

OXFAM
RESEARCH BACKGROUNDER

Accountable to Whom?

Promoting women's rights
through extractive industries
revenue accountability

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBO	community-based organization
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEFOMOMALI	Centro de Formación para Mujeres Organizadas María Liberadora (María Liberadora Training Center for Organized Women)
CNR	Comité Nuevo Renacer (New Committee Renacer)
CNRG	Centre for Natural Resource Governance
CONAMUCA	Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas (National Confederation of Rural Women)
CORDE	Corporacion Dominicana De Empresas Estatales (Dominican Corporation of State Enterprises)
CORMIDOM	Corporación Minera Dominicana (Dominican Mining Corporation)
CSO	civil society organization
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
CSR	corporate social responsibility
CTPD	Centre for Trade Policy and Development
EI	extractive industry
EITA	Extractive Industries Transparency Alliance
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

EITI-RD	EITI–Dominican Republic
ENTRE	El Espacio Nacional por la Transparencia de la Industria Extractiva (National Space for the Transparency of the Extractive Industry)
FALCONDO	Falconbridge Dominicana S.A
FOMISAR	Consejo Provincial para la Administración de los Fondos Mineros (Provincial Council for the Administration of the Mining Funds in Sánchez Ramírez)
FONPER	Fondo Patrimonial de las Empresas Reformadas (Patrimonial Fund of Reformed Companies)
FPIC	free, prior, and informed consent
GJN	Gender Justice Network
MSG	multi-stakeholder group
NGOCC	Non-governmental Gender Organizations' Coordinating Council
NRGI	Natural Resource Governance Institute
NRWG	Natural Resource Watch Group
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
WDC	Ward Development Committee
WRO	women's rights organization
ZAMI	Zambia Alternative Mining Indaba
ZAW	Zambian Alliance of Women
ZEC	Zambia EITI Council
ZEITI	Zambia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
ZTP	Zambia Tax Platform

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Oxfam believes that extractive revenues—if communities have been duly consulted about extractive projects—should be used to fund important social programs that can lift people out of poverty and improve the economic development of countries. Social accountability initiatives can be a critical tool for galvanizing reform efforts aimed at ensuring that revenues from extractive industries respond to communities' needs. Yet a major challenge of social accountability—defined “as an approach toward building accountability that relies on civil engagement, i.e., in which it is ordinary citizens and/or civil society organizations that participate directly or indirectly in exacting accountability”—is ensuring the inclusive and meaningful participation of women (Malena et al. 2004, 3).

This report examines the interplay of women's rights, social accountability, and the extractive industry (EI) sector and explores whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women's rights. This research fills a significant need by explicitly bringing a gender lens to bear on social accountability work within the EI sector and analyzing the connection with women's rights.

WHY A WOMEN'S RIGHTS APPROACH?

Women's rights are key to a rights-based approach to social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency. Social accountability is useful in relation to women's rights through its effects in two main areas: processes and outcomes. It improves processes in the sense that women's participation in social accountability has intrinsic value as a function of their rights, and it improves outcomes because women's participation can help drive resources toward funding programs that help advance their rights. Accordingly, social accountability initiatives have the potential to promote women's rights and equitable development outcomes by creating mechanisms for holding duty bearers to account for the recognition and protection of such rights. Additionally, research has found that women's participation in social accountability initiatives can lead to “increased budget allocations for services that benefit women, more accessible or responsive services for women, particularly local health services but also personal safety and social protection” (Domingo et al. 2015, 2).

Yet despite the potential for EI revenues to strengthen women's rights and promote gender equality through investment in targeted programs and services,

social accountability has been largely silent on women and women's rights (Bradshaw et al. 2016). Gender and other social barriers often limit their voice and presence, potentially exacerbating the systematic exclusion of women and silencing women's perspectives, agendas, and interests. This report addresses this gap through a literature review, as well as analyses from the Dominican Republic and Zambia. Both countries add contextual data and new information to our understanding of how women's rights are integrated—or not—in social accountability initiatives related to EI revenue transparency.

MAJOR TAKEAWAYS

This report identifies multiple ways to increase and enhance women's participation, with an emphasis on promoting women's rights. Such participation, as identified in the literature review, incorporates feminist approaches like intersectionality to encourage inclusivity, consciousness-raising to highlight the importance of women's awareness of their rights in the context of EI revenue, and the building of cross-sectoral movements between women's organizations and civil society organizations working on EI revenue transparency to augment advocacy efforts. The literature review also identifies the importance of understanding women's meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives. Meaningful participation goes beyond counting women to include women's ability to exercise voice, engage in leadership, and influence decision-making. Considering that many of the barriers to women's meaningful participation are rooted in sociocultural norms—such as women's lack of access to information, either because they cannot access the internet or because educational barriers have kept them from learning the language in which information is available—a women's rights approach based on women's meaningful participation helps make sense of the complexity and depth of the challenges facing women in the context of social accountability (see Box 1 for more findings from this research).

The case studies expose several obstacles to women's meaningful participation, specifically regarding the work of women's rights organizations in communities affected by EI projects and their ability to translate this on-the-ground expertise into powerful agenda-setting arenas in social accountability initiatives led by civil society organizations. These challenges also extend to important EI revenue transparency and governance arenas such as national Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) multi-stakeholder groups and national and subnational revenue decision-making spaces, which were recognized in this research as key targets of social accountability initiatives. Because these spaces represent crucial opportunities for advancing women's rights through the use of EI revenues, it is essential to understand the barriers faced by women's rights

organizations and other advocates that exclude them from meaningful participation.

Box 1. How can we ensure that social accountability initiatives on EI revenue advance women's rights?

Adopt feminist approaches. Incorporate feminist approaches like intersectionality, inclusivity and consciousness-raising to ensure women understand their rights in the context of EI revenue transparency and accountability.

Pursue women's meaningful participation. Promote women's meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives, where women exercise voice and leadership to influence decision-making. National and subnational EI revenue decision-making bodies and national EITI multi-stakeholder groups are critical spaces. This involves being intentional about women's participation, and privileging their interests and priorities.

Address gender power relations and socio-cultural norms that constrain women's rights. Use gender power analysis to inform the design of social accountability initiatives. Understanding the ways that socio-cultural norms undermine women's rights can inform how organizations engage women and address barriers to women's meaningful participation.

Build alliances. Cross-sectoral movements between women's organizations and civil society organizations working on EI revenue transparency can augment advocacy efforts.

This research found fairly thin accounts of social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency in both countries. Nonetheless, though work on this issue is nascent in both countries, the research reveals opportunities for advocacy on women's rights in EI revenue transparency. These opportunities include support for Dominican women's rights organizations' efforts to raise awareness among women in mining-affected communities regarding their rights and use of mining revenues. In Zambia they include collaboration between women's rights organizations and civil society groups, which can raise understanding of the gender dynamics of EI and exploit an important social accountability strategy of coalition building.

It is important to note that little evidence in the report speaks to policy advocacy or to campaigns to push for specific social programs to address women's rights. The assumption here is that women's meaningful participation in decision-making about how EI revenues are spent will lead to investments in services and infrastructure that meet the strategic gender interests of women, thus promoting women's rights. So far, however, none of the social accountability examples encountered during the course of the research set explicit targets for funding social programs that advance women's rights (see Box 2 for more gaps identified in this research).

Box 2. What further information do we need?

Are there examples of advocacy linked with social programs? The report uncovers little evidence of policy advocacy pushing for specific social programs to address women's rights; none of the social accountability examples encountered during the course of the research set explicit targets for funding social programs to advance women's rights.

What formal and informal mechanisms are used in the EI revenue decision-making process? Additional research is needed on formal and informal decision-making processes on EI revenue in order to make such mechanisms visible. This research attempts to map out several of these processes, but more needs to be done. This information will help civil society and citizens better target their efforts, identify potential spaces for women's meaningful participation, and determine where to advocate for funding for social programs that advance women's rights.

Is women's participation in social accountability linked with improved outcomes? The assumption in this research is that women's meaningful participation in social accountability is necessary in order for such initiatives to advocate for programs and services that benefit women. Though logically consistent, more studies must be done to validate this assumption.

Forging a powerful link between a women's rights framework and social accountability activities to mobilize citizen engagement can amplify women's voices and meaningful engagement in EI revenue transparency. It is important for women not only to participate but to lead in decision-making and consultative processes around EI revenue to ensure that their rights are protected and their needs are addressed.

INTRODUCTION

Oxfam believes that active citizens—empowered with information, ways to effectively communicate their message, and access to decision makers—can drive the change necessary to transform the role that natural resource extraction plays in development and alleviate its negative impacts on women’s rights and gender equality (Oxfam International 2017). Oxfam advocates for the use of extractive revenues to fund important social programs that can lift people out of poverty and improve countries’ economic development. Social accountability initiatives can be a critical tool for galvanizing such reform efforts on extractives and ensuring that revenues respond to communities’ development needs. Yet a major challenge of social accountability initiatives is to provide for the meaningful participation of women (Bradshaw et al. 2016, 4).

This report examines the interplay of women’s rights, social accountability, and the extractive industry (EI) sector,¹ and explores whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women’s rights. This report was inspired by an earlier Oxfam research background paper, *Gender and Social Accountability: Ensuring Women’s Inclusion in Citizen-led Accountability Programming Related to Extractive Industries* by Sarah Bradshaw with Brian Linneker and Lisa Overton (2016). The background paper found that there remains a significant gap in knowledge around how women’s participation in social accountability efforts relates to improved outcomes for women’s rights in the EI context. Building on that background paper’s findings, this report addresses this gap through analyses of the Dominican Republic and Zambia, both of which add contextual data and new information to our understanding of how women’s rights are integrated—or not—in social accountability initiatives related to EI revenue transparency.

ROADMAP OF RESEARCH REPORT

This report consists of a literature review, country case studies on the Dominican Republic and Zambia, an analysis section, and final reflections. The literature review surveys what has been already studied on the intersection of women’s rights, social accountability, and EI revenue transparency, in order to identify the potential barriers to women’s meaningful participation in social accountability on EI revenue transparency, as well as how women’s voices and interests can be amplified in such initiatives.

¹ For this research, extractive industries are defined as those that deal with oil, gas, and mining. This definition excludes artisanal and small-scale mining from the analysis.

Following the literature review, the country case studies explore whether social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency are present in the country and whether they advance women's rights. The case studies also explore the processes involved in the governance of EI revenue in each country in order to better understand how women and women's rights organizations (WROs) can influence and participate in such processes. Next, the analysis section compares the literature review and the two country case studies with one another to highlight incongruences and to explore overlaps on how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency can potentially advance women's rights. The report concludes with reflections on the importance of a women's rights approach to social accountability on EI revenue transparency.

METHODOLOGY

For the literature review, a desk-based review of scholarship on women's rights and EI, with a focus on social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency, was completed. Semi-structured interviews with key experts were also conducted. For the case studies, the researchers conducted primary data collection in the form of key informant interviews with members of civil society organizations (CSOs), WROs, and other experts involved in EI issues.²

The methodological framework for this research is built on a gender analytical lens, premised on women's rights. This framework is premised on three main points: (1) recognition that gender norms are shaped by unequal and patriarchal power relations that can promote discrimination against women; and (2) belief that research should be used to promote social change and transformation, especially for women; and (3) acknowledgement that the research process can itself be imbued with unequal power dynamics, thus adopting a collaborative approach can lessen this inequality (Hesse-Biber 2012).

In the framework of this research, the goal is to develop a detailed understanding of the challenges and opportunities for including women's rights in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency, as the purpose of the research "must be to create new relationships, better laws, and improved institutions" (Reinharz 1992, 175). Additionally, realizing that women's lived experiences are formed by their social and cultural context, and striving to represent a multiplicity of perspectives, the case studies of the Dominican Republic and Zambia ground knowledge in the realities of women's lived experiences.

² The names of key informants will not be provided, though in most cases, the organization will be given. In some cases, a few of those interviewed did not want their organization identified, in which case general descriptions were given (such as a women's organizations, as opposed to the name of the organization).

It is also important to understand that research is an exercise of power in which the researcher is profoundly involved in deciding who speaks and how such speech should be interpreted and therefore should be held accountable for the ways that the knowledge is produced. This research therefore went through a validation exercise in both countries with a group of those interviewed by the researchers, and the research distribution plan includes strategies to convey the major findings of this report through visuals and briefs so that the findings are more accessible to local communities—especially to those involved in the research—in order to close the research loop and feed the learning back. While it can be challenging to conduct a gender analysis that is sensitive yet rigorous, and ultimately transformative, the goal of this methodology is to challenge dominant ways of knowing and practice to highlight the needs, voices, and rights of women.

COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

The Dominican Republic and Zambia case studies provide compelling insights. Both countries have significant extractive sectors and vibrant and active civil society networks engaging on EI transparency and accountability. Comparing the two countries' different experiences with extractives and social accountability adds new information to our comprehension of whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women's rights.

The Dominican Republic has experienced rapid growth in its relatively young mining sector over the past 10 years, and mining exports represent a significant source of economic growth for the country (World Bank 2017, 5). In 2016, a coalition of CSOs launched a campaign called "*Nos Toca el 5%*" (the 5 percent is ours) to pressure the Dominican government to fulfill its legal obligation to transfer 5 percent of net profits of mining projects to the local municipalities surrounded by mines. This campaign has now morphed into another version called "*Cotuí Existe!*" focusing on the municipality of Cotuí, an area affected by mining. Additionally, the Dominican Republic is in the process of becoming an implementing country of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), a global standard for transparency of oil, gas, and mineral resources.

Zambia is one of the world's major copper exporters (Simpasa et al. 2013, 18). Although Zambia has been a member of the EITI since 2009, limited transparency around EI revenues still plays a role in depriving communities experiencing poverty of much-needed funds. Additionally, Zambian CSOs are demanding that the government reinstate legislation and implement a proposed model for earmarking a portion of royalties paid by mining companies to the government to address community development needs and unique challenges

brought about by mining, with special consideration for areas where mining is taking place.

LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

The effort to examine the intersection of women's rights, social accountability, and EI revenues was hampered by a lack of literature on this topic, as well as by the minimal amount of social accountability work related to EI revenue transparency, much less with a focus on women's rights, in both the Dominican Republic and Zambia. Because of the lack of literature, attempts were made to widen the scope of the review—to look at women's rights and social accountability initiatives across various sectors and to look at social accountability initiatives specifically on EI—to glean any insights that could speak to the topic. In the Dominican Republic and Zambia there were few social accountability initiatives related to EI revenue (or few that were *formally* framed as such). Therefore, the research examines EI revenue governance in general, analyzing formal and informal citizen and civil society engagement strategies, framing such examples as forms of social accountability.

There also remains a significant gap in the literature about whether women's participation in social accountability initiatives lead to an increased investment of EI revenue in programs and services that benefit women and promote gender equality. This gap is connected to a lack of evidence on whether social accountability initiatives *work* in any context. Therefore, understanding how these initiatives can improve outcomes for women is doubly challenging.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION: EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

There is growing recognition that persistent gender inequality continues to undermine women's rights and the development potential of the EI sector (Eftimie et al. 2009a). One of the most fundamental and challenging impacts on women's rights in communities affected by oil, gas, and mining projects is a shift in gender power relations that further tips the balance of power away from women. For example, research has found that women and men in communities affected by EI projects have unequal access to the resources and opportunities generated along the EI value chain.³ The potential and purported benefits associated with EI—such as employment opportunities—tend to go to men, while women often bear the brunt of the negative impacts, such as “social and family disruption, health and safety risks (like increased violence against women and girls), and environmental degradation” (Oxfam International 2017, 5). Risks of sexually transmitted diseases and violence against women can escalate with the influx of transient workers, the transition to a cash economy, and the emergence of new socioeconomic stresses (Oxfam International 2017).

