

# **The Challenges in Extractive Sector Policymaking, affecting the Women of Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2020**

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## **Abstract**

Despite wealth the extractive sector generates, resource-rich countries typically have declining outcomes for women (Ross, 2008). Since mining products make up over 50% of African exports (WTO, 2018), this trend of poor outcomes for women is a concern. This study aims to evaluate the policymaking environment for women in extractives, in a two-country case study analysis of the DRC and Botswana.

The research is a cross-sectional analysis with a policymaking lens. It uses qualitative techniques, with ten semi-structured interviews; seven from the DRC and three from Botswana. Participants had a range of backgrounds, including women in mines and senior management, to NGOs and international organisations. The interviews were analysed using thematic analysis, outlined in Braun and Clarke (2006), and sentiment analysis, outlined in Öztürk and Ayvaz (2018).

The findings indicate that the main challenge for Botswana and Congolese women when engaging in extractive sector policymaking is the ineffective policymaking processes currently in place. This manifests itself in the following areas: implementation issues, disconnect between the policymakers and grassroots, blindness to gender inequalities, cultural views of women, and COVID-19. By identifying these issues, more systems can be put in place to make extractive sector policymaking an environment that addresses women's needs.

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## Abbreviations and Terminology

ASM – Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining

Batswana – people from Botswana

CEDAW - The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

Congolese – people from the DRC

CSOs – Civil Society Organisations

DRC – Democratic Republic of the Congo

EITI – Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative

GBV – Gender-Based Violence

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations

PPP – Public-Private Partnership

SADC – South African Development Community

SDG – Sustainable Development Goal

STEM – Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

UMIC – Upper-Middle-Income Country

UN – United Nations

WTO – World Trade Organisation

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

The Resource Curse is a phenomenon affecting many resource-rich countries. Instead of experiencing a boom in development and wealth as they extract resources, these countries suffering from the Resource Curse will often make little-to-no progress compared to their expected trajectory. This is usually attributed to currency depreciation, making imports cheaper while damaging exports, which weakens the economy, and ultimately leads to negative consequences for gender outcomes. With increased resource extraction, policies and training are focused towards upskilling the male-dominated workforce, advantaging them further, and thus entrenching inequalities (Ross, 2008; NGRI, 2015). The COVID-19 crisis is anticipated to exacerbate Resource Curse issues further due to shrinking extractive sector demand globally (Brodzicki, 2020).

Botswana and the DRC were chosen in this study as they have had varying degrees of resource growth. Botswana has been successful in re-investing its extraction benefits and making progress towards gender equality. In literature, it is referred to as an exemplary country since it escaped the Resource Curse (Pegg, 2012). However, resource extraction in the DRC is shrouded in corruption and negative outcomes particularly for women. Both countries are in two different stages of development; Botswana as an upper-middle-income country; and the DRC as a low-income country, with 72% of the population in poverty (World Bank, 2020b; Bashwira et al. 2014). Having countries with varying status and outcomes will allow comparison of results.

There are two extractive processes covered in this research: those found in artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM), and those constructed on a larger, industrial scale. ASM is an informal extraction method, involving mining by hand or with hand tools and has no official employment by a mining company. Conversely, industrial mines tend to use more machinery and are company-led. ASM is more common in the DRC, but both countries industrially mine (World Bank, 2013).

Women are continuously under-represented in the extractive sector in all levels of management and in policymaking processes (UN, 2016). This makes it difficult to ensure that policies consider all the needs of women. The full potential of a country can only be realised once women are fully participating in all industries, ensuring that their needs are met. Hence, it is important to ensure that women are accounted for in all policymaking spheres (Barsh and Yee, 2011). This study hopes to detail the problems women face in extractive sector policymaking.

It is also important to recognise the role of external organisations in the extractive sector. One of their key roles is influencing policy: this could be advocacy on a higher level or bringing together groups of relevant individuals to amplify their voice. The roles these groups have on promoting women in policymaking processes are currently under-researched, and this study aims to tackle the lack of detail in this area (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007; Hilhorst and Bashwira, 2014).

### 1.2 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

This research aims to establish the current challenges facing women of Botswana and the DRC concerning the policymaking process in the extractive sector. Since external organisations play an active role in advocacy and policymaking, this study will also further the understanding of their influence in policymaking for women. Hence, two subsequent research questions to be answered by this study are:

- a. *What are the Barriers for Botswana and Congolese Women in engaging in Extractive Sector Policymaking?*

*b. What is the Role of External Organisations on both Extractive Sector Policymaking and its Implementation, regarding Gender Equality in Botswana and the DRC?*

By understanding more about the challenges for women, external organisations, and extractive sector policymaking, this research will illustrate how Botswana and Congolese women interact with policymaking and indicate some recommendations for improvements to increase women's voice and participation in the policymaking process.

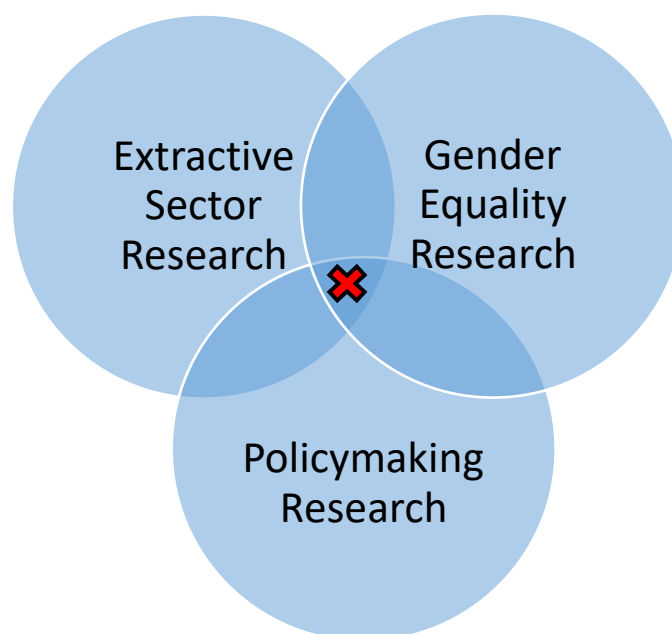
### 1.3 Theoretical Framework focus

This research will use a policymaking lens and the theoretical framework will evaluate the policymaking process throughout, particularly regarding consideration of women's needs. The motivation that underpins this study is a consideration for gender equality in the policymaking process; a lack of gender diversity is seen as a negative for a country's development (UN, 2020, SDG 5).

This study is based on a cross-sectional analysis that looks at different aspects of society, on the same issue, at a snapshot in time. This will combine an institutional lens through the case study and literature review - with a constructivist grounded theory lens, from the gathered primary data of participants from a variety of backgrounds. This study aims to verify whether the experience of participants complements the literature and data gathered so far.

### 1.4 Knowledge Gap and Scope

This dissertation contributes to the established area of gender issues in the extractive sector, by focusing on interactions with policymaking in the target countries of Botswana and the DRC. Fig. 1 demonstrates this knowledge gap, with the red cross marking the gap which the study aims to address.



*Figure 1 - Areas of research relevant to this study. Red cross indicates the knowledge gap that this research intends to address.*

This research will also address the recent COVID-19 pandemic and its effects so far for women in extractives. Since this pandemic has only occurred in recent months, there is limited research on the impacts so far.

## 1.5 Chapter Outline

Chapter two will review the existing literature intersections between extractive sector research, gender equality research, and policymaking research. It will conclude by identifying the current knowledge gap in the literature, which the research questions aim to address – the barriers to policymaking for women in extractives.

Chapter three will contextualise the Literature Review in the DRC and Botswana, as a case study. It will outline the contexts for Botswana and Congolese women and provide a comparison.

Chapter four will detail the Methodology, including the research design, data collection and data analysis processes. This research was conducted through semi-structured interviews and analysed using thematic analysis and sentiment analysis with support of NVivo (version 12.6.0.959) (QSR International, 2020).

Chapter five will detail the Results and Analysis, outlining the common themes found from the interviews and highlighting any exceptional findings. The key finding was the theme of ineffective policymaking as the main challenge for women engaging in extractive sector policymaking, with five key sub-themes contributing to this: implementation issues, disconnect between policymakers and grassroots, cultural perception of women, blindness to gender inequality, and COVID-19. The analysis will put the results in context of the literature review and will establish how this research contributes to and differs from it.

Chapter six will conclude the research, by giving a summary of the principal obstacles preventing women's engagement. Finally, it will conclude with recommendations on how to improve the policymaking process to include women and suggest possible areas for future research.

## 2. Literature Review

This chapter is divided into four discussions:

- 2.1 The key barriers for women in the extractive sector.
- 2.2 Policymaking best practices for gender equality.
- 2.3 The current state of extractive sector policymaking.
- 2.4 The current understanding of interactions between women and policymaking in the extractive sector.

Each section maps onto the diagram shown in Fig. 2. 2.4 will establish all identified literature in the previously identified knowledge gap and explain where this study can add value.

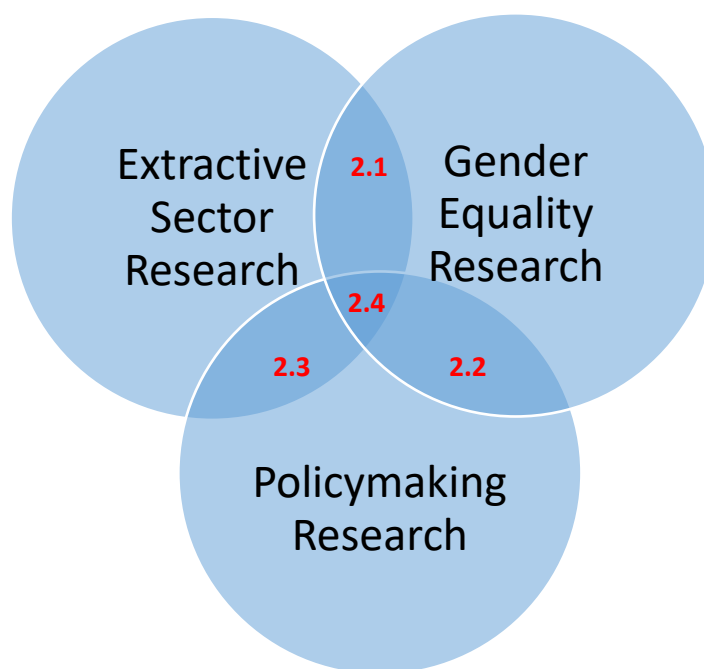


Figure 2 - Areas of research relevant to this study, marking where the sections of the literature review work towards identifying the knowledge gap.

### 2.1 Discussion of Barriers to Women in the Extractive sector

Women face many barriers in the working environment of the extractive sector. This section will begin by discussing the systemic challenges that the Resource Curse brings, and then will move onto the more specific challenges women face in engaging in extractives, focusing on the concept of Gender and Discrimination, Gender-Based Violence, and COVID-19.

#### 2.1.1 Resource Curse and Women's Outcomes

After the resource boom of the late 1900s, Sachs and Warner (1995) established the phenomenon of the Resource Curse - a significant correlation between resource abundance and poor economic growth, due to mineral, oil, and diamond mining. This had a sizeable impact on the economy, long-term development, and equality outcomes. Numerous independent studies have confirmed the existence of the Resource Curse since (Ross, 2013; Sachs and Warner, 1995; Anyanwu and Augustine, 2014).

