no clean water to drink or bathe; no toilets.

The head nurse in Mulamba goes even further, saying many must choose between eating and going to the health center, and that such barriers to health services lead many to put their faith in prayer, or magic, over health care:

You will see that in one family, if someone falls sick, the little they make is not enough to pay [for health care]. Many people die because their family decides to eat rather than to pay the clinic fees for one person. This is because of the kind of poverty we live in. People say that health problems are a result of witchcraft. They pray instead of getting care.

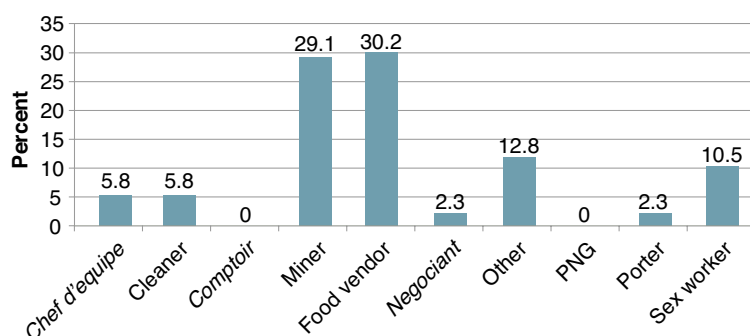
Phase 2 used the quantitative survey instrument to delve deeper into frequencies of health issues. Fifty percent of women and 40 percent of men reported having a medical issue in the past year (Graph 3.1). Encouragingly, of those individuals reporting a problem, 78 percent of women and 70 percent of men said they accessed care for this problem. A majority

of women (71 percent) and men (88 percent) said that the care they received was adequate. However, a notable percentage of women (27 percent) and men (10 percent) said that the care they reviewed was not adequate. It is striking that women were three times more likely than their male counterparts to say they received poor care at a health facility (as defined by the participants' perception).

Fourteen percent of women and 7 percent of men stated that they had been denied medical care at least once in their lives, with women twice as likely as men to experience this problem. When asked about the reasons why they were denied health care, the vast majority of both women (84 percent) and men (81 percent) stated that they could not pay. The second most commonly cited reason was that the clinic did not know how to treat their condition; this reason was cited by 10 percent of women and 7 percent of men. One in four women and men said that they had taken out a loan to pay for medical care.

When one disaggregates the experience of being denied health care by profession, clear differences emerge. Those in the less prestigious jobs are more likely to report denial of care (Graph 3.2). Miners, food vendors, and sex workers are the most likely to report this experience, whereas those in positions of power (PNG, negotiant, chef d'équipe) are much less likely to be denied care.

Those who were most likely to report being denied access to health care were also those who reported



Graph 3.2: Percentage of Respondents Reporting They Have Been Denied Access to Health Care by Profession

experiencing a health problem in the past year. Although those who have health problems may experience more denial of care because they seek care more often, these results speak to the fact that those in the least privileged jobs are the most likely to have health issues.

Access to Justice

Those most vulnerable to human-rights abuses, such as orphans, widows, sex workers, and displaced persons, are also those least able to access traditional and formal justice mechanisms. Indeed, there is a perception that those responsible for justice are some of the worst perpetrators of human-rights abuses themselves.

Law Enforcement and Justice

Mining communities surveyed paint a picture of rampant corruption in both state and nonstate institutions, and severely restricted access to justice. In the qualitative phase of the project, respondents noted that demands for justice after suffering human-rights violations are at best unrealistic and, at worst, dangerous. Those most vulnerable to human-rights abuses, such as orphans, widows, sex workers, and displaced persons, are also those least able to access

traditional and formal justice mechanisms. In fact, there was a general perception that those within the justice system were often the most likely to leverage their power to abuse communities. Issues needing redress may range from personal violations (such as rape) to labor abuses (such as nonpayment or insufficient payment for work) in the mines.

Women bear the brunt of this discrimination, as expressed by female transporters from the mining community of Mushinga; they noted that lack of access to justice was one piece of a more complex reality defined by gendered discriminations in their communities:

Women are despised here—people don't want women asserting their rights. However, we would like to see an organized structure to defend women's rights here in our community. Some of these structures do exist but they are very discriminatory, because one cannot help you if you have no money or if you don't have influence in the organization.

Participants across the provinces surveyed described state mechanisms largely disengaged from the judicial process due to corruption and frequent implication in human-rights abuses themselves. Participants described the prerequisites in gaining access to these structures: money and influence. Such preconditions create greater separation between state mechanisms and the communities they are meant to serve. Young women in Nyabibwe described the importance of cash in getting assistance from authorities if you have a problem in the mines:

There are also security people there [in the mines], but they can help you only if you have money, if you don't there is nothing. Even if you get help in the first place from an authority, if someone comes with more money your dossier gets put to the ground. Here there are no rights for women or anyone else—money is what determines all.

Further compounding the problem of justice is the probability that agents of the state are perpetrators

of human-rights abuses themselves, as suggested by a focus group of miners in Nyabibwe:

In order to get your rights back if you had a problem you have to go to the big men, but then the problem is that they are often the same ones that stole from you—this means that if your rights are violated it's almost impossible to get them back, if he has good will he can give it back, if not, it's not possible.

Furthermore, bringing one's problems to authorities can expose people to more challenges than if they had stayed silent. In Nyabibwe, women described the resulting justice-seeking fatigue: "We also feel tired because we have been stolen from so many times and now there is nowhere to go to work, our rights are also always violated, if you follow up on this you will be seen as an enemy of the group in charge."

Participants described how speaking out about abuses would expose one to punishment from those in power. Female transporters from Nyabibwe described the seriousness of this threat:

We see that the government doesn't follow up on anything related to the rights of people [human rights] because it will look like a rebellion against them, meaning that if you follow up a lot on one of your problems, the problem won't die, but you will.

Many avoid seeking justice due to a lack of faith in the system. If, however, one does seek services, intimidation and harassment from perpetrators can ensure that accusers drop their charges. Women stated that if they complain about their treatment, they are blocked from getting jobs in and around the mine.

Alternative Sources of Justice: Traditional Structures

Customary structures for resolving disputes and delivering justice were portrayed by participants in Phase 1 as slightly friendlier to vulnerable groups than state institutions. However, participants noted that this changed with the conflict and that these structures were not as effective as they once were, because armed groups often purposefully killed or forced out community leaders during the conflict.