The particular negative impacts that EI projects can have on women in local communities are due in large part to how gender roles and relations in communities are constructed. For example, women and girls tend to be responsible for collecting water and wood, which may become scarcer because of the presence of EI companies, increasing women and girl's unpaid care work (Eftimie et al. 2009a). The presence of EI projects may also exacerbate existing gender inequalities. Bradshaw et al., for example, argue that “the characteristics of extractive industries make them not only sites of hyper-masculinity, but also sites of supernormal patriarchy,” where men tend to have more command and control over women's lives (2017, 445). These inequalities point to the importance of using a women's rights-based approach when assessing the impacts of EI projects on local communities. Such an approach identifies the impacts of EI projects on women's rights—such as their right to employment, to education, and to bodily integrity—and seeks avenues to overcome rights violations (see Box 3 for Oxfam's approach to women's rights in EI).

³ The EI value chain “encompasses awarding contracts and licenses, monitoring operations, enforcing environmental protection and social mitigation requirements, collecting taxes, distributing revenue in a sound manner, and implementing sustainable development policies and projects” (Alba 2009, 2).

Box 3. Oxfam's Approach to Women's Rights and EI

Oxfam is working in partnership with many civil society and women's rights organizations to ensure that gender justice becomes a central issue in global EI reform efforts and that women's rights are more progressively realized within the sector. Together we are supporting women in demanding that their voices are heard; working to end the discrimination that prevents women from accessing resources, economic opportunities, and decision-making forums; and helping women hold governments, EI companies, and the financial institutions that support the sector to account.

Source: Oxfam International (2017, 1).

This literature review now turns to a discussion of the concept of accountability in general and analyzes the different definitions of social accountability. Next, it examines how social accountability, as defined in this research, relates to women's rights and EI revenue transparency. The following two sections explore how women engage with, participate in, and are consulted on social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency, and what barriers and opportunities women face in seeking to meaningfully participate in such initiatives.

SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Before exploring the concept of social accountability, it is worth exploring the concept of its precursor: accountability. The Transparency and Accountability Initiative defines accountability as the “means [of] ensuring that officials in public, private and voluntary sector organizations are answerable for their actions and that there is redress when duties and commitments are not met” (Transparency and Accountability Initiative 2017). Accountability has four stages: (1) *standard setting*, which involves setting the rules for actors who are supposed to be accountable to act on behalf of others (such as the government or service providers); (2) *investigation*, which, aided by transparency work, explores whether such actors have been following the rules; (3) *answerability*, where, based on what the investigation has found, actors have an opportunity to defend and explain their actions and receive either positive or negative feedback; and (4) *sanctions*, which function as an enforcement mechanism in case these actors have been judged to not have behaved with satisfaction (Transparency and Accountability Initiative 2017). The connection between accountability and social accountability is *vertical* accountability, which involves direct citizen engagement with power holders, such as the state. In contrast, *horizontal* accountability operates within the state's institutions, allowing one state actor to demand accountability from another, and *diagonal* accountability is a hybrid of vertical and horizontal accountability (Fox 2015, 347).

Different definitions of social accountability abound in the literature. One conceptualization of social accountability by Mary McNeil and Carmen Malena is broad in scope, “referring to the wide range of citizen actions to hold the state to account, as well as actions on the part of government, media, and other actors that promote or facilitate these efforts” (2010, xi). In this vein, social accountability efforts can range from community monitoring to citizen evaluation of public services to participatory budgeting (Fox 2015, 346). A narrower definition of social accountability by Anuradha Joshi and Peter Houtzager focuses on civil society—rather than “citizens” or even government, as defined by McNeil and Malena—as the main initiator of social accountability holding the state and state providers to account (Joshi and Houtzager 2012; McNeil and Malena 2010; Fox 2015). Enrique Peruzzotti and Catalina Smulovitz (2006) limit social accountability only to monitoring the government for wrongdoing, and they identify the initiators of social accountability as citizens, civil society, social movements, and the media, leaving out the government. The multiplicity of definitions is problematic. As Joshi and Houtzager (2012, 152) argue, “the very messiness prevents us from making a full assessment of the potential for social accountability in different contexts and when it is likely to be useful.”

In light of the exploratory nature of this topic and the challenge of using a precise definition of social accountability to guide this research, this report uses a definition from the World Bank: “Social accountability is defined as an approach toward building accountability that relies on civil engagement, i.e., in which it is ordinary citizens and/or CSOs that participate directly or indirectly in exacting accountability” (Malena et al. 2004, 6). This definition is well suited to the purposes of this report because it is narrow enough to focus on demand-driven and bottom-up approaches but wide enough to allow for counting a broader range of strategies beyond policy advocacy as social accountability. Given this definition, for the case studies in the Dominican Republic and Zambia, we look at examples of CSOs, women’s organizations, and citizens engaging with government power holders—at either the subnational or national level—regarding EI revenue transparency, categorizing them as examples of social accountability.

To elaborate, social accountability, premised on inclusivity and working directly with those affected, is intended to serve as a tool by which citizens can make their voices heard and hold those in decision-making positions to account (Malena et al. 2004, 6). Arguments for social accountability rest on three main assumptions: (1) social accountability can improve governance by creating mechanisms by which citizens can voice their concerns, needs, and demands; (2) service delivery can become more effective if citizens have a say; and (3) social accountability initiatives can lead to empowerment (McNeil and Malena 2010, 12; Gaventa and McGee 2013, S10). These assumptions are general and lack clarity; for example, the concept of “empowerment” is undefined here

(Narayan 2005). Nonetheless, these assumptions all point to the underlying purpose of social accountability: to effect change through citizen engagement that leads to better development outcomes.

Social accountability is envisioned as a process that amplifies the voice of citizens and lessens inequalities in power, so that power holders are more responsive to people's needs (Hepworth 2016). Social accountability initiatives may use strategies such as community monitoring, scorecards, and informational campaigns.⁴ In the context of revenues from extractive industries, social accountability initiatives may function as mechanisms for citizens to demand transparency about EI revenues and payments made to government, equipping citizens with some of the knowledge necessary to assess whether they are receiving their fair share and to influence how the revenues are spent.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Considering the connection between women's rights and social accountability first requires an analysis of the definition of women's rights. As commonly quoted, women's rights are human rights, and human rights are women's rights.⁵ Such rights run the gamut from political rights (such as the right to vote and to run for office), employment rights (nondiscrimination in access to jobs, for example), and the right to education. These rights respond to the discrimination women face, where the "lack of respect for women's rights deprives women of access to productive resources, basic services, and decision-making processes" (McNeil and Malena 2010, 193). A major factor that can limit the participation of women and WROs in social accountability is gender bias in the way these initiatives are designed and implemented. An additional limitation is that social accountability may be occurring under a different name. In a report published by the Accountability Research Center, Just Associates, and PEKKA (an Indonesian women's organization), the authors found that "PEKKA's strategies incorporate social accountability into an integrated agenda for change—though without using that term" (Zulminarni et al. 2018, 7).

Social accountability initiatives have the potential to promote women's rights and equitable development outcomes by creating mechanisms for holding duty

⁴ Social accountability initiatives use a multiplicity of strategies and engage in debates over how to best harness citizens' voices in order to have "teeth" and effect change. This paper does not delve into such arguments over the factors of success in social accountability, but rather examines the inclusiveness of social accountability initiatives by drawing on examples from around the world. Examples of social accountability strategies may include, among other things, community monitoring, community report cards, community scorecards, participatory budgeting, and informational campaigns.

⁵ The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) defines discrimination as "any distinction, exclusions or restriction made on the basis of sex, which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise by women ... on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms" (CEDAW 1979).

bearers to account for the recognition and protection of such rights. According to a report by the Center for Economic and Social Rights and UN Women (2017, 25), “Women’s rights advocates have engaged in and benefited from various social accountability initiatives ... and through their voices and collective action they have achieved more gender-sensitive approaches in development.” For social accountability to be used as a tool to advance gender equality, “social accountability initiatives must go hand in hand with efforts to affirm women’s rights and empower women to seek accountability and justice” (McNeil and Malena 2010, 193). Research by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) recommends that social accountability initiatives be “designed in ways that ensure a gender focus so that steps are taken to enable women to participate and when they do, are able to express their own views” (Domingo et al. 2015, 57).

So what does it mean for social accountability to incorporate women’s rights? The central link between social accountability and women’s rights can be broken down into two main elements: (1) improved *processes*, where women’s participation in social accountability initiatives is inherently valuable as an expression of their rights; and (2) improved *outcomes*, where women’s participation in social accountability initiatives may help drive resources toward goods and services that women value, improve their development outcomes, and advance their rights. It should be noted, however, that the relationship of social accountability as a process and as an outcome is contested and not inevitable, particularly when focusing on women’s participation.

For instance, participation is not the ultimate goal; women’s participation does not simply involve adding women to a group but instead “refers to the multifaceted and various ways women and their rights are reflected” (Taylor 2018). Participation is not just about having the numbers but about having the influence to effect change (Womankind 2015). In a report by ODI, women’s participation in social accountability is typically linked to impacts related to service delivery, when the real focus should be on the “impacts on women’s capacities to exercise voice and leadership more broadly” (Domingo et al. 2015, 59). This is not to say that women’s participation in social accountability efforts is not an important part of advancing women’s rights. Indeed, research has found that women’s participation in social accountability initiatives can lead to “increased budget allocations for services that benefit women, more accessible or responsive services for women, particularly local health services but also personal safety and social protection” (Domingo et al. 2015, 2).

A report by UN Women notes the increasing adoption of the term “meaningful participation” to clarify that women should be present and their ideas should be taken into account (UN Women 2018). According to this report, four key elements of women’s meaningful participation can be applied to social

accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency: (1) demonstrating agency by setting social accountability agendas and building coalitions; (2) using their gender perspectives to exert influence; (3) using self-efficacy, knowledge, and confidence to effectively represent women's interests; and (4) being present to seize opportunities to inform, influence, and make decisions (UN Women 2018, 12). These four elements of women's meaningful participation interact with the key stages involved in social accountability as explained in the previous section: standard setting, investigation, answerability, and sanctions. For example, setting agendas and standards and discussing answerability require attending meetings, but women may lack the time and resources to participate. Investigating whether power holders are doing what they are supposed to do involves getting access to clear information on their activities, but women may not always have equal access. The sanctions stage involves challenging power dynamics, and women are not always free to enact meaningful sanctions without fear of reprisal.

This report bases its women's rights approach on this concept of women's meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives. Thus the degree to which social accountability initiatives targeting EI revenue transparency are considered to integrate a women's rights approach is assessed based on the degree to which these four elements of meaningful participation are in place.

EI revenues, if managed appropriately, have the potential to reduce poverty and advance women's rights (see Box 4 for Oxfam's stance on women's rights and EI revenue). Governments receive revenue from EI companies in a variety of ways such as royalties, duties, and taxes. Governments then need to decide "how much revenue should be used for current and capital spending priorities and debt reduction, and how much is to be set aside for revenue stabilization, expenditure smoothing, saving for future generations, or other specific needs" (World Bank 2009, 14). The imperative to set money aside is particularly high in cases where revenues received are more than was budgeted. In such cases revenues may go into sovereign wealth funds, stabilization funds, and funds for future generations, which respectively meet the goals just described (Daniel et al. 2013). These funds can be created by legal frameworks; for example, Ghana's Petroleum Revenue Management Act created both the Petroleum Holding Fund, which pools EI revenue from its different sources, and the Ghana Stabilization Fund, which provides funds in case of shortfalls (Heller et al. 2016, 42).

Box 4. Oxfam’s Position on Women’s Rights and EI Revenue

The extractive industries are a significant source of revenue in many countries, and to varying degrees fund the essential services that governments provide to their citizens. Free, quality essential services (such as publicly financed and delivered education and health services) reduce income inequality, promote women’s empowerment, and overwhelmingly benefit the poor. Women are disproportionately affected when these services are not available. There is enormous opportunity to make revenues from extractive industries work for women’s rights—for example, by investing and redistributing revenues in programs and services that address unpaid care requirements, women’s health, and violence against women and girls.

Source: Oxfam International (2017, 12).

In addition to the question of whether to spend or save EI revenues, countries must determine whether to use revenues in the general (national) budget and/or to earmark them for expenditure in the areas from which natural resources have been extracted (Heller et al. 2016, 19). Sometimes this earmarking involves creating local development funds from which revenues are disbursed into local budgets. The general logic underlying earmarking is that (1) people at the site of extraction experience particular disruptions in their environment and livelihoods and need to be compensated for them, and (2) people from the areas in which minerals were produced may have special claims to those resources and their benefits. Whether earmarked revenues are spent at the local level or the national level, they raise similar questions about whether to spend on immediate consumption needs or to invest in infrastructure that will drive longer-term development. Note, however, that in most cases revenues are delivered to the local government through the budget cycle and local governments generally lack the legal capacity to create financial instruments that can support long-term revenue generation (such as a wealth fund) or deal with unexpected revenue shortfalls (stabilization fund) (Heller et al. 2016, 42).

Civil society efforts have been crucial in calling for revenues to go to local communities. For example, in Burkina Faso, CSOs launched the “1% Campaign calling on the government and especially on parliament not to vote for a code with less than a 1 percent mining company contribution to the local development fund,” to fund sustainable local development projects (Slack 2015, para.5). Adopted in 2015, the new mining code requires mining companies to “commit 1% of gross revenues to a community development fund” (Slack 2015, para. 1). In Ghana, Oxfam and partners launched an Oil4Food campaign calling on the government to invest more of its oil revenues in smallholder farming. Poverty rates among smallholder food farmers, particularly women, are high in Ghana. The grassroots campaign led the Ghanaian government to commit to investing 15 percent of oil revenues in agriculture modernization (Offenheiser 2014).

It is worth pointing out that revenues earmarked for expenditure in local budgets can be “invested in social and physical infrastructure with [an] emphasis on reducing gender dimensions of disadvantage” (Birchall and Fontana 2015, 5). For example, the government of Bolivia uses revenues from a direct tax on hydrocarbons to fund health care services such as conditional cash transfers to pregnant women and women with children under the age of two years (Durán-Valverde and Pacheco 2012, 25).

Yet despite the potential for EI revenues to advance women’s rights and promote gender equality through investment in targeted programs and services, EI revenue accountability initiatives have been largely silent on women (Bradshaw et al. 2016). Creators of social accountability initiatives cannot assume that women and other marginalized populations will feel like they can freely participate. Gender and other social barriers often limit their voice and presence. Without women’s meaningful participation, social accountability initiatives run the risk of exacerbating the systematic exclusion of women and silencing women’s perspectives, agendas, and interests.

The next sections analyze the potential for social accountability to be a vehicle for women’s rights in relation to EI revenue transparency by (1) focusing on the barriers and challenges to women’s participation in social accountability; and (2) identifying opportunities for social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency to advance women’s rights.

BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

A number of barriers to women’s participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency are driven by underlying gender biases. The following section analyzes major barriers such as (1) sociocultural context; (2) changing power relations; and (3) the invisibility of women’s participation, based on reoccurring themes found in the literature. These barriers are interrelated—hinging on the common theme of gender and sociocultural norms—but are nevertheless mentioned distinctly in the literature.

Sociocultural Context

One barrier to women’s participation found in the literature consists of gender norms around roles and responsibilities (Heller et. al 2016, 18). For example, women may not be able to attend meetings, such as community consultations regarding EI projects, because of the costs involved, given that they have less earning power than men or that sociocultural norms typically prevent women from accessing or controlling household accounts. If women are not able to take part in meetings, they cannot set agendas, access information, and ensure that

their aims are recognized and prioritized. Time spent on child care and other household responsibilities is another example of a barrier based on gender norms. Research by ODI finds that “if social accountability measures are to be inclusive, specific measures must be taken to target and include women from poor and marginalized groups, for example by providing child care” (Domingo et al. 2015, 57).