Frederiksen (2007) critiqued the Resource Curse model for not accounting for how women interact with the changing labour markets. However, these subtler societal effects are harder to relate directly



to resource booms. Other economic changes often affect the role of women. A weaker economy reduces women's employment; increases fertility rates; and reduces access to education, thus causing a decline in female influence (Ross, 2008). One of the commonly cited explanations for a decline in women's outcomes attributed to the Resource Curse, is the male-dominated workforce benefitting from training. Concentrating the promotions and upskilling on men leads to declining outcomes for women (Maurer and Potlogea, 2014).

Botswana has a reputation of having avoided the Resource Curse, through asset accumulation and investing in education and healthcare. Botswana has been praised using its wealth for noble causes, such as increasing university admission rates for females in STEM subjects and supporting female business owners (Koketso, 2015; Kharma, 2016). However, widespread wealth inequalities remain, with the wealth divide greater than most middle-income countries, and parliamentary participation of women at 5% (only 3 occupying 57 seats) (Pegg, 2012). Therefore, it is important to go beyond the widely-cited strong data outcomes for Botswana women, and investigate the reality of the situation in the extractive sector for them. It is important to determine whether Botswana faring well as the data suggests and this is the first knowledge gap this dissertation aims to address. A thorough review of the literature did not find any studies or research into the reality of the extractives working environment for Botswana women.

The DRC finds itself with vastly different outcomes to Botswana:

“Nowhere has the mismanagement of abundant resources manifested itself more visibly than in the DRC” (Lalji, 2007, p.34).

With the riches and population that the DRC holds, there is a concerning lack of progress. Women's outcomes are struggling, mirroring the traditional Resource Curse pattern (Bashwira and van der Haar, 2020). This research will contribute to understanding why the DRC is not thriving.

### *2.1.2 Concept of Gender and Discrimination*

The concept of gender varies cross-culturally, which is important context for reviewing the circumstances of Botswana and Congolese women.

Both countries have made commitments to The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as an attempt to reduce discrimination. However, Faturoti (2016) raised concerns that such conventions in themselves are an imposition of Western views onto African culture, which holds many differences, such as valuing community over individual rights promoted by the West. Unless the bases are aligned, African countries such as Botswana and DRC are going to struggle to make progress on women's rights as measured by CEDAW. The latest report recorded that Botswana is struggling to “eliminate stereotypes” (p.2) and needs to reform laws that discriminate against women (CEDAW, 2019). The DRC is also struggling to implement CEDAW; in multiple areas, their implementation plans are not detailed enough (CEDAW, 2018).

Wendoh and Wallace (2005) described how the effects of gender equality in different African countries comes down to trust. Key stereotypes arise around lack of trust in finance or property, with widespread illiteracy among women and religious stances as key drivers. Furthermore, many senior workplace environments are male-dominated, potentially due to higher education requirements (Norris and Inglehart, 2001). Traditionally, women have faced barriers to education, such as the lack of childcare support, low literacy rates, and poor health outcomes. Hence the occupation of higher-ranking roles by women is rare.

Even within the international community, African women are viewed as “objects of development, rather than agents of change” (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005, p.71). However, women have expressed concern about this victim-led narrative. Too often are women seen as victims and passive in the sector, whereas women actually have significant roles in ASM and make up 40% of the workforce, for example (Lahiri-Dutt, 2015; World Bank, 2018).

Porter and Sweetman (2005) were also wary of how development studies of gender can be insensitive to the full range of discrimination. This can be seen with women in the grassroots, who are contending with other parts of their identity causing immediate survival uncertainty. Whereas a female parliamentarian will also face challenges of discrimination, perhaps through derogatory language or sexism in the workplace, and fewer promotions – she is not exempt but faces a different reality to the women in the grassroots. Furthermore, imposing those Western ideals can leave certain groups “alienated and threatened” by the idea of gender equality (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005, p.71). For women who are so dependent on men for livelihoods and support, the idea of gender equality is quite overwhelming, as it would be a significant lifestyle shift. Hence, it is critical to not reduce the experience of women and considering the intersectionality is important. To make progress, women need to be engaged throughout the process of reform.

### *2.1.3 Gender-Based Violence*

The negative view of women in many cultures manifests itself through physical challenges for women, like Gender-Based Violence (GBV) - both in access to mines and in the workplace itself.

Sexual harassment and assault are unfortunately common in the extractives workplace for women, primarily due to the cultural views of men. Although most cases of sexual violence remain under-reported, there is still evidence that it is a widespread and common barrier for women engaging in the workplace. Grobler et al. (2011) found sexual harassment in the industrial mining workplace went unreported for a variety of reasons, such as fear of losing a job and the belief that nothing would change by reporting the harassment. When GBV is so intrinsically linked to career security, it becomes a significant part of the work environment. Botha (2016) researched the rates of sexual harassment in South African mines and found 90-95% of women have been approached for sex, often in exchange for favours. Although further statistics about extractive sector GBV is outside of the scope of this study, it is important to understand the barriers women are facing as part of their daily work environment in extractives.

In ASM, workplace abuse is also common. Often, it is exacerbated by alcohol, stress, and poverty found in mining towns. This abuse also starts at a young age for women, with child sexual abuse (Lockie, 2011). Most artisanal mines are informal and are often not structured with the protections that come in industrial mines. Women are also limited in their access to artisanal mines, and often trade sex for access. This is their livelihood, so women have no choice but to engage sexually with the mine gatekeeper (Bashwira et al., 2014).

Unfortunately, legislation in response to the lack of safety for women is centred around preventing access and removing women from the mines. The Mining Code (Article 5) does not allow pregnant women to engage in mining for example (Journal Officiel de la République Démocratique du Congo, 2018) and the World Bank is using alternative livelihoods to move women away from ASM and into safer jobs (Pelon and Walser, 2009). On the ground, women believe that these changes are negative; “instead of serving as an instrument to protect women miners’ health, it is currently being abused as a tool to consolidate the male-dominated nature of the ASM industry in eastern DRC” (Bashwira et al., 2014, p.112). Counterproductively, it re-enforces the male-dominated environment when the focus

should be on making the working conditions universally safe. This aligns with the narrative that women do not need ‘saving’ and need empowerment instead, as it is their choice to mine.

It is not only in the mining-sites where women experience abuse; almost 70% of Botswana women have experienced a form of GBV. CEDAW (2019) criticised Botswana for sexual abuse on school routes being concerningly common for example. There are similar concerns in the DRC, with poor GBV outcomes, unaddressed sexual torture cases, and implementation issues like not following through with policy statements (CEDAW, 2018). GBV is widespread and affects many facets of a woman’s life and so it is a barrier to progressing within the workplace, particularly in the male-dominated extractive sector.

#### *2.1.4 COVID-19*

The COVID-19 outbreak was declared a pandemic on 11<sup>th</sup> March 2020 and since then it has spread, reaching Botswana and the DRC on 30<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of March respectively (WHO 2020; Molosankwe, 2020; WHO Africa, 2020). The pandemic has caused particular concern among groups that women’s outcomes will suffer due to increased GBV and the de-prioritisation witnessed in the current agenda-setting.

In addition to the already existing GBV challenges outlined in 2.1.3, the COVID-19 pandemic will exacerbate this issue; with each additional three months in lockdown, 15 million more cases of domestic abuse are predicted globally. With lockdowns and other restrictions, there will be a reduction in prevention and protection efforts, social services, and increased opportunity for violence instead (UNFPA, 2020). Although this was based on modelling, rather than absolute data, the “shadow pandemic” is still concerning for women, with anecdotal evidence that safehouses are receiving higher demand than usual (Womankind, 2020).

In the workplace, women are likely to face challenges from the pandemic as well. Thévoz and Pilliard (2020) predict the worsening of gender inequality within the extractives industry, with mass unemployment in the sector affecting women, who comprise most of the informal and low paid work. This is particularly concerning in countries where there are no social protections; 98% of all workers in the DRC are informal and fall within this bracket (Womankind, 2020; Gausi, 2018). With a lack of protections, there is potential to worsen gender inequality and create greater barriers for women in the extractive sector during the COVID-19 crisis.

Since the pandemic is a recent, ongoing development, there is naturally limited research in this area and such concerns are predictions. This study will aim to clarify concerns for women through in-depth interviews about the circumstances they are facing.

## **2.2 Policymaking Best Practices for Gender Equality**

Policymaking has the potential to entrench gender inequality or counteract it (Lombardo et al., 2013), so it is critical that there is a focus on Policymaking best practices including women’s needs. This section will discuss the interaction between Policymaking and Representation; Policy Formulation and Implementation; and Top-down versus Bottom-up Policymaking. External Organisations (such as NGOs and CSOs) will also be discussed.

### *2.2.1 Representation of Women’s Voice*

With only 20.7% of positions as government ministers being held by women and 25.0% of national parliamentarians being women (UN Women, 2019; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2020), the rights of women are unlikely to be represented in the decision-making process. Not addressing the needs of half the population makes for weak policymaking (Asiedu et al., 2018).

Walby (2009, as cited in Lombardo et al., 2013) described a link between an increase in women's participation and success in enacting policy change. Within skewed groups, with participation levels below 15%, women are seen as insignificant and are not in a position to enact any change. As balance is achieved, and participation reaches the critical 40% proportion, women are viewed as part of the group. This allows the female members to enact policy changes. The change occurs as women gradually enter a workplace with positive feedback loops - "a mechanism that drives small changes in a system onwards, escalating change" (p.85). From then on, women's needs can be incorporated, and they are able to undo the male-biased frameworks.

Laplonge (2014) has criticised this argument, stating that there is no proof of this assertion, and women should not be forced to carry the burden of reforms. This is particularly relevant for the DRC, where at least 40% of the workforce is women in ASM and where women do not have much influence in ASM decision-making (World Bank, 2019).

Although weak in representation and participation at decision-making levels, the DRC has a strong Civil Society, which can represent women. Here, the role of external organisations is defined as an "attempt to give disempowered or marginalised people a voice in policy discussions with the rich and powerful" (Benson et al. 2001, p.202). External organisations are proven to represent women's voices, such as Womankind (2018), who have directly helped over 100,000 women with representation and advocacy in 2017.

However, when investigating CSOs in Sub-Saharan Africa, Opoku-Mensah (2007) challenged the idea of External Organisations as having a useful input in policymaking processes on behalf of others. Generally, CSOs are too under-resourced to have a meaningful effect and far too much accountability is placed on these external organisations, who can often have their own problematic accountability structures and poor governance (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007). More emphasis should be on the reform of the institutions themselves and their makeup of members, perhaps through affirmative action or other means of stimulating female career progression. If the institutions reform themselves and incorporate women in an equal manner 'women [will] not only become a part of the mainstream, they will also reorient the nature of the mainstream' (Jahan, 1995, p.13 as cited in Porter and Sweetman, 2005, p.5), thus causing a ripple effect on the remainder of the policymaking sphere.

### *2.2.2 Policy Formulation and Implementation*

Decision-making power and revenues from extractives are spent by the same group who hold profits: predominantly corrupt men (EITI, 2018a). Feminist policy analysts have been vocal about the intrinsic gender-bias widespread in the formulation of public policy. From labour market schemes, to welfare policies, these often perpetuate the traditional, stereotypical male-female roles and leave women penalised for their role in society (Lombardo et al., 2013).

One way to ensure that the women themselves are not carrying the full weight of reforming policy formulation, is to reform the institutions. With many frameworks and institutions being male-dominated their entire existence, the structures themselves are not suitable for the needs of women. This is where gender mainstreaming as a key policymaking strategy is essential (Mazur, 2017).

