Enquiry Into The Systemic Barriers To Women’s Participation In Zimbabwe’s Mining Sector Value Chain
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This book is based on a research carried out by Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), Zimbabwe.

The Research was compiled by a group of lawyers and social scientists from the Zimbabwe Gender Commission and WLSA.

Our lead researcher was Dr. Kudzai Chatiza of Development Governance Institute (DEGI)

ISBN: 9781779294616
Acknowledgement

Many individuals and institutions contributed ideas and data to this study. Development Governance Institute’s research team acknowledges the assistance provided by the individual miners and sampled heads of households in the different communities where primary data was gathered. We are also grateful to the commissioning agency, Women and Law in Southern Africa in partnership with the Zimbabwe Gender Commission for defining the scope of work and supporting study implementation. The leaders of the two organizations and their technical staff provided valuable insights with some participating in data gathering, availing contacts for data gathering and commenting on tools and versions of the report/paper. Officials of the ministries responsible for mining; women affairs; and local government as well as individual local authorities for the areas where primary data was collected were also very helpful. Lastly, we acknowledge the help provided by Research Assistants listed below:

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Other Photos: DEGI/Research Team
Abstract/Summary

WLSA and ZGC commissioned an inquiry into the opportunities for and barriers to women’s full and sustainable participation in mining. The study looked at sector institutions (policies, laws and organizational practices). It included a review of the mining sector’s place in Zimbabwe’s pre-, colonial and post-colonial governance.

Data was gathered using mixed methodology to illuminate gender mainstreaming in mining. Feminist Political Economy and Value Chain Development guided reflection on women’s mining enterprise pathways, actual enterprise barriers and successes. The study output articulates women’s mining sector economic agency. It identifies, to the extent possible where this agency is located (and facilitated) along the primary mining value chain. Additional data is required on women’s role in the mining sector support functions to complete identification of entry points and programming opportunities.

The study analyzed movement towards relevant constitutional objectives and rights (Sections 13, 73 etc.). This was done mindful of factors affecting democratization of mining generally and securing women’s participation specifically. These include delays in aligning the Mines and Minerals Act and Zimbabwe’s political economy malaise. The growing concerns from communities of place negatively affected by locally unaccountable mining activities informed the analyses in this study. Irrevocable rights violations related to livelihoods, identity, dignity and basic services have occurred in some of the communities of place.

The study established that women’s representation in sector boards ranges from 12.5% to 37.5%. Leadership of the Ministry and Parliamentary Portfolio Committee responsible for mining was male at the time of the study. At technical levels women leaders made up 21% to 25% of Ministry Directors and Deputy Directors respectively and 56% at MMCZ. The Ministry was supporting relevant reforms including decentralization of its services. The Zimbabwe School of Mines has been funding female students with some of them doing very well. The top three performers over the last five years were female. The School also offers training to women miners and is highly visible at ZITF, Mine Entra and Agricultural Shows. At the same time, there is growing female representation in the national leadership of the Zimbabwe Miners Federation. However sub-national tiers have weaker female representation.

The study observed challenges in terms of accessing mining data and on women’s participation in core chains. Despite the sketchy data, a trend confirmed by the household survey conducted in six areas showed that fewer women take up mining. Further, the survey results showed that those women who take up mining do it on an occasional basis more than full-time compared to men. However, there are growing cases of women’s success in mining as miners who own claims, tributes and participate in local economic activities serving those involved in mining.

The successes are against a number of odds. The main ones relate to: i) access to and protection of mining and broader human rights, ii) limitations regarding practical mining knowledge and skills, iii) challenges regarding access to mining finance and other resources, and iv) myths as well as negative perceptions of women as miners and those offering support services. The sum total of these is an inadequate institutional framework to support women’s participation in mining sector governance and economic participation. The barriers manifest differently in the following:'

- Inequitable access to mining claims;
- Perpetuation of mining’s negative masculinities including issues of conflict with women’s societal roles and gender-based violence in mining areas;
- Steep capital requirements resulting in operational drudgery as women taking up mining lack appropriate equipment;
- Agency conflicts & overload of charges in the public sector;
- Ministry & miners’ pampered versus claims of them not being prioritized;
- Inadequately defined value chains and weaknesses in terms of mining-anchored development planning; and
- Experience of some corporate social investments or responsibility (CSI/R) initiatives that do harm in terms of women’s participation.
Unlocking women’s potential in mining in the country requires:

i. streamlined support (financial and capital equipment) tailored to the different pathways that women use to enter the sector and grow their businesses,

ii. enhancing access to and security of mining rights as part of improving the operational and regulatory environment,

iii. removing patriarchal barriers to women’s participation, and

iv. ensuring access to actionable mining sector knowledge and skills. These recommendations require a devolved framework that allows mining to be integrated into development planning based on core principles of value chain and local economic development.

Within this context, WLSA and ZGC can lead a process of identifying critical nodes in relevant gold, diamond and chrome value chains where women have established themselves albeit principally in terms of mining production more than in processing, manufacturing and marketing e.g. of ornaments. The suggested devolved framework provides a sound basis for adapting global and regional sector good practices (captured in the African Mining Vision for instance) to specific localities, minerals and value chains (consumer products dependent on specific minerals).
List of Acronyms

AMDC: African Mining Development Center.
ASM: Artisanal Small Scale Mining.
BSAC: British South Africa Company.
CSI/R: Corporate Social Investment or Responsibility.
CSO: Civil Society Organization.
DEGI: The Development Governance Institute.
EEF: Economic Empowerment Framework.
EMA: Environmental Management Authority.
FDI: Foreign Direct Investment.
FGD: Focus Group Discussion.
FPE: Feminist Political Economy.
GDP: Gross Domestic Product.
GMAZ: Gold Miners Association of Zimbabwe.
MMA: Manicaland Miners Association.
MMCZ: Minerals Mining Cooperation of Zimbabwe.
NGP: National Gender Policy.
PAC: Partnership Africa Canada
PWYP: Publish What You Pay.
RBZ: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.
RDC: Rural District Councils.
TSP: Transitional Stabilization Program.
WLSA: Women and Law in Southern Africa.
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
VCD: Value Chain Development.
WDF: Women Development Fund.
WEF: Women Empowerment Fund.
WMSC: Women Mining Service Center.
ZASMC: Zimbabwe Artisanal Small Scale for Sustainable Mining
ZCDC: Zimbabwe Consolidated Diamond Company.
ZHRC: Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission.
ZGC: Zimbabwe Gender Commission.
ZIMASCO: Zimbabwe Mining and Smelting Company.
ZIMPLATS: Zimbabwe Platinum Mines.
ZINWA: Zimbabwe National Water Authority.
ZMF: Zimbabwe Miners Federation.
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The Women and Law Southern Africa (WLSA), in partnership with the Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) contracted the Development Governance Institute (DEGI) to research on women’s participation in Zimbabwe’s mining sector governance. Fieldwork was conducted from November 2018 through January 2019.

The research is part of WLSA’s work on gender and extractives. Research insights presented in this report bring focus on women’s participation in the governance of the mining value chain. They help frame ongoing work on critically needed analytical work to surface gender dynamics in mining and inform interventions. Insights were gathered at community, local and national levels from household heads, individual miners, mining enterprise owners, officials of state and civil society organizations in mining.

The report’s principal focus was on participation by women and men in mining value chain governance. It inquired on the opportunities for and barriers to full and sustainable participation of women in extractive sector management. Box 1 shows the specific objectives that guided the research and analysis presented in this report.

In investigating mining governance arrangements the study looked at sector policies, laws, organizational structures and practices. Experiences of individual sector participants and community members sufficiently familiar with the sector were also gathered for analysis. As is further clarified in the framing and methodology section of the report, the investigation carefully selected sites and actors with a bias towards sub-sectors where women’s participation is growing. This allowed an appropriate appreciation of the extent to which these arrangements enhance or constrain women’s participation in mining. Proposed strategic changes towards promoting full and sustained women’s participation are recommended for consideration by key actors.