A report on gender and EI in Malawi suggests that even when women are able to attend meetings, they may not actively participate or they may be reluctant to disagree with the men and feel “marginalized to speak only on women’s issues” (Eftimie et al. 2009b, 8). According to Julia Keenan and Deanna Kemp, public speaking can be daunting for women in complicated spaces of power, particularly if cultural norms have traditionally preferred women to remain silent and punished them if they are not (2014, 12). Going against long-standing societal expectations of what constitutes “proper” behavior can be isolating and frightening for women, affecting their ability to set agendas. However, reluctance to speak does not mean lack of knowledge, and public speaking can be learned over time, as repeated opportunities to engage can build confidence. A report by the International Finance Corporation on local women’s involvement in mining revenue negotiations in Papua New Guinea found that women became much more empowered, vocal, and confident over time, and women’s “increased social empowerment was also now enabling them to become partners to their male counterparts in mining benefits discussions” (Eftimie 2011, 3).

Forms of structural gender inequality that bar women from owning and controlling resources, such as women’s lack of property rights or land rights, feed into the exclusion of women from EI decision-making processes. A report by Keenan and Kemp on mining in Papua New Guinea, Laos, and Australia found that “where men typically held land title, women’s right to participate in decision-making processes become more limited” (2014, 8). A gender assessment of EI in Malawi by UN Women stated that in order for women to benefit and “avert negative consequences of the sector, the starting point is to promote their control of resources as well as their contributions to decision-making both at the household and community levels” (Kachika 2014, 30). Excluding women from EI decision-making processes—such as decisions about allowing EI companies to move into communities or about what form compensation will take—makes it (1) less likely that women will be included in different yet related activities focused on EI revenue transparency; and (2) more likely that women will think that EI issues do not concern them. The combination of these two factors further reinforces women’s marginalization.

Changing Power Relations

Culture is commonly used as a justification for barring women from participating. Extractive companies may not engage with women out of fear of potentially “disrupting” cultural practices and power relations and alienating men (Ward and Strongman 2011, x). In an interesting case involving the Ok Tedi Mine in Papua New Guinea, women were initially left out of the preliminary negotiations with the company over concerns about disrupting the culture, but they were later introduced to the process with positive outcomes. This case is often lauded⁶ for women’s strong participation in decision-making on EI revenue use in local development funds (World Bank 2013, 21). Explaining the initial lack of women at the table, one of the international facilitators said, “We had to be very careful not to be perceived as undermining local authority or customs” (Menzies and Harley 2012, 4). This approach was later challenged, and a woman named Ume Wainetti was invited to serve as a negotiator. She managed to secure 10 percent of all company compensation payments—which it should be noted is different from mining revenue in this case—for the community through Community Mine Continuation Agreements that supported a women and children’s fund.⁷ While this case is not a specific example of social accountability as defined in this report (it involves a community and a company, not the government), the Ok Tedi experience serves as a clear example of where women’s participation has led to positive outcomes for women despite early reluctance to be gender-inclusive.

This culture-based argument against the inclusion of women also does not recognize that culture can also be a source of strength and well-being for women and treats culture as solely problematic (Choudhury 2015). A study on women’s right to consent in the community of Xolobeni in South Africa found that historically “women have played a central role in community decision-making about development ... bolstered by their right to occupy land independently of men.” It finds that the “current development model” marginalizes women more so than Xolobeni’s cultural norms (WoMin Collective 2017, 434). In 2018, the North Gauteng High Court ruled that the government cannot issue a license for mining without the consent of indigenous communities, representing a victory for the Xolobeni community members (Amnesty International 2018).

It is also important to recognize that there is no single, homogenous “culture” and to acknowledge the danger of “mummify[ing] culture and not see[ing] it as fluid,

⁶ It is important to note that despite the successes women found in Ok Tedi, one of the challenges following these negotiations is that women did not know how to access the funds nor did they “have the knowledge and skills they needed to turn the large sums of money they had secured from mining concessions into concrete benefits for their communities” (World Bank 2013, 21).

⁷ As a woman from the affected area in the Western Province of Papua Guinea, educated, and experienced at negotiation, Wainetti had the necessary credentials and background to serve as a negotiator at the same table as government and company officials. Though Wainetti was the only woman delegate at the negotiating table at the beginning, she was linked up to a separate women’s caucus (of about 20 women, which included representatives from the nine affected areas) that strengthened women’s voice in the negotiations.

ambiguous, and evolving; even if the time-scales are sometimes decades and generations rather than months or years” (Gasper 1996, 639). Oxfam Australia’s guide to gender impact assessment for EI projects asserts that the diversity of views inherent in a culture should be recognized, and it prompts development practitioners to ask “whose version of ‘culture’ [we] are listening to and whose interests are being represented and excluded,” rather than treating culture as a single and unchanging entity (Hill et al. 2017, 8).

Some research seems to suggest that women’s participation in community consultations on EI can lead to greater risks for the women themselves. In a baseline study by International Alert in EI-affected communities in Uganda, some respondents shared the belief that women’s increased involvement and power in EI activities had “led to increased domestic violence and conflict between partners as it reversed traditional power relations.” In this community, women in Buliisa received monetary compensation from the company Tullow Oil for exploratory activities since the company understood women to be the primary “users of the land.” The International Alert report noted, however, that “even if women were recorded as land owners during valuation, men still sought to control compensation once it was allocated” (International Alert 2014, 20). Though the issue of compensation falls outside of what would be considered social accountability initiatives, as it involves EI companies and not the state or civil society, the example of women in Buliisa is telling and has broader implications for social accountability initiatives. From this example, women in newfound spaces of power seemingly “threatened” traditional practices and gender power relations. This altering of the status quo, it was feared in this case, was creating violence. Involvement in social accountability initiatives focusing on EI revenue transparency could similarly irritate gender power relations, a risk that is important to keep in mind, while not letting such potential risks be a reason to exclude women.

While there is a lack of reliable research that explores the causal link between the presence of extractives and violence against women (Bradshaw et al. 2017, 446), several studies document that EI projects have disrupted gender norms in communities, leading to increased cases of violence against women (Jenkins 2014; Scheyvens and Lagisa 1998). Women human rights defenders focusing on protecting their communities from exploitation have also faced dangers such as intimidation, harassment, physical violence, and even murder. Berta Cáceres, an environmental activist from Honduras, was murdered in 2016. She worked to protect indigenous rights and natural resources and wanted to stop the construction of a hydroelectric dam, Agua Zarca, on the Gualcarque River. A Honduran court found that her murder was ordered by executives of the dam working with the company Desarrollos Energéticos SA (Lakhani 2018). Navigating emerging power relations while also encouraging the participation and leadership of women can be challenging. But excluding women entirely from EI

consultation processes runs the risk of deepening their vulnerability and replicating gender discriminatory practices. Barring women from consultation and decision-making spaces in an attempt to “protect” them ignores the violence they may already be experiencing, as well as the structural causes underlying the violence itself.

Women Rendered Invisible

General literature on social accountability frequently mentions the importance of actors such as CSOs working with “local communities” as part of social accountability’s focus on civic engagement. “Community,” however, is a term that often goes unpacked. Who exactly makes up this “community”? Is there an attempt to work with *everyone* in the community or just with a subset of the community? There is a danger that assuming that working with the “community”—or a group from the community—automatically reflects the needs and interests of women. This assumption ignores gender power dynamics within communities and denies the historical and current exclusion and discrimination women face in many contexts. Language in the literature tends to refer to local “communities” or “poor” or “marginalized” groups in the aggregate without being explicit about the specific challenges facing women and others within these groups because of patriarchal norms and intersecting inequalities.⁸ Because such terms are rarely disaggregated according to gender and/or other identifiers (e.g., race, class, ethnicity, religious affiliation, or physical ability), it is impossible to know whether women’s (and which women’s) perspectives have been systematically addressed.⁹ This kind of general language discounts potentially critical challenges to women’s meaningful participation and agency and overlooks the fact that women’s voices can be muted, if not entirely ignored, when no express attention is paid to their inclusion (Ward and Strongman 2011, x).

Other EI studies outside of social accountability find that women are not included in EI-focused projects because it is assumed that men can serve as the representatives or intermediaries for the women in their family. This assumption “encourages women’s economic dependence on men, disempowering them, skewing gender relations or exacerbating existing inequalities” (Hill and Newell 2009, 7). The concern with this assumption is that if women are not actively engaged as individuals, separately from their husbands or other family members identifying as men, their participation may be marginalized and their reliance on men deepened (Chatiza et al. 2016). Further, the assumption that men’s

⁸ By intersecting inequalities, we are referring to the concept of intersectionality, which is defined as “identity-based disadvantages interacting with other dimensions of exclusion, such as income or location” (Arauco et al. 2014, 11).

⁹ For example, a paper on the impact of transparency and accountability initiatives refers to the categories of citizens, poor people, and communities without addressing the differential power dynamics within these categories and treats them as homogenous (Gaventa and McGee 2013).

participation can represent the interests of their wives assumes hetero-normative domestic relationships where women and men engage peaceably and equally and where women are always consulted for their views (Eftimie et al. 2009b, 20), which is frequently not the case. Moreover, this assumption excludes women heads of household and those without male spouses.

OPPORTUNITIES AND ALLIES

This section explores options put forward by the literature on overcoming key challenges to women's meaningful participation as previously described. Women's meaningful participation in social accountability on EI revenue transparency must have both the numbers and influence necessary to shape a women's rights agenda (as defined by intersectional specifics) for EI revenue use. The opportunities discussed in this section relate to the following: (1) encouraging the participation of women; (2) embracing intersectionality; (3) promoting the use of accessible information; (4) raising women's awareness of how EI issues affect them; and (5) building cross-sectoral alliances.

Intentional and Meaningful Participation: Prioritizing Women's Priorities

Securing women's participation in social accountability initiatives requires targeted efforts that take into account the gendered barriers women face. A report by Huma Haider examines a social accountability initiative on natural resources in Fissel, Senegal, that focused on increasing women's participation. Led by two nongovernmental organizations, the initiative made special efforts to work with women, such as holding separate village forums for men and for women. Haider's evaluation of the initiative in Fissel finds that "groups that had traditionally been less involved in local decision-making (in particular, women and young people) stated that participatory budgeting had enabled them to better understand the local planning process and [gave] them a say on the allocation of local resources," which led to a higher prioritization of women's needs in the project (Haider 2012, 8).

Taking an Intersectional Approach: Recognizing Diversity

Where the literature on EI and community representation does mention women, it can be difficult to understand to *which* women it refers—does the literature refer, for example, to urban women, rural women, or women with leadership roles in the community? In much of the literature, men are described with some level of specificity: community leader, village headman, elder, government official, and

mineworker, among others.¹⁰ Women, however, are often not described to the same degree; they are usually referred to as “women” or “local community women” and linked to terms such as “vulnerable” or “marginalized” and other traditionally excluded groups like indigenous communities, youth, and children.¹¹ For the purposes of this literature review, attempts to be specific about the women mentioned in the literature were challenged by a lack of detail in the literature itself.

In line with this call for intersectionality, the authors of a World Bank report counsel that it is critically important to understand which women are participating, noting that “in some communities, some women are far more empowered or likely to participate in consultations than are other women, and these women may not be representative of all the community’s women in their concerns or priorities” (Eftimie et al. 2009a, 22). Intersectionality “recognizes that individual circumstances, social categories and systems and structures of power work together to shape experiences of privilege and oppression” (Manning 2016, 576). An intersectional approach highlights this diversity and the nuances of power and inequality that exist in local communities and among women. Gender identity intersects with race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and education level, among other things, to shape an individual’s experience of inequality and discrimination. By consistently questioning whose voices are heard and who is invited to spaces of consultation and power, an intersectional lens can help create more inclusive social accountability processes.

Promoting Accessible Information—Plus More

Women’s right to information is another major theme of the literature. Information about EI may be shared in ways that are more readily available to men, such as in public spaces or over the internet—media platforms that women may have difficulties accessing. Information may also be shared in a language—whether in writing or orally—that is not understood by members of local communities affected by EI. Additionally, information on EI is typically written for a sectoral audience rather than the general public, and information may not be simplified for nontechnical audiences. For the most part, there are no legal or other

¹⁰ For example, a report from Natural Resource Governance Institute talks about how the district council of Solwezi in Zambia created a multi-stakeholder management board in order to discuss the relationship with Barrick Gold and invited “local government officials, village chiefs, extractive company officials, civil society groups and representatives from the provincial government.” While none of these categories of people formally exclude women, it is still unclear if there was any attempt to reach out to women (Iwerks and Venugopal 2016, 23).

¹¹ In the World Resources Institute report *Breaking Ground: Engaging Communities in Extractive and Infrastructure Projects*, women are mentioned briefly and mainly in conjunction with other “vulnerable” groups like youth and indigenous populations. Men are not mentioned by their gender at all. Leaders are described as traditional and religious leaders and local politicians. While these leadership titles do not inherently preclude women from filling them, in many cases such positions are dominated by men (Herbertson et al. 2009). In contrast, an article by Shirley Smith, Derek Shepherd, and Peter Dorward on community representation within the EITI in southeast Madagascar refers to women leaders such as businesswomen, leaders of associations, and leaders of schools or government departments (Smith et al. 2012).

requirements to ensure that nontechnical audiences are provided with information tailored to their needs. The complexity of EI information often makes it an obstacle for others beyond just women and women's groups, such as local civil society and government officials who may also lack the requisite technical knowledge (Iwerks and Venugopal 2016).

Accessing information is itself a source of power, and is one of the cornerstones of transparency and accountability politics. As noted in an article by Laura Neuman (2016, para.18) that broadly examines gendered information access, "With access to information, women would be afforded a new instrument to contribute to overcoming the gender disparities and traditional constraints that have historically kept them disempowered and disenfranchised." Social accountability initiatives need to take into account the structural gender inequalities, such as those related to education and mobility that affect women's ability to access information. As a representative from the Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI) in Ghana pointed out (key informant interview 1),

Information is important in extractive revenue management. However, considering the structural barriers inhibiting women's participation in extractive discourse, it is key to put in place measures that allow women to participate and take full advantage of extractive revenues. Thus women need access to full information and in forms that they understand to be able to monitor and demand accountability from government on how revenues are utilized in the interest of citizens particularly women and children.

Additionally, the particular obstacles women face when accessing information challenge their ability to investigate whether power holders are doing what they said they would and cloud their transparency efforts. Options for addressing access challenges include hosting community meetings with women-only spaces or canvassing women in their homes (rather than sharing information online or over the radio) (Domingo et al. 2015, 57).

Additionally, research notes that "the understandability of the information itself" can be a barrier to women's participation, given the complexity of information around EI revenues (Slack 2017, 10). The complicated nature of EI information is an obstacle for many, and not just for women, though women face particular structural challenges, such as lack of access to education. More succinct documents with simple language would be beneficial for all (Kachika 2014). A former member of the International Finance Corporation said that, in her view, lack of technical skills is not an adequate explanation for women's low participation: "Aspects of social accountability initiatives can be overly technical, but you can use participatory mechanisms, you can use specialized facilitators, to help with any difficulties. Because otherwise the idea is rather simple; the bottom line is that there is this money, and so what would you like to do with it?"

(key informant interview 2). Information sharing should take into account language barriers and present information in different formats.

To that end, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the coalition Publish What You Pay¹² is prioritizing women's engagement in a campaign to make information from the EITI¹³ more accessible. The EITI also presents regional "roadshows" that include consultation workshops and forums to educate stakeholders about the EITI's transparency standards (Alkan 2018). Simply put, "the right to know is not complicated" (key informant interview 2). Demystifying the language could contribute to an equalizing and transformative impact for women, as well other local community members and organizations that find the world of extractive transparency and accountability difficult to decipher.