Gender mainstreaming encourages the assessment of the impact on females with any policy action: "in all policies and programmes so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women" (UN, 1995, p.116) so that obstacles are eliminated from women, and they can begin to undo the male-biased structures. This includes gender-sensitive research, women's perspectives and goals in policy (AWID, 2004, p.1). Policy language should also use gender-neutral terminology, flexibility, and work-life balance – all of which will reduce the effect of boxing women into

stereotypes (Smithson and Stokoe, 2005). Gender mainstreaming has now become a key part of international policymaking reform and features in CEDAW and SADC protocol of Gender and Development (UNIFEM, 2006).

External Organisations can play a role in embedding gender mainstreaming, as well as modelling best practice for themselves. For example, the EITI standard (2018b) 7.4(a)(v) states that “the multi-stakeholder group is encouraged to document how it has taken gender considerations and inclusiveness into account.” This external accountability is seen as “a solution for staged development and fragile democracy” (Suleiman, 2013, p.246) and it is a common policy instrument to embed CSOs into policies and reforms, particularly coming from the West.

Indeed, one of the key roles of external organisations in extractives is in both the formulation and implementation of policy (Sakyi and Oritsejafor, 2015). CSOs are seen as a “seedbed for radical social movements”, which can go on to effect policy reform in government by setting standards for policymakers to adhere to (Edwards, 2014, p.2). Edwards (2014) was also clear that these external organisations are a Western construct built to reduce poverty and to act as a third scrutiny body, ensuring good governance in all stages of the policy process. This additional, external challenge encourages governments to be progressive and thorough with their work. This is a particular consideration for women: out of 70 countries, Htun and Weldon (2012) found a strong women’s movement is more important for policy reform than various other factors like national wealth, number of female politicians, or left-wing political parties. External organisations were key to promoting that change and were considered a “critical catalyst for policy development” (Htun and Weldon, 2012, p.560).

Once the policy has been formulated, implementation of the policy follows, at which point implementation scrutiny is critical. Implementation is defined as “connection between the expression of governmental intention and actual result” (James et al., 1995, p.43). The policy has potential to go wrong when it has not been suitably monitored or followed through.

As commonly found in the extractive sector, complex policymaking schemes make it hard to monitor the implementation at the grassroots, so commonly implementing bodies will not receive the full benefit due to reluctance to monitor, through concern over incurring the additional administrative costs (Tordo et al. 2013). External Organisations are notoriously good at holding public bodies to account in these instances. They can provide a “counterweight to state power” (Benson et al. 2001, p.202), for example in the DRC, where the CSOs continually scrutinise the implementation of 2018’s new Mining Code (Satyal, 2018). Maintaining this level of oversight of implementation is a particular concern for the DRC going forward, as International NGO missions are moving out of the country, with the UN aiming to wind down the UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC by 2022 (UNSC, 2019).

Although gender mainstreaming can reform the policy formulation process, it is not a universally accepted remedy for policy implementation. Gender mainstreaming and equality projects also suffer from implementation problems due to their non-binding nature and typically voluntary commitments, hence it becomes “everybody’s – and nobody’s - responsibility” (Mazey, 2002, p.228 as cited in Lombardo et al., 2013). This results in policy failure. Porter and Sweetman (2005) were critical of gender mainstreaming in development as it does not consider the variation in experiences of women in enough depth. Since mainstreaming is primarily focused on institutions rather than necessarily supporting the principles from the bottom-up, this can leave out groups of women.

African communities are not universally on board with the premises of gender equality and Western views of women required for gender mainstreaming, leading to ongoing implementation issues. This policy instrument is considered a fundamental change to be embraced by institutions, which contrasts with the view of Walby (2009) who presents a gradual approach to change for the position of women. Often radical reforms will struggle to get buy-in without understanding. Gender equality itself is a very Western idea. Wendoh and Wallace (2010) found that gender mainstreaming remains an external concept to these African countries, imposed by the international community and funders. Communities rarely feel ownership of these ideas as they have little understanding of gender equality. Addressing this divide at the earlier stage of formulation makes for much more successful implementation - Hudson et al. (2019, p.3) identified this lack of “collaborative policymaking” as one of the key reasons behind policy failure.

### *2.2.3 Top-down vs. Bottom-up Policymaking*

Analytical strategies for implementation can be separated into top-down and bottom-up models. While top-down models explain implementation by policymakers setting policy goals, mechanisms and programmes from the top (Palumbo and Calista, 1990), bottom-up implementation believes that street-level bureaucrats build policies from the grassroots, interacting with the public and communities as they develop the implementation plan (Lipsky, 1980). Although it is the most used approach to policymaking, top-down implementation is generally seen as elitist and keeps policymakers distant from the site of implementation. Whereas bottom-up policies are more inclusive of the opinions of those at the face of implementation but can lack the general oversight and direction of a top-down implementation model (Paudel, 2009).

Women In Mining (UK) and PWC (2015, p.11) laid out a clear stance for the reforms needed for equality in extractives: “the only way that an organisational culture change of this nature can be effective is if it is led from the top. The boards and executive teams of mining companies need to understand and champion the business imperative to promote and support women within their organisations. They need to drive cultural change within their own companies.” This promotes a very top-down structure of policy reform for women in extractives, which is a very exclusive opinion as it is the “only” way, rather than marrying a top-down approach, with a bottom-up and more inclusive implementation strategy of all levels.

Further appreciation for the bottom-up process is crucial in policymaking as “without local-level adaptation, these policies can alienate the very people who are supposed to implement them.” (Porter and Sweetman. 2005, p.7). These problems are local and need local, and tailored solutions. The top-down model is one of the reasons why policies regularly fail, as they have not incorporated the voice and consultation of relevant groups, often women.

CSOs also face restrictions from the top-down, with influence from international donors. NGOs, who receive finances from international bodies, can effect change on the ground, working at the grassroots, with clear development objectives and more participatory processes, palatable to Western styles of operations (Jones et al., 2014). However, Wendoh and Wallace (2010) found widespread criticism among NGOs of the over-influence of international bodies. Donors have been known to apply blanket restrictions, leaving NGOs little room for manoeuvre and implement in a way that works for those on the ground.

### 2.3 The current state of extractive sector policymaking

Overall, there is limited research about policymaking processes in extractives; something which this study aims to shed light on. But generally, policymaking processes are top-down, male-dominated, and struggle with implementation like many policies.

In the extractives sector, Lebdioui (2020) found that taxation, legal matters, and regulatory tools are top-down policy areas, whereas participation schemes and local procurement use bottom-up strategies. With a division like this, the grassroots can perceive top-down policies as more ways for the elites to maintain control. Though Lebdioui's (2020) work was limited to Chile and Malaysia, there has recently been a resurgence to develop local content approaches through other work, particularly due to the long-term, sustainability benefits such policies can have. There are barriers to bottom-up approaches though. Tordo et al. (2013) found that more education is needed at a local level to devolve responsibility for policymaking further. Schemes are also so complex in the extractive sector that it is a difficult environment to successfully achieve implementation, without incurring additional costs. Bashizi and Geenen (2014, as cited in Bashwira, 2017) also found predominantly top-down strategies in co-operation formation, branded as bottom-up implementation mechanisms. They found the perception that extractive sector strategies in the DRC involved imposed policies in a

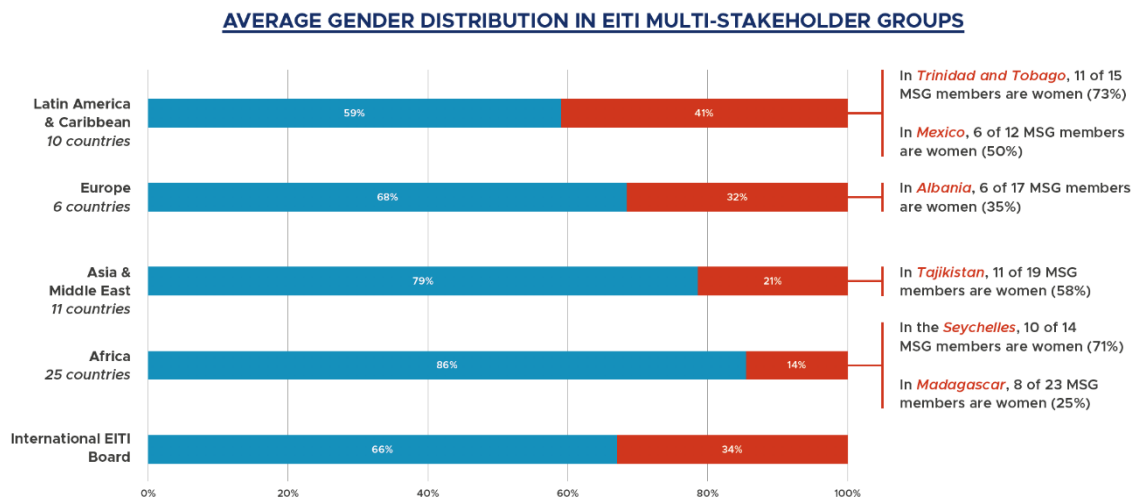


Figure 3 – breakdown of male: female representation in EITI Multi-stakeholder groups, like boards governing the extractive sector. Whole sector is male-dominated, Africa least representative of women (Thevoz and Pilliard, 2020).

top-down manner, to facilitate governance from below. These cooperatives were designed to legally verify the mining sites; however, they are viewed as forced upon the miners as a way for the elites to maintain control. Although the cooperatives promise to empower their members and make the membership worthwhile, this has not materialised. Instead, there is a more enforceable tax-collecting regime, leading to the belief that cooperatives are a scheme to increase government control over the informal mining sector (de Haan and Geenen, 2016).

Extractive sector policymaking is notoriously male-dominated and the decision-making environment is not inclusive. As detailed in Fig. 3, African countries average 14% engagement of females right at the upper tier of policymaking. In board rooms, women make up 8% of the positions globally, including Western companies in the sample, and half have no women. This is lagging far behind other sectors that have better representation at decision-making and board level (Scott et al., 2013).

## 2.4 Current interactions between women and policymaking in extractives.

The policy discourse in extractives has traditionally been male-dominated, and some countries believe it should remain that way. Naturally, this raises numerous challenges for women attempting to access policymaking in the sector.

Norris and Inglehart (2001) model a two-phase change in women's roles in extractives: industrial and post-industrial phases. In the industrial phase, women are brought into the workforce, reducing the fertility rate, and allowing women to make substantial gains in their careers and education. During this phase, women are still seen as inferior to men and have many of their rights unaddressed, as the workplace is still designed for men. In the second, post-industrial phase, women can enter into the high-status roles and gain influence over policy. In extractives, countries are predominantly in the first phase. The rate of female participation remains so low that women are unable to access this second stage and challenge the systems as Norris and Inglehart describe (2001).

The EITI (2018a) is one of many external organisations that have found the exclusion of women in decision making and policy formation is so widespread in the extractive sector that concerns and interests of women are not sufficiently addressed. External organisations like the EITI can also hold government to account by challenging their levels of representation. For example, the EITI (2018b) standards state that (1.4(a)(ii)) "the multi-stakeholder group and each constituency should consider gender balance in their representation to progress towards gender parity". As seen in Fig. 3, they display this data and can leverage pressure on government bodies to improve their representation. Since the EITI has a good international reputation, it can be a good signal to potential investors, hence it is attractive for governments to be complying with their standards (EITI, 2019).

There is a move to tackle the distance between women and policymaking initiatives and this begins with awareness. Thevoz and Pilliard (2020) explain how extractives are disproportionately governed by men, which the EITI is actively trying to counteract in its target countries. The UN (2016) is also increasing pressure on the sector, stating that they need greater commitment from actors in extractives sector to bring more women into the policymaking process. The World Bank (2013) are actively mainstreaming gender into the practices of all client countries, particularly those who need support in the extractives industry. External organisations are gradually increasing the mounting pressure to get much-needed reform.