### Box 1: Abridged Specific Objectives

1. Extent of women’s mining sector involvement and benefit extraction
2. Barriers to and opportunities for women’s participation and empowerment in sector governance
3. Prospects for women and men seizing governance opportunities at community, local and national levels
4. Mining industry’s response to local, regional and global sector norms regarding gender and women’s economic empowerment
5. Recommendations for the consideration of key stakeholders
1.1 Project background and implementing partners

The project (Gender and Extractives) was started in 2016 with support from OSISA with a focus on influencing policy and legislative reforms integrating gender issues in the process. It also supports capacity development of relevant organizations. The program engages key organizations in the mining sector to audit gender mainstreaming initiatives and academic symposia. This is being done under the Publish What You Pay (PWYP) Coalition in conjunction with women’s rights organizations working with grassroots movements.

Additional activities include a Gender Audit of the Mines and Minerals Bill, working with the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry responsible for women affairs around the Zimbabwe Mining Vision. This is in the context of the absence of clear policy framework to guide the sector. Work on the vision draws on lessons from WLSA Lesotho. WLSA Zimbabwe is working with the Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) in consolidating relevant researches from 2012 focusing on the mining sector.

The ZGC’s mandate involves reducing gender-based discrimination to ensure a just society that enjoys gender equality. The Commission monitors gender equality issues, investigates violations making recommendations including prosecution, receives and considers complaints, researches on gender and social justice issues recommending relevant changes to policy, law and administrative practices. It is also the Commission’s role to advise different organizations on strategies to achieve gender equality consistent with the Constitution especially Sections 24(b) and 80(i).

The research team did the study on barriers and opportunities for women’s participation in mining guided by WLSA and ZGC. The two agencies are critical in terms of their mandates as well as past and present program activities.

1.2 Mining in Zimbabwe: Sector Importance and Gender Issues

Since the pre-colonial period, governance in Zimbabwe has featured mining interests in politics and socio-economic arrangements. Alongside agriculture, mining has always been a key economic sector. Its importance builds on a broad portfolio of at least 40 minerals dominated by gold, diamonds and platinum group metals (Government of Zimbabwe 2018a). At least 800 companies operate in the sector (Chamber of Mines 2013, Jourdan et al 2012) alongside an estimated 500 000 artisanal and small-scale miners (Kahwai 2013, Chigumira et al 2016). As of 4th October 2017 (excluding the Midlands where Ministry data collation was in progress) Zimbabwe had at least 42 large-scale mines and 8958 small-scale mines. Sector numbers are therefore at various stages of full and credible collation by different strategic agencies.

Mining operations are in three categories of large-scale, small-scale and artisanal. Their contributions to export earnings, fiscal revenue, employment and overall development by attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) and through corporate social investment or responsibility (CSI/R) vary. Box 2 shows key sector benefits and issues. Malinga (2018) notes that mining could boost development if managed properly. The 2019 Budget Statement, Transitional Stabilization Program, and state-issued license and permit-issuance procedures evidence importance of mining (Government of Zimbabwe 2018a, 2018b, 2018c).

Mining has differential impacts on men and women. This extends to both participation and actual extraction of benefits. Macdonald (2017) argues that women’s
participation and gender equity are preconditions for acceptable development outcomes. She notes that sector responsiveness requires integration of gender commitments on equality, inclusion and empowerment. Debate on women’s struggles in the face of mining at different scales is extensive. Muchadenyika (2015), citing experiences of women affected by diamond mining in Marange (Zimbabwe) noted changing community identities due to mining-induced inequalities. He further cited central government limitations in addressing conflicts that arise between communities and mining enterprises around agricultural land, water and other resources.

Gender issues in extractives are characterized by what Macdonald (2017) refers to as enduring masculinity. This resonates with Chichester et al (2017) who observe issues of inadequate voice and information on women’s issues, negative perceptions and attitudes regarding women’s participation, financial and workplace pressures, facilities unsuitably designed for women, health and safety challenges as well as high risks of gender-based violence (see also Chiponda 2015). The study thus proceeded against this background of an important sector, which is inadequately engendered. The section below discusses how this influenced the framing of the study.

Box 2: Mining Sector Importance & Some Issues, Zimbabwe

1. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe estimated that the country had 13 million tons gold, 2.8 billion tons platinum, 930 million tons chromite, 4.5 million tons nickel, 26 billion tons coal, 30 billion tons iron ore and 5.2 million tons copper. Zimbabwe also has 16.5 million carats of diamond and the largest reserve of coalbed methane in Southern Africa (RBZ Monetary Policy Statement, February 2009)

2. ‘...the mining sector contributes 15% of nominal GDP; 58% of total exports; 13% of fiscal revenue; more than 45,000 jobs; more than 50% of Foreign Direct Investment and contribution to Corporate Social Investment in health, education, housing, and infrastructure (PWYP Zimbabwe 2015:2)

3. Sector GDP projections for 2018 to 2021 of 3.1% to 7.7% (Government of Zimbabwe 2018)

4. Mining underpinned Zimbabwe’s economic rebound between 2009 and 2011 (Chamber of Mines 2013)

5. Zimbabwe has an estimated 50 000 small-scale miners with 10-15% of these being women (IPS 2018)

6. Artisanal and small-scale mining enterprises delivered 51% of gold to Fidelity Printers and Refiners between January and September 2017 (NewsDay 23/12/2017 and the President’s State of the Nation Address, 20/12/2017)

7. ‘In gold rich villages these sparkling stones are more of a curse…Too often, the gold villages produce…turf wars, violence, worker exploitation and untold human suffering…conflict, corruption and poverty’ (The Sunday News, 24/6/2018)
2.0 Study framing and methodology

2.1 Conceptual Framework

To assess the role and position of women in the mining sector, the study took an enterprise approach based on the Feminist Political Economy (FPE) and Value Chain Development frameworks. FPE posits that to understand the role of women one has to go beyond general gender analysis i.e. positioning women relative to men. It allows analyses that provide more than a reductionist account of women as invariably passive victims in mining (Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt 2012).

In practice, the study analysed the norms and institutions that shape enterprise pathways taken by and available to women in the mining sector, including barriers within their enterprises. The study examined relations of production and exchange along the mining value chains and how women are materially benefiting in the sector including from services that are ancillary to the mining activities (e.g. providing food and beverages, airtime etc.). Integrating FPE with Value Chain Development, particularly value chain analysis allowed the study to question the position and condition of women at different value addition nodes across the primary value chain (see Figure 1 below), women’s participation in secondary (support function) value chain and the broader operational environment (legislative and policy) including how it impacts them. This conceptual framework (FPE and VCD) was used mindful of the sector institutions, their roles and interpenetration, which has a bearing on the outcomes for women. The section below lays out the key mining institutions.

2.2 Sector institutions and their transformation

Zimbabwe’s mining sector has undergone slow governance transformation since independence. Despite establishment of new public sector agencies, the principal law (the Mines and Minerals Act) has remained unchanged. Unlike the DRC, Sierra Leone, Angola and Liberia where mining caused large-scale conflicts and outright wars Zimbabwe’s have sporadic conflicts and human rights abuses at community and national level.

Jourdan et al (2012) note that the transformation of mining institutions (policies, laws and organizational structures) was influenced by a number of factors. The main ones include i) the BSAC’s over-estimation of Zimbabwe’s mineral wealth at the end of the 19th century that led to an infrastructural over-investment, ii) subsequent company (BSAC) decision to encourage white settler agriculture to raise the value of the company’s assets, iii) settler entrenchment following the expiry of the company’s Charter in 1923 and emboldened by indigenous rebellions (1st and 2nd Chimurenga), and iv) 1970s UN sanctions that forced mineral processing and refining, local manufacturing of mining equipment and use of some minerals as local industrial inputs to substitute imports.