Yet accessible and digestible information on EI revenue alone is not enough to advance social accountability efforts (Global Partnership for Social Accountability 2014, 2). A report on a social accountability initiative by an Indonesian women's organization found that many interventions focused only on providing information at the local level; it described these as "tactical efforts" that did not lead to any change in service delivery (Zulminarni et al. 2018). Jonathan Fox therefore recommends *strategic* social accountability approaches. Whereas tactical approaches assume that information access is sufficient to mobilize collective action, strategic approaches instead "deploy multiple tactics, encourage enabling environments for collective action for accountability, and coordinate citizen voices" (Fox 2015, 346). In this vein, social accountability efforts must (1) be tied to information that women and other citizens can *act* on, (2) focus on making local efforts more democratic, and (3) create enabling environments for more community-driven plans (Fox 2015, 350). The assumption is that a multi-prong effort that brings together the different stakeholders—specifically those who tend to be most marginalized, such as women from rural areas—can create the level of pressure needed to effect change. Although information is an important part of a social accountability initiative, it is just one aspect of the approach. Access to information feeds most directly into the investigation stage of accountability, but the other three stages (standard setting, answerability, and sanction) are also important to consider.

Raising Consciousness

Consciousness-raising can help ensure that women's participation in social accountability initiatives is meaningful. Without it, there is a danger that women's participation is tokenistic. In feminist theory, consciousness-raising refers to the process of opening one's awareness to forms of discrimination and oppression

¹² Publish What You Pay is a global coalition of civil society organizations working toward a more transparent and accountable extractive sector (Powell 2017, 492).

¹³ The EITI is a "global standard for the good governance of oil, gas, and mineral resources" (EITI 2019b).

that are part of the lived experiences of women and other marginalized groups (Hesse-Biber 2012, 276). The purpose of consciousness-raising is to initiate social change and build a movement to dismantle gendered structures of inequality that is strongly connected to women's personal experiences. Creating collaborative spaces for women to meet one another is important so that their "shared experiences can foster the courage that helps women move into different and larger venues and tackle other needs and forms of discrimination" (Domingo et al. 2015, 59). For example, when developing a social accountability initiative on HIV/AIDS in Malawi, Just Associates, an international feminist organization, found that when women were able to connect their individual experiences with unequal sociocultural norms and sexist institutions, they were able to better mobilize and identify spaces for change (Essof and Khan 2015). In this context, consciousness-raising could connect socio-environmental impacts commonly associated with EI projects to the personal challenges women face, such as difficulties in accessing health care, clean water, or educational opportunities. In a report on women's representation on water subcommittees, Ranjita Mohanty (2007, 85) writes that "it is all too obvious that women are recruited to watershed committees to meet procedural requirements. It seems ironic to talk about 'choice,' since most women members are not even aware that they have membership in the committee." Additionally, because some women may view extractives as a "man's topic," it is crucial to clearly show why accountability around extractives is relevant to women's lives, and such efforts could foster increased engagement by women.

Cross-Sectoral Alliances: Sharing Knowledge and Building Strength

Women's participation and engagement in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency can be facilitated by organizations such as women's organizations and networks (Ward and Strongman 2011). One of the challenges to ensuring women's meaningful participation is that even when women are included, their ideas may be marginalized. Moreover, "it is more likely that women-only organizations and activities will be enabled to articulate their interests and form associations with women with shared interests" (Domingo et al. 2015, 58). Women's organizations and alliances can therefore serve a pivotal role in creating an enabling environment that supports women's participation and ability to vocalize their interests. For example, in the Solomon Islands, the Mothers Union, a Christian membership charity, uses its strong networks to raise awareness in communities across the country. In collaboration with the Nature Conservancy, the Mothers Union developed a set of educational materials on mining to share with communities and established a cadre of facilitators who traveled to communities all over the Solomon Islands to hold awareness-raising workshops on the impacts of EI (Nature Conservancy 2015).

A challenge facing women's organizations and WROs in the EI sector is that they may not have, or may be perceived as not having, the requisite skills or authority (Grandvoineet et al. 2015, 92). In Melanesia, women's organizations were not seen as stakeholders in discussions about mining issues because women did not own land, and they were thus excluded from the negotiation process (Keenan and Kemp 2014, 7).

One way this challenge has been addressed is through alliances between women's organizations and organizations focused on extractives or natural resource governance, which can bolster credibility on both sides. For instance, in Zimbabwe, the Centre for Natural Resource Governance (CNRG)¹⁴ collaborates with gender platforms throughout the country to advocate for better natural resource governance. CNRG also works with WoMin, an African gender and extractives alliance, on a project to address violence against women in EI contexts. According to WoMin, initial engagement with women's groups was challenging, because those groups tended to be in urban centers instead of in rural areas, the site of most EI projects. Furthermore, the women's groups focused primarily on what are commonly viewed as traditional women's rights issues, such as reproductive justice and violence against women, rather than on EI (key informant interview 3). WoMin started working on the intersection between extractives and violence against women in the hope that this might draw women's organizations closer to the extractives terrain. This assumption has been realized quite positively in Zimbabwe and Sierra Leone in which WoMin is supporting work with women who have suffered violence, usually in a highly sexualized form, perpetrated by private security and the military linked to the EI (key informant interview 3).

Importantly, any engagement with women's organizations needs to be thoughtfully managed. According to a recent study from the CIVICUS Monitor, they found that women, includes groups that advocate for women's rights, were the most targeted group (CIVICUS Monitor 2018, 9). It is also important to recognize that women's organizations tend to be under-resourced, and can be described as "being in a state of survival and resistance" (Durán 2015, para. 4).

Role of the EITI

Facilitating the participation of women and women's organizations in the EITI has also been a point of discussion.¹⁵ The EITI is important because of its role as the

¹⁴ CNRG is a civil society organization working on human rights and environmental justice in the extractive sector in Zimbabwe (<http://cnrgzim.org/>).

¹⁵ The EITI is an international standard that seeks transparency in the oil, gas, and mining operations occurring in 52 implementing countries across the world. Though the EITI seeks to lessen the destructive and unequal impacts of extractives on communities, its standard does not currently include a gender lens. Participating countries are led by national multi-stakeholder groups, which bring together officials from the government, companies, and civil society to ensure that the country is complying with the EITI Standard (EITI 2019c).

global standard on oil, gas, and mining industry transparency.¹⁶ The EITI is currently implemented in 52 countries.¹⁷ The EITI has an International Secretariat, based in Norway, and there are national EITIs in the member countries. Implementation of the EITI Standard—the tool that countries use to improve the transparency of their oil, gas, and mining operations—occurs in three steps: (1) the creation of a national multi-stakeholder group that decides how to conduct the EITI process in their country; (2) annual reporting on the governance of the EI sector and plans to improve it; and (3) wide dissemination of information to inform public debate (EITI 2019b).

Notably, there is lack of clarity on whether EITI is a social accountability initiative focusing on revenue transparency or an open government initiative. The two terms overlap only partially, perhaps because both terms have multiple definitions, which will be further explored.

A World Bank report sees the EITI as platform for social accountability because it undertakes social accountability activities as part of its work, such as (1) information and communication activities like making EI data on revenue available and/or sharing simplified versions of EITI reports and arranging meetings at the local level; and (2) providing capacity building to help CSOs engage with the EITI at the national and local levels (Heller et al. 2016, 24). Others do not consider the EITI as a social accountability initiative because of its lack of *direct* citizen engagement and its use of information (Brockmyer and Fox 2015). Though they may aspire to include citizens in planning and budgeting processes, open governance initiatives may not lend themselves to direct citizen involvement; “access by citizens to data and information to hold governments to account, demand for better services, and strengthen citizen participation in governance remain elusive” (Cañares 2018). Additionally, whereas EITI works to make information available, social accountability initiatives go beyond this by using such information to hold the government accountable through the power of civil engagement (Heller et al. 2016, 6).

Based on this distinction, EITI is an open government initiative, because it serves as a forum to bring together the government, civil society, and companies without direct citizen participation. EITI focuses mainly on information disclosure across the EI value chain and “getting the right people around the table and finding something they can do together” (Brockmyer and Fox 2015, 23). But they have

¹⁶ The EITI Standard “requires countries to publish timely and accurate information on key aspects of their natural resource management, including how licenses are allocated, how much tax, royalties and social contributions companies are paying, and where this money ends up in the government at the national and local level.” In addition to ensuring the regular submission of reports from the member countries, the EITI International Secretariat is also responsible for conducting validation of the member countries to assess their progress in country (EITI 2019a).

¹⁷ Depending on which EITI webpage is viewed, there are either 51 (<https://eiti.org/content/these-51-countries-are-eiti>) or 52 implementing countries. Because the home page of the EITI (<https://eiti.org/>) reports 52 implementing countries, we decided to use that number.

“been reluctant to specify a theory of change that would establish the causal change from the transparency the EITI promotes to broader goals” (Rustad et al. 2017, 152). While information disclosure is important, this research has already noted that information is not enough to achieve social accountability (Zulminarni et al. 2018, 36). Nonetheless, the EITI is included in this research for two reasons: First, it has the potential to influence social accountability initiatives, and it uses strategies that can be considered social accountability. Second, it is useful to analyze the role that civil society members of the multi-stakeholder groups (MSGs) play (or not) in integrating women’s rights in their work, as EITI national MSGs become important spaces for civil society coalition-building and as the agendas of these civil society organizations transcend the conventional limits of EITI (Grandvoinet et al. 2015, 104).

It is also important to acknowledge that the EITI International Secretariat has recently taken promising steps to address gender issues. In early 2018, the EITI International Secretariat published a briefing paper highlighting how gender has been integrated into EITI implementation and making concrete suggestions for ensuring women’s meaningful participation (EITI 2018). In March 2018, the EITI International Secretariat also published a blog stating its commitment to gender equality: “The EITI will conduct further work on gender equality in 2018, including seeking to identify and address gaps in knowledge and coordination on gender issues related to the EITI implementation and impact” (Granado 2018). How these initial steps taken by the EITI International Secretariat will influence national EITI implementation and the work of MSGs remains to be seen, but the issue of gender is on the reform agenda at the EITI Global Conference in June 2019.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned, a lack of studies on social accountability initiatives related to EI revenue transparency challenges the extent to which this review can robustly explore the gendered dynamics of such literature. Nonetheless, by examining the challenges to women’s participation in local EI consultations and decision-making around the use of EI revenues and in examining social accountability initiatives in general, the literature review points toward several major barriers to women’s participation in social accountability initiatives related to EI revenue transparency. In addition, the literature review identifies multiple ways to increase and enhance women’s participation, with an emphasis on advancing women’s rights through supporting *meaningful* participation—participation that incorporates feminist approaches such as intersectionality, consciousness-raising, and cross-sectoral movements.

The following case studies, on the Dominican Republic and Zambia, provide primary data that can further inform the findings of the literature review. The case studies identify existing social accountability initiatives regarding EI revenue transparency and consider how such initiatives can advance women's rights through the meaningful participation of women, bearing in mind that initiatives using social accountability strategies may not be formally identified as such. The case studies situate an analysis of social accountability within a review of EI revenue governance mechanisms in order to provide insights into whether and how social accountability initiatives can advance women's rights. The barriers to women's participation and the opportunities that may exist are also examined.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES

The Dominican Republic and Zambia cases were selected because civil society groups in both countries are making significant efforts to promote greater EI revenue transparency. For example, in the Dominican Republic, civil society groups have been leading a campaign to ensure that 5 percent of mining revenues are transferred to the municipalities in which mining projects are located, as mandated by the Environmental Law 64-00. In Zambia, CSOs are working to reintroduce a legal provision for a mineral revenue-sharing mechanism that was removed when the 2008 Mines and Minerals Development Act was repealed. This mechanism intends to ensure that revenues are transferred to local governments for poverty alleviation efforts.

The central query of this research is to understand the interplay of women's rights, social accountability, and EI revenue transparency and to explore whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women's rights, but this research faced challenges in both countries. In the Dominican Republic few social accountability initiatives focusing on EI revenue transparency—or at least, officially labeled as such—were found. In Zambia social accountability initiatives on this topic did not incorporate a women's rights approach. Therefore the research focused on (1) civil society efforts to track the flow of revenue from the mining companies to the national budget and then to the local government; (2) the activities taken by citizens and CSOs on the topic of EI revenues to see if they used social accountability strategies; and (3) the role that WROs—if any—played in these initiatives.

This research found fairly thin accounts of social accountability initiatives—such as scorecards, citizen report cards, or social audits—on EI revenue transparency in both countries. This finding speaks to the need for more strategic approaches to social accountability as discussed in the literature review, which focuses on developing information that citizens can act on, creating enabling environments for bottom-up approaches, and establishing more inclusive processes so that all citizens, particularly women, can freely participate.

The case studies provide a contextual background on the flows of mining revenue to demonstrate the complexity of the issue and underline the challenges facing social accountability actors—namely citizens and civil society, including WROs—in asking for greater accountability from the government. Activities by citizens, civil society, and WROs are examined to see whether their efforts can be considered social accountability. Examples of the types of activities include

informational campaigns urging the government to be more transparent about EI revenues and involvement in oversight committees with a focus on EI revenues (Zulminarni et al. 2018).

Based on findings in these areas, an analysis was done to examine the barriers to and opportunities for women's participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenues, the social accountability strategies available to citizens and civil society, and the potential for advancing women's rights. The barriers and opportunities identified in the case studies and the literature review have areas of overlap and divergence. Further analysis of these commonalities and differences appears in the Analysis section, which follows the two case studies.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC CASE STUDY

In the past 10 years the mining sector in the Dominican Republic has started to expand (Peña and Lizardo 2019, 224). For example, from 2010 to 2011, mining represented almost 50 percent of GDP per capita growth (World Bank 2017, 4). Mining exports are an important source of economic growth in the country, totaling US\$6.5 billion between 2010 and 2016 (World Bank 2017, 5). Mining also represented 17.6 percent of all foreign direct investment flows from 2010 to 2016 (World Bank 2017, 5), and the country has granted dozens of exploration and exploitation concessions for metal and non-metal mining (Dirección General de Minería 2018). Metal mining in the Dominican Republic centers largely on gold mining; the Canadian Barrick Gold Corporation operates the largest open-pit gold mine in the country.

Yet despite mining's contribution to GDP and exports, its benefits do not fall equally, especially for the communities affected by exploitation concessions. Mining-affected communities perceive that they experience negative social and environmental damage from mining but do not receive benefits such as employment or revenue from mining—a perception that presents significant challenges to the governance of the mining sector in the Dominican Republic. The surge in mining and the growing awareness of its impact on communities are accompanied by a rising interest in transparency and accountability efforts focusing on extractive industries (EIs). In 2016, the Dominican Republic entered the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) as a candidate country.

This study explores whether and how social accountability¹⁸ initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women's rights in the Dominican Republic, with a specific focus on the mining-impacted communities in the country's 'mining triangle.' Using a women's rights approach, this research looks at women's meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives by analyzing how women and women's organizations (1) demonstrate agency in setting social accountability agendas and building coalitions; (2) use their expertise on gender and women's rights issues to exert their influence; (3) have the confidence and knowledge to represent women's interests; and (4) are present to take advantage of opportunities to be informed and make decisions (UN Women 2018).¹⁹ This report bases its women's rights approach on these four aspects of women's

¹⁸ This report uses the following definition of social accountability from the World Bank: "Social accountability is defined as an approach toward building accountability that relies on civil engagement, i.e., in which it is ordinary citizens and/or CSOs that participate directly or indirectly in exacting accountability" (Malena et al 2004, 6).

¹⁹ For more information on the women's rights approach used for this research, please see the forthcoming research report, *Promoting Women's Rights through EI Revenue Accountability* (Oxfam America).

meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives. This means that the degree to which social accountability initiatives targeting EI revenue transparency are considered to be integrating a women's rights approach is assessed according to the extent to which these four dimensions are met.

The central link between social accountability and women's rights can be broken down into two main elements: (1) social accountability initiatives as driving *processes*, where women's participation in social accountability initiatives is inherently valuable as an expression of their rights; and (2) social accountability as driving *outcomes*, where women's participation in social accountability initiatives may help drive resources towards goods and services that are valued by women, improve their development outcomes, and advance their rights. It should be noted, however, that the relationship of social accountability as a process and as an outcome is contested and not inevitable, particularly when focusing on women's participation.