There is scarce literature detailing the policymaking process itself for women. The movement to bring women to the forefront of extractive sector policymaking is relatively new and not well-established. Equally, a lack of clarity remains over the interactions of the external organisations with women in extractives. This study will further the understanding of how these groups support women.



### 3. Case Study

An important step in understanding the context of Botswana and the DRC is to review the current political, economic, geographical and social circumstances for women in these countries.

#### 3.1 The Extractive Sector for Women in Botswana

Botswana is a small South African country, renowned for its “exceptional” economic growth from diamond extraction (Hillbom and Bolt, 2018, p.3). It is regularly cited as one of the few countries to have avoided the Resource Curse, by spending on education, maintaining a peaceful inner environment, and strong macroeconomic policies (Martin, 2008; Pegg, 2012). Botswana is an upper-middle-income country (UMIC), with a vision to becoming a high-income country by 2036 (Vision 2036 Presidential Task Team, 2016).

The World Health Organisation (WHO) has also praised Botswana and its handling of the pandemic for its fast response and support of its people (WHO, 2020). The government also made efforts to support the economy during this period, such as the Botswana Unified Revenue Services subsidising 50% salaries of affected businesses (EY, 2020).

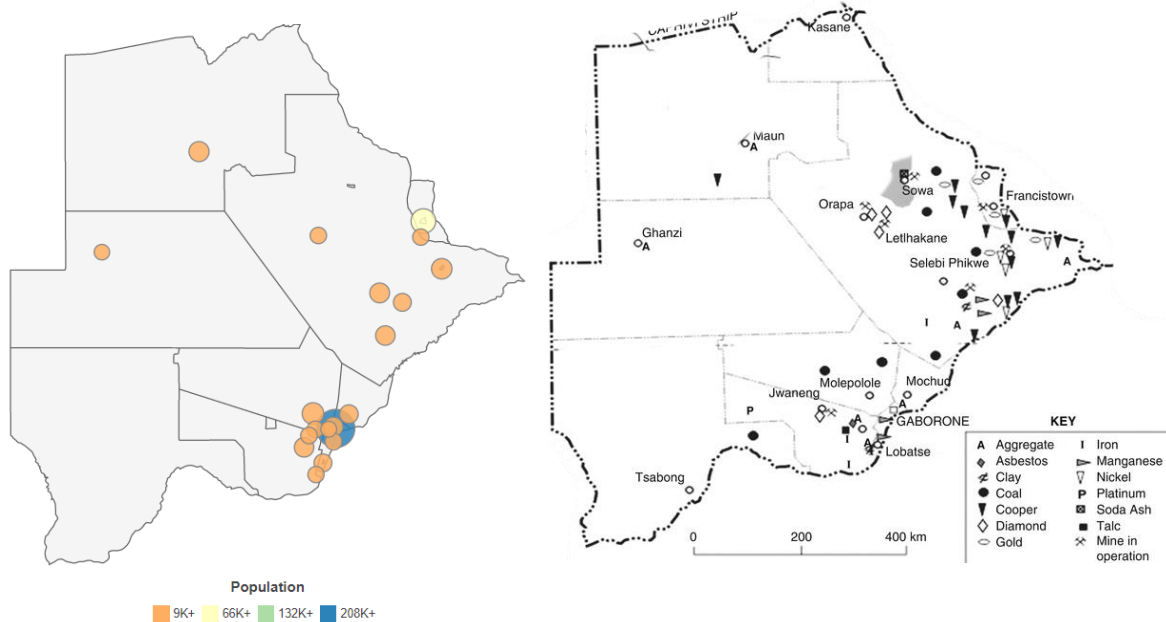


Figure 4 - Left: the population spread around Botswana. Gaborone is in the South East of the country, the most densely populated part (World Population Review, 2020a). Right: distribution of mines in Botswana, concentrated near Gaborone and the East (Gwebu, 2013)

Geographically, 10% of the population is located in the capital, Gaborone, as seen in Fig. 4. Fig. 4 also shows that mining sites are concentrated near Gaborone and Francistown (in the East), which was the first site where minerals were discovered, with a gold rush in the late 1800s, predating Botswana’s diamond discoveries of 1967 (Gwebu, 2013). For the past 35 years, mining has been the largest, most consistent contributor to Botswana’s GDP, with diamonds comprising 81% (Kharma, 2016), though this brings the fragilities of an undiversified economy.

Botswana is one of the few countries in the region to maintain a stable political, democratic environment. This ministry has been progressive with views to gender equality, particularly with the introduction of the Ministry of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs, which has a mandate to “facilitate the mainstreaming of gender issues in the development process.” (Gov.bw, 2015)

Botswana has ensured that its public spending is sustainable, with regular National Development Plans (NDPs) approved by parliament. These NDPs generally run on a two-fold strategy: firstly, protect the assets already accumulated and secondly, build a sustainable infrastructure for when the mineral riches burn out. The most recent NDP includes plans for gender mainstreaming and the prevention of GBV too (Botswana Government, 2017).

Debswana is currently the only licenced diamond mining company in Botswana. The government holds 50% of shares, alongside the DeBeers mining group in a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) (Debswana, 2020). Botswana has been able to leverage revenues for social causes from successful diamond mining into their country. One example is a joint venture to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemic, such that there was a 71% decline in new cases over 10 years (ANRC and AfDB, 2016). Debswana has also signed up to the UN’s ‘He for She’ campaign for advancing gender equality. After signing up in 2017 and being more conscious of women, combined with discussion sessions and strategies, they have noticed “an increasing openness and freedom to engage in gender diversity discussions within the mines” (UN Women, 2019. p.76). This PPP has balanced external accountability and government control which maintains a socially responsible operation at the centre of its extractives work.

In Botswana, NGOs have been successful in supervising national elections for Botswana and supporting women’s rights campaigns. Since Botswana’s upgrade to a UMIC in 2005, NGOs have had fewer funding opportunities (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007) and more work is needed to source funds themselves.

### 3.2 The Extractive Sector for Women in The Democratic Republic of Congo

The DRC is the second-largest African country by area, with a population of 84 million people, in 26 provinces (World Population Review, 2020). The mining sector is in the East, North and South Kivu, which also borders Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania: a big trading hub. While this area is a big hub of mineral extraction, it is also the centre of many conflicts for the country due to competition. Armed groups rule the area and illegal mines are common (Bashwira et al., 2014).

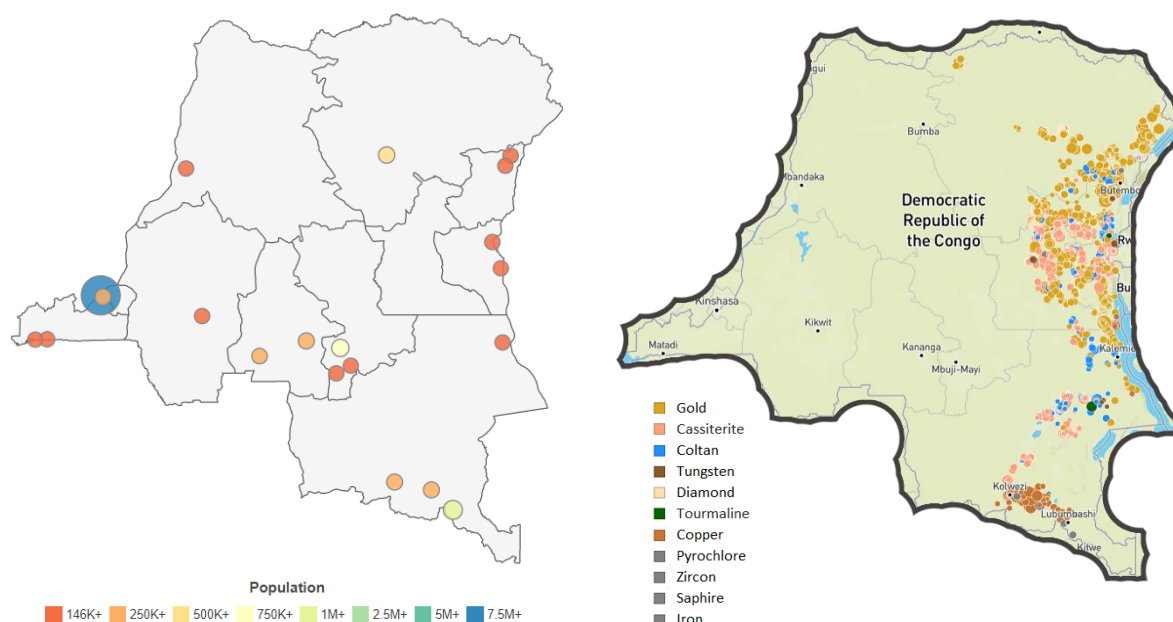


Figure 5 - Left: visual representation of the population spread around the DRC. The capital, Kinshasa, is in the West, the most densely populated part (World Population Review, 2020b). Right: distribution of artisanal and small-scale mining sites in the DRC (IPIS Research, 2020).

Kinshasa is the capital in the West border, and it is far from the central mining in the East. Naturally, the population is centred around these mining sites in the East, as seen in Fig. 5.

The DRC is also an incredibly resource-rich country, with an estimated \$24 trillion worth of minerals lying under its surface (UN, 2011). This is predominantly Coltan, Cobalt, and diamonds, which are mostly extracted from artisanal mines. Despite these riches, it remains poor, with 70% of the population living beneath the poverty line (World Bank, 2020b).

The DRC is also the second-worst place in the world to be a woman, due to the sexual violence and poverty facing women there (Amnesty International, 2011), and the “rape capital of the world” (Wallstrom, 2010, as cited in Bashwira et al. 2014). This widespread sexual violence has had an impact on the outcomes for women, degrading their position and status, increasing poverty and straining health services (Hilhorst and Bashwira, 2014).

The DRC hosts a “vibrant, active and resilient” Civil Society (UNSC, 2019, p.13), which Hilhorst and Bashwira (2014) found plays a key role in bringing women into decision-making spheres. The work of NGOs who promote gender equality has a complex history. As Belgium left and DRC decolonised, women’s organisations boomed in response and initially imposed the Western ideology of gender equality. Family is still a principal role of being a woman in Africa, with motherhood needing to be respected, hence much work remains to be done reorienting external organisations from the West.

Unlike Botswana, the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI, 2018a) has a role in DRC’s extractive sector as an external organisation. They have supported a new mining code that was introduced in 2018, though, a significant proportion of the population remains unaware of this work. For example, only 26% of women know of this mining code protecting their right to work; and only 17% of women and 20% of men believed that working in mines was legal for women (Grown, 2015).

Since the DRC is one of the most conflict heavy, yet valuable countries in the world, it receives a lot of attention from international donors. There is a long history of external aid being stolen: former prime minister, Mobutu, stole approximately half of all aid and concerns still remain that aid is intercepted by corrupt individuals in the DRC government (Mesquita, 2003). On the Corruption Perception Index, the DRC ranked at 168 in the world (cf. Botswana placed 34) (Transparency International, 2020). External organisations have a crucial role here, in making international donors feel secure that their money is going to the right places.