White settler economic actors controlled upstream and downstream linkages, until after independence when state participation began. It was thus only after independence that the nature of mining sector
### Table 1: Categories of mining sector organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor category</th>
<th>Examples of Key actors</th>
<th>Key Roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Mines and Mining Development &amp; its Departments</td>
<td>Metallurgy</td>
<td>Monitors and audits mineral processing operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mining Engineering</td>
<td>Monitoring of mining operations and also expected to empower small scale miners, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mining Promotion and Mining Development</td>
<td>Coordinating mineral policy planning &amp; development, monitoring minerals marketing, small-scale mining development to medium/large-scale enterprises etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mining Law and Administration</td>
<td>Enforcing provisions of the Mines and Minerals Act (&amp; other laws) and granting mining rights, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geological Survey</td>
<td>Mapping Zimbabwe’s geology, offering advisory services on mineral exploration to industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Ministries</td>
<td>Home Affairs, Justice, Local Government, Women’s Affairs, Finance, Environment etc.</td>
<td>Allied Ministries perform functions relevant to effective mining sector performance and have specific agencies e.g. EMA, ZINWA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Parliament and Mines-Energy Portfolio Committee</td>
<td>Law-making and monitoring of government structures overseeing mining activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parastatals and Local Authorities (Councils)</td>
<td>Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Exclusive agent for marketing and selling of all minerals except silver and gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation</td>
<td>Engages in prospecting, exploration and mining on behalf on the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fidelity Printers &amp; Refinery</td>
<td>Sole authorized buyer &amp; exporter of gold in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural District Councils</td>
<td>Offer services &amp; charge for certain mine developments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Institutions</td>
<td>Universities &amp; Polytechnics</td>
<td>Offer standard engineering education key to mining industry and tailor-made courses (e.g. Kwekwe Poly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institute of Mining Research</td>
<td>Innovative and responsive research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zimbabwe School of Mines</td>
<td>Technical education and practical training, in-house training services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zimbabwe Institute of Legal Studies</td>
<td>Mineral law and policy at certificate and diploma levels apart from other relevant training areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zimbabwe Diamond Education College</td>
<td>Established in 2010 to support new sector entrants with skills and knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Categories of mining sector organizations continued...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private Sector</td>
<td>Chamber of Mines of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Advocate and lobby in order to promote, encourage and protect the interests of players in the mining industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geological Society of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Promotes geological research, teaching, exploration and mining in Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Association of Mine Surveyors of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Professional representation to stakeholders on mining survey issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mining Companies</td>
<td>Responsible for the actual mining operations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
<td>WLSA, ZELA, CNRG, GMAZ, ZASMC, ZWM, ZMF &amp; other Community-Based Organisations</td>
<td>These include local and international organizations advocating for sustainable and equitable practice in mining in a development &amp; human rights context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other stakeholders</td>
<td>Suppliers of Mining Equipment and Consumables, jewellers, communities of place and traditional leaders, financial services sector (banks, insurance companies etc.), consulting engineers and professional bodies related to mining, Standards Association of Zimbabwe,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Chigumira et al (2016) and fieldwork

organizations changed as shown in the table below. Yet sector governance remains exclusionary and complex particularly for new women entrants.

National economic failure, land reforms and the discovery of diamonds in Marange have broadly framed national debate on inclusive mining sector governance. Economic challenges led to rising poverty and unemployment, which forced citizens to rely on natural resource extraction with small-scale and artisanal mining becoming popular economic sub-sectors. Land reforms opened access to land with both agricultural and mining potential. Controversies that came with discovery and extraction of Marange diamonds perhaps contributed the most in terms of public interest in the interaction between mining and socio-economic rights in Zimbabwe.

In Marange, state-owned and aligned companies practically fought and displaced citizens from their ancestral lands at a scale never witnessed before. This was also associated with contested administration and implementation of compensation measures leaving displaced citizens dissatisfied (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2017). Additionally, mineral marketing was shadowy with considerable revenue leakage alongside mispricing and asset undervaluing (PAC 2008, Manenji 2017, Government of Zimbabwe 2011; 2015, Parliament of Zimbabwe 2013; 2017, Centre for Research and Development in Zimbabwe 2018). As a consequence socio-economic livelihoods were dislodged and rights regimes irrevocably altered for many locals.

The Marange case triggered consolidation of other communities’ experiences towards local and national collective action focused on mining sector reforms. Voices for transformative reforms grew louder guided by constitutional provisions on equitable access to natural resources and gender equity, demands for meaningful citizen engagement in natural resource governance (Centre for Research and Development in Zimbabwe 2018) and application of relevant international codes (PWYP Zimbabwe 2015, Ekhator, 2014). In essence the mining institutional transformation remains incomplete and shallow as is further discussed in the sub-section below.
The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20 of 2013) emphasizes gender equality regarding employment, representation and decision-making positions, access to resources and property rights. It promotes empowerment and development for all citizens irrespective of sex. Constitutional provisions of particular importance include sections 13 (2 and 4), 14 (1 and 2), 17 and, among others, 80. Given non-alignment of the key sector legislation and allied laws, the extractives sector and mining in particular remain inadequately engendered. Over 40 Acts of Parliament and relevant Statutory Instruments clog the sector legal framework. The main instruments are summarized in the table below. Besides the Constitution of Zimbabwe and subsidiary laws awaiting alignment to it, the National Gender Policy (NGP) is also an important policy in mining. It addresses capacity and institutional arrangements for the advancement of women (Chatiza et al 2015). The policy’s main objectives are mainstreaming gender issues into all sectors in order to eliminate negative economic, social and cultural practices that impede equality of and equity amongst the sexes. The Ministry responsible for the NGP (Women's Affairs) prioritized tourism, mining and agriculture in the 2013 Broad-based Economic Empowerment Framework. It has also been advocating for the registration and recognition of women’s participation in mining. This has seen a number of women getting claims in their own right or as tributes of major companies like ZIMASCO in the Shurugwi and Zvishavane area (ZHRC and Oxfam, 2014).

Table 2: Summary of mining institutional framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Gender equality on issues of employment, representation and decision-making positions, access to resources and property rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Gender Policy</td>
<td>Gender mainstreaming of all sectors to eliminate negative economic, social and cultural practices impeding equality and equity of the sexes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines and Minerals Act (Ch 21:05)</td>
<td>Regulating issuance of relevant licensing, permits, leases and orders for mineral production, processing and making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budgets</td>
<td>Policy and resource measures for all socio-economic sectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenization &amp; Economic Empowerment (Ch 14:33)</td>
<td>Economic empowerment of black Zimbabweans through control and ownership of resources including minerals like gold and platinum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Management Act (Ch 20:27)</td>
<td>Co-ordinates compliance with environment-related laws and governance guidelines for all sectors including mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa Mining Vision (AMV)</td>
<td>Transparent, equitable and optimal exploitation of mineral resources for Africa’s broad-based sustainable socio-economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Extractives Industries Transparency Initiative</td>
<td>Tool that informs mining sector governance. Implementation of EITI ensures transparency and better management of mining value chains</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Zimbabwean mining policies, laws and institutional arrangements remain largely fragmented and gender neutral. The Mines and Minerals Act is generally seen as an overbearing piece of law. The current policy and legal framework guiding mining is considered exclusionary based on a colonial or ‘free mining’ governance framework (Jourdan et al, 2012). This framework requires fundamental overhaul (Ibid, 2012) to come up with what LEDRIZ (2012) calls an inclusive and comprehensive framework.