The study also examines how revenues are supposed to flow from the national budget to the local level and provides insights into the nature of social accountability initiatives around EI revenue transparency in the country. It describes the barriers to and opportunities for engagement by women and women's organizations in social accountability initiatives. It should be noted that this research did not find any examples of social accountability initiatives that were formally labeled as such by the initiators. However, some strategies undertaken by civil society organizations (CSOs) could be defined as social accountability because they focus on holding the government to account regarding mining revenues.

THE MINING TRIANGLE IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

While the study looks at the actors involved in EI revenue at the national level in the Dominican Republic, such as the national EITI and the national government, it also explores the intersection of social accountability, mining revenue, and women's rights in what is commonly known as the "mining triangle," specifically the provinces of Monseñor Nouel and Sánchez Ramírez. Three mining companies operate in this area: Falconbridge Dominicana S.A. (FALCONDO), located in Monseñor Nouel, is owned by Americano Nickel Ltd., based in the Dominican Republic;²⁰ both the Dominican-owned company Corporación Minera

²⁰ Americano Nickel bought FALCONDO from the Anglo-Swiss company Glencore in 2015. Americano Nickel is a subsidiary of the private equity fund Global Special Opportunities, based in the Bahamas (BN Americas 2016).

Dominicana (CORMIDOM) and Pueblo Viejo Dominicana Corporation (owned by Canadian Barrick Gold) are located in Sánchez Ramírez.

The province of Monseñor Nouel is made up of three municipalities: Bonao, Piedra Blanca, and Maimón. Mining is the second most important economic activity in the province after agriculture and livestock production (Monegro et al. 2017). The metal mining activities undertaken in Monseñor Nouel are the country's main mining projects (gold, silver, copper, and iron-nickel) (Monegro et al. 2017).

Sánchez Ramírez is composed of four municipalities: Cotuí, La Mata, Fantino, and Cevicos. As with Monseñor Nouel, mining is an important sector for the area. The rural area surrounding the municipal center of Cotuí is home to one of the largest gold and silver mines in the world, Pueblo Viejo.

MINING REVENUE FLOW AND MANAGEMENT

According to the 2015 EITI scoping study, most of the taxes and payments collected from the mining sector go to the General Department of Domestic Taxes and then enter the State Treasury, used directly to finance the national budget (Bataller and Aguilar 2015, 38). There are, however, three exceptions: (1) the Ministry of Energy and Mines and the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources receive 25 percent of total mining royalties; (2) municipalities receive 50 percent of the royalties charged for exploitation of “aggregate” materials;²¹ and (3) 5 percent of the profits generated by metal mining exploitation go to the communities where the mining occurs (Bataller and Aguilar 2015, 8). This third allocation falls under the Environmental Law (Law 64-00) of 2000, which established that “in the case of non-renewable resources, the municipality or municipalities where the exploitation site is located will receive 5% of the net benefits generated” (Congreso Nacional de la República Dominicana 2000). According to the EITI Scoping Study, with all three exceptions there is a lack of transparency about how much is actually transferred and how the royalty and benefit amounts are decided upon (Bataller and Aguilar 2015, 84).

Additionally, different companies transfer revenue to different government entities. For example, according to the first EITI-Republica Dominicana (EITI-RD) report, CORMIDOM paid its 5 percent directly to the municipality of Maimón, in Monseñor Nouel province (EITI-RD 2017). This direct transfer of funds from a company to the mining municipality is unusual. In contrast, FALCONDO and Barrick Gold are both required to transfer funds directly to the national government, which then transfers the revenue to local mining development

²¹ The Bataller and Aguilar (2015) report defines aggregate materials as being gravel, sand, and/or crushed stone.

councils, two of which will be discussed in this research: the Development Council of Monseñor Nouel and the Provincial Council for the Administration of Mining Funds in Sánchez Ramírez (FOMISAR). The development councils are then required to use the revenue to support community development projects. However, a civil society official in the EITI-RD's multi-stakeholder group stated that the funds transferred to FOMISAR do not amount to the 5 percent required by law (key informant interview A). This situation points to the lack of publicly accessible and verifiable information that would allow civil society and citizens to check the funds FOMISAR receives and confirm or deny the official's statement.

The mining triangle is home to three main development councils: the Development Council of Monseñor Nouel, FOMISAR, and the Provincial Council for the Administration of the Mining Funds of La Vega. This research focuses on two of the three councils; La Vega is excluded from this study because mining activities have yet to occur in the area, though plans are underway. The other two councils receive mining revenue in different ways. The Development Council of Monseñor Nouel receives its portion of funds from FALCONDO through the national government. The director of the development council reports, however, that the council has not received its share. This failure to transfer funds could result in part from the 2017 dissolution of the Dominican Corporation of State Enterprises (CORDE), a state entity that was involved in receiving the funds from FALCONDO. FOMISAR, in contrast, has received its funds, though it is unclear whether it has received the full 5 percent. Figure 1 details how the 5 percent should flow to the mining municipalities from the companies. A forthcoming report by Resources for Development Consulting reports that the 5 percent of government revenues come from four main sources: royalty-net smelter return, corporate income tax, net earnings participation, and annual minimum tax (Hubert, forthcoming).

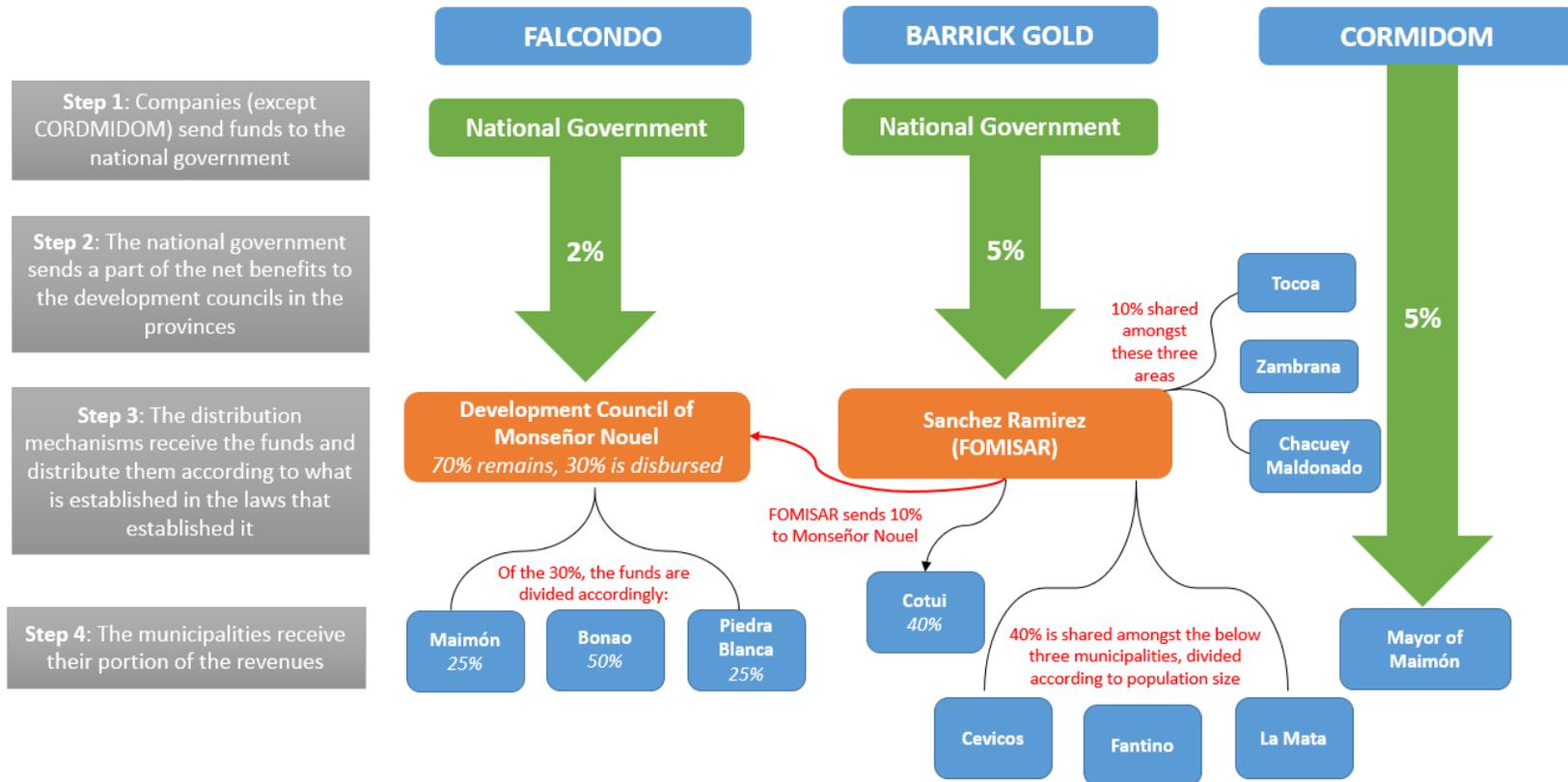
Interviews with members of two development councils from the provinces (Monseñor Nouel and Sánchez Ramírez) and one municipality (Maimón) found that most of the revenue has been used to fund infrastructure projects, such as highways, street lamps, office buildings, and bridges (key informant interviews B, H, and J). There does not appear to be a publicly accessible registry where interested people can track the funds. The formal process of deciding which projects to fund from EI revenue varies among the councils. In Maimón, for example, an assembly made up of two people from each of about 92 organizations—ranging from mothers' groups to religious organizations to sports clubs—votes on nine members to serve as the council's board of directors. Based on proposals made by the assembly, this board decides which projects to fund. The board of the Maimón Development Council currently has no representation from women or women's organizations, but there are plans to increase the number of board members to 13 and to reserve a seat for a

women's officer in order to encourage women's participation (key informant interview B).

FOMISAR works a little differently. FOMISAR also has an assembly system, which includes 65 organizations. Organizations must be formally registered in order to participate in the process for deciding which projects will be funded with the mining revenue. The assembly organizations are nominated by the four municipalities within Sánchez Ramírez. Within this assembly is a board of directors for FOMISAR consisting of 15 people. Board membership is determined by title.²² For example, the board must include the mayor of Cotuí as well as a representative from the Ministry of Energy and Mines. Civil society is also represented on the board through, for example, the Fundación Dominicana para la Protección de Medio Ambiente (Dominican Foundation for Protecting the Environment). The board has voting power to select projects, which are then ratified by the assembly during its annual meeting. To generate initial project ideas for its current strategic plan (2015–2020), FOMISAR held a series of town hall meetings open to the public. Ideas generated at these meetings were subsequently incorporated into FOMISAR's 2015–2020 strategic plan. If a new project idea emerges, it must either link with a project already in the strategic plan or address an urgent purpose, such as recovery from a hurricane (key informant interview H). Most of the projects in the strategic plan focus on infrastructure development.

²² For the full list of members of the FOMISAR board of directors, see <http://www.fomisar.com/miembros-del-consejo/>.

Figure 1: Breakdown and Distribution of the 5 percent



Note: The assets from FALCONDO were initially held by CORDE. CORDE no longer exists, and those assets are now handled by another entity called FONPER (Fondo Patrimonial de las Empresas Reformadas). FONPER has kept a portion of the funds from FALCONDO, which is why only 2 percent is channeled from the government to the Development Council of Monseñor Nouel instead of the full 5 percent.

EI TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACTORS

Several actors are pushing for transparency around EI revenue at both the national and subnational levels. At the national level, the major actor is the national commission of the EITI-RD. Four CSO representatives sit on the EITI-RD multi-stakeholder group (MSG), and an additional four CSOs serve as auxiliary members. All CSO representatives and auxiliary members are part of ENTRE (El Espacio Nacional por la Transparencia de la Industria Extractiva, or the National Space for the Transparency of the Extractive Industry), a network of CSOs that promote EI transparency. In addition to the CSO representatives, the MSG includes representatives from four government ministries²³ and four companies, as well as three auxiliary company members.²⁴ This section also explores the major civil society efforts at the subnational level—specifically in Monseñor Nouel and Sánchez Ramírez—to advocate for greater transparency and accountability on EI.

EITI-RD

As mentioned, the Dominican Republic became a member of the EITI in 2016 and will undergo its first validation process by the EITI's International Secretariat in 2019.²⁵ In preparation for the validation process, the EITI-RD introduced a communication strategy in November 2018 to raise awareness of its first EITI report (published February 2018) among communities affected by mining (key informant interview I; EITI-RD 2017). The launch of the strategy will take place in Bonao, in Monseñor Nouel province, and similar events will take place in other areas of the country as well. Recognizing that information on EI can be complex, the EITI-RD intends to share its findings using simple language (key informant interview I).

The work of the EITI-RD has focused mainly on reporting on the technical aspects of EI, such as total mining exports and tax revenue from mining. The most recent annual progress report of the EITI-RD provides no details on how mining revenues flow from the mining companies to the provincial and/or municipal bodies but states an intention to include this information in the next

²³ The four government representatives are the following: Ministry of Energy and Mines, Ministry of the Presidency, Ministry of the Treasury, and Ministry of Economy, Planning, and Development (EITI-RD 2017).

²⁴ The four main company organizations in the MSG are the following: Pueblo Viejo Dominican Corporation (Barrick PVDC), Falconbridge Dominicana, Corporación Minera Dominicana, Cámara Minera-Petrolera de la República Dominicana, Inc. The auxiliary members are Compañía Dominicana de Cales S.A. (DOCALSA), Implementos y Maquinarias SA (IMCA), and Asociación Dominicana de Productores de Cemento Portland (ADOCEM) (EITI-RD 2017).

²⁵ The EITI validation process “serves to assess performance and promote dialogue and learning at the country level, and safeguards the integrity of the EITI by holding implementing countries to the same global standard.” Source: EITI, *Validation*, <https://eiti.org/validation>.

iteration of the report (EIRI-RD 2017, 33). EITI reports do not provide any information on whether revenues are allocated toward meeting the sustainable development needs of women. In an interview, however, members of the EITI-RD signaled their interest in exploring how they can better incorporate gender issues into their work, and the EITI International Secretariat recently published some language on how gender issues have been integrated into EITI implementation.²⁶

ENTRE and Civil Society

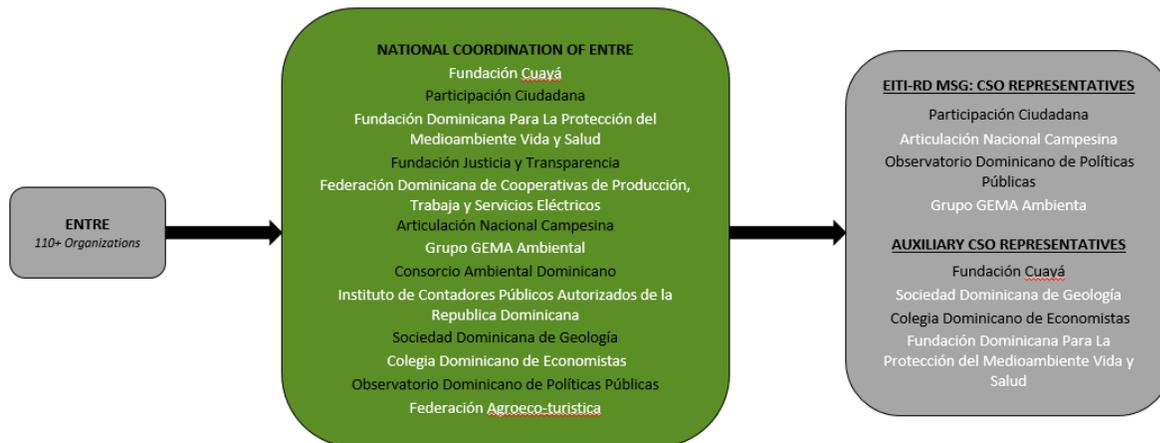
The EITI standard requires participation by civil society, especially by representatives from the communities most affected by extractive activities. As a consequence, ENTRE was created when the country became an EITI candidate. ENTRE is a collaborative platform within which citizens, through CSOs, can actively have a say over how natural resources in the country are exploited. ENTRE advocates for transparency in all processes involving the use and management of resources, including EI revenues. Some 110 CSOs are part of ENTRE, which has a national coordinating body composed of 13 organizations.²⁷ These organizations are elected by the assembly of the full ENTRE. Out of this national coordinating body, four are assigned as CSO representatives in the MSG and another four serve as auxiliary members.²⁸ Therefore, for a CSO to be part of the MSG, it must be elected to the national coordinating body of ENTRE (see Figure 2).