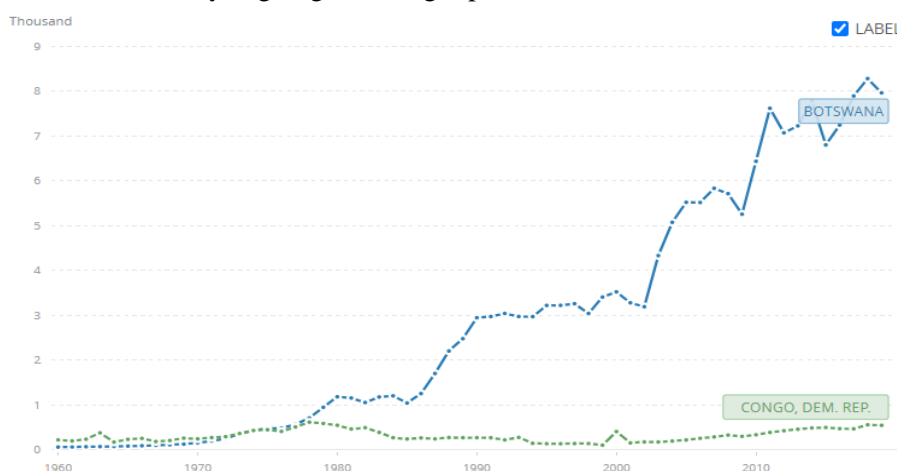


Figure 6 - GDP per capita growth of Botswana and the DRC (World Bank, 2020c)

### 3.3 Comparison

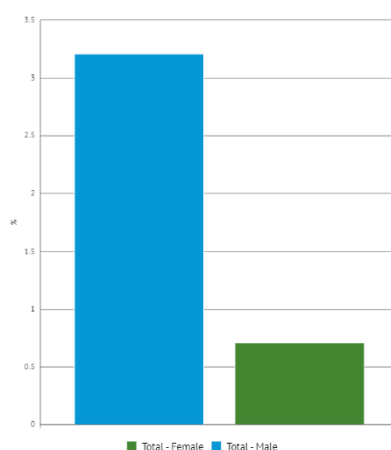
The difference in GDP per capita growth over the past 60 years between DRC and Botswana is significant, as seen in Fig. 6. Since 2010, the DRC GDP per capita has started to pick up but GDP per capita is difficult for the DRC to improve quickly compared to Botswana, since the population is almost 50 times larger (World Population Review, 2020).

One of the biggest differences between Botswana and the DRC is in participation rates of artisanal and industrial mining. ASM employs between 1.5-2million people, with at least 40% of the workforce being women (World Bank, 2019). This figure is anticipated to be much less in industrial mines. In Botswana, however, mining is entirely industrial. Women comprise 18.1% of that workforce, with males four times more represented in the workforce as seen in Fig. 7.

The Policy Perception Index, as developed by the Fraser Institute, is made up of responses to policymaking factors which affect the attractiveness to external investors, including administration of regulations, development conditions, and local security. In Africa, Botswana rates as the second most attractive jurisdiction for policies, described as having a “high-quality policy environment” for external investors (World Bank, 2020d, p.163), though there is concern about labour regulations, employment agreements, political stability, availability of labour and skills. Table 1 shows its consistent scores and rankings in the PPI. This is in stark comparison to the DRC, which is one of the least attractive jurisdictions of PPI ranking consistently, representing an unattractive policy environment to external investors (Stedman et al., 2020).

*Table 1 - responses to Fraser Institute Annual Survey of Mining Companies. Numbers in brackets represent world ranking.*

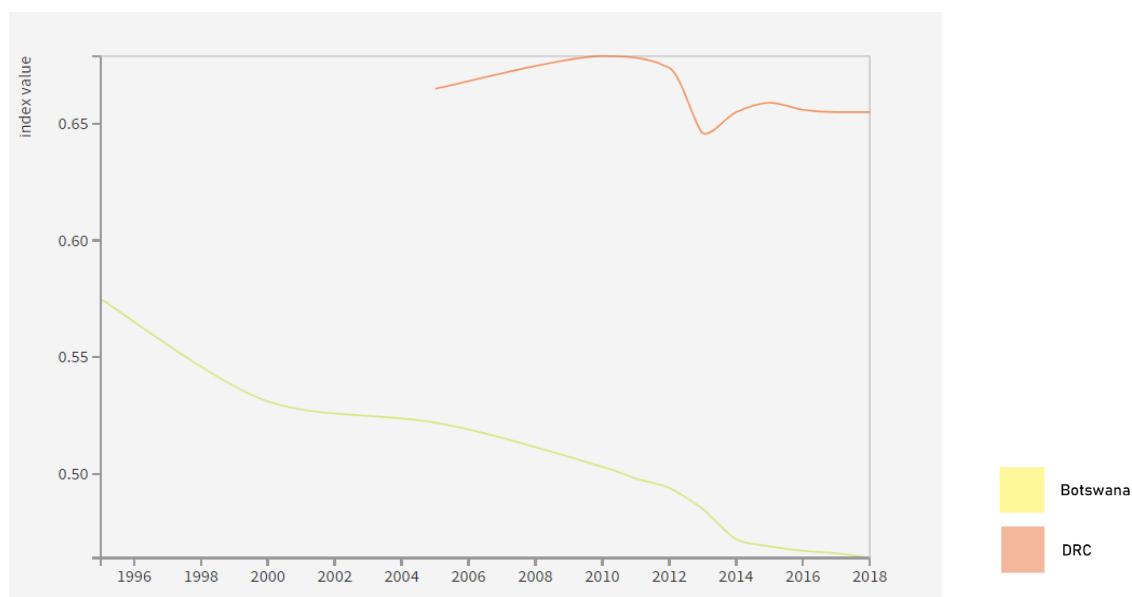
	Botswana			DRC		
	2017	2018	2019	2017	2018	2019
<b>Policy Perception Index (PPI)</b>	82.84 (21)	94.77 (12)	83.48 (22)	35.03 (87)	34.18 (82)	38.00 (70)



*Figure 7 - Percentage of the workforce in Mining and Quarrying, by gender (Statistics Botswana, 2020).*

As seen in Fig. 8, the DRC has a higher GII without an established trend, whereas Botswana has consistently trended downwards. Interestingly Christianity is the predominant religion in both countries, which is particularly pertinent given the study of Reynolds (1998) that women in Christian countries appear in lower proportions on legislative bodies and cabinet offices. Due to hierarchical

and authoritarian structures perpetuated by the patriarchal church structure, this can have effects on national gender equality.



*Figure 8 - Gender Inequality Index (GII) between 1996 and 2018. GII consists of three factors: reproductive health, empowerment and labour market participation (Human Development Reports, 2020).*

Botswana brought CEDAW into accession in 1996 and the DRC ratified in 1986 (UN Treaty Collection, 2020), hence both are legally bound to be working towards CEDAW implementation, as outlined in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (UN, 1969). One key part from CEDAW is the following:

“To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels” (CEDAW Art. 14a)

Within this convention policymaking is a key part of development planning’ referred to above. This convention does not require all countries to immediately satisfy the articles, but to be making reasonable progress towards them.

Both Botswana and the DRC are part of the regional bloc ‘South African Development Community’ (SADC) - a trade, culture, and social union. At the base of this is the protocol of Gender and Development, which every member country is legally bound to follow. It requires mainstreaming of gender issues into any initiatives and constitutionally, as member countries must “enshrine gender equality and equity in their Constitutions and ensure that these rights are not compromised by any provisions, laws or practices” (SADC, 2008, p.11). Article 15 (SADC, 2008) is also particularly prominent as it states members should “by 2015, ensure equal participation of women and men, in policy formulation and implementation of economic policies”. Although it was an active step in empowering policymakers to enact change, Munalula (2011) questioned whether this was just another gender document, as it immediately faced a slow rate of ratification with hesitations from both the DRC and Botswana. Despite these laws and motions encouraging gender equality, Hilhorst and Bashwira (2014, p.16) found that “Congolese laws are usually not well implemented, and people are not aware of them. Discrimination continues to be at a very high level in education, workplaces, politics and the socio-economic sphere.”

## 4. Methodology

This chapter explores the approach taken for answering the following research questions, as well as collecting and analysing the data:

- a) What are the Barriers for Botswana and Congolese Women in engaging in Extractive Sector Policymaking?
- b) What is the Role of External Organisations on both Extractive Sector Policymaking and its Implementation, regarding Gender Equality?

### 4.1 Research Design and Data Collection

This study uses a combination of qualitative research by explorative interviews (primary) and descriptive case study analysis (secondary) to investigate the barriers faced by women in extractive sector policymaking. This study used cross-sectional analysis with participants speaking from a range of backgrounds about the same issue; so a fixed snapshot of the circumstances in July 2020.

Ten participants were interviewed over Microsoft Teams, after conducting a risk assessment of the research and receiving ethical approval from the School of Sociology and Social Policy Ethics Team at the University of Nottingham.

#### 4.2.1 Interviews

The interviews were conducted with an online synchronous method for an hour, via Microsoft Teams throughout July 2020. Interviewing participants like this has many advantages, such as a broader recruitment pool and logistical benefits. However, there are also a few, considerable drawbacks: namely an increased rate of last-minute participant withdrawal, drop-outs in the audio, and rapport building challenges (Deakin and Wakefield, 2014).

This study accepts that interviews are a collaborative process of constructing data with the participant and the interviewer together. This is a limitation and a bit of bias must be accepted in the questions. Anyan (2013) explores this power dynamic between the interviewer and interviewee, as well as posing a few tips to minimise this during the data collection stage. An important step is to recognise the interviewer in context of the participants. In this study, the bias of the interviewer, who in this case was a Western woman in her early 20s, is relevant given the historical and political context of Western-African interactions and her gender matching the topic of study. However, the question guide was written with this bias in mind and checked with other colleagues from different backgrounds. During the interviews themselves, the participants all appeared to be able to talk freely, regardless of the interviewer ethnicity or gender.

#### 4.2.2 Participants and Sampling

The participants (Appendix A) were collected through a mixture of speculative emailing and snowball sampling, due to convenience. The ten participants had a broad range of experiences – some were part of well-established international organisations imported into one of the target countries, whereas others were locals, and some even worked in the mines themselves. Although this presents challenges in terms of consistency of participants, there is strength in having multiple different perspectives of the same problem in the same country as a cross-section to triangulate the findings. These differing perspectives and circumstances have the potential to corroborate with each other, or alternatively demonstrate a divide in opinion. Those in external international organisations might view the situation differently to those in the grassroots, for example.

The participants also varied in their relationship to either Botswana or the DRC. Out of ten participants, seven gave interviews primarily related to the DRC, and three gave interviews related to



Botswana. This is an unbalanced proportion between countries and the analysis must be sensitive to that. Out of the seven DRC-related interviews, two were from the DRC, and the other five were from NGOs and international organisations. Out of the three Botswana-related interviews, all were Botswana women, but one out of the three was not stationed in Botswana at the time.

## 4.3 Data Analysis

### 4.3.1 Thematic Analysis

After conducting the ten interviews, they were analysed in correspondence with Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step process of familiarising with the data through transcription, generating codes, generating themes, reviewing themes, defining themes and ultimately producing the report, featured in the Results and Analysis chapter. The coding, theming and data analysis were conducted using NVivo (version 12.6.0.959) (QSR International, 2020).

9hours 56minutes of usable data were collected, generating ten transcripts totalling 72,076 words.

This generated 970 codes, 290 from Botswana and 680 from DRC, with codes being defined as “tags or labels for assigning units of meaning” (Miles and Huberman, 1994. p.56). Initially, the codes were kept very close to the spirit of the text, as descriptive coding. The 970 codes were grouped into 871 codes, after removing duplicates with identical meaning.

These codes were then themed into groups of increasing magnitude, with themes defined as “a common, recurring pattern across a dataset, clustered around a central organising concept” (Braun and Clarke, 2006). These themes were deduced from groups of codes, as they were grouped into categories of broader size, reflective of the data itself building the framework, as in constructivist grounded theory. Emergent coding is a benefit, as the research is open to new, surprising areas, relationships or theories emerging (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Since only one person was conducting the thematic analysis, consideration should be given on how to minimise bias. Anyan (2013, p.7) describes an “exclusive privilege to report what the interviewee meant” in the data analysis stage and recommends consideration of the environment and experiences of the interviewee whilst processing the data.