Before the major wars of the 1990s, communities often sought justice through *bashamuka*, local wise men trusted by the community to make relatively fair decisions regarding community and family-level disputes. Community leaders in Mushinga reflected on this process:

Before everything [the conflict], it was first of all the mature or wise people of the neighborhood who did reconciliation. We call them the "deans" or wise people [bashamuka] and if you still couldn't fix the problem, you go to the justice, which is to

say to the tribunal by way of the police. It's like that that men resolved their problems here in our village. Other ways of resolving problems is through mediation. We call the two concerned parties and look at how to reconcile the problem by showing them the possible routes to a solution. If they accept—that's it. The problem is resolved. If not, they go to the leaders of that area like the chef de centre, chef de localite, chef de groupement. Women solved their problems in the same way as men.

With the conflict came displacement and the separation of families and communities, frequently leading to a breakdown of the social fabric in villages

across eastern Congo. As security improved and people returned home, mining towns became attractive places for vulnerable groups and those having trouble regaining rights to their land to seek employment. Due to the large presence of “outsiders” in mining communities, traditional and customary systems of justice became less effective and able to solve disputes and offer justice.

Resiliency in the Absence of the State

The vast majority of participants of focus groups and interviews in two mining sites in South Kivu expressed a feeling of hopelessness when discussing justice. The common saying was that the best way to get justice was to forget about their problems and move on. When probed about last resorts to solving their problems, miners in Nyabibwe said, “The only thing to do is to stay quiet and forget about it. . . . People get solutions by just leaving their problems behind, because there is no way you will actually just get a solution.”

In the absence of courts and tribunals, trusted administrative authorities, and capable national human-rights institutions or ombudspersons, participants said they relied on each other and small associations as the most neutral and capable parties for bringing some level of justice. For instance, in Nyabibwe, the association of the “free women,” led by a respected woman in the community, assists members of the group if their rights are violated. Although she admits that her own authority is limited due to her gender, coming together provides support to an otherwise extremely vulnerable population. If one of them is harassed or arrested by the police, the group will often pool together money, made from membership fees, in order to pay for her release. Due to the absence of effective state and nonstate actors to assist vulnerable groups in accessing justice, women and youth are increasingly relying on each other to resolve disputes

and seek justice to the extent possible. These groups also provide potential scope for increasing free and fair participation in the sector, as noted in the following discussion of the last human-rights issue.

Right to Participate

Cooperatives and associations are the most common forms of social organization though available only to miners, and not often to transporters and washers. Very low rates of access to savings were found in both male and female survey respondents (76.5 and 89.2 respectively). When asked about interest in accessing savings and loans programs, 50 percent of women and 76 percent of men responded yes. Most people stated they would use these programs to create savings or reduce debts, rather than to buy goods.

Identifying Suitable Structures for Participation

Despite variations in the structure and governance of mining communities across the study sites, some commonalities are worth highlighting here. These commonalities identify the relationships of power that, first, give rise to the various forms of exploitation noted in the following discussion, and, second, provide future entry points for influencing positive change in mining communities.

Research participants overwhelmingly stated that power structures do not represent vulnerable populations. Instead, there is an aura of secrecy around policies and decision making by local authorities, mining cooperatives, and armed groups. This results

in mistrust and a sense that political systems are entrenched in corruption and nepotism. As miners from Nyabibwe state, “It is a secret of the cooperatives how they work, there are many meetings they do that they don’t invite people, we don’t know how it really works inside.”

Mining Cooperatives

Although *comptoirs* and *negociants* are at the top of the mineral trade, the control of day-to-day mining operations is generally run either by powerful cooperatives or traditional authorities. In areas where cooperatives are present, they often fight for control over mines. DRC’s Mining Code and accompanying regulations for artisanal miners requires that cooperatives are created in order to control mineral exploitation. In the sites surveyed for this project, however, cooperatives still do not exist. Instead, customary authorities run the day-to-day operations, influencing which *negociants* and *comptoirs* buy from the mine. One hold supervisor from the Maholi mine explained that “almost all of the miners are from the village here, only a few from Bukavu. The Mwami¹⁰ is the one that controls all of this.”

The 2002 Mining Code mandates that cooperatives be created in order for a group of artisanal miners to exploit an area with semi-industrial equipment. The town of Nyabibwe was targeted by mineral tagging schemes. In this area, mining cooperatives are visibly present and powerful. In places where cooperatives have gained a foothold in politics, they seem to take on the same characteristics of traditional power structures, reinforcing discriminatory gender roles and facilitating exploitation of vulnerable populations in the mining process. Female transporters in Nyabibwe describe this:

We don’t know how they operate because they don’t involve us, they don’t care about us mama transporters, that is why these days there is no one work available, and while we are suffering they don’t care. These groups are mainly made for men, not us women.

10. Traditional king.

Where cooperatives do exist, membership is mandatory. In Nyabibwe, two major cooperatives have come into conflict, resulting in violence and delays in development of the mining infrastructure. Despite these challenges, however, participants gave some examples of positive collaboration between cooperatives benefiting communities. For example, a young woman in Nyabibwe noted: “Sometimes the cooperatives work together; for example, they might all put money together and buy a machine, and in that sense they help bring benefits to other people.” Even though cooperatives provide occasional support to the mining processes in a way that can benefit vulnerable communities, the main fora for marginalized people in mining towns are small associations.

Associations

Excluded from participating in local policymaking and distribution of mining profits, many residents of mining communities turn to associations as the only fora where they can be heard. Women in Nyabibwe describe how associations give them a united voice and opportunities to pool their resources to protect against financial shocks:

These [associations] unite women who don’t have any options in life, wafupi—women who can’t be seen or heard—get together, they can put in money together and give out small loans. For us wafupi, what should we do? There is no place else to go.

Associations often promote community development, give loans, or act as a type of union of professional workers. Miners, masons, carpenters, and farmers form associations to modernize their trade and to gain representation with those in power (Box 3.1). Women and youth groups also form associations to create social networks and discuss their common challenges. Youth in Mushinga describe the types of associations in their community and the benefit they brought to the population:

Yes there are associations here at home: MED [Mothers Engaged for Development] APPP, PADI, LDF, CRIS D’AFRIQUE, RECOPE, which are involved in agriculture, carpentry, child protection. These associations

BOX 3.1 CASE STUDY: ASSOCIATION OF THE “FREE WOMEN” IN NYABIBWE

In Nyabibwe, a respected woman, Mama Angelique,* who had worked herself in the mines for years, was asked by a local leader to help address the fact that many young women were flocking to the town to become prostitutes. She described, “That was why with *chef de poste* came and said we need to look after [these young women]. Let us pick one woman to look after them, the beaten, raped. I was selling beer up at the mine; they picked me because I was serious and was able to look after them.” Because it was an active mining center, women came long distances due to the perceptions that miners had money to spend. The influx of these women was taxing the nearly nonexistent town infrastructure. For instance, the local hospital was becoming overwhelmed, as women who did not have the money to pay for vital health services for themselves and their children would wait to seek care until their medical problems were extremely advanced. Then, they would default on their bills.