The mining institutional environment in general and for women in particular is inappropriate for Zimbabwe’s development ambitions. The Mines and Minerals Bill has not received positive reviews from sector stakeholders. Box 3 summaries some of the gaps and highlights recent initiatives that clearly warrant legislative consolidation through the proposed new law. It also consolidates insights from the analyses in the preceding sections that show a sector under stress from informally broadening participation regulated through policies including Budget Statements yet the principal law remains exclusionary. In a sense there are inadequate protections for those informally or formally entering the sector fringes. Evidence, as will be shown in the discussion of findings, suggests that without plugging the policy, legislative and organizational gaps women’s participation and extraction of mining benefits remains unnecessarily precarious.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Kimberley Process (KP)</th>
<th>An international certification scheme that regulates trade in rough diamonds to prevent flow of conflict diamonds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publish What You Pay (PWYP)</td>
<td>A global membership-based coalition of CSOs around an open and accountable extractive sector (oil, gas and mineral revenues) to improve the lives of women, men and youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovereign Wealth Fund Act</td>
<td>Supports government long-term socio-economic development objectives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Various and own analysis

**Box 3: Insights on the proposed sector Bill**

1. Bill is silent on ASM despite estimates of it supporting millions (as noted by PACT 2015) and thus an established yet poorly regulated sector
2. RBZ/Fidelity Gold Buying Centre Initiative connected to ASM requires consolidation to benefit from formal financial and legal instruments around graduation pathways to large-scale
3. Gaps on balancing interests of and setting conflict resolution mechanisms re miners and farmers, miners and communities (Community Development Agreements), dealing with corruption among others
4. Inadequate alignment with the Africa Mining Vision
5. Access to information not fully addressed
6. Inarticulate on interests being served given citizens’ awareness of colonial or settler focus of current law and practice.
   Emerging good practices around sector principles missing e.g. on state sovereignty, sustainable development, the ‘precautionary principle’, polluter pays, preventive action
7. Silence on gender equality provisions in governance institutions, claim distribution, administrative justice and operational efficiency drawing on relevant Constitutional provisions

Source: Stakeholder meeting on Bill, Holiday Inn Harare, 17/12/2018, KII at ZELA & own analysis
2.4 Study Approach: A Value Chain Lens

The study by WLSA (2012) highlighted women’s growing interest in undertaking mining activities legally. Based on the study sample it was noted that women made up the majority of illegal miners mainly arising from the considerable expenses involved in accessing the legal route to mining, knowledge, literacy and skill deficits, funding gaps and the reality of a gender insensitive sector framework (Ibid). Other studies have focused on the negative impacts of mining activities that affect women the most (Chatiza et al 2015, Muchadenyika 2015, Chiponda 2015). This current study focused on women entrepreneurship in the mining sector using the value chain approach. This was considered the most appropriate framework for understanding women’s participation in mining sector governance. The focus on entrepreneurship was deliberate to allow an analysis emphasizing women’s economic agency. This focus allowed looking at both the opportunities and barriers across the mining sector value chain (Figure 1 below) using qualitative and quantitative methodology. Governance issues were interrogated using mixed methods as discussed below.

2.5 Methods and Research/Study Process

A mixture of methods was used to take advantage of the strengths of the pool of data gathering and analysis tools available given the research focus. The methods allowed triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data collected using a participatory approach where the views of women in selected mining communities and strategic organizations were given priority without necessarily excluding male respondents. The methods allowed mutual learning and reflection particularly with respondents in the public sector who have the responsibility to develop and implement policy, legislation and actual programs to aid women’s participation in mining.

Field data was gathered in six locations. These were purposively selected taking account of: i) covering different parts of the country, ii) identifying new mining sites, iii) identifying nodes dominated by or where women’s enterprises are established, and iv) areas in the vicinity of large-scale mining activities. These factors influenced the selection of Mazowe, Arcturus, Marange/Chiadzwa, Gwanda, Chivi (Sese area) and the Mhondoro-Ngezi mining areas. In each area the lead mining activities where women’s participation was either evident or where issues were particularly important was the entry point. As such, the study engaged with issues relating to gold, chrome, diamonds and the platinum group metals.

Data collection methods included secondary literature review and primary data gathering from 44 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) participants in 5 separate sessions, attendance of 3 strategic workshops that took place during the study, administration of 191 household questionnaires, 23 key informant interviews, 6 mine visits, 3 case study interviews with women mine owners and the taking of pictures. Research participants were adequately informed of the study purpose allowing them to voluntarily participate. For questionnaire respondents consent was sought based on a script read out to each respondent prior to administering the tool. The study team justly and respectfully related to respondents assuring them confidentiality. The study generally progressed smoothly with the active cooperation of different stakeholders. Researchers and enumerators were flexible in applying research tools.
Figure 1: Mining Value Chain

Source: FGD with 7 Ministry of Mines officials, January 31st 2019, Harare
This section looks at women in strategic and meaningful positions in the sector including cases of individual entrepreneurs. It also discusses programs in place that are directly aimed at strengthening women’s participation in the sector. It concludes by pulling together good practices on which future interventions can build and raising questions around gaps yet to be fully plugged.

3.1 Women in top mining sector positions

There are senior women performing strategic functions in key sector institutions. These strategic functions include positions in Boards and senior management. For instance, 3 of the 8 (37.5%) MMCZ board members are women with one being a senior executive in the Ministry responsible for mining (where she is responsible for research, value addition and beneficiation). Five of 9 i.e. 56% of top MMCZ management is female. Two of 7 (29%) of ZCDC board are women while 2 of 6 (33%) of the dissolved Hwange Colliery Board were female. Currently the two key state institutions, the Ministry as part of the Executive and the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee are male-headed. The table below shows women’s membership in mining sector Boards.

The FGD session also provided insights into the overall sex disaggregation of Ministry management and general staffing as male dominated owing to the sector being ‘field-based’ and a backlog in terms of promoting the uptake of science and technical subjects by girl children. Besides Ministry-level conditions discussants observed that Ministry did not make recruitment decisions independent of the Public Service Commission, which refers candidates for interviews or directly appoints some officials. As a result of these factors Ministry only had 3 of 14 (21.4%) female Directors and 4 of 16 (25%) female Deputy Directors at the time of the study.

Zimbabwe School of Mines submitted collated student numbers to the study team, which showed that 232 of 825 (28.1%) were female. This is a strategic channel for addressing traditional imbalances that the Ministry of Mines confirmed in an FGD session. Besides, the School was also running 7-day courses targeting female miners raising the number of trained women from 33 to 44% (ZSM submission 29/1/19). It has a Gender Focal Committee that receives funding focused on the girl child. Female students have reportedly done well with the top 3 performing students over the last 5 years being female. The School is visibly out-reaching at ZITF, Mine Entra and Agricultural Shows helping women miners to access valuable knowledge.

Table 3: Number (and %) of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution/Board</th>
<th>Number of women members</th>
<th>% Women membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hwange</td>
<td>1 of 3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMCZ</td>
<td>3 of 8</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Affairs</td>
<td>1 of 8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZCDC</td>
<td>2 of 7</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZMDC</td>
<td>1 of 7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: FGD with 7 Ministry of Mines officials, January 31st 2019, Harare
In the private sector board representation appears low if the absence of women in the boards of RioZim, Metallon and Bindura Nickel Mine are anything to go by. Only 2 of 10 (20%) ZIMPLATS governors are female and 1 of 11 (9%) company executives are female. The president, second vice-president and deputy secretary of the Zimbabwe Miners’ Federation are currently female. This allows strategic engagement with issues affecting women in mining. However, women are not adequately represented in other parts of the value chain and in sub-national ZMF structures (ZELA key informant interview, 31/1/19). For instance, the Geological Society of Zimbabwe’s consists about 10% female geologists based on entries on the society’s webpage. This is often cited as a problem in terms of accessing gender-responsive geological survey and prospecting services. Women’s representation in the mining sector civil society organizations is not yet adequate. For instance, the Manicaland Miners’ Association had 3 female members of 9 (33.3%).