The DRC and Botswana data were analysed separately throughout, whilst being cautious that Botswana had under half of the interviews than from the DRC.

### 4.3.2 Sentiment Analysis

The codes were categorised into positive, negative or neutral sentiments, as outlined in Öztürk and Ayvaz (2018). This was a subjective process, so the sentiments were carefully defined by the following categories.

- Positive – based on either successes from external organisations or signs of progress
- Negative – based on lack of progress or bad experiences.
- Neutral – neither positive nor negative.

Then a difference of proportions z-test was used to test the significance of the proportions of the positive codes between countries (Glen, 2013).

## 5. Results and Analysis

The central theme that emerged for both countries was ineffective policymaking, to which five sub-themes contributed. This chapter will also explore the sentiment analysis of the codes, by which Botswana had a greater proportion of positive codes.

### 5.1 Summary of Results

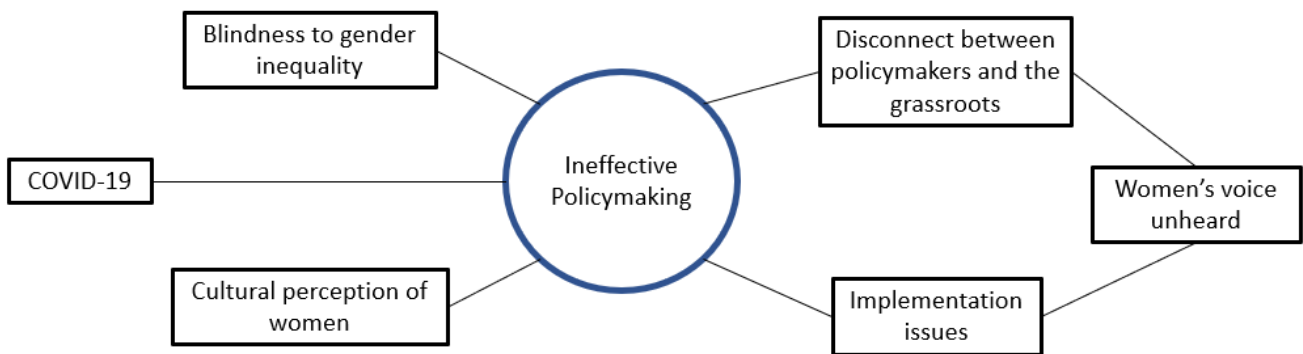


Figure 9 - DRC Thematic Map.

The Thematic Maps in Fig. 9 and Fig. 10 show how the codes from the DRC and Botswana interviews all revolved around one central theme – ineffective policymaking. In the context of this research, ineffective policymaking refers to the struggle of women’s issues to be effectively addressed and implemented through policy decisions.

There are five sub-themes, which contribute to ineffective policymaking: Implementation issues, a disconnect between policymakers and the grassroots, blindness to gender inequality, cultural perception of women, and COVID-19. It appears that the Botswana interviews did not raise the issues of blindness to gender inequality and the cultural perception of women, which is an interesting difference to note. The issue of women’s voice not being heard was a factor for Implementation issues and the Disconnect between policymakers and the grassroots.

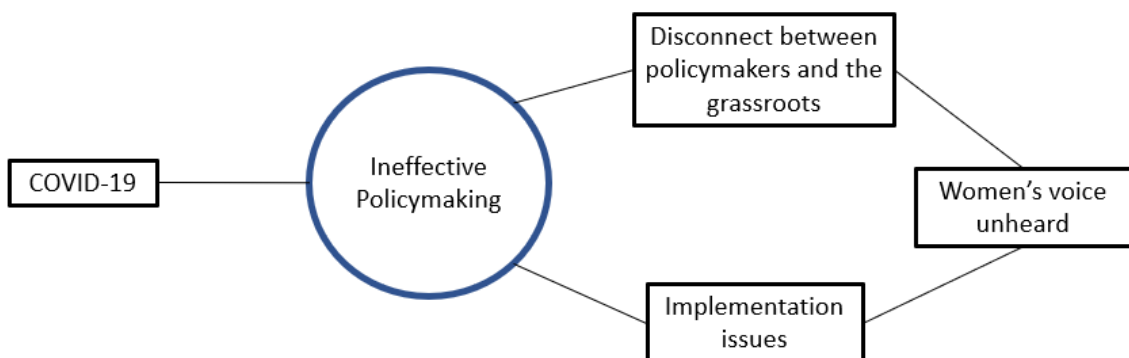


Figure 10 - Botswana Thematic Map



Despite the reputation of being a progressive country for women, all three Botswana interviews indicated that outcomes for women are still struggling in extractives, with issues still existing for women within policymaking. These results should also be put into context of the small number of interviews held, as there were only three participants from Botswana.

The code breakdown by participant is in Appendix B. A sample list of codes is in Appendix C.

## 5.2 Subthemes and Analysis

### 5.3.1 Implementation Issues

Of the seven participants able to speak about the DRC and the three Botswana participants, all referenced issues with the implementation stage of the policy cycle. These implementation issues fell into the following categories: lack of follow-up after a policy has been formalised, the symbolic nature of policymaking, lack of women in the policymaking arena.

The concept of an implementation deficit or gap between what is planned versus what actually occurs is a long-standing concern in public policy (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973). Despite putting forward a decent policy, numerous participants reported a lack of momentum to carry out the implementation, such as not pushing the policy at the site of implementation, or not working to get sufficient buy-in from those implementing the policy at the front line. Participant 7 found this lack of willingness with grassroots companies over gender policies; “they don't care about it because it is the government that have pushed them to have it”. It is this imposition by government without engaging the grassroots, which has fuelled the implementation gap. Without bringing the grassroots on-board, it can have an adverse effect with certain groups blocking progress of policies, who “find this [progress] a real threat” (Participant 4). Policy formation itself can only go so far, but some serious commitment to implementation is critical to enact the necessary changes.

Getting buy-in from stakeholder groups is heavily documented in literature, with Herrera-Sánchez et al. (2017) finding that it was essential for successful implementation. Buy-in becomes even more critical at scale with complex change, particularly at the scale of a country. Not considering buy-in of all groups is one of the key reasons that 70% of policymakers are not reaching their objectives (Blackburn et al., 2011). One key group which is not receiving a voice in implementation, is women. All participants identified that women do not get a voice in the policymaking process, even when they are in managerial positions; their representation is not enough. In those discussions, women are overridden, not allowed to speak, or have their input dismissed. This study contributes evidence that extractive sector policymaking is inaccessible for women since it is not getting buy-in from a key implementer group.

There were multiple instances of implementation failures identified by the interviewees:

“[DRC government] pretend that they do gender policies and advocacy, they'll have the minister of family and the minister of children, who will be a woman. That is where it is going to stop. Officially they say yes, but I don't see that at all.” Participant 8.

“I approached them and asked them for gender policy. And they say yeah.... But when you go through the questions and ask them really - Can I have your gender policy... I never heard anything from them. And they didn't receive me after that.” Participant 10.

“Then the laws need to actually be implemented, and they're not because they're lacking the mechanism to monitor the implementation of the laws” Participant 1.

External organisations provided evidence about their role in bridging this implementation failure, by supporting policy implementation and monitoring. External organisations gave a variety of examples of holding government in line with laws and policies, such as one which has an administrative role in “mapping these documents and then submitting that list of missing documents to the government... saying those documents are missing, you should be publishing it in accordance with the law.” (Participant 1), or how CSOs can deal with violations to the mining code and “translate those grievances or what happens on the ground and some concerns that are raised at the policy level” (Participant 5).

Often women are not allowed to voice such opinions or give challenge, so these groups acted as an intermediary, adding a layer between decision-makers and women. External organisations have different strategies for ensuring this implementation takes place in resistant public bodies, such as the ability to escalate the issue to international donors or working with champions in the government to take the work forward.

This model of using external organisations fits with the accountability mechanism and implementation support, as described in Chapter two (Edwards, 2014; Hilhorst and Bashwira, 2014). Each participant spoke about how critical these external organisations are for bridging the implementation gap in the extractives sector, with concerns that the DRC government is not doing enough. This was less prominent in Botswana as they were able to give examples of successful implementation. Botswana participants were keen that such progress comes from “deliberate steps” in implementation rather than taking a passive role. The DRC government is working on a much larger scale though, so there is significant work required to consider a full implementation strategy.

Delegating the responsibility of holding government to account to external organisations has previous evidence of success. For example, Kalev et al. (2006) compared 700 private firms, albeit all Western, of which the majority found that independent committees are most effective at challenging this implementation gap, as they are held to account by management and generally have an interest in the area.

There were also some exceptions to the criticism of the DRC and Botswana implementation strategies in extractives. The EITI stakeholder group in the DRC are reportedly “doing an amazing job...they are actually checking whether or not that policy is being implemented or not even policy that law, that regulation is being implemented.” (Participant 1) and some mining companies have internal auditors who are monitoring the implementation. In Botswana, Debswana received praise for their ‘He for She’ campaign and the government were perceived to be supportive of women’s progress in businesses.

Participants raised concerns about policymakers not appreciating intrinsic value of women. Six out of seven DRC participants brought up the symbolic nature of DRC policymakers in addressing gender reforms. These top-down policies and statements are often seen as good public relations moves by the governments, perhaps “to inoculate themselves against liability, or to improve morale rather than to increase managerial diversity” (Kalev et al., 2006, p.610). But in the DRC, the empty statements are doing harm. The government were often caught not following such good practice themselves, demonstrating a lack of intent to the participants, who indicated that this lack of sincerity undermined the whole message across the country. As participant 10 mentioned, “if you look even at the government, we [women] are not even represented at 10%. The Constitution of the country, it states that we must be presented at least at 30% in every organisation, institution, or company, but that is not even respected”, giving evidence that not even the government is respecting the constitution. These

contradictions were reported to not assist government with promoting their gender equality agenda at the grassroots.

This symbolic nature of implementation is well-established in feminist studies. Mazur (2017) reviewed feminist literature describing how the powerful, rich echelon of society placate strides for equality with policy statements rather than outputs or results. As Mazur (2017) mentioned, it is the establishments who do not want to see reform themselves. There is hope for DRC, as new president Tshisekedi outlined steps to implement the gender balance provision in the constitution (Amnesty International, 2019) and two participants also echoed this hope in the new government. However, the DRC has previously been criticised for its lack of detail in implementation plans regarding CEDAW (2018), so until there is evidence of change, participants maintain their reservations.

### *5.3.2 A Disconnect between Policymakers and the Grassroots*

All participants referred to the divide between local and government levels in policymaking, as policymaking is consistently top-down.

In the DRC, the vast geographical, ideological, and language disconnect between policymakers and the implementation location was mentioned by five participants. With the capital city in the West of the DRC, and the main mining sites located in the East, a distance over 2,000 km apart, the physical distance was noted as a contributor to this significant disconnect: “it's far from here in every single respect. It's far geographically, they speak a different language... some of the policies that are developed at national level don't reflect the reality here in the East” (Participant 4). This is clearly a top-down and disconnected policymaking process, which as discussed previously, fails to engage the street-level bureaucrats, and will hence struggle with successful implementation. Upskilling implementers to mould the policy as necessary and holding a continuous dialogue throughout would bridge this gap between formulation and implementation (Lipsky, 1980). In fact, two participants in the DRC raised instances where government locals in the East mining towns, were deliberately not implementing the policy or laws, in favour of local customs. City and urban life have become so disconnected that the Kinshasa policymakers are making policies that do not make sense to implement in local culture, in fact “there is that wider acknowledgement that women in rural settings don't get as much of a voice” (Participant 1). Policymakers were criticised in the DRC for not addressing this lack of engaging the voice of the rural woman, since they “have never visited, or they have very limited information” (Participant 4). Hudson (2019) asserts that a dispersed government is one of the core reasons for implementation failure, as this disconnect is rarely properly managed by those in power.