Mama Angelique, with the critical support of local leaders, created an informal collective of sex workers. Each person pays a fee of five dollars, which was then used to pay members’ health care bills as needed or to get them out of jail. The leader of this association described this process:

[A member] will pay some small money to enter the association, it will stay in the mchango [pot of contributions]; many of them will have a children without a dad, so this money helps them get health support, and other support when they are sick or have problems.

Women who joined the collective said it was critical support as it enabled them to access healthcare, endure economic shocks, and build peer-support. This was all possible without any external financial input. Political will, charismatic and driven individuals, and social organization together assisted these young women address some of their most pressing problems. The young women in the association didn’t want to be called prostitutes, so they described how they wanted to call their association “The Association of Free Women.”

*Name changed for confidentiality.

are beneficial to the community because the population works with them and likes the reasons these associations exist in our population.

Strengthening Participation through Economic Organization

Access to savings and loans was further identified as an important vehicle for promoting more equitable participation in the mining economy by participants in Phase 1. In Phase 2, the research investigated current levels of access to savings and loans mechanisms. Furthermore, Phase 2 investigated participant appetite for savings and loans programs in the future. Few people reported having access to savings and loans groups, a finding that was similar for men and women (Table 3.6). Interestingly, slightly more women than men reported having access to these

Table 3.6: Men and Women Who Reported Having Access to Savings and Loans Groups

	Female % (n)	Male % (n)	Total % (N)
No	76.5% (273)	89.2% (572)	84.7% (845)
Yes	10.4% (37)	7.8% (50)	8.7% (87)
No response	13.1% (47)	3.0% (19)	35.1% (350)
Total	100% (357)	100% (641)	100% (998)

groups. Similarly, 9 percent of women and 6 percent of men reported active membership in these groups.

When asked if they would like access to savings and loans programs, 50 percent of women and 76 percent of men said yes. Most people stated they want the opportunity to create savings or reduce their debts, rather than to buy goods.

SECTION 4

Discussion

The popular advocacy narrative surrounding ASM in EDRC—that the wealth generated from mining fuels the ongoing conflict and, as a result, exacerbates the conflict-related abuse of women—has been questioned by a number of scholars, who argue that oversimplification has led to misguided policies and a lack of understanding about the true issues facing women (and men) in the mining areas of EDRC (Hayes and Perks 2012; Kelly 2014; Pact 2010; Seay 2012, 2014). The findings of this project emphasizes that conditions and dynamics in which people work in ASM sites are indeed complex, but there are also concrete points for positive change.

The respondents in both phases of this project were highly migratory populations with low levels of education. Survey results show that women reported migrating to mining sites from other areas more often than men. They cited a lack of money or employment as reasons for migrating, whereas men moved most often because they lacked access to services in the areas from where they came. Women who seek work in mining towns are often the sole income earner in the family, either due to the loss of husbands or male family members due to the conflict, or the failure of their traditional income earning strategies (Hayes and Perks 2012). Women's higher rates of migration to unfamiliar towns can also bring a number of vulnerabilities, including lack of access to social support groups and lack of access to, and knowledge of, goods and services. The least reported reason for migration was displacement by an armed group, which highlights how economic and development opportunities were a greater motivator for the respondents sampled than conflict insecurity, a finding that is consistent with other recent studies (Geenen 2012).

This report also highlights how acts of discrimination and exploitation in mining areas can range from the subtle—a lack of representation among mining authorities, political disenfranchisement, exposure to occupational health hazards without proper access to health services, and illegal taxation—to extreme, such as sexual violence, child labor, and debt bondage. Although the latter abuses often receive the most attention, the former are perhaps the most pervasive. Consider findings from a 2014 U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) survey in artisanal mining towns in northeastern DRC: Although labor trafficking, forced marriage, and debt bondage were reported by survey participants, these abuses were relatively rare, and many of the perpetrators were described as family members, mining bosses, other miners, or government officials, as opposed to armed actors from a particular group (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014). The same report details abuses such as usurious lending, work without pay, and

predatory taxation. These practices were, however, undertaken mostly by civilian authorities rather than armed actors (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014). These types of exploitation also emerge in the findings from this present report, confirming prior research results cited herein.

Women detailed a variety of unique vulnerabilities to exploitation compared to their male counterparts. Although women are vital actors in mining communities and fill a variety of roles, they are also among the most vulnerable to sexual and economic predation. The more profitable jobs are, more often than not, kept for men. Women are paid less than men for the same amount of work or level of effort, and are excluded from high-level conversations that ultimately dictate their circumstances (Hayes and Perks 2012; Kelly, King-Close, and Perks 2014). Unfortunately, such practices are not exclusive to the DRC alone, as described by Eftimie et al. (2012), Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre (2006), and Hinton et al. (2003) in other ASM contexts across the globe.

This report details how gendered employment patterns emerge in mining towns. The job of miner was almost exclusively filled by men, whereas the vast majority of women worked in support roles such as selling food or engaging in transactional sex. Past research also found that women are excluded from the highest-paying jobs, with many relegated to occupations such as sorting, gathering, washing, cooking, selling goods, and/or engaging in transactional sex (Hayes 2008; Hayes and Perks 2012). No women worked as *chefs d'équipe*, *comptoirs*, or PNGs, and only eight men reported being sex workers. Looking at the marital background of men and women who seek work in mining towns highlights a notable difference. Whereas most men working in mining towns are single or married, a very high proportion of women reported being widowed or divorced. These findings suggest that women who have lost the support of a male relative, either through death or separation, may be forced to seek work in mining towns in order to survive. As noted by Hilson (2009), mining towns can provide opportunities for employment for traditionally marginalized populations. The jobs that

are available to these vulnerable groups, however, are often low paying and exploitative.

Results from this work also highlight the overly simplistic nature of the narrative of "rape as a weapon of war." Women in ASM communities navigate a complex backdrop of sexual abuse. Sex is frequently a necessary component of employment in ASM, either as a profession in and of itself or as a requirement in order to access other work opportunities or security. Women deal with myriad challenges, sometimes coming in the form of men failing to pay after sex or forcing the woman to have sex even if a price has not yet been negotiated. In focus groups, women reported sexual harassment, rape, and forced performance of sexual favors, and the USAID report found that 7.1 percent of female survey participants experienced forced sex within the past year (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014). Responses to the USAID survey highlight the additional vulnerability implicit in this kind of transactional sex work, as women who reported ever having engaged in sex work were significantly more likely to also report sexual violence (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014). Bashwira et al. (2013) and Mahy (2011) support these findings, reporting on the complex dynamics between sex, employment, and power in ASM communities.