It is fair to suggest that there are competent women in strategic positions on which to build sector empowerment initiatives. Using the value chain framework, the role of these women relates to improvements to the institutional environment, as well as actual design and implementation of appropriate support functions to enable more meaningful women’s participation in mining governance and benefit extraction.

### 3.2 Women informal miners and formal mine owners

Data on numbers of women involved in the core mining chain is sketchy. For instance WLSA (2012) noted that 10% of the Mining Commissioners’ Registers had women miners while IPS (2018) suggests 10-15% of small-scale and artisanal miners were female. The table below shows results of the household survey regarding engagement in mining activities. The sample results shows that women are more likely to be involved in mining on a part time than full time basis compared to men. This is despite the study’s ‘chance sample’ having more women (72.3%, n=191) than men.

**Table 4: Mining sector involvement by sex**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Involvement in mining</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>60 (31.4%)</td>
<td>6 (3.1%)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, full time</td>
<td>33 (17.3 %)</td>
<td>39 (20.4%)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, occasionally</td>
<td>45 (23.6%)</td>
<td>8 (4.2%)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>n=191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, December 2018

The study findings suggest that fewer women take up mining as a full-time economic activity compared to men. Factors influencing this choice are mainly structural. These will be discussed in section 4 of the report (below). They however mainly include access, funding of operations versus other women’s responsibilities, operational considerations including health and safety issues, societal responsibilities placed on women and men’s particular attitudes towards women involved in mining.
The Ministry of Mines data (availed to the research team) covering the first half of 2017 shows that 119 of 1262 (9.4%) mining titles were issued to women. Unfortunately 85 and 82 titles issued in Midlands and Masvingo respectively were not disaggregated suggesting if some women got mining titles in the first half of 2017 the percentage could be higher than 9.4% but not higher than 15%. On mining ownership the same draft report had disaggregated data on small-scale mine ownership for Manicaland, Matabeleland North and South. Female ownership was reported as 118 of 691 (17.1%), 934 of 4934 (18.9%) and 94 of 890 (10.6%) in the respective provinces. In terms of support offered to small-scale miners Ministry supported 103 female of 833 miners i.e. 12.4% (Ibid). These data reflect that mining remains male dominated.

3.2.1 Mthandazo Mining Service Centre

This is a women-owned and run center established in 2006 by Sithembile Ndlovu. Four members initiated the project but three pulled out leaving Sithembile to struggle alone with establishing the center. It brings together women gold miners and was established within a mining claim owned by the founder member. Infrastructure development was delayed due to funding challenges but Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (Fidelity Printers and Refiners) support allowed the setting up of a gold buying center at Mthandazo in 2007. Economic challenges stalled full operationalization of the center. Over the years UNDP, Ministries responsible for women’s affairs, environment (EMA) and mining, PACT and the Zimbabwe School of Mines provided relevant support allowing the setting up of a 30-member Association in 2014 and a multi-function mining support facility in 2016. Although in Gwanda, Mthandazo Women Mining Service Center supports miners in Matabeleland South Province.

The centre employs 11 people (a Manager, 3 stamp feeders, a blaster, 4 general hands and 2 security guards). It helps women access equipment through hiring (a truck for carting ore, compressors etc.), process their gold ore and network around operational and marketing issues. Because the women own the facility they are able to access affordable stamp milling services and to realize additional value from residual gold in processed sands, which they were unable to do at commercial stamp millers. Returns from women’s time investment from mining amongst members of the association are much higher than other rural economic activities. The convenience arising from availability of equipment made mining operations productive. Members have improved homes, livelihoods and access to services like education for their families.
3.2.2 Other cases of women in mining

There are emerging cases of successful women miners owning and running mining operations with considerable employees. The box below describes three cases that the study looked at. Table 5 also shows numbers from ZELA’s work, which are complemented by relevant work done by the Ministry of Mines.

Box 4: Cases of successful women miners

1. Mai Matika: a miller, mine owner, licensed gold buyer and woman leader in mining. She began as an illegal miner in 1992 where she worked, as a Community Development Extension Officer at Mutanda II Resettlement having been introduced to mining by her neighbor who offered her a ‘stone’ and asked her to write a proposal after her husband did not show interest. The neighbor helped her with the proposal, which subsequently supported by the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG, now Practical Action). By 1996 Mai Matika was active in mining and interacted with others in the sector leading to her establishment of the Manicaland Mining Association, MMA. The association draws membership from the Penhalonga, Chipinge, Buhera and Mutare mining areas. By 2003 women in the association decided to leave MMA to form Women in Mining. With the help of the Ministry responsible for women’s affairs (headed by Oppah Muchinguri at the time) women who had lost their claims regained them in 2004 and a national executive of the Association. Mai Matika is a national Vice President of Women in Mining. Her operations include three (3) mining claims in the Odzi area of Mutare District, two (2) Mills, which she set up with RBZ assistance in 2006 and a staff complement of six (6). Mai Matika offers milling services to others at USD10/ton.

2. Sanelisiwe Maseko owns Vectis 20 Gold Mine in Gwanda District, pegged in 2006 and operational from 2014. Between 2010 and 2014 Sanelisiwe worked at other mines to raise capital for her business and to gain experience. She employs ten (10) people, with two of these being her brothers (one is mine boss). The only female Vectis employee is a young lady responsible for cooking; cleaning and ensuring the mine premises are well kempt. Her male employees are aged 26 to 35. At the time of the study visit one of the two mine shafts was not operating as the compressor had broken down. Both shafts are shallow (under 15 meters deep). Besides mining small-scale cattle ranching and macimbi/mopane worm harvesting are the other economic activities. Staff rewards are based on monthly salary and revenue sharing after the miner deducts expenses. The latter is based on where one works (Mine Shaft, Hammer Mill, Cyanide Plant and Elusion Station) with the Shaft often attracting the most revenue sharing because of the heavy work and associated risks. Geologists and EMA visit the mine for inspections regarding safety and environmental compliance.

3. Ms. Mathobela has operated Coldi Gold Mine since 2007 (pegged in 1999), a two-shaft mine (both shallow; under 15 meters deep) in Gwanda District. The miner gained experience from working with her husband before he died. She has 10 male full-time employees (25-35 years old). Female employees are less preferred for permanent positions because they tend to be seasonal (often leave work during the farming and mopane worm harvesting seasons). Staff rewards also follow the Vectis 20 Gold Mine model.

Source: Fieldwork 2018
3.3 Civil society support to women in mining

A number of national and international non-state organizations have been involved in studying and practically supporting small-scale and artisanal miners in Zimbabwe. A key strategy within some of the non-state programs has been supporting establishment and capacity development of community-based organizations in mining areas and mining sector civil society networks. The Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association (ZELA) is one organization working in all provinces of the country. In its work the organization interacts with up to 50 women miners in ten districts. The table below shows the number of most active women miners in five of the districts (four provinces) where ZELA works.

ZELA’s experiences reflect that women’s challenges arise mainly from a policy, legislative and administrative environment without equitable access to mining claims. As a result women mainly work as ‘scavengers’ crushing others’ ore in the gold sector or appending themselves to men with operations or corporates with undeveloped claims. They often lack the technical knowledge and capital equipment needed partly due to women’s subordinate roles in family structures. They face labor and general personal safety constraints. Women in mining areas are often victims of sexual, physical and emotional abuse, cultural discrimination and bullying by exploitative gold buyers. Women experience these adverse conditions whether as miners or as providers of support services (e.g. prostitutes, food and airtime vendors).