The key issue for women regarding this disconnect is that these policies will not assist them without representation in the policymaking sphere. If women are not able to contribute to the policies designed for them in the grassroots, the policy will likely fail at the implementation stage. Seven out of the ten participants raised that they had not seen women being included in any policymaking process. Participant 6 described how policymaking this way makes little sense, as “women want to have input on that because we are the ones who go on maternity - only us can tell you the facts about it.” Without increased representation, women will struggle to have their voices heard. Where groups consisted of only one or two women, women were found to be less talkative and contributed less to group working processes (Myaskovsky et al., 2005).

External organisations have particularly noticed this need to work at the grassroots to include every level in the reforms that the government is putting in place and bridge this disconnect. They gave evidence of dissemination activities, such as community radios and targeted workshops, which are particularly good at bringing many different voices together and communicating the policy goals

rather than just imposing new rules. The extractive sector has been continuously troubled with transparency issues, and the moves for better communication at the grassroots level are needed to change this perception. Since corruption is still a key challenge for every level of the DRC, external organisations are challenging the government to eliminate it. There is recent evidence that the government is trying to stamp corruption out, with Tshisekedi's chief of staff removed and sentenced to 20 years in prison in 2020 (Wilson, 2020). With these reforms, there is the perception that the people are "seeing the state [as] more legitimate from the reforms." (Participant 7)

### *5.3.3 Blindness to Gender Inequality*

All interviews referred to the active discrimination of women, but there was an additional theme in five out of seven DRC-based interviews: blindness to gender inequality. This theme only featured in DRC interviews; Botswana had no reports of this blindness. Since the study did not specifically raise blindness to gender inequality in the interview guide, this analysis will be hesitant to draw any conclusions about its absence.

Many institutions, decision making bodies, and groups do not see that there is any problem with the absence of women in policymaking processes and are completely blind to the lack of diversity and different challenges facing women. Some were very clear that this blindness is a problem, and others have made indirect statements implying its presence. It was often referenced that extractives are an accepted male-dominated space, so thinking about women in policymaking is unnatural. When external organisations have attempted to raise this issue, it was often met with "confusion", or "challenge".

Particularly at the policymaking level, there are often few or no women in these spaces. Even with one woman in the team, men have reported being "done" with gender requirements (Participant 1), as if it is a box to tick, instead of understanding the prevalent systemic challenges for women in the extractives sector. Another justification for not needing to continue working towards gender equality, is greater representation at lower levels. When challenged about the lack of women within mining, men have supposedly cited the strong representation in the lowest levels of artisanal mines (40%, World Bank, 2019) as evidence for success. This is problematic as this is the lowest-paid rank and there is very little evidence of women being promoted to the decision-making levels within the artisanal mines. As long as there are women in the workplace, it seems that some are blind to the inequalities inherent in a male-dominated senior management team.

"Bringing up the fact that she was the only woman... they were just like, well, I don't really see the problem. Like, why is it something that you want to point out?" (Participant 1)

This has proved particularly problematic when external organisations are working with the senior management within mines. In the COVID-19 crisis for example, all of the ASM owners surveyed and consulted by one participant were men, since women are typically not allowed to hold a position of authority. Hence, when developing new COVID-19-based policies, procedures, and base for advocacy, the input has been unanimously by men.

It is important to consider why this blindness might be occurring. Some participants suggested that it relates to the pre-conceptions about women and how they are not accepted in the extractives space. But other participants raised that often communities and individuals are too poor to see the problem, as it is not a priority when individuals are facing absolute poverty. Particularly in mining towns, workers are prioritising self-survival and therefore considering others falls to the wayside.

Participants persistently brought up the need to continue awareness-raising as a solution to the ignorance about gender equality. External organisations reportedly have the job of pointing this out and holding the awkward and challenging discussions about why diversity in the workplace matters. They also play the role of modelling how to include women and educating other organisations about the strengths of including women at all levels. For example, the World Bank (2019) were assessing the mining industry to improve mining sector governance in the DRC, but they included a gender lens in this work. Other participants referenced using a gender-sensitive approach in their work and sharing frameworks with local organisations.

This phenomenon of blindness to gender inequality is not unique to this study. Williams et al. (2014) found instances of this ignorance in corporate America, with committees of managers simply unable to see the problem in formation of all-male committees. This is particularly shocking given the company pledges to diversity. With a lack of diversity, groups follow a “herd mentality” and are less successful at pre-empting problems or generating policies that will work for everyone (Foo et al., 2020, p.506.e5). Six participants discussed experiences of explaining the importance of gender to males, with varying levels of success. If companies are unable to see this lack of diversity as a problem, they are unlikely to make policies around it in attempts to solve the issues.

The problem with blindness also filters into data, with five participants describing how data is gender-blind. By hiding the numbers of women participation, they are unable to shine a light on the true problem, known through experience and anecdotes. The data does not reflect the situation for women on the ground. External organisations have a critical role here as well, as four were reported to be encouraging gender-disaggregated data as well as providing it themselves. Participants emphasised how important this data was, as it was able to concretely demonstrate the issues for women.

“The fact that we still have huge challenges in just figuring out participation of women in the sector, let alone looking at when you start to look at sort of key equity indicators. It's very, very difficult at a national level, let alone at the regional level to really make an assessment of progress because we really haven't been tracking these indicators” (Participant 9)

Challenges with non-disaggregated data was raised in interviews about Botswana as well, as one participant identified: “there is no database anywhere, which has all the participants in the industry” (Participant 2). Though there was only one participant who brought this up in Botswana.

#### *5.3.4 Cultural Perception of Women*

The cultural perception of women is a barrier to accessing extractive sector policymaking practices and was prominent in all seven DRC-related interviews. It was not present in the sample of Botswana interviews, but since there were only three, this analysis will not draw any firm conclusions from this.

In industrial mines, in ASM, and in the government, there were stories of widespread cultural stereotypes about women. Participants reported that women need to negotiate access to the mine, often through sexual favours; do not receive promotions and often are demoted unless they act perfectly in line; have their credibility, decisions, and authority undermined by men; have a challenging homelife due to the role in the home, which can increase pressure in the workplace; are not taken seriously by men at work, as mining is considered an environment exclusively for men.

“Women cannot get in the pit because when they have menstruation... saying that the mining spirits doesn't like to smell blood... as you can't know when she has the menstrual period or not, they decided that they have just to exclude them from getting in the pit.” (Participant 7)

“High levels of superstition and witchcraft... if a miner sleeps with a young girl, you know, a virgin and I can tell you I've seen cases myself with girls as young as four or five, being raped then you know, you will find this amazing nugget of gold.” (Participant 9)

“Men cannot accept to have women to be their boss and be guided or directed, or managed by women who don't accept it's, I think it's a cultural and traditional habit in our country. There are also some religious aspect.. The Bible says that man is the chief. And he's dominating the woman.” (Participant 10)

To change this, all participants reflected on a need to change the views of men to prevent a negative working environment. Unfortunately, these cultural beliefs are so deep-seated than any changes can cause a backlash by men. As the participants mentioned “a lack of willingness from some people they find this a real threat” and begin “beating” women in response (Participants 1 and 7), men are acting in retaliation in these policymaking scenarios when they feel threatened by women. The intense conditions of mines as a workplace can exacerbate this, as males drink heavily to cope with the environment and the “drunkenness might turn into physical and sexual violence against women” (Participant 5). This mentality is confirmed with the findings of Modesto et al. (2016), who interviewed men in senior management in the workplace. Those participants believed that the work environment became unpleasant when women are menstruating and, believe women are being hypersensitive to criticism. Society can also look down upon women due to their lack of physical strength and the perception that a woman's purpose is to satisfy a man's sexual desire. Since the focus of this study was on women and their experiences, this study could not contribute to the understanding of men as it was outside the scope of the research. However, it is validating that the experiences of men holding negative views in the workplace as referenced by the interviewees correspond to the views of men documented elsewhere.

There is a need to include men in the dialogue to make sustainable changes to the perception of women. There was hope among participants that this change is coming gradually among the younger generations. Here, the internet proved an interesting and surprising outcome from two participants. They reported that the internet was having a positive effect on young men, as it was able to expose them to other cultures. Norris and Inglehart (2001, p.138) found “the secular trends in value change associated with modernization, especially among younger generations, are likely to facilitate the process of getting more women into power”, so it is hopeful to see evidence from the younger generations in the DRC that there could be progress in coming generations.

There was a common theme of missing groups of women in policymaking work as well. Women in armed groups in illegal mines; women around mining communities, who feed, sell and transport; and contractors often go unnoticed, as they are in the periphery. Participants mentioned this as a particular concern about COVID-19, and how groups of women are being left out due to their lack of visibility. This is something external organisations were particularly aware of “and this is why in our structure, we thought that we must have four components because we have those women who are working in industrial...in artisanal mining...in NGOs... we needed also to have representatives from the public sector” (Participant 10). There is evidence that it is being addressed by external organisations for women.

Participants reported a racial aspect to the discrimination and views of women as well. Women who are not from Africa are also given preferential treatment in the mining sector. Given their relationships with other countries, White and Chinese women were reported to be respected more, particularly in the management environment. This suggests that intersectionality filters into the experience of each female policymaker. When policymakers are considering gender, consideration

should be given to ‘Gender+’, which would include each facet of a woman’s identity, like race, age, religion, disability (Lombardo et al., 2013).

### 5.3.5 COVID-19

All participants in the DRC and Botswana unanimously held concerns about women in extractives due to COVID-19. The results already showed additional barriers for women in extractive sector policymaking. With their already diminished status relative to men, women bear the brunt of some of the biggest changes. Among participants, there was a frequent concern that women will lose their foothold in the sector so far, and their status could potentially decline, undoing recent progress.

Reports from the participants indicate that mining has slowed down, and there are fewer jobs as a result. Globally, there are also concerns for the diamond industry diminishing during this period (World Bank, 2020d). As of July 2020, participants were reporting that, although artisanal mines were predominantly remaining open, industrial mines were closing or imposing some sort of restrictions. For industrial mines, the global economic shrinkage has impacted demand for minerals, hence they have also needed to make part of the workforce unemployed. Participant 2 noted that “two... went on maternity leave in February, and they're still there right now. Unfortunately, they're not coming back anymore because we had to let go some staff members because of the Coronavirus... management decided since they are already gone, we might as well just let them be”, so at a time of increased job losses, women are unfairly affected due to their gender. Since these management teams are male-dominated, women will likely be punished more for factors outside of their control (González et al., 2019). This has a concerning knock-on effect for future representation of women at all levels and adds an extra barrier to elevating women to policymaking positions in the future.