Exclusion for political processes and entrenched discrimination were described as the norm in the communities visited for Phase 1. Vulnerable groups, including women, the elderly, the poor and landless, children, and the handicapped (to name a few), were absent from political decision-making. Instead, participants stated that power resides in the hands of a few powerful individuals. Marginalized groups described self-organizing into associations in an attempt to gain a sense of self-agency. However, they lack the financial means, human capacity, and political influence to make lasting impacts.

The reasons behind marginalization of women in particular are myriad. However, they seem to rest principally on three mutually reinforcing axes: cultural norms, altered family structure (resulting from decades of war and destruction), and education.

Despite women's rise in the public work domain, many traditional and socially entrenched patriarchal beliefs have continued to prevent women from engaging in meaningful, productive employment in the mines. The burden of the female single wage earner becomes even starker, as the most vulnerable women face higher rates of sexual predation than their married female counterparts. This culture has further retained, and made remarkable use of, common superstitions that perpetuate the belief that women working in mines are a form of bad luck. Hayes and Perks (2012) provide the example of the prevalent belief held among miners in Orientale and Katanga provinces: If a woman enters a mine, the minerals will vanish. These norms and taboos are perpetuated by a lack of education regarding mining laws and codes. Kelly, King-Close, and Perks (2014) provide the example of an article within the 2002 Mining Code for the DRC dictating that pregnant women cannot engage in hazardous or heavy labor. This specific mining code article has enjoyed sweeping misinterpretation across the mines in the DRC in order to prevent women from engaging in any mining activity. As shown in the report, often people are ignorant of the rights they have under national and international law. In fact, ignorance and misconceptions about mining laws and regulations are widespread. The continued marginalization and exploitation of women and children is but one expression of this.

This work particularly investigates patterns of discrimination and political exclusion. Interestingly, men were more likely to report being denied a job they wanted, which is potentially explained by the fact that men seek more competitive jobs. Women, in contrast, were more likely to be denied access to the mining area overall. This may be related to the fact that widespread ignorance and misconceptions existed related to mining laws and policies. Notably, there were widespread perceptions that women were not allowed to work as miners or in other physically taxing jobs. Similarly, respondents thought that all children were banned from working in mining, although Congolese law allows for this work as long as children are older than 15 years of age and do not do physically hazardous jobs. These misconceptions

lead not to total exclusion of women and children from mining areas, but, rather, to their marginalization to low-paying support jobs.

The lack of structures to ensure fair practices and to promote justice served to reinforce a culture of predation on women, fostering a culture of both cultural and judicial impunity. As highlighted by an outside scholar and by an SGBV expert during one feedback session on the report results in Washington, D.C., the general erosion of state institutions has contributed enormously to the abuse of women—economically, physically and sexually—both in mining and nonmining areas of EDRD.¹¹ Putting aside whether the culture of impunity is more acute in mining versus nonmining areas, it is important to recall the nature of these extractive environments: by and large remote, isolated geographic spaces where alcohol and drug consumption is prevalent (Pact 2010). Those most vulnerable to human-rights abuses, such as orphans, widows, sex workers, and displaced persons, are also those least able to access traditional and formal justice mechanisms. It emerged clearly from this feedback session that rebuilding state institutions needs to be placed front row and center in the fight to promote women's rights in these settings. In viewing SGBV as an expression of a much wider societal breakdown, one begins to see how multifaceted human-rights issues are in mining areas, requiring, by consequence, a holistic, multi-sectoral approach toward rebuilding individuals, families, and communities-at-large.

One could consider, for example, the health consequences of SGBV alone to understand the need for a multi-sectoral approach. Participants in the research project spoke particularly about HIV/AIDS as an emerging threat that the nearly nonexistent health infrastructure in most isolated mining areas is not equipped to handle. Close quarters and hard

11. See: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2015/05/04/empowering-women-in-the-mines-of-the-eastern-democratic-republic-of-the-congo?cid=ISG_E_WBWeeklyUpdate_NL, from "Gender, Human Rights, and Resilience in Artisanal Mining Towns" presentation, World Bank, Washington, D.C., March 18, 2015.

labor mean that other health issues, including physical trauma, diarrhea, tuberculosis, respiratory infections, malnutrition, and malaria, are rampant. It is certainly plausible that HIV/AIDS and other STIs may be more prevalent in mining towns in EDRC, as is the case in other settings (Conro and de Walque 2012; Clift et al. 2003). Furthermore, superstition often replaces education about the spread of disease, increasing the likelihood of high STI prevalence rates in ASM communities (Pact 2010). Populations working in and around mines are at risk for a great number of other health risks due to structural issues, exposure to minerals, ergonomic concerns, and a lack of sanitation and safety equipment. Health issues include, but are not limited to mining disasters, mercury exposure, radioactive material exposure, gastrointestinal disease, malnutrition, infection, lung disease, bone and muscle injuries, and heat stress (Pact 2010; Hayes and Wagner 2008; Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014; Walle and Jennings 2001). Pregnancy, reproductive concerns, and injuries due to SGBV are also issues of concern for women specifically, especially given the general lack of access to adequate health care (Hayes and Perks 2012; Pact 2010). Drug and alcohol use is described as being rampant in mining towns and inside the quarries themselves. The effects of substance abuse are an increase in violence and a breakdown in the social fabric of their villages. Participants in this research project often described the mining lifestyle pulling apart traditional family structures.

Of those who needed health care in the past year, a majority of respondents from Phase 2 said they accessed it and thought the care they received was adequate. Women, however, were three times more likely to say the care they received was not adequate. This potentially speaks to the health system being ill prepared to provide care for the health needs of women, which include unintended pregnancy, sexual and physical violence, and STIs. Women also reported health facilities being unable to treat their conditions more than men did. Cost was cited as a barrier to care, with 14 percent of women and 7 percent of men saying they had been denied medical care at least once in their lives because they could not pay. Those

in the most vulnerable and lowest-paying jobs were the most likely to be denied care. This is an especially concerning issue because those most likely to report being denied care are also the most likely to report having had a health problem in the past year. Although those who have health problems may experience more denial of care because they seek care more often, these results speak to the fact that those in the least privileged jobs are the most likely to have health issues. A quarter of respondents said they had taken out a loan to pay for medical care. In the USAID study conducted in mining towns in South Kivu and Maniema, paying for health care was cited as the third most common reason that people took out loans (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014).