²⁶ For example, the International Secretariat published a gender equality brief in 2018 that made suggestions on how to ensure the participation of women in the EITI, both globally and nationally (EITI 2018), as well as a blog post in the same year that states its intention to continue to press for change to ensure gender equality in its work (Granado 2018).

²⁷ The 13 organizations are Fundación Cuaya, Participación Ciudadana, Fundación Dominicana Para La Protección del Medioambiente Vida y Salud, Fundación Justicia y Transparencia, Federación Dominicana de Cooperativas de Producción, Trabaja y Servicios Eléctricos, Articulación Nacional Campesina, Grupo GEMA Ambiental, Consorcio Ambiental Dominicano, Instituto de Contadores Públicos Autorizados de la Republica Dominicana, Sociedad Dominicana de Geología (SODOGEO), Colegio Dominicano de Economistas, Observatorio Dominicano de Políticas Públicas, and Federación Agroeco-turística.

²⁸ The four CSO representatives are Participación Ciudadana, Observatorio Dominicano de Políticas Públicas, Articulación Nacional Campesina, and Grupo GEMA Ambiental. The four auxiliary members are SODOGEO, Fundación Dominicana para la Protección del Medioambiente Vida y Salud, Fundación Cuaya, and Colegio Dominicano de Economistas.

Figure 2: ENTRE and its role in the MSG



Currently, none of the members of ENTRE’s coordinating body are from WROs. Nonetheless, WROs are part of the general membership of ENTRE, though they are few in number—only about 6 percent of ENTRE members are women’s organizations. However, many of the women’s organizations participating in ENTRE are themselves composed of dozens or hundreds of other local organizations. This is the case for the María Liberadora Training Center for Organized Women (CEFORMOMALI) and the National Confederation of Rural Women (CONAMUCA).

CEFORMOMALI, which works with a base of 80 grassroots organizations, provides entrepreneurial and educational activities for women. CONAMUCA is counted as a single organization within ENTRE but actually represents more than 200 local women’s organizations, each from a different rural community.²⁹ Beyond their involvement with ENTRE, members are involved in other activities that could be described as social accountability. The Comité Nuevo Renacer (CNR),³⁰ for example, arranged a meeting with the Ministry of Energy and Mines and persuaded the ministry to conduct a survey of their community near the Pueblo Viejo mine (key informant interview G).

Outside of ENTRE civil society efforts, a notable social accountability initiative is underway in Cotuí, in Sánchez Ramírez: a public information campaign called *Cotuí Existe!* created by a coalition of civil society organizations.³¹ The campaign

²⁹ In the interest of full disclosure, CEFORMOMALI, CONAMUCA, and the Observatorio Dominicano de Políticas Publicas are all participants in an Oxfam project called *Promoting Women’s Rights through El Revenue Accountability* (of which this research is a part), funded by the Hewlett Foundation.

³⁰ CNR was created by the families living closest to Pueblo Viejo. CNR argues that their lands and waters have been contaminated by the mine, making it impossible to live in the areas any longer. They demand to be relocated (key informant interview).

³¹ This campaign emerged from an earlier campaign called “*Nos Toca el 5%*” (the 5 percent is ours). The Twitter page for Cotuí Existe! Is at <https://twitter.com/cotuiexiste?lang=en>.

features posters hung throughout Cotuí with slogans such as “*Tenemos oro, pero no agua*” (We have gold, but no water), and “*Tenemos oro, pero vivimos sobre cloacas*” (We have gold, but we live under sewers). In addition to potable water and sewage treatment plants, the campaign also calls for improved streets and roads and for the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo to open a branch in Cotuí. A tweet by the campaign links these demands to the 5 percent mining law: “*#CotuíExiste y por Ley debería estar recibiendo 5% de lo que genera Pueblo Viejo, para promover el desarrollo de la provincia... lo cual no ocurre*” (#CotuíExiste by law should be receiving 5 percent of what Pueblo Viejo generates, to promote the development of the province...which does not happen). This awareness-raising campaign connects the area’s need for social services with perceived mining impacts and the 5 percent of government revenues that are supposed to go to local mining development funds.

Key Women’s Organizations Involved in Social Accountability Initiatives on EI Revenue Transparency: Mining Triangle

Several women’s groups in Sánchez Ramírez and Monseñor Nouel participate in the assembly of the mining development councils, though they do not sit on the boards of the councils. Some of these groups are mothers’ or housewives’ clubs—small, informal entities rather than formal organizations. In terms of formal women’s organizations, one organization from Sánchez Ramírez—CEFORMOMALI—was frequently mentioned. CEFORMOMALI is also one of the few WROs that are part of FOMISAR’s General Assembly. CEFORMOMALI is currently developing an advocacy plan to pressure local government to disclose information about the transfer of the 5 percent of EI revenues to mining-impacted municipalities and whether and how this money is being spent.

A WOMEN’S RIGHTS APPROACH

Selecting the correct terminology for social accountability in the Dominican Republic, particularly in relation to EI revenue transparency, took some time to figure out. This issue was most apparent when conducting interviews about social accountability with local CSOs and local government offices in the mining areas. This is not to say that “accountability” is difficult to translate in Spanish; in fact the use of terms related to accountability in Spanish “took off more than a decade before Anglophone development agencies began using the term ‘social accountability,’ driven both by governments and public interest groups” (Fox 2018, 74).

At first, “social accountability” was directly and incorrectly translated in Spanish as *responsabilidad social*, which brings to mind “corporate social responsibility”

(*responsabilidad social corporativa*). Upon reviewing the terminology with experts in the field, the researchers decided to use instead “*rendicion social de cuentas*,” for this report. Nonetheless, while researchers’ explanations helped clarify the differences between the two terms, social accountability and corporate social responsibility, the latter was better understood to the local actors than social accountability as, unlike with social accountability, they could see clear examples of corporate social responsible programming in their communities. Although the concept itself may not be used in relation to EI revenue transparency and the organizations themselves may not describe their activities as social accountability, this research found that several CSOs and women’s organizations use strategies that fit within the definition of social accountability (see Table 1).

The presence of social accountability strategies, though, does not mean that all were successful. For example, CNR reports that although the Ministry of Energy and Mines completed the survey at their request, the results of the survey have yet to be shared. A women’s group that is a member of FOMISAR’s assembly said that they do not feel empowered to effect change or influence decisions on how revenues are spent on community programs, primarily because they believe that decisions on programs have already been made and that FOMISAR has no expectation of real debate and engagement from the assembly (key informant interview M). According to this viewpoint, FOMISAR functions as a closed space, in that the actual decisions are made behind shut doors. Although the assembly serves as an ostensible “invited space,” where people are asked to participate under a set of conditions, the genuineness of the invited space is belied by a lack of a real opportunity to influence decisions (Oxfam Great Britain 2014). ENTRE is a powerful entity, yet there were concerns that well-resourced, urban organizations have more power than smaller organizations from the mining areas. The need for civil society representation on the national EITI MSG, which led to the birth of ENTRE, suggests, nonetheless, that EITI processes have the potential to create opportunities for civil society to better coordinate on transparency and accountability issues.

Additionally, efforts to demand accountability for the distribution of mining revenues are often misdirected because of confusion over legal provisions and government roles and responsibilities. It is difficult to create momentum around social accountability given the lack of clarity about the inner workings of EI revenue distribution mechanisms—in terms of both national and subnational flows—and which government or other oversight bodies are responsible for implementation. The social accountability initiatives outlined above are limited in their effectiveness because citizens and organizations do not know how to appropriately channel their advocacy. For example, citizens have staged demonstrations at company mine sites calling for the 5 percent of mining revenue to be transferred to municipalities. Such a protest occurred at the Pueblo Viejo mine despite the fact that Barrick Gold is required to send its revenues to the

national government, not directly to local communities (key informant interview F).

Table 1. Social accountability strategies and a women’s rights approach in the Dominican Republic

The **women’s rights approach** defined in this report is built on the following four factors: (1) demonstrating agency in setting agendas and building coalitions; (2) use their expertise on gender and women’s rights issues to exert their influence; (3) representing women’s interests; and (4) being present at opportunities to influence and make decisions.

Social accountability strategy	Description	Meaningful participation of women?
Enhancement of citizen knowledge Information campaigns	The Cotuí Existe! campaign draws attention to the need for educational services and clean water in Cotuí.	The Cotuí Existe! campaign has not yet adopted an explicit focus on women’s issues and rights in its posters.
Enhancement of citizen knowledge Public access to information	CEFOMOMALI trains women on their rights and on what proportion of mining revenues their communities are legally entitled to.	Ensuring that women are more aware of their rights regarding mining revenues is the first step in social accountability efforts that include women’s voices and participation. WROs such as CEFOMOMALI can train women on their rights when it comes to EI issues and help ensure that the perspectives and interests of women, particularly those in rural communities, are represented in arenas of power such as the MSG or FOMISAR.
Involvement in oversight bodies and public commissions and hearings	Women’s groups like CEFOMOMALI have become members of FOMISAR’s assembly.	Based on an interview with FOMISAR, projects appear to have already been decided upon. Therefore women’s groups may not be able to influence decisions on EI revenue spending and promote projects to advance women’s rights. This limits their ability to set agendas, bring their gender expertise into these discussions, and represent the interests of the women with whom they work.
Community monitoring	CNR worked with the Ministry of Energy and Mines to conduct a survey of their communities and how the mine has affected them.	CNR faces difficulty determining how to follow up with the ministry on the survey. Apart from a request for relocation, it is unclear what CNR’s advocacy asks are, how they fit within the definition of social accountability and whether they include women’s issues and rights.

<p>Building a coalition base</p>	<p>CSOs created the ENTRE network to engage in EITI processes and promote EI transparency and accountability.</p>	<p>ENTRE has the potential to create a powerful social base from the national to local levels. WROs' meaningful participation in ENTRE, and potentially the MSG, is key.</p> <p>Women's organizations like CEFORMOMALI are involved in ENTRE, which could allow them access to the EITI-RD's MSG, an important space to bring in their gender expertise to exert influence on EI revenue transparency discussions. As of now, however, their ability to set agendas and build coalitions in this space is limited.</p>
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Advocacy for women's rights within social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency is minimal, and such advocacy will be challenging in the foreseeable future unless more clarity is gained around EI revenue distribution mechanisms and national and local governance roles and responsibilities. Nevertheless, the activities in Table 1 represent initial examples of social accountability initiatives on EI revenue and potential opportunities for promoting women's rights. In particular, CEFORMOMALI's efforts to educate women affected by mining on their rights represent a social accountability strategy uniquely developed by WROs—one that uses a women's rights approach to raise awareness about mining revenue distribution mechanisms and related government obligations.

BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

This section unpacks several of the barriers and challenges to women's participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue, such as (1) lack of access to information; (2) lack of participation by women and women's organizations in EI revenue decision-making; and (3) high cost of participation.

Lack of Access to Information

Research shows that citizens have limited ability to access the little information that is available. Information related to mining is published in technical language and largely online in a country where in 2016 only 11.6 percent of rural households had internet access and 52.9 percent of people over the age of 12 reported not using the internet. In the geographic area of interest for this case study, the Cibao Sur region, only 22.7 percent of households have access to internet connections (ENHOGAR 2017). Information must be distributed in non-internet-dependent ways to ensure that rural people have access to information about mining.

One member of a women's organization noted the need for organizations like hers to be a target audience of efforts to disclose information on mining in the Dominican Republic, saying, "If you don't have all the information, you don't have the clarity to be able to intervene" (key informant interview K). Relevant information should cover, among other things, mining revenues, revenue distribution mechanisms, and the schedule of important meetings.

Social accountability initiatives are missing an opportunity to be more explicit about their women's rights focus. For example, the *Cotuí Existe!* campaign does not currently reference or explicitly mention its direct link to the promotion of women's rights—specifically, the right to clean, potable water, as repeatedly raised by local women and women's organizations in interviews for this report. Making this link explicit presents an opportunity to take a women's rights approach to social accountability.

Lack of Clarity on Decision-Making Processes

When asked how people and organizations are selected to take part in the assemblies and boards of directors, representatives from a mining development council responded that the positions are community selected. There is, however, a lack of clarity about who in the community or communities makes these decisions and how information about the opportunity was initially shared. This finding supports related research showing that community participation can be coopted by local elites and that women are therefore frequently left out of community decision-making processes globally (Bradshaw et al. 2016, 49).

Additionally, WROs in the Dominican Republic have in some cases been excluded from decision-making about local development projects using EI revenues; they have been handed a finalized report rather than having access to or agency in the initial decision-making processes. In one case, a member of a women's organization claimed that FOMISAR invited them to a presentation of the outcomes of a decision-making process. "But that's not what we want, we don't want to be informed at the end, we want to be part of the team making the decisions," she stated (key informant interview C).

High Cost of Participation

The mining development funds have some requirements that are challenging for women and women's organizations to meet. For instance, FOMISAR requires that assembly organizations be formally registered, which can be a serious hurdle for women's organizations and smaller groups. Registering the organization's name can cost about RD\$19,000, while the cost of engaging a lawyer to complete these services can cost about RD\$30,000, bringing the total cost to about RD\$50,000 or about US\$1,000.

Financial constraints also affect rural organizations' ability to participate in ENTRE. One member of an ENTRE organization notes that it is difficult to participate if there is no funding available because traveling to meetings in the capital is costly. Additionally, outreach to the ENTRE network is challenging. As one ENTRE member noted, "How many organizations have an e-mail address, a cellphone?" (key informant interview A).

Logistical challenges to participation in ENTRE disproportionately affect small, local, and rural organizations, like many of the women's groups within the network. For example, a member of one women's group recounted that she and others "were waiting for a bus [hired to pick them up] to take us to the [ENTRE] assembly, but it never came. We had to figure out how to come on our own" (key informant interview C). ENTRE has a representative on its national coordinating committee that is meant to represent the interests of the local mining areas. According to two organizations interviewed for this study, however, although they knew that someone was reportedly representing their interests, these groups were not aware what this representation entailed (key informant interviews M and O).

OPPORTUNITIES AND ALLIES

This research finds several actions that can be considered examples of social accountability. There is growing citizen engagement in pushing for more transparency and accountability around EI, particularly as it relates to the 5 percent law. This section presents several recommendations on how social accountability related to EI revenue transparency efforts can better integrate women's rights.

Consciousness-Raising: Greater Awareness about Women's Rights

Women need more information on what their rights are and how mining operations may affect those rights. A member from CEFORMOMALI emphasized the importance of women's rights awareness, saying, "I think that we need to stay involved and keep working with women, raising women's awareness, and demonstrating to the government that we are part of the people too. We are part of the group that should be making the decision. We need to participate" (key informant interview M). This organization is currently working with communities on raising awareness of women's rights in the EI context.

Cross-Sectoral Alliances: Enhanced Role of Women's Organizations in ENTRE

ENTRE plays an important role in EI transparency and accountability and is a crucial interlocutor between the major stakeholders in the government,

companies, and civil society through its engagement with the EITI-RD. Meaningful participation of women's organizations in ENTRE could help increase their access to information about EI and mining revenues. It is also essential to acknowledge that ENTRE, no matter how democratic and participatory its processes, has its own internal power dynamics. Certain members therefore have greater access to information and decision-making power within the network than others.