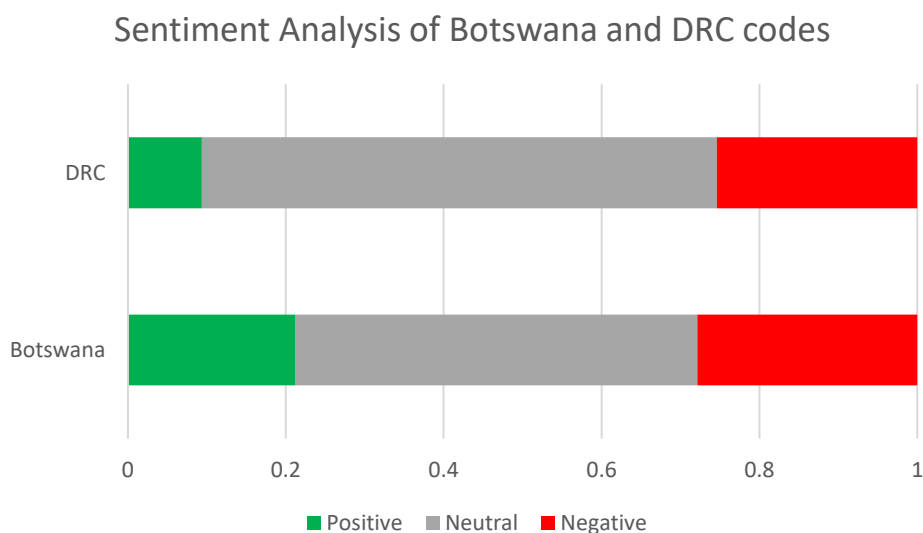
Anecdotally, COVID-19-related barriers have emerged from the participants. Of women in senior management in extractive companies, they had noted impacts on mental health and not being as engaged in the workplace. “It has effects all the way through. Emotional, mental, physical, production at work. I can't be hundred percent at work when I'm worrying about how are my kids today? How is my husband?” (Participant 6). Hence, these additional burdens of the family environment have knock-on effects to their worklife with the increased pressure of the pandemic.

Most external organisations will not be able to carry on with their usual outreach activities for women in extractives. They have had to put off events and workshops for women to ensure social distancing measures are maintained. This is one support mechanism that will be less available for women during this time. Health institutions are also reportedly unable to prioritise women’s services as they previously had, with funding being re-allocated to COVID-19 healthcare as an emergency measure.

### 5.3 Comparative Sentiment Analysis of Botswana and DRC codes

The codes were themed into positive outcomes for women (based on either successful outcomes from external organisations, the government, or women themselves, or signs of progress) and negative outcomes for women (lack of progress, lack of government action, indicators of poor outcomes). There was also a neutral category, in which the statements could not be assigned either way.

*Figure 11 - Sentiment Analysis of Botswana and DRC codes. Greater proportion of positive codes in Botswana ( $p < .001$ )*



As seen in Fig. 11, Botswana had a higher proportion of positive codes, compared to the DRC. This was confirmed by a z-test of proportions ( $z=4.31$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The number of positive and negative codes for each country are detailed in Appendix D. Of course, there is a big uncertainty due to sample selection bias in these results and the natural variation in outlook between participants, but this study can tentatively conclude that this sample held a more positive experience about the policymaking situation of women in Botswana's extractive sector. Naturally, people who answer the speculative emails are going to be more enthusiastic about the work in the first place, so there are factors about outlook to be cautious about. Also, participants who are involved in projects that they are delivering are more likely to be positive than an external person.



## 6. Conclusion

### 6.1 Conclusions, Strengths, and Limitations of the Research

This study has identified that the main challenge for the women of Botswana and the DRC when engaging in extractive sector policymaking is the ineffective policymaking processes currently in place. It manifests itself in the following ways: implementation issues, disconnect between the policymakers and the grassroots, blindness to gender inequality, cultural perceptions of the role of women, and COVID-19.

Regarding research question a) What are the Barriers for Botswana and Congolese Women in engaging in Extractive Sector Policymaking?, the following barriers for women engaging in the policymaking process were identified: the outdated cultural perception of women, general undervaluing of women and their input, stereotyping women such that they should not engage in conversations about policymaking and decision-making, symbolic intention from policymakers, lack of mechanisms in place to listen to women's voices at the grassroots level, and potentially additional challenges coming from the COVID-19 crisis. These barriers mirror those discussed in the literature review. The majority of these outcomes had not been discussed in the literature review relating to extractives though, excluding the COVID-19 crisis and the cultural perception of women.

Regarding research question b) What is the Role of External Organisations on both Extractive Sector Policymaking and its Implementation, regarding Gender Equality in Botswana and the DRC?, the role of external organisations in policymaking and policy implementation were found as holding public sector bodies to account over implementation gaps, modelling and educating about gender equality at all levels, bringing the voices of under-represented groups of women to the appropriate policymaking platforms, gathering gender-disaggregated data, and challenging workplaces over poor representation of women. The findings over the need to provide additional accountability and external organisations being a voice for underrepresented groups were in line with the literature review, though had not been discussed in the extractive sector context.

This research highlights the problems of an already challenging extractive sector policymaking arena for women. The DRC is renowned for its poor outcomes for women, but this research demonstrates that policymaking remains particularly difficult for women to engage in. Although Botswana generally had better outcomes for women, there are still significant challenges facing women in extractive sector policymaking. Botswana has not entirely escaped from the Resource Curse and still faces problems within extractives. Generally, participants were able to speak more positively about the situation in Botswana compared to the DRC though, as detailed in the Sentiment Analysis.

Identifying these problems will provide clarity for the top tiers of the organisations to make reforms. If this research were combined with an evidence-base about the strengths of a diverse management team, perhaps "Is Gender Diversity Profitable? Evidence from a Global Survey" by Noland et al. (2016), or "Women in the Boardroom and Their Impact on Governance and Performance" by Adams and Ferreria (2009), this could motivate companies to embrace reforms.

A real strength of the research was having a cross-sectional participant sample. Different perspectives of the same problem were useful for analysing the policymaking issues more holistically. Using primary data collection by interviews was a strength, as this level of detail and lived experience is not easily gathered through quantitative data. However, it was held back by the lack of interviews Botswana people were able to give, potentially due to the turbulent time their country is facing from COVID-19. The population of Botswana is only 2.7% of DRC and so naturally the participant pool is smaller in Botswana (World Population Review, 2020a, 2020b). There are also fewer external

organisations in Botswana as international missions are less focused there due to its UMIC status (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007). It is hard to have full confidence in the conclusions about Botswana drawn from the limited number of interviews.

The other limitation of this study was the participant pool being predominantly female. This was essential for a better understanding of the policymaking picture, however, there is also need to talk to men and understand the barriers from their angle, since they are currently in the most dominant positions and have a significant role in effecting change.

The case study is strong at giving a reference point for each country: the stark comparison made it straightforward to identify differences. However, if this research were to be continued, it would be invaluable to access countries at a range of development stages. With the DRC being one of the countries struggling most and Botswana being one of the most successful African countries, it is hard to draw nuanced comparisons. The DRC has very basic concerns for women facing immediate poverty, rights abuses, and survival, whereas Botswana has a better standard of living so can drive forward with initiatives such as women engaging in STEM. With more intermediate countries, particularly those with similar outcomes to the DRC, it may be more helpful to draw more substantive conclusions. Perhaps Ghana or Burkina Faso as they had resource booms at similar times and have similar challenges around the perception of women. By understanding the details of the differences, it may make the recommendations more helpful for future development.

Neither country can afford complacency in this issue. Among the participants and literature, the COVID-19 pandemic has shifted the agenda away from women's equality. However, this is arguably a time where gender-sensitive policymaking is going to be essential. For countries to sustainably recover from the pandemic, they will need to engage women at all levels.

There is hope for the DRC though. Although reforms are not moving at pace, there is gradual progress particularly with younger generations. As Participant 9 articulated, "Congolese women are just hyper resilient anyways, because they've been through so much. There's a lot of energy and determination to see that things are going to be different in the country."

## 6.2 Recommendations and Practical Implications

Due to the natural bias that comes from the Western lens of this research, there is reluctance for transplanting recommendations and ideas into the DRC and Botswana. As mentioned in multiple interviews, there is a need to be sensitive to the concept of women when initiating gender equality discussions. However, from successes mentioned in the research, some recommendations can be extracted.

In line with the literature and interview outcomes, this research recommends the following for future developments in this area:

- Emphasis on locally-led developments throughout, with local champions able to lead the way using their local expertise.
- Participation of women at all levels to ensure that successful implementation is carried out.
- Accepting a gradual and supported change of the views of men, rather than necessitating drastic reforms without dialogue.
- Policymakers finding ways of educating themselves about the issues facing their subjects and getting in tune with grassroots issues.
- Building acceptance that extractives are a sector for women through changing the culture at the mining sites, at management and grassroots level.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Participant Breakdown

Table 2 - Participant profiles

	Country interviewed about	Summary of Role
Participant 1	DRC	International organisation
Participant 2	Botswana	External organisation (Business)
Participant 3	Botswana	Works at industrial mine
Participant 4	DRC	External organisation (NGO)
Participant 5	DRC	International organisation
Participant 6	Botswana	Senior management at an industrial mine
Participant 7	DRC	External organisation/Academic
Participant 8	DRC	International organisation
Participant 9	DRC	External organisation (NGO)
Participant 10	DRC	Senior management at an industrial mine

### Appendix B: A two-way table of the code breakdown by participant

Table 3 - Code breakdown by participant

	DRC/Botswana	Implementation Issues	Disconnect between policymakers and Grassroots	Blindness to Gender Inequality	Cultural view of women	COVID-19	Other	Total per participant
Participant 1	DRC	59	64	11	33	3	38	208
Participant 2	Botswana	37	43	0	0	11	23	114
Participant 3	Botswana	15	35	0	0	10	17	77
Participant 4	DRC	18	39	0	36	7	25	125
Participant 5	DRC	9	16	2	36	4	9	76
Participant 6	Botswana	50	16	0	0	13	20	99
Participant 7	DRC	10	16	5	23	7	4	65
Participant 8	DRC	10	16	4	21	7	11	69
Participant 9	DRC	7	8	2	24	2	9	52
Participant 10	DRC	24	21	0	31	2	7	85
<b>Total</b>		<b>239</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>970</b> (including duplicate codes)

### Appendix C: A sample of the first 10 codes

Table 4 - a sample of codes from the DRC and Botswana

Botswana	DRC
A lot has changed, more girls graduating as doctors and engineers	Abuse against women is common in DRC
A lot of women don't get senior positions because it's frowned upon	Actively blocking progress of women in government
All sectors have favoured men, we live in a patriotic society and need to keep pushing feminism	Affluent women are unlikely to visit parts of the country so their advocacy might not be appropriate or effective for those women



Always more ups than downs about being in the industry, so we should still encourage women to join	After workshops and discussions, not enough follow up or will to implement points of discussion about women
As you go higher in the ranks, number of women really thins out or are non-existent - distant from policymaking	Aid is overly conditioned, that everyone is powdering a bit of the requirements in there rather than believing in the actual change
Associations are in strong positions to lobby government for support	Although churches promote backward view of women, they are doing good in DRC like calling out rigged elections and standing up to dictators
Associations have role in educating about available opportunities	Argument about grassroots level women's voice is working well in DRC
Balancing biological clock against thinking about work for women	Armed forces exploit the mines for personal, economic and political benefit
Batswana mentality - if we talk long enough, we'll understand each other and reach an agreement	Associations of women are the groups to nurture and support because they often have a more successful voice in swaying decision makers
Being in the mining industry affects the decisions women make about family life, as they consider job security	At managerial level, men try to block women from decision making

**Appendix D: Statistics for Sentiment Analysis – Two Proportion Z test**  
(Glen, 2013)

*Table 5 - figures used in the two proportion Z test*

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total	Total (without neutral codes)	Positive/Total	Negative/Total
Botswana	54	130	71	235	105	0.211765	0.278431
DRC	63	440	171	674	234	0.093472	0.253709