Against this challenging backdrop, however, the research pointed to promising examples of civic organization with the potential for providing inclusivity and social support to miners. According to the 2002 Mining Code, all artisanal miners are obliged to be part of a cooperative. The experience of cooperative formation in ASM in the DRC is, however, extremely varied. Members pay a range of entrance fees and taxes. Depending on the size and scope of the cooperative, miners may either enjoy profit-sharing arrangements and protection or receive no such benefits (Pact 2010). Although hailed by government as critical for better organizing the ASM sector, the perception of cooperatives' benefit for miners varies. For instance, Kelly (2014) reported that certain mining communities perceive cooperatives as being embedded within the hierarchy and failing to represent many within the community. Geenen (2014) expresses a similar concern specifically in the gold mines of South Kivu.

Yet the power of collective organization as a means to represent miners' concerns, and respond to immediate issues, cannot be altogether dismissed. The research results from this project suggest that smaller, trade-specific groups known as associations may be more beneficial for marginalized communities, thereby supporting prior research in specific mining areas. For instance, a USAID survey found that less than 20 percent of workers in the

lowest-paying trades, such as potters, food venders, and sex workers, reported belonging to a community group, compared to 50 percent of mining team leaders and 25 percent of miners (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014). Additionally, 25 percent of men reported belonging to groups, compared with 17 percent of women (Kelly, Greenberg, et al. 2014). For instance, in select areas of northern Orientale, associations that combine literacy and savings objectives for miners have proven to be effective vehicles for self-organization (Hayes and Wauwe 2009). Whereas in South Kivu, Kelly, King-Close, and Perks (2014) reported the example of the “Association of Free Women,” representing women involved in sex work, members of the group expressed the critical role it has played in their access to health care, financial stability, and social support. In Phase 2, women surveyed reported greater access to savings and loans programs than men, possibly because NGOs target women for these programs. Utilization of these services, however, was extremely low (9 percent for women and 6 percent for men), despite the fact that half of all women and three-quarters of men stated they wanted access to these programs, indicating a large unmet need. Such forms of self-organization described earlier could be better expanded.

Indeed, in the absence of courts and tribunals, as well as capable national human-rights institutions or ombudspersons, participants in the research said they relied on each other and small associations as the most neutral and capable parties for bringing some level of justice in their communities. Active systems of associations were in fact present in every site, speaking to an enterprising spirit and desire for more inclusive political engagement. People often self-organized to promote a common profession,

cause, or interest. However, these groups lack the financial means, human capacity, and political influence to make sustainable change. Organizing to create more effective unions and associations, while promoting grassroots inclusive economic cooperatives, offers a potentially more meaningful opportunity for improving life in mining towns.

The implementation of laws and policies is a critical part of the formalization process for artisanal mining in the DRC. Knowledge of and adherence to these laws at the local level is the only avenue for successful implementation. A minority of men and women surveyed, however, stated that they were aware of the existence of the mining code and of related laws. Women were far less likely than men to report knowledge of the mining code. Community organizations were described as an effective avenue for education for all members of the community. There were, however, gendered differences in ways that people gained knowledge. Men were most likely to receive information from radio messages, whereas women stated they received information more readily from their peers.

Findings from this work bring to light several new pathways for understanding the challenges facing both men and women in the mines of eastern DRC. These pathways also emphasize the need for holistic responses to ensure sufficient change in behaviors and practices in the mines of the DRC. These programmatic and policy responses will need to fundamentally be linked to the long-term project of rebuilding the state in the DRC. Most importantly, reforms should be informed by, and responsive to, the needs of those working in mining, so that all of those seeking fair and equitable work opportunities can find them.

APPENDIX 1

Formulaire Etude Mines (31-10-2014) avec Swahili

Interview

» Demographics

D01 Sex?

Do not ask. Just select correct response.

- ☐ Male ☐ Female

D02 What is your age?

Must fall between 18-130; 999 if no answer

D03 What best describes your work?

- ☐ I DO NOT do work related to mining
☐ I DO work related to mining
☐ I provide goods or services to miners
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

D03a Please specify

D03b Does this work relate to mining?

FOR SURVEYOR TO ANSWER ONLY

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

D04 What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ No school
☐ Primary incomplete

- ☐ Primary complete
☐ Secondary incomplete
☐ Secondary complete
☐ Higher than secondary
☐ Other
☐ No Response/I don't know

D04a Please specify

D05 Are you the head of your household?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

D06 What is your marital status?

- ☐ Married with one spouse
☐ Married with multiple spouses
☐ Living together like married persons
☐ Never married/Single
☐ Widowed
☐ Separated
☐ Divorced
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

D06a Please specify

D06b How many spouses do you have?

D07 How many children do you support in your household(s)?

999 if no answer

D08 Are you the main income-earner in your household?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

D08a How long have you been the main income earner?

List number of years, months, or weeks

» Spouse Information

S01 Does your spouse live with you?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

S01a Does s/he work?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

S01b Does s/he give money to the household?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

S01c How much does your spouse contribute to the household in a normal week?

Specify answer in francs.

S02 Where does your spouse live?

Specify all four of the following: DISTRICT, TERRITOIRE, PROVINCE, COUNTRY

S03 What is your spouse's age?

Must fall below 130, or write 999

S04 What is your spouse's highest level of education?

- ☐ No school
☐ Primary incomplete
☐ Primary complete
☐ Secondary incomplete
☐ Secondary complete
☐ Higher than secondary
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

S04a Please specify

S05 Is one of the partners you mentioned here in the mining town?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

» Spouse 2

S01_1 Does your first spouse live with you?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S01a_1 Does s/he work?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S01b_1 Does s/he give money to the household?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S01c_1 How much does your spouse contribute to the household in a normal week?

Specify answer in francs.

S02_1 Where does your spouse live?

Specify all four of the following: DISTRICT, TERRITOIRE, PROVINCE, COUNTRY

S03_1 What is your spouse's age?

Must fall below 130, or write 999

S04_1 What is your spouse's highest level of education?

- ☐ No school
- ☐ Primary incomplete
- ☐ Primary complete
- ☐ Secondary incomplete
- ☐ Secondary complete
- ☐ Higher than secondary
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S04a_1 Please specify

» Spouse 3

S01_2 Does your second spouse live with you?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S01a_2 Does s/he work?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S01b_ Does s/he give money to the household?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

S01c_2 How much does your spouse contribute to the household in a normal week?