Intersectional Focus: Greater Engagement of Local Communities and Local CSOs

Several interviewees recommended ensuring that civil society and women's organizations from local communities – particularly in rural areas – be able to participate in highly influential transparency and accountability mechanisms like EITI, ENTRE, and mining development councils. Encouraging connections between national-level entities like ENTRE and local ones helps forge “links with other citizen counterparts to build countervailing power” to the state (Fox 2015, 350). Working collectively, local CSOs in a province could help render development councils more transparent and accountable to the populations they are meant to serve. Rural women living close to the Pueblo Viejo mine in Sánchez Ramírez, for example, faced greater hurdles in accessing arenas of power, such as paying for transport to attend meetings, than did women living in Cotuí, the urban center of the same district. By connecting more strongly with civil society and women's organizations from local mining communities, rural women can become more active in social accountability efforts on EI revenue transparency. Responding to this issue, ENTRE reportedly plans to develop local chapters in mining communities that can help better facilitate local community engagement (key informant interview L). Additionally, FOMISAR officials expressed an interest in engaging better with the community in their future strategic plan by, for instance, creating a community liaison.

Collaboration to Improve Access to Information: Government Engagement

One idea emerging from interviews is increased engagement with the Ministry of Women. The Ministry of Women in Bonao plans to set up a network of volunteers to serve as the local liaison to the ministry, and it will help provide trainings on various issues, such as domestic violence. The ministry also hopes to use this network to share information about mining with women in the local community (key informant interview E). More information is required to understand how the ministry's current processes of community engagement work and how they can be improved to better integrate women's meaningful participation in EI revenue transparency.

CONCLUSION

Before concluding, it should be acknowledged that delving into the state of social accountability initiatives on EI revenues in Dominican Republic was an exercise in mistrust and lack of information. In general, there was confusion about how the mining revenues were meant to be funneled to the community as well as great skepticism about whether the full 5 percent is being transferred to municipalities. As a member of a local CSO in Sánchez Ramírez stated, “5 percent, it’s only a name, it has no meaning for us” (key informant interview G). There was also doubt about the appropriate use of the funds by the mining development councils. Another member of a local CSO, also in Sánchez Ramírez, remarked, “Transparency, it does not exist here” (key informant interview N).

More information is needed to identify the formal processes related to EI revenue. In the Dominican Republic, this research found that the clearest example (relatively speaking) of these formal decision-making processes that allow for community and civil society participation is with the mining development funds, though such participation is carefully managed. For civil society, women’s organizations, and citizens to influence EI revenue transparency, they need more knowledge about public financial management systems. Capacity building is therefore required to help such organizations and citizens understand revenue flows. Furthermore, the public needs a greater understanding of roles and responsibilities when it comes to accountability on EI – for example, knowing when to target the government as opposed to an EI company regarding the disbursement of EI revenue. Additional research is needed to delve into existing informal decision-making processes on EI revenue in order to make them transparent.

The women’s rights approach exposes several challenges to meaningful participation, specifically regarding WROs’ work in communities affected by EI and their ability to translate their expertise into arenas such as the EITI-RD’s MSG, ENTRE, or FOMISAR. Because these spaces represent key opportunities for women’s rights to be advanced, understanding the barriers that advocates such as WROs face in meaningfully participating has been identified as crucial in this research.

ZAMBIA CASE STUDY

Zambia is one of the world's top copper producers, the second-largest producer in Africa and the eighth largest in the world (Zambia EITI 2016, 32). Its positive economic growth over the past few years has depended heavily on copper earnings (World Bank 2018, 6). Mining and quarrying is the second-largest contributor to Zambia's GDP and contributes significantly to government revenue through mineral royalty taxes and Pay As You Earn taxes.³² The extractive sector accounted directly for 12 percent of Zambia's GDP in 2016 and for 70 percent of total export value (World Bank 2016). As of 2016, mining accounted for 62 percent of all foreign direct investment (World Bank 2016). Yet despite being resource rich, Zambia remains a lower-middle-income country that has not meaningfully reduced poverty: approximately 54 percent of Zambia's population of 16 million lives below the poverty line, with 41 percent estimated to be living in extreme poverty (Zambia, Central Statistical Office 2016).

Despite its contribution to GDP, EI has had negative impacts in Zambia, ranging from the displacement of communities to areas with inadequate social services, to the lack of employment opportunities for local communities, to environmental and health costs (ActionAid 2015; Mondoloka 2017). In spite of mining's important role in the Zambian economy, its impact on women in mining communities remains questionable (ActionAid 2015). For example, the exclusion of women in the EI is evidenced, in part, by the low number of women directly employed in mining, except for women working in artisanal small-scale mining. Although the mining sector does not employ large numbers of people in Zambia, women constitute an even smaller proportion of direct employment in the mining and quarrying industry (Zambia, Central Statistical Office 2010).³³

This study explores whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women's rights in Zambia, with a specific focus on the mining district of Solwezi in the North-Western Province. Using a women's rights approach, this research looks at women's meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives by analyzing how women and women's organizations (1) demonstrate agency in setting social accountability agendas and building coalitions; (2) use their gender expertise to exert their influence; (3) exercise their confidence and knowledge to represent women's interest; and (4) are present to take advantage of opportunities to be informed and make decisions. The study also examines how revenues are supposed to flow

³² The Zambia Revenue Authority defines Pay As You Earn as a method of deducting tax from employees' total earnings in proportion to what they earn.

³³ Efforts in the past have been made to support women in the artisanal and small-scale mining subsector through grants provided with European Union funding, through the Citizen Economic Empowerment Fund, and in 2018 through small grants under the United Nations Development Programme ACP-EU Development Minerals Programme. The impact of the latter has yet to be established, while the previous interventions were limited.

from the national budget to the local level and provides insights into the nature of social accountability initiatives around EI revenue transparency in Zambia. It also describes the barriers to and opportunities for engaging women and women's organizations in such social accountability initiatives.

SOLWEZI DISTRICT IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE

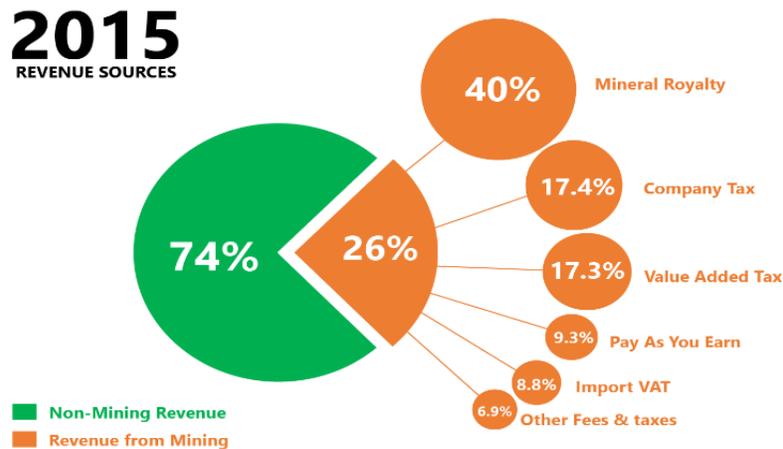
While this research provides a national perspective, this analysis also provides an in-depth focus on Solwezi, located in the northwestern part of Zambia.³⁴ Solwezi District was selected for this study because it is one of the growing mining districts in Zambia. In addition, the district has recently witnessed a surge of growth in the number of civil society organizations (CSOs) undertaking advocacy activities related to mining. For example, the district is host to one of the largest mines in the country, the Kansanshi Mine, operated by First Quantum Minerals, which is listed on the Canadian Securities Exchange. The development of this mine has resulted in a huge increase in the population from 2,000 to 35,000 in just 14 years. This growth has strained the ability of the local municipality to provide public services (Iwerks and Venugopal 2016, 22). A number of communities within Solwezi have been displaced because of mining and, in most cases, relocated to distant places without access to adequate social services such as health care. Mining in Solwezi has also resulted in road construction and other infrastructure development in the district. Considering the existing level of mining activity and the vibrant civil society network in the district, Solwezi provides an appropriate case to examine women's participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency.

MINING REVENUE FLOW AND MANAGEMENT

In 2015, mining revenues constituted 26 percent of total national revenues (Zambia EITI 2016, 11). The revenues from the mining sector are collected mainly in form of mineral royalties; in 2015, 40 percent of the mineral revenue came from royalties. Other revenues come from the company tax, the value-added tax, and Pay As You Earn.

³⁴ Solwezi has a total population of 254,470, of whom 50.4 percent are women (Zambia, Central Statistical Office 2011).

Figure 3. 2015 Revenue



Source: (Zambia EITI 2016)

Two major public institutions play a key role in managing and distributing mineral revenues in Zambia. The Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA), which is mandated to collect these resources from the mining companies, collects more than 98 percent of total extractive sector taxes and transfers these funds to the national budget. These revenues are then transmitted to a central repository account that holds other revenues collected by the central government. The funds are aggregated, so revenues from mining are indistinguishable from other revenues collected by the central government (Publish What You Pay 2017). Without this disaggregation, it is impossible to know how much public expenditure comes from mining revenue. This situation makes it difficult for civil society actors to provide input into formal decision-making processes on how this EI revenue gets spent and complicates their ability to check that the expected—and accurate—share of the revenues are being processed (Iwerks and Venugopal 2016).

Once the revenues are in the central repository, the Ministry of Finance uses them, as well as the revenue from mineral royalties, to finance the national budget, part of which is allocated to local councils. Part of the mineral royalty is transmitted to local councils through various funds such as the Constituency Development Fund (CDF), as well as through grants. Some funds, like the CDF, are given to all local councils equally, whereas others, such as the Local Government Equalization Fund, use a needs-based formula to allocate the funds (National Assembly of Zambia 2014).

The local councils are of interest for this research, as they are the local government bodies responsible for dealing directly with the development needs of their communities and are the mechanism by which mining revenues are shared at the subnational level. The Local Government Act, under which the local councils operate, provides for the establishment of committees at the local level.

The purpose of these committees is to ensure community participation in selecting projects, through proposals, and monitoring them. One of these committees is the Ward Development Committee (WDC), a grassroots committee composed of traditional leaders, the area’s councilor, community leaders, and representatives of government departments, communities, and community-based organizations (CBOs) (see Box 5).³⁵ The local councils collect less than 2 percent of total mineral revenue from the government, which mainly comes from the property rates and annual business fees on the mining companies.³⁶

Box 5: Women and the Ward Development Committees

Women’s participation in the WDCs is low. According to an interview with the National Women’s Advisory Group, 1 out of 10 members of the WDCs is a woman. Zonal representatives are required to have at least a grade 9 education—a requirement that most women in Zambia, who have an overall illiteracy rate of 46 percent, are not able to meet. The WDCs do allow for direct community participation in the ward developmental planning, appraisals, and budgeting, and community members may observe ordinary meetings. Meetings are advertised, however, mainly with posters written in English—a language that many women in Solwezi do not speak, whereas more men on average do.

In terms of formal processes, EI revenues are channeled to the local level through the Solwezi Municipal Council. In 2015 the council passed a resolution to enhance service provision to mining-affected communities by dedicating 10 percent of council revenues from property rates from mining companies to communities in the mining areas. This resolution has yet to be implemented, and there are no guidelines on how the funds will be allocated and managed (Publish What You Pay 2018). It is also unclear what formal or informal decision-making processes exist regarding the use of EI revenues under the control of the council, and how civil society and women’s organizations can influence these somewhat hidden processes. The delay in implementing the council’s resolution could be due to changes in the elected leadership and the splitting of Solwezi into three separate districts (Publish What You Pay 2018). In 2018, the council was also accused of misappropriating some 1,489,799 Zambian kwacha (approximately US\$125,747.00), which had been paid by the Lumwana Mine, owned by Canadian Barrick Gold, in property rates (Mapapayi 2018). A 2018 EITI report prepared for the Zambian EITI Council, however, found that the Ministry of

³⁵ A Ward Development Committee is defined by the Ministry of Local Government as a body composed of community representatives elected from communities at the zone level and other members drawn from different organizations for purposes of promoting and coordinating development at the ward level for a maximum period of five years. The WDCs are supposed to be present across Zambia, with the local council initiating and facilitating their formation. Some areas in Zambia do not have WDCs, however, owing to their reliance on grants and donors. There is an effort through the decentralization secretariat to train local authorities in all districts nationwide on the creation of WDCs.

³⁶ Property rates are charged by the council on any land that has improvements on it.

Finance did not confirm the lack of subnational transfers in 2016 (Zambia EITI 2016).

Given the uncertainty of subnational transfers, CSOs have been advocating for reinstatement of the mineral royalty-sharing mechanism, which facilitates a process for distributing royalty revenues, preferably 10 percent of all royalties collected from mining companies, overseen by the minister of finance in consultation with the minister of mines and mineral development.³⁷ According to the Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD),³⁸ the mineral royalty-sharing mechanism acts as a form of compensation to ensure that a proportion of the mineral royalty tax remitted by the mining companies is retained in the host communities to protect community members' livelihoods from the negative outcomes of mining activities (Zambia Daily Mail 2016).

EI TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACTORS

Several actors are involved in mineral revenue accountability in Zambia.³⁹ This section discusses the Zambia EITI Council, CSOs, and women's rights organizations and networks.

Zambia EITI Council

Zambia has been a member of the EITI since 2009. Its multi-stakeholder group is known as the Zambia EITI Council (ZEC). The core function of the ZEC is to bring together the government, mining companies, and civil society to resolve issues relating to transparency within the extractive industry in Zambia. As of 2018, new civil society members had been elected to ZEC: Publish What You Pay Zambia, Action Aid Zambia, Extractive Industries Transparency Alliance (EITA), Southern Africa Resource Watch, Council of Churches in Zambia, and National Empowerment Forum.⁴⁰ While none of the new civil society members are WROs, the EITA, as an alliance, counts several WROs as its members, such

³⁷ The legal provision for mineral royalty sharing initially existed in the Mines and Minerals Development Act of 2008 (National Assembly of Zambia 2008) and was removed when the act was repealed in 2015.

³⁸ CTPD is a think tank promoting pro-poor trade policies and practices. It advocates for the adoption of a clause in the legislation that would provide for the retention of a mineral revenue-sharing mechanism so that communities can benefit directly from mining activities.

³⁹ It should be noted that there are also initiatives on general resource governance that do not have a specific focus on mineral revenue. One such example is the Tax Justice Initiative, led by the Zambia Tax Platform (ZTP). One of the key members of the ZTP is the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), whose major strategies include budget analysis and advocacy; mobilization and capacity building of CSOs, CBOs, faith-based organizations, and citizens; and compilation of data about budgetary allocations and execution. CSPR has established a system that allows for community participation in resource governance and works with a network of organizations at the community level. The system includes service delivery monitoring, which is administered by community groups.

⁴⁰ Civil society members are elected to the MSG every three years. The meeting is organized by Publish What You Pay and must involve a minimum of 30 organizations (Zambia EITI 2017).

as the Non-governmental Gender Organizations Coordinating Council (NGOCC) and the Zambia Alliance for Women (ZAW).

Civil Society

Of the CSOs interviewed, none had a specific focus on women and EI at the time of the research. In terms of social accountability initiatives, CSOs in Zambia are mainly working to reinstate the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism. As already noted, this mechanism, which was repealed in 2015, was meant to ensure that mining effectively contributes to local development and poverty reduction efforts. Advocacy around the reinstatement of the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism is led mainly by the CTPD and its Natural Resource Watch Groups (NRWGs).⁴¹ A key part of the work of NRWGs is to hold duty bearers, including the local government and companies, to account using tools such as the revenue tracking toolkit, which can be described as a social accountability strategy (Centre for Trade Policy and Development 2016). The NRWGs function as a “created” space of power, meaning that they have claimed a space in order to enact their agenda, in this case regarding revenue transparency (Oxfam Great Britain 2014). The groups also work to compel mines to disclose their revenue. NRWGs are typically a group of about 20 community members formed “to establish a shared purpose for undertaking mineral revenue tracking and expenditure monitoring” (Centre for Trade Policy and Development 2016). CTPD has organized them in areas where mining or exploration activities are taking place (Chimbulu 2017).