In some of the areas where ZELA works widows and girl orphans have been known to lose control of their husbands/fathers’ claims. This is largely because unlike agricultural land, mining operations are often in remote areas where traditional and community mechanisms for protecting rights and adjudicating conflicts are not fully established. Women have weak negotiating positions. They are also unable to readily mobilize violence like men often do. It is thus conceivable that rising ASM gold output is on the back of women whose livelihoods and mining-related economic rights are not necessarily getting better. The presence of women in national leadership positions of mining sector associations like the Zimbabwe Miners’ Federation has not fully translated into women’s empowerment. This is largely because sub-national structures and the sector culture remain predominantly masculine leaving women struggling to be heard.

Besides the activities of organizations like ZELA a number of miners’ federations and associations have been established. These civil society organizations advance the interests of small-scale and artisanal miners. They are growing into effective drivers of mining sector reform in Zimbabwe through their advocacy and lobbying work. These include the Zimbabwe Artisanal Small Scale for Sustainable Mining Council (ZASMC), Zimbabwe Women in Mining, Gold Miners Association of Zimbabwe (GMAZ) and the Zimbabwe Miners Federation.

### Table 5: ZELA-supported women miners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District and Province</th>
<th>Number of most active women miners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bubi, Matabeleland North</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwanda, Matabeleland South</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mberengwa, Midlands</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutasa, Manicaland</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zvishavane, Midlands</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Key Informant Interview at ZELA, January 31st 2019
The national presence and operational sustainability of associations in general and those supporting women in mining remains variable across the country. For instance, the study learnt that the Zimbabwe Women in Mining was not very active in Masvingo Province. Localized associations were found to be active. This was the case with Norton Miners Association (NMA), which is providing tailored services to women miners. NMA offers education and training to women miners on cooperative administration, safe mining methods, marketing and recruitment of male counterparts. The Manicaland Miners Association (MMA) is focusing on lobbying and advocating for gender responsive changes in policy and law. It is also pushing for the establishment of a One-Stop Shop for stakeholders responsible for regulating the mining sector to reduce the burden especially for women miners.

3.4 State support to women in mining

3.4.1 Ministry responsible for mining

This is the lead Ministry for the mining sector. Excepting for the gold sector where the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe plays a leading role (and its associated companies i.e. Aurex and Fidelity Printers and Refiners) the Ministry of Mines leads on the whole mining cycle. This includes prospecting, exploration, registration, issuance of mining title, mine development, ore processing and minerals marketing. Although the Ministry does not necessarily prioritize women, disaggregate the information it disseminates it initiated women’s mining association and provided it office space and organizes workshops for women through its Engineering section in partnership with the Ministry responsible for women’s affairs and has set a 30% quota for women in the Mining Loan Fund. Further, realizing that mining is capital intensive the Ministry has promoted a syndication strategy for women. During Minister Mpofu’s tenure at the Ministry it distributed equipment to miners. During the FGD session officials indicated that as mainly males they were often accused of favoring their ‘girlfriend miners’ reflecting obstructions to affirmative action implemented through empowerment programs targeting women.

Since 2015 the Ministry has restructured its operations as part of ongoing reforms that have seen it decentralize from five Mining districts to establish provincial and district offices coinciding with the country’s political-administrative set up. The previous arrangements meant sector services were far from users. Further changes are currently contemplated to ensure that districts where mining is concentrated have better representation than where mining is not a key economic activity.
Besides civil society organizations the Ministry responsible for women’s affairs through the Women Development Fund (WDF), a loan facility, has financed women-owned mining projects alongside other economic activities in different economic sectors. The study learnt of a number of groups that benefited from the Fund. For instance three (3) women mining groups got loans in Matabeleland South in 2018. These were Didi (Insiza District), Ukudla Kuvela Ezandleni (Mangwe District) and Alice 16 Mine (Umzingwane District).

3.4.3 Ministry responsible for finance and the Reserve Bank

Consistent with the high regard given to mining as a driver of national economic development government macro-economic policy has supported the sector, particularly the large-scale mining sub-sector. Investment promotion has emphasized Zimbabwe’s mineral endowment and as such policies have attended to energy and other needs of the sector. Recent growth in artisanal and small-scale mining has seen growing policy responses including the de-criminalizing of the practice.

The Transitional Stabilization Program (TSP) proposes decentralization of services like the registration of claims (Government of Zimbabwe 2018). This is something that previous studies have raised as a constraint for women (Chiponda 2015; WLSA 2012). The TSP also proposes support for value addition and beneficiation, promoting innovation and use of technology suited to the domestic production context. These are as critical in mining as they are for other industries and women miners stand to benefit should appropriate and equitably run managed instruments be established.

Other instruments relevant to the mining sector proposed under the TSP and reinforced in the 2019 budget statement include i) re-opening closed mines, ii) expanding capacity at existing mines, iii) opening new mines, and iv) increasing transparency in mining rights issuance (Government of Zimbabwe 2018a). These are strategies that are significant as their implementation will impact women miners as some are operating at or in the vicinity of closed mines as small-scale and artisanal miners, some run mines ripe for expansion and women have long complained about an opaque and masculine mining rights issuance framework and practice.

Outside Ministry-administered instruments, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and Fidelity Printers and Refiners supported mining activities particularly the gold sub-sector. USD20 million of the Gold Development Initiative Fund (GDIF), launched in 2016 was set for women miners. GDIF provides loans to boost gold production and as of October 2018 had disbursed USD130 million with 11% (USD14.3 million) accessed by women in mining (The Chronicle, 15th October 2018). The paper cites a Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe official as suggesting that ‘our women lack knowledge on what is entitled to them’ (Ibid).

Without a full interrogation of how the loan conditions affect women the official’s publicly stated reason may not tell the full story. The loans attract 10% interest (15% if one is in breach), have a 3 year tenure, eligibility includes 1 year gold delivery track record to Fidelity or
accredited gold buyers and collateral. Women miners’ differential capacities regarding these conditions are not because ‘our women lack knowledge on what is entitled to them’. Further scrutiny is needed on the gender responsiveness of GDIF administration alongside other facilities like the Central Bank-supported USD15 million Women Empowerment Fund (WEF) administered through commercial banks (The Newsday, 15th November 2017). WEF is one of the many Central Bank financial inclusion tools tapping into the growing informal sector (Ibid).

3.4.4 Local government sector support

Rural District Councils (RDCs) were found to be supporting the participation of women in mining. Mazowe RDC encourages women to form groups that start at the ward level. This is helping to address women’s marginalization. Council also implements a One-Stop Shop approach to mining sector regulation in the district easing information as well as the processes of registering and operating mining businesses within the confines of policy and law. Additionally, Mazowe RDC has relaxed rates/levies that women miners have to pay for instance in the Manzena (Ward 32) area. Gwanda and Chivi RDCs also facilitate women miners when they experience challenges with other state departments.

3.5 Summary: Conditions for openings and successes

This section illuminated a number of factors undermining the rise of/in ‘she mines’. These include emerging state policy and program initiatives directly targeting women miners and providing scope for improved visibility of their work. State initiatives have increasingly gone beyond large-scale mining operational and strategic support to include concerns with regularizing informal mining sectors where women are in the majority compared to the other sub-sectors. Specific efforts at decriminalizing artisanal and small-scale mining have opened up scope for women’s participation. National government initiatives have also received impetus from international policy instruments and good practices some of which have been articulated by non-state actors, researchers and in some cases piloted by large-scale mining corporations.