Specify answer in francs.

S02_2 Where does your spouse live?

Specify all four of the following: DISTRICT, TERRITOIRE, PROVINCE, COUNTRY

S03_2 What is your spouse's age?

Must fall below 130, or write 999

S04_2 What is your spouse's highest level of education?

- ☐ No school
☐ Primary incomplete
☐ Primary complete
☐ Secondary incomplete
☐ Secondary complete
☐ Higher than secondary
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

S04a_2 Please specify

» Spouse 4

S01_3 Does your third spouse live with you?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

S01a_3 Does s/he work?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

S01b_3 Does s/he give money to the household?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

S01c_3 How much does your spouse contribute to the household in a normal week?

Specify answer in francs.

S02_3 Where does your spouse live?

Specify all four of the following: DISTRICT, TERRITOIRE, PROVINCE, COUNTRY

S03_3 What is your spouse's age?

Must fall below 130, or write 999

S04_3 What is your spouse's highest level of education?

- ☐ No school
☐ Primary incomplete
☐ Primary complete
☐ Secondary incomplete
☐ Secondary complete
☐ Higher than secondary
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

S04a_3 Please specify

» Mining Related Activities

MA01 You mentioned you work in the mining sector, what do you currently do related to mining?

- ☐ Creuseur
☐ Chef d'equipe
☐ Porter
☐ Cleaner
☐ Comptoir
☐ Negociant
☐ Food vendor
☐ Sex worker
☐ PNG
☐ Other
☐ No Response/I don't know

MA01a Please specify

MA02 Are you paid in cash or in-kind for this work?

- ☐ In cash ☐ In kind
☐ No response/I don't know

MA02a Please specify

MA03 Does the money/goods go to you directly or someone else?

- ☐ Paid to me
☐ Paid to someone else
☐ No response/I don't know

MA03a Please specify

MA04 How long have you done this work?

Detail number of years, months, weeks, days

MA05 On average, how many hours a week do you do this work?

MA06 Why did you decide to do this work?

Select up to 3 options.

- ☐ To earn money
☐ My family pressured me
☐ It was expected of me
☐ I have family who work in the mine
☐ I was forced, threatened
☐ Someone recruited me
☐ Someone tricked me
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

MA06a Please explain further how you were forced into this work.

MA06b Please explain further how you were recruited into this work.

MA06c Please explain further how you were tricked into this work.

MA06d Please specify

MA07 How many mines have you worked at?

You will ask them follow-on details about—at most—the three most recent mines.

» » Mining Location Details

» » » Mining Location Details 2

MA07a How long have you worked at your current mine?

MA07b What kinds of jobs do you do at your current mine?

- ☐ Creuseur
- ☐ Chef d'équipe
- ☐ Porter
- ☐ Cleaner
- ☐ Comptoir
- ☐ Negociant
- ☐ Food vendor
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA07c Please specify

» » » Mining Location Group 3

MA07a_2 How long did you work at mine 2?

MA07b_2 What kinds of jobs did you do at mine 2?

- ☐ Creuseur
- ☐ Chef d'équipe
- ☐ Porter
- ☐ Cleaner
- ☐ Comptoir
- ☐ Negociant
- ☐ Food vendor
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA07c_2 Please specify

» » » Mining Location Group 4

MA07a_3 How long did you work at mine 3?

MA07b_3 What kinds of jobs did you do at mine 3?

- ☐ Creuseur
- ☐ Chef d'équipe
- ☐ Porter
- ☐ Cleaner
- ☐ Comptoir
- ☐ Negociant
- ☐ Food vendor
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA07c_3 Please specify

MA07ba What job did you do most often?

- ☐ Creuseur
- ☐ Chef d'équipe
- ☐ Porter
- ☐ Cleaner
- ☐ Comptoir
- ☐ Negociant
- ☐ Food vendor
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA07d Please specify

MA07e Why did you leave the other mine(s) to be at your current mine?

- ☐ Production went down
- ☐ I heard another mine was producing more
- ☐ Insecurity
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA07f Please specify

MA08 Do you have access to savings and loans groups?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA08a Are you part of this savings and loans group?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA08b Have you found this group helpful?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA08c Why are you not part of the group?

- ☐ I don't trust this form of savings
- ☐ I don't have money to save
- ☐ I don't think I will be treated fairly
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA08d Please specify

MA08e Would you like to have access to a group like this?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MA08f Why would you like to be part of a group like this?

MA09 Why not?

» Migration

M01 Is this your place of origin?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MO2 How long have you lived here?

List answer in years, months, and weeks

MO3 Where did you live prior to coming here?

Detail territoire, district, province, and country

MO4 Why did you move?

Check all that apply

- ☐ I did not have access to services where I came from
- ☐ I did not have access to food in where I came from
- ☐ I was feeling insecure / violence
- ☐ I did not have money / job where I came from
- ☐ I did not have land / access to land where I came from
- ☐ I was displaced by armed groups,
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MO4a Please specify

» Access to Information**AI01 What is your main source of information about the community?**

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Television
- ☐ Friends/Family
- ☐ Religious leaders
- ☐ Local leaders/authorities
- ☐ Mobile Phone
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI01a Please specify

AI02 On average, how often do you listen to a radio?

- ☐ Everyday
- ☐ A few times per week
- ☐ A few times per month
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No Response/I don't know

AI02a Please specify

AI03 Do you have access to or use a cellphone (mobile phone)?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI03a How often do you use a cell phone?

- ☐ Every day
- ☐ A few times per week
- ☐ A few times per month
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI03b Please specify

AI04 Could you rank your level of information about local events?

Read the five options (very good, good, neutral, bad, very bad) after asking the question.

- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Bad
- ☐ Very bad
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI04a What is your main source of information about local events?

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Television
- ☐ Friends/Family
- ☐ Religious leaders
- ☐ Local leaders/authorities
- ☐ Mobile phone
- ☐ Division des Mines
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI04b Please specify

AI05 Could you rank your level of information about laws related to mining?

Read the five options (very good, good, neutral, bad, very bad) after asking the question.

- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Bad
- ☐ Very bad
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI05a What is your main source of information about laws related to mining?

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Television
- ☐ Friends/Family
- ☐ Religious leaders
- ☐ Local leaders/authorities
- ☐ Mobile phone
- ☐ Division des Mines
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI05b Please specify

AI06 Could you rank your level of information about mineral prices?

Read the five options (very good, good, neutral, bad, very bad) after asking the question.

- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Bad
- ☐ Very bad
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI06a What is your main source of information about mineral prices?

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Television
- ☐ Friends/Family
- ☐ Religious leaders
- ☐ Local leaders/authorities
- ☐ Mobile phone
- ☐ Division des Mines
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

AI06b Please specify

» Priorities and Services

P01 Could you tell me what are your 3 most important priorities or concerns in your life right now?

- ☐ Security/Safety
- ☐ Food
- ☐ Land
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Work/Jobs
- ☐ Water and Sanitation
- ☐ Electricity
- ☐ Roads
- ☐ Money
- ☐ Housing
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

P02 Please specify what other priorities or concerns you have currently.

» Information on Mining

IM01 Now I would like to ask you questions about information on mining. Do you know that there is a mining code in the DRC?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM01a How did you find out about it?

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Television
- ☐ Friends/Family
- ☐ Religious leaders
- ☐ Customary leaders
- ☐ Administrative leaders
- ☐ SAESSCAM
- ☐ Division des Mines
- ☐ Cooperative
- ☐ Chef d'equipe
- ☐ Other miners
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM01ab Please specify

IM01b Have you been able to read it yourself?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM01c Would you like to know more about the mining code?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM01ca Would you like to learn about the mining code?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM01d What would be the best way for you to learn more about the mining code?

- ☐ Theater or play
- ☐ In church
- ☐ Through a community group like an association or cooperative
- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM01e Please specify

IM02 Do you know that there is a set of mining regulations that accompany the mining code?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM02a How did you find out about it?

- ☐ Radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Television
- ☐ Friends/Family
- ☐ Religious leaders
- ☐ Customary leaders
- ☐ Administrative leaders
- ☐ SAESSCAM
- ☐ Division des Mines
- ☐ Cooperative
- ☐ Chef d'equipe
- ☐ Other miners
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

IM02ab Please specify

IM02b Have you been able to read these regulations yourself?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

IM02c Would you like to know more about the regulations?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

IM02ca Would you like to know about the regulations?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

IM02d What would be the best way for you to learn more about the regulations?

- ☐ Theater or play
☐ In church
☐ Through a community group like an association or cooperative
☐ Radio
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

IM02e Please specify

IM03 Have you heard about SAESSCAM?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

IM03a What have you heard is SAESSCAM's role?

- ☐ To protect the interest of miners
☐ To charge taxes
☐ To educate miners about the law
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

IM03b Please specify

IM04 Have you ever seen SAESSCAM at your mine?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

IM05 Do you think this group improves miners' lives?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

IM05a How?

IM05b Why not?

» Membership in Community Organizations

MC01 Are you a member of any association, organization or community group(s)?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

MC2 How many groups are you a member of?

You will ask follow-on details for—at most—3 organizations.

MC2a Why not?

» » group_vd7wm51 Organization Details

» » » Group Org2

MC3a What type of association/group is the first group you're a part of?

MC3b Do you pay dues?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC3c How much per year?

MC3ca Why not?

MC3d_2 Do you feel that the organization/ association is able to achieve its purpose?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC3e You said your group was able to achieve its objectives. Can you tell me briefly why you feel this way?

MC3f You said your group was not able to achieve its objectives. Can you tell me briefly why you feel this way?

» » » Group Org3

MC3a_2 What type of association/group is the second group you're a part of?

MC3b_2 Do you pay dues?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC3c_2 How much per year?

MC3ca_2 Why not?

MC3d_2 Do you feel that the organization/ association is able to achieve its purpose?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC3e_2 You said your group was able to achieve its objectives. Can you tell me briefly why you feel this way?

MC3f_2 You said your group was not able to achieve its objectives. Can you tell me briefly why you feel this way?

» » » Group Org4

MC3a_3 What type of association/group is the third group you're a part of?

MC3b_3 Do you pay dues?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC3c_3 How much per year?

MC3ca_3 Why not?

MC3d_3 Do you feel that the organization/association is able to achieve its purpose?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC3e_3 You said your group was able to achieve its objectives. Can you tell me briefly why you feel this way?

MC3f_3 You said your group was not able to achieve its objectives. Can you tell me briefly why you feel this way?

MC4 Were you involved in any sort of disputes related to mining over the last year?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC4a How many?

MC4b What was the most recent dispute about?

(Mark all that apply)

- ☐ Conflict over payment/salary
- ☐ Theft
- ☐ Alcohol
- ☐ Access to mines
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC4c Please specify

MC5 Who do you go to resolve disputes?

Mark all that apply

- ☐ Nobody
- ☐ The other party
- ☐ Neighbors/peers
- ☐ Customary leader
- ☐ Religious leader
- ☐ Police
- ☐ Head of the mine
- ☐ The mayor
- ☐ The courts
- ☐ FARDC
- ☐ Other armed group
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

MC5a Please specify the other armed group.

MC5b Please specify who else you go to resolve disputes.

MC6 Did you feel your dispute was resolved fairly?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

MC6a Why?

MC6b Why not?

» Job Discrimination

WC1 Have you ever been denied a job in the mines that you wanted to have?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

WC1a What was the reason given for denying you the job?

WC1b What kind of job was it?

WC2 At any point since working in the mining sector, have you been denied the ability to access to the mine?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

WC2a Who did this?

WC2b What was the reason given?

WC3 Are you aware of any laws that guarantee people the right to work in mining towns?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

WC3a What kind of protection do these laws offer you?

WC3b Would you know how to use the law to protect you?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

» Safety and Security

SS1 Where do you generally sleep? The mining site or nearby village?

- ☐ Mining site
☐ Nearby village
☐ No response/I don't know

SS2 Please tell which best describes your living quarters/arrangement.

- ☐ Rent a Room of your own in a House
☐ Rent a whole House
☐ Share a rented room in house
☐ Other
☐ No Response/I don't know

SS2a Please specify

SS3 Do you feel safe sleeping in your current situation?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

SS4 In your opinion, who provides safety from crimes here in the community?

- ☐ Nobody
- ☐ The police
- ☐ The army (FARDC)
- ☐ The community itself
- ☐ Other armed group
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

SS4a Please specify which armed group.

SS4b Please specify who provides safety here in the community.

SS5 What about the mining site? Who provides security there?

- ☐ Nobody
- ☐ The police
- ☐ The army (FARDC)
- ☐ The community itself
- ☐ Other armed group
- ☐ Mining boss/PDG
- ☐ Traditional leaders
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

SS5a Please specify which armed group.

SS5b Please specify who provides safety here in the mining site.