The second source of impetus arises from a growing number of women mine owners. These ‘she miners’ are individually running successful mining operations. They are also coming together with others to build a strong movement of Women in Mining that articulates women’s issues and demonstrates their own capacity in mining, milling/processing and trading. It is in this context that female sector role models to which others can look up are emerging and amplifying relevant voices. Local and international civil society organizations (CSO’s) with interest in mining issues are also providing impetus for growing women’s participation in mining sector governance as well as actual deriving of benefits. They support miners as individuals, groups and also build the capacities of miners’ associations. Some of the activities like research, advocacy and lobbying platforms supported by these CSO’s have brought critical awareness to policy makers and implementers improving the position and condition of women in mining.

The researches and interaction platforms supported by these organizations allow women miners’ tenacity to be documented and disseminated while also allowing joint learning and development of networks that women miners are exploring.

The last of the factors identified by the study relates to the financial instruments being availed to directly support women’s participation in mining. These instruments also come with some capacity development. While still structured in masculine rigidities, they present a starting point, which (with more gender-responsive administrative and technical tools) may broaden and deepen women’s participation in relevant mining value chains. Their engendering can also be realistically steered by closely engaging the rising number of women in sector leadership positions in the public, private and civil society sectors.
4.0 ‘The Odds’: Sector and societal drawbacks

The emerging successes discussed in the previous section have been ground out against steep odds. Growing women’s participation in mining in Zimbabwe has generally faced challenges. Some of the challenges are similar to the experiences of other jurisdictions while others are unique to Zimbabwe. This section discusses the ‘odds’ stacked against women in terms of thriving mining entrepreneurship and governance participation. It engages with both sector-related and societal barriers. These are discussed as the key determinants in terms of the extent and levels of mining value chain participation based on research findings and available literature.

4.1 Access to and protection of mining rights

Women face constraints in terms of entry into the sector particularly the small-scale and artisanal sub-sector. 61.8% \((n=191)\) of the household survey respondents indicated that there were difficulties for women entering the mining sector. Some of the principal constraints with a bearing on the security of women’s mining rights include accessing and registering claims, pegging and setting up proper operations, protecting rights to the claims they work and outputs thereof (e.g. ore, processed minerals etc.). Ministry confirmed disputes and lack of capacity to quickly confirm pegs, register and issue mining titles (FGD session 31/1/19). The study learnt that as a result the Ministry has prioritized completion of a digitized mining cadaster. Further, where there are disputes female miners often get displaced or cheated and at times their operations are repeatedly disrupted more than male miners. In Arcturus, the study found that an illegal male-run mining mafia subjects women to forced and unpaid labor in ore extraction. The survey also confirmed the existence of violence against women in mining (ZELA key informant interview, 31/1/19). This included sexual violence, non-payment for goods and services, theft and emotional abuse. Overall, 51.3% \((n=191)\) of the survey respondents confirmed that women faced mining-related violence.

Often violators are male miners, formal mining companies and in some instances public sector officials. TN Arcturus Gold Mine at times chases illegal gold miners often resulting in people losing their possessions. A Millers’ meeting in Bulawayo told the study that gold mobilization teams that monitor leaks are inconsistent and most members were corrupt. This leads to closure of most Millers’ operations. Some of the mills are also non-responsive in terms of gender. Women who bring their ore are expected to guard it at times overnight, as security arrangements are often inadequate. In both the Bulawayo meeting and FGD sessions in Mazowe the study learnt that women often lose their ore.

The study learnt of land conflicts pitying miners and farmers as well as between miners in Mazowe where women tend to lose. Weaknesses in land administration and settling issues associated with mining claims negatively affects women more. Additionally, female miners face challenges in ensuring regulatory compliance partly because of costs but also because service providers tend to generally be male using approaches inadequately responsive to women’s needs. These issues (e.g. centralization of key services) negatively affect the advancement of women’s participation in mining. Cumulatively the gaps in services undermine women’s rights in key mining value chains and the sector overall.
Women miners generally face financial challenges with national initiatives being accessed more by established institutions and male miners. For instance, records of the Ministry responsible for women affairs shared with the research team in January 2019 showed that a Call for Proposals targeting women miners to draw on the USD10 million facility attracted 100 responses of which 28 were funded accessing USD200 080. This suggests a 28% success rate and a 2% draw down. The issue of low draw down on earmarked financial instruments is compounded by an equally low proportion of resources accessed by women on untargeted funds. This was the case with the GDIF where women only accessed 11%. Regarding the Ministry’s Call for Proposals key informants indicated that applicants’ success rate depended on registration of operations with the Ministry responsible for mining, compliance with the Environmental Management Agency and proof of claim ownership. On the last point, Ministry informants indicated that some female applicants worked others’ claims while others had expired licenses and therefore could not be funded. Working on others’ claims and what a ZELA key informant referred to as ‘scavenging’ is thus a challenge for women as it results in their exclusion from available support instruments. This resonates with other studies where funding may be inaccessible over claim viability. Financial institutions will not lend to women if the concession is short term or if the resource is uncertain (Adam Smith International and International Women in Mining 2017). Insights from Focus Group Discussion (FGD) sessions held with both women miners and mine owners show that financial institutions require collateral to secure loans. This was reportedly an issue since the majority of women miners do not own immovable property.

Financial constraints are manifested in the: i) lack of appropriate equipment for safe and productive mining operations, ii) lack of protective or safety clothing for employees, iii) inadequate infrastructure and services at mines (water and sanitation, housing etc.), and iv) sub-optimal ore extraction and processing. This also affects miners’ access to services including Environmental Impact Assessment fees, licenses for explosives, storage facilities, paying for land pegging and for getting their ore milled. The financial constraints are in a context of i) multi-million dollar funds being announced, ii) high service costs, and in a growing small-scale and artisanal mining sub-sector.

Sector pricing structures are considered insensitive thereby discouraging some women from joining.

Figure 3: Access to loans for mining operations

Source: Household Survey, December 2018
4.3 Myths and negative perceptions of ‘women as miners’

Most mine employees are male. Professionals in geology, mining survey, metallurgy, mining engineering, mechanical engineering and plant fitting are mostly male with female professionals found in departments dealing with soft issues such as human resources, employee welfare and finance. That there are fewer female professionals in the ‘harder sides of mining’ suggests societal restraints have reduced enrolment of girl children in relevant disciplines over time. These ‘masculine or patriarchal restraints’ lower the status and authority of women. They underpin existing gender inequalities that the mining sector simply mirrors. They constitute what the African Mineral Development Center (2015) refers to as social, environmental and economic stratification. They sustain the perception that mining is ‘men’s work’.

Across the sites sampled and visited the research team learnt of many myths or taboos limiting women’s involvement in excavation. They include that women carry bad luck, have weaknesses, are immodest and that their presence at shafts causes ‘disappearance’ of minerals. Women involved in gold panning and alluvial mining confirmed these myths in an Arcturus FGD session. Common mining sector myths have a strong negative bearing on women’s participation. At Storis in Mazowe, women are not involved in mining activities when on their menstrual period. It is said that transgressing this results in gold not being found ‘kukata bhande’. Most men in mining sites believe that mining activities are for males only with females restricted to household duties and child minding.

Household survey results however contradict these negative perceptions of women in mining. 70.6% (n=191) of the respondents disagreed with the statement that mining is men’s work and women should stay away from it. 57.1% of those who disagreed were female. Further, 52% of the respondents believed that women can run ASM enterprises better than men while 76.5% believed that women should be in mining as owners or investors not as workers. These results show that the myths are a deliberate and sustain social strategies that are antithetical to women’s participation in mining.

the sector. For instance, a prospecting license costs USD200 with no distinction between local and foreign individuals, men or women. The situation applies to other charges as well. Most women miners do not have modern equipment such as detectors, which are used to identify geological occurrence of minerals and sensors for mineral belt detection (which cost about USD6000), which is beyond the reach of many small-scale miners. As such, small-scale and artisanal miners, generally and women miners particularly lack adequate financial support. 92.7% (n=191) of survey respondents indicated having never accessed any loan facility with 72.9% of these being females. In essence only 7.3% (4.7% female; 2.6% male) received loans (see Figure 3).
4.4 Access to actionable sector knowledge and practical skills

Changes in attitudes amongst women in mining are clearly a response to gender equity policies, mainstreaming programs and actual initiatives targeting women. The challenges seen regarding access to finance, articulation and protection of relevant rights suggest gaps in practical skills and actionable knowledge needed to underpin successful mining sector entrepreneurship. This gap, though closing is also evident in other sectors of the economy and in governance spaces generally.