» Expenditures, Mining Earnings, and Income

EI1 Before, you said you worked as a related to mining. Would you mind giving me an estimate of your individual earnings in a typical week?

Ask in francs; If they answered 'Other' earlier to their work, you will need to remember their job.

EI2 Do you know if other people earn more than you for the same job?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

EI2a Do you know how much more?

EI2b What kinds of people earn more than you?

EI2c Why do you think they earn more than you?

E13 Do you have a fixed pay, or does your pay depend on production or amount of product sold?

For miners, this might be based on how many minerals you mine

- ☐ Fixed pay
- ☐ Depends on production or amount of product sold
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

E13a Please specify

E14 Who sets this pay?

E15 Can you negotiate this pay?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

E16a How can you negotiate this?

EL6b Why not?

E17 Do you have other sources of income/money?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

E18 What are the other sources of income?

- ☐ Farming
- ☐ Selling small items
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

E18a Please specify

E19 How much do you earn from these other sources on an average week?

Get amount in francs.

E19_001 What is your biggest expense each week?

- ☐ Lodging
- ☐ Food
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Transport
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

E19a Please specify

» Sex Work

SW1 At any point since working in the mining sector, have you exchanged sex or sexual favors for protection?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

SW2 At any point since working in the mining sector, have you exchanged sex or sexual favors for access to work?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

SW3 At any point since working in the mining sector, have you exchanged sex or sexual favors for money?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

SW4 Do you consider yourself a sex worker?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

SW5 Did you expect to go into sex work when you came here?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

SW5a What kind of job did you expect to do?

- ☐ Restaurant
☐ Small commerce
☐ Mining
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

SW5b Please specify

SW5c What happened to make you go into sex work instead?

Select all that apply

- ☐ Sex work was more profitable than the other job
☐ I was forced into sex work by poverty
☐ I was not able to get another job
☐ I had to engage in sex work to be able to do other kinds of work
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

SW5d Please specify

SW6 Is there anything else you would like to add about this?

SW7 Do you have a boss/manager or do you work by yourself?

- ☐ I'm part of an association
☐ I have a boss or manager
☐ I work for myself only
☐ No response/I don't know

SW7a What percent of your salary do you pay to this group or association?

SW7b What percent of your salary do you pay to this manager?

SW8 Have you ever had to pay a tax that is unique to sex workers?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

SW8a Who did you pay this to?

SW8b On average, how much did you pay?

» Right to Health

RH1 How long does it take to travel to the nearest health facility?

RH2 Have you had a medical issue in the past year?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

RH3 Did you visit a clinic or other health facility?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

RH3a Why not?

- ☐ It was too far away
☐ I couldn't afford it
☐ I didn't know where to go
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

RH3b Please specify

RH3c Did you receive adequate care?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

RH3d Why?

RH3da Why not?

RH3e If yes, who paid for this health care?

(check all that apply)

- ☐ Employer
☐ NGO
☐ Self
☐ Family
☐ Other
☐ No Response/I don't know

RH3f Please specify

RH4 Have you ever had to take out a loan to pay for your care?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

RH5 Have you ever been denied medical care?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

RH5a When was this?

RH5b What was the reason you were denied?

- ☐ Couldn't pay
☐ The clinic didn't know how to treat me
☐ The clinic was closed
☐ The clinic didn't have staff
☐ Other
☐ No response/I don't know

RH5c Please specify

» KAP Questions

K1 Do you think that women have the right to work as miners?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

K1a Why?

K1aa Why not?

K2 Do you think that women have the right to work as comptoirs or negociants?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

K2a Why?

K2b Why not?

K3 Do you think that children have the right to do jobs around the mines, as long as these jobs are not dangerous?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

K3a Why?

K3b Why not?

» Questions for Women only

W1 Do you have problems as a woman working in mining that men don't face?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

W1a Can you tell me what your one biggest problem is?

W2 Have you ever experienced name calling or harassment from men in the mines?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

W3 When this happened to you, how often did you experience this?

- ☐ Every day
☐ A few times a week
☐ A few times a month
☐ A few times a year
☐ No response/I don't know

W4 Has this happened in the past 12 months?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ No response/I don't know

W5 What is the relationship between the men who harassed you and you?

- ☐ Co-worker
☐ Supervisor or Boss
☐ Husband
☐ Father
☐ Other family member
☐ Other—with other options
☐ No response/I don't know
☐ Other—ONLY SELECTION

W6 Please specify what the relationship between the men who harassed you and you is.

W6a Please specify what the relationship between the men who harassed you and you is beyond what you have already explained.

W7 Are you ever told that you cannot earn the same money as men because you are a woman?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ No response/I don't know

W8 Did this discourage or encourage you in trying to earn more money?

☐ Encouraged

☐ Discouraged

☐ No Response/I don't know

W9 Have you ever turned down a job because of problems at home that required your attention? ie: children, caring for others, etc.

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ No response/I don't know

W10 What kind of problems at home?

☐ Caring for children

☐ Caring for others

☐ I was sick

☐ I was pregnant

☐ Other

☐ No response/I don't know

W11 Please specify

W11a Have you ever discussed these types of discrimination with other people?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ No response/I don't know

W12 Have you ever discussed with other people how to overcome the types of discrimination we discussed above?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ No response/I don't know

W13 Has there been any follow up action on this?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ No response/I don't know

W14 What kind of action?

Check all that apply

☐ Dialogue with leaders/mining bosses

☐ Punishment for those who discriminate

☐ Meetings with other members of the association

☐ Other

☐ No response/I don't know

W15 Please specify

W16 Would your current associations/ organizations be able to help address the types of discrimination we discussed above?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ No response/I don't know

W17 How would they be able to help?

- ☐ They could provide advice
- ☐ They could help by speaking with the authorities
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No response/I don't know

W17a Please specify

W18 Do you have initiatives or current ideas to tackle some of these discriminations that you'd like to share with us?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

W19 Could you share these with us ?

W20 Is there any person or organization that you can go to to get help for your problems here in the community?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

W21 Who or which organization?

W22 If there was an opportunity to form a women's network in the DRC for women in mining, would you join?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ No response/I don't know

W22a Why not?

W23 What do you think are the most important issues for women in the mines that this network could bring awareness about to the government?

W24 What do you think would be the way to inform other women about this network and how these women could participate?

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the work. We appreciate your time.

If the participant seemed distressed, remember to give them a referral card

- ☐ Complete

Please register your GPS information.

GPS coordinates can only be collected when outside.

latitude (x.y °)

longitude (x.y °)

altitude (m)

accuracy (m)

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