Women miners lack skills and knowledge of exploration and prospecting. Women mine owners indicated that they do not understand what geological surveys are and have difficulties in interpreting reports produced by consultants. 95.8% (n=191) of the survey respondents indicated that they do not receive support with mineral exploration. More than half of these respondents (69.1%) were female.

While female mine owners at sites visited and mine owners involved in an FGD session confirmed going down shafts and doing the ‘heavy lifting’ most of their employees were male. As such, actual ore extraction is entrusted to and done by men. Male workers dominate key processes at both semi and fully self-contained operations (from ore extraction to mineral outputs e.g. gold sold to Fidelity). This limits knowledge transfer to women. The study thus observed that to the extent that operations of most women miners rely on basic equipment at level 1 shafts the participation of women remains limited, sustaining the myth of ore extraction in particular being men’s work.

4.5 Inadequate institutional support

The design and delivery of support to small-scale and artisanal mining is generally inadequate. Across the value chain there are institutional or support gaps that act as constraints for miners in general and women participants in particular. Some of the barriers discussed above reflect supply-side capacity constraints.

Sector institutions, organizational arrangements and administrative practices have Rudd Concession parentage. They have traditionally had external market oriented and large-scale company focus, an orientation that is being selectively reformed to grudgingly accommodate artisanal and small-scale mining. This sector framing is seen in that most value chains are externally controlled. This arises from the fact that local mineral beneficiation remains limited. Emerging policy and programmatic tools struggle with the orientation of the Mines and Minerals Act, a colonial relic. Other legal instruments (see Box 5) are at various stages of constitutional alignment. The sector instruments, agency capacities and administrative practices thus generally fall short of the expansive developmental rights defined in Zimbabwe’s 2013 constitution.

Zimbabwe’s economy also limits industrial demand for relevant sector outputs while the sector itself is relatively unable to consume the necessary industrial output, a reason behind operational restructuring including closure of some key industries supporting the mining sector in Zimbabwe.

Additional to the instruments in Box 5 there are others governing operations of commercial entities (Companies Act, Sales Tax Act, Exchange Control Act etc.), local government and spatial planning legislation (Rural District Councils Act, Urban Councils Act, Regional Town and Country Planning Act, Traditional Leaders Act, Provincial Councils and Administration Act, Communal Lands Act etc.), laws governing the land and property sectors, empowerment policies and legislation framing fiscal and monetary policy-making. Though the Ministry responsible for mining is the sector
lead there are some gaps regarding coordination with the other organizations administering different legal instruments. This often creates gaps for miners in terms of coordinated support and effective administration of support instruments. Sub-sectors where women are in

the majority (ASM) tend to have the most inadequate support. Ministries and other public sector agencies involved in mining often conflict and charge for different services.

Box 5: Mining & Mining-related Laws and Regulations in Zimbabwe

1. Mines and Minerals Act;
2. Explosives Regulations;
3. Mining (General) Regulations;
4. Mining (Management and Safety) Regulations;
5. Mining (Health and Sanitation) Regulations;
6. Mines and Minerals (Custom Milling Plants) Regulations;
7. Gold Trade Act;
8. Precious Stones Trade Act;
9. Environmental Management Act;
10. Environmental Regulations;
11. Forestry Act;
12. Water Act;
13. Zimbabwe National Water Authority Act

Source: Mining Zimbabwe (2018:23)
5.0 Alleviating the strain: Conclusion and some considerations

Section four (4, above) discussed five ‘factor clusters’ standing in the way of women’s success in different mining value chains. The net effect is that most women are at the base in terms of participation. They are dominant in mining and less so in exploration and the other parts of the value chain (Figure 1). Support programs also appear to have taken this predominance in mining as a given without necessarily spreading initiatives in other parts of the chain where women may have comparative advantages. Further, the support has not been structured from the market-end of the chain back to the mining component.

Participation has also tended to focus on sector governance as well as actual mine ownership and operation with limited focus on support functions. Where women provide small-scale support in terms of consumables (airtime, fuel, food etc.) inadequate support has been offered leaving their enterprises to suffer losses, experience ephemeral and stunted growth. Critically, local governments in mining areas have not provided adequate support to make these services safe and secure to provide as part of aiding local economic development anchored on mining.

Without adequate safeguards, an expanded and strategic support model women’s participation in mining will remain unnecessarily hard and susceptible to avoidable risks including human security and health threats. For each chain defined in relation to a processed mineral or manufactured end product a comprehensive approach to building strong, efficient and effective participation by women in mining is needed. This has the potential of stabilizing small-scale and artisanal mining, strengthen prospects of addressing social justice, poverty and the land-related conflicts rife in mining areas.

The following recommendations are submitted for the consideration of WLSA, the Zimbabwe Gender Commission, Government of Zimbabwe (Ministries responsible for mining, local government, environment, finance and women’s affairs) and mining sector civil society organizations:

5.1 Making access to sector finance developmental

The study established that available windows have not been optimized and their administration generally inadequate. WLSA and ZGC, in collaboration with facility administrators (RBZ, Commercial Banks and responsible Ministries) and women miners can convene a dialogue leading to Terms of Reference and actual implementation of a program of rationalizing available instruments.

A value chain-local economic development approach is recommended. This will aid transformation of the Rudd Concession mentality where mining was the one and only aim of occupying space (Zimbabwe in the case of colonization). Financial instruments need to be structured and administered in ways that are supportive of locality-relevant, integrated, sustainable and accountable mining sector entrepreneurship. Within this framework clear roles for and linkages with large-scale mining enterprises will need to be defined and implemented transparently.
5.2 Instituting responsive, devolved and transformative regulations

The Government of Zimbabwe’s devolution implementation process (in this case led by Ministry responsible for mining) provides scope for transforming mining sector governance and mining-anchored development planning (coordinated by the Ministry responsible for local government). This requires policy, legislative and organizational transformations targeting mining and mining-related institutions (see 4.5 above). Implementation of this recommendation will enable devolved and responsive delivery of affordable, relevant and efficient mining-related services.

The expected outcome include:

- Sector laws aligned to the Constitution of Zimbabwe;
- Transformed socio-economic relations of trust and cooperation;
- Empowered citizens that own their development processes and localities; and
- Strengthened government-community, government-miners, inter-miner and miner-community relations.

5.3 Continuous capacity development

The dimensions of capacity critical for gender transformative mining value chain governance include:

i. technical skills and knowledge relevant to different actors,
ii. institutional development (see 5.2 above),
iii. equipping enterprises with appropriate technology (including equipment) for sustainable and productive operations, and
iv. organizational and enterprise networks. The details of the actual capacity development will vary over time and with actors.

The developmental approach suggested above will provide scope for both local innovations and use of global good practices. Some of the capacity development strategies could include supporting networking between women miners and knowledge institutions, expanding the Mthandazo Women Mining Service Center ‘model’, eradicating corruption in the sector, setting up equipment hiring centers, mining information kiosks and localized mining indabas and enhancing implementation of women’s quota as per constitutional provisions in governance and economic participation.

5.4 Additional research

Regarding women’s access to financial instruments, production records and participation specific value chains. This will help consolidate gender mainstreaming lessons across economic sectors to assist the Ministry of Mines deepen relevant initiatives.
6.0 References


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Harare, February 2019

Publishers:

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