In Solwezi, the only CSO working on transparency and accountability that is physically located in the area is Caritas Zambia. Caritas Zambia has worked for many years on budget-related issues, such as advocating for the use of mineral revenues for the public benefit. Other national CSOs do work in Solwezi; however, these organizations, such as CTPD, implement their activities through networks of CBOs such as the NRWGs. CTPD has stated that the Solwezi NRWG was a key player in pushing for a by-law that would allocate 10 percent of all mining revenue from the area to the host communities (News Diggers 2017).

Additionally, every year CSOs in Zambia working on transparency issues come together with other stakeholders like policy makers and host communities through the Zambia Alternative Mining Indaba (ZAMI). ZAMI advocates “for equity and justice in the way in which the benefits of these natural and mining resources are shared, as well as calling for good governance, transparency, accountability and respect for human and community rights in the sector” (Zambia Alternative Mining Indaba. 2019, 1). A 2018 communiqué from ZAMI made reference to gender dynamics in the EI, noting “the discontent voices from the local mining communities especially women and girls have increased over

⁴¹ At the time of the study, CTPD had NRWGs in three pilot districts: Sinanzongwe, Mufulira, and Solwezi (the NRWGs are groups of 20 people on average).

the years, emanating from largely gender blind policies and laws” (Zambia Alternative Mining Indaba 2018, 4). This communiqué signals growing recognition of the gender dynamics of EI, though it does not yet connect revenue or the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism to women’s rights.

In addition to ZAMI, similar forums at the subnational level are being supported by the ZAMI steering committee and organized by local CSOs and partners. In 2018 two provincial mining forums took place in the Copperbelt and North-Western Provinces. ZAMI’s ambition is to foster growth of similar initiatives up to district level across the country. The issues raised locally are designed to feed into the national-level policy dialogue while addressing local EI transparency and accountability where mining takes place. Since 2015 CSOs have also looked to influence the design and policy framework pertaining to corporate social responsibility (CSR) through the annual CSR Forum, which is convened by the Chamber of Mines in partnership with other stakeholders.

WROs and Women’s Rights Networks in EI Social Accountability Initiatives

In Zambia, many WROs are organized within the Gender Justice Network (GJN). Given the diversity of the network, GJN focuses on a variety of issues, including empowerment for women, gender-based violence, and resource governance. Several members of the GJN expressed the view that EI was not one of their organization’s focus areas. In the past, however, the NGOCC has attempted to support women engaged in small-scale mining by providing small grants.⁴² The NGOCC and ZAW are both starting to work more on mining issues, such as partnering with CTPD to do checks and balances on mining companies.

There is a lack of direct engagement by WROs in the civil society representation on ZEC, which is an issue because ZEC serves as a space of power regarding access to information on EI revenue transparency. This was not the case in the previous iteration of ZEC. Women for Change, which joined ZEC because one of its organizational strategic objectives focused on natural resources, was a civil society member of ZEC from 2015 to 2018. When interviewed for this research on what women’s rights issues Women for Change brought to ZEC, however, Women for Change representatives stated that they did not raise any issues on gender mainstreaming in the EI to the board and they provided no explanation for why that was the case. As of now, Women for Change does not appear to work on EI issues.

WROs’ minimal participation in and focus on EI issues might result from the fact that most of these organizations are based in Lusaka, where there are no

⁴² In addition, the Association of Zambian Women in Mining is a member of the NGOCC. The Association of Zambian Women in Mining focuses mainly on women in artisanal-scale mining, which falls outside of this study’s focus on large-scale extractive industries. Another member of the NGOCC is Women in Mining, which was interviewed, as they have a presence in Solwezi (NGOCC 2019).

significant mining activities. Most EI operations are located in the Copperbelt and North-Western Provinces of Zambia. Additionally, the GJN members focus on important issues such as violence against women, land rights, and economic security, and as members of civil society, they have limited time and resources to spend on other topic areas. Additionally, in Solwezi, the WROs and women's groups that were present did not have a specific focus on EI.

A WOMEN'S RIGHTS APPROACH

This research has uncovered several efforts that could function as social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency. CTPD plays a notable role in such initiatives through its leadership in advocating for the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism to be reinstated and its creation of the NRWGs. Civil society coalition efforts calling for greater accountability regarding mining revenues also occur through the ZAMI. Additionally, the presence of five CSOs on ZEC also represents an important opportunity. Table 2 describes social accountability efforts undertaken in Zambia, their social accountability strategies, and their potential to advance women's rights.

Table 2. Social accountability strategies and a women's rights approach in Zambia

The women's rights approach defined in this report is built on the following four factors: 1. Demonstrating agency by setting agendas and building coalitions; 2. Gender expertise to exert influence; 3. Representing women's interests; 4. Being present to opportunities to influence and make decisions		
Social accountability strategy	Description	Meaningful participation of women?
Enhancement of citizen knowledge Information campaign	Advocacy on the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism, led by CTPD.	Right now attention centers on reinstating the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism, not on how that revenue can then be allocated to move forward on women's rights. It is unclear whether women's rights are even on the agenda. Getting women and WROs more involved in such efforts could help ensure that a gender lens is included.
	CTPD's NRWGs.	The NRWGs do not have specific focus on women's rights when tracking revenue, nor do they actively reach out to women to participate in the NRWG, though some are present and in positions of leadership. This situation limits the NRWGs' ability to represent women's interests.
Public expenditure tracking	NRWGs' revenue-tracking toolkit to hold local government officials to account on revenue transparency.	Though the toolkit does take into consideration the need for gender balance in the NRWGs, it is unclear whether the toolkit has considered the implications that revenue could have for women's rights. This limits the toolkit's ability to represent women's interests.

<p>Involvement in oversight bodies and public commissions and hearings</p>	<p>Civil society's presence in EITI multi-stakeholder group.</p>	<p>None of the current civil society members of the MSG are WROs. And when a WRO was part of the MSG, it reported not being able to integrate a women's rights focus into the proceedings. This signals the challenge WROs face in demonstrating their agency to set agendas.</p> <p>At least two WROs—NGOCC and ZAW—are members of EITA, one of the new MSG civil society members. Whether NGOCC and ZAW will be able to affect EITA's work in ZEC remains to be seen as they will not be present themselves to seize opportunities. Their sharing of their gender expertise will have to be done indirectly.</p>
<p>Building a coalition base</p>	<p>Annual meeting of the ZAMI.</p>	<p>The latest communiqué from ZAMI in 2018 made explicit mention of women and girls in local mining communities, though it did not connect this focus to mining revenues. This communiqué came in part from a collaboration of WROs with CSOs working on EI transparency issues and serves as an example of how expertise on the gendered dynamics of EI can influence transparency discussions.</p>

As Table 2 shows, one of the findings from this research is that none of the social accountability strategies explicitly mention women's rights, though the ZAMI communiqué did include a welcome mention of the gendered dynamics of EI. Additionally, this analysis does not show whether revenues that go into the national budget and local governments go toward service provision that responds to women's rights. It is unclear how local communities can provide input into how mining revenues are used. NRWGs' watchdog role is crucial, yet it is uncertain whether and how NRWGs can use their efforts to advocate for the use of mining revenues to advance women's rights. WROs' ability to set agendas also appears to be limited, though the recent example of the ZAMI communiqué, which resulted from collaboration between WROs and CSOs, shows the power of coalition building in the EI transparency space.

BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

This research establishes that there are key barriers and challenges to women's participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency. These are (1) the presence of restrictive social and cultural gender norms; (2) a lack of a gender focus in EI social accountability initiatives; and (3) gendered obstacles to accessing information.

Sociocultural Context

One of the findings of this research is that women do not have women-specific venues or platforms or channels of participation or representation, based on key

informant interviews in Lusaka and Solwezi.⁴³ In most cases the community members who respond to calls for EI-related consultation meetings tend to be men, and even where women participate, they generally do not speak out (key informant interview XV). In interviews with women from Solwezi, some women simply consider consultation meetings a space for men (key informant interview XV). According to an interview with a representative of Caritas Zambia:

Women will mainly participate when [...] it is a deliberate activity that says this is for women. But if it's [for] general engagement very few of them will come, and even those that come will not participate in that activity. Well, it is traditional you know, how do you they talk when there are men?

There is a need to establish mechanisms that facilitate and encourage women to participate and contribute in processes on the use of EI revenues. In the absence of such deliberate and women-targeted mechanisms, ensuring that women effectively and meaningfully participate in processes aimed at influencing the use of mining revenues for the benefit of local communities, and women in particular, will remain elusive.

Lack of a Gender Focus in EI Social Accountability Initiatives

According to this research, one of the barriers to women's participation is that social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency by various entities in Zambia do not have a specific gender or women's rights focus. Most of the social accountability initiatives led by civil society do not directly target women and in most cases fail to take gender issues into account. For example, civil society efforts to reinstate the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism do not mention women or women's rights. Additionally, the few CSOs working on EI have not intentionally targeted women in community engagements, and as a result women's participation in these initiatives is low (key informant interviews I, IV, VIII, XVIII, XIV).

The interviews with civil society members reveal an assumption that their initiatives automatically reach out to women. Such an assumption means that they are not aware of the particular challenges women face in accessing information and in participating in social accountability initiatives. In addition, more information is needed on how WROs can influence decision-making processes on EI revenue, such as ensuring the Solwezi Municipal Council spends its funds on services that benefit women in particular. CSOs and WROs such as CTPD and the NGOCC report that gender mainstreaming in the EI is a space they are planning to move into. CTPD, for example, plans to increase its

⁴³ For example, in the 2016 elections, there was 9 percent representation of women at the local government level (Zambia, Ministry of Gender 2018).

work on women's issues in EI after learning about how mining has caused women to travel for long distances to fetch water in Solwezi. The NGOCC is also becoming more involved in the gendered dynamics of mining and may become more active in Solwezi on this matter (key informant interview II).

Information-Sharing Practices Exclude Women

Most CSOs engage mining-affected communities in social accountability initiatives mainly through community sensitization and awareness-raising engagement such as radio programs, university debates, social media platforms, and the NRWGs. These avenues tend to favor the more affluent community members—most of whom are men—and hence act as barriers to women's participation and engagement. Exposure to mass media through newspapers, television, and radio among women in Zambia is also low (Zambia, Central Statistical Office 2014). Of even greater concern is that the women's organizations interviewed said they were not aware of information sources such as ZEC's reports. As part of ZEC's mandate is to widely disseminate information to inform the public, the fact that women living in mining-affected communities were unfamiliar with ZEC is a notable gap.

Based on the research findings, most of the CSOs conduct little research and documentation on how women can effectively engage in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency. An intersectional perspective is needed to recognize that women have different needs and may need to have information shared with them in different ways. The research suggests that informational campaigns may have better results if they target women in areas they frequent such as markets and health centers rather than strategies that rely on media channels such as radio, television, and social media—the mechanisms currently used by civil society. Certain EI-related documents should also be translated into local languages. Radio programs for raising awareness on mining could use both English and local languages native to mining communities. CSOs could seek other ways of reaching rural women and others who do not have access to the media, such as community campaigns designed to engage women.

OPPORTUNITIES AND ALLIES

Promoting women's rights through extractive industry revenue accountability in Zambia requires a number of bottom-up interventions. The following sections provide several recommendations and future entry points on how to better improve social accountability focusing on EI revenue transparency that is strongly premised on the promotion of women's rights. The opportunities include (1) engaging women in transparency and accountability fora within Zambia; (2)

connecting EI issues with WROs' agendas; and (3) involving women and WROs in oversight bodies.

Consciousness-Raising of Local Community Women in Solwezi

One major finding from the interviews with local community members is that women are excluded or are not participating or represented in activities related to EI consultations in Solwezi. In a similar vein, the Solwezi Municipal Council did not consult the local communities located in the mining areas over decisions about spending revenues collected from the mines. This finding was confirmed by women interviewed for this report, who stated that they were left out of these discussions. The women interviewed also rarely pushed for their own employment in the mines; rather, they see employment as an opportunity exclusively for their sons and husbands. The lack of engagement of local women from Solwezi in EI matters in general represents a hurdle for their meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives related to EI revenue transparency more specifically. Raising women's awareness of their right to have a say over how resources are managed in their communities, and how mining revenues are spent, is therefore a crucial first step for promoting more inclusive social accountability efforts.

Cross-Sectoral Alliances: Engaging in Transparency and Accountability Forums in Zambia

As mentioned, the ZAMI represents an important opportunity for CSOs and other stakeholders to come together on EI transparency and accountability issues. The ZAMI could be used as an opening to ensure that women's rights are part of the agenda and that WROs are included. Considering that one of the aims of the ZAMI is to develop legal and policy recommendations to improve governance of mining revenues for better service provision, it represents a key space to influence efforts on social accountability so that they better acknowledge and incorporate women's rights (Global Alliance for Tax Justice 2018).

Connecting EI issues with WRO agendas

Another finding of this research is that WROs tend not to work explicitly on EI issues in Zambia, either because they focus on other important issues or because the groups are located mainly in the capital and not in the communities where mining takes place. Yet there are opportunities to engage with WROs based on their interests. For example, ZAW promotes women's rights to natural resources in terms of access, ownership, and control. It has engaged the government and other stakeholders on the importance of women's participation in managing and using natural resources, supporting youth and women's land rights, sensitizing and engaging stakeholders on FPIC (free, prior, and informed

consent), and setting environmental policy. It has noticed that certain factors limit women's involvement in revenue accountability initiatives and in EI generally. A ZAW key informant (XV) stated, "Our objective is to have the voices of women amplified in extractive revenue accountability. The need for enabling the full participation of women in decision making and their voices heard will be important in securing gender equality."

Prioritize Women's Priorities: WROs in Oversight Bodies

This research shows that WROs have had limited participation on EI issues, including involvement in oversight bodies like the EITI's MSG group. If women's rights are to be better incorporated into social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency, women's organizations need support—financial and/or technical—to engage meaningfully in key spaces such as ZEC, either directly as civil society members or indirectly through as members in a network that belongs to the MSG. An example is the NGOCC and ZAW's relationship with EITA, a member of ZEC. Along with this engagement, WROs' priorities and agendas must be heard and acknowledged in these EI spaces.

Gender-responsive budgeting is picking up steam in Zambia. The NGOCC is implementing a gender-responsive budgeting program with the support of Oxfam in order to "ensure gender sensitive and equitable resource allocation and advocacy for engendering macroeconomic policy and subsequently delivery of public services" (Mwale n.d., 6). Gender-responsive budgeting can be a key social accountability strategy, allowing civil society to advocate for the state to make gender-sensitive investments in programs and services that promote women's rights and gender equality. It can push the state to (1) involve WROs in ensuring that the budget is gender sensitive; and (2) ensure that mining revenues allocated to the national budget go toward services that are prioritized by women. Such budgeting efforts would benefit greatly from disaggregated budgets that track where mining revenues go and how they are spent. Disaggregation of budgets has been called for in other countries by CSOs, such as Ghana, to clarify what positive impacts, if any, mining revenue has on citizens.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to determine whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency can advance women's rights. This research noted little participation of women and women's organizations in mining revenue accountability mechanisms—whether nationally within the ZEC or at the subnational level in the WDC. Representation by WROs is also lacking in terms of civil society engagement on this issue. The social accountability strategies

used by civil society actors tend to focus solely on mining revenues and not on women's participation or on how mining revenues can advance women's rights.

The case of Zambia demonstrates that there is still a long way to go in terms of increasing the participation of women and WROs in extractive industry transparency and accountability. Although greater participation by women does not automatically lead to increased advocacy for women's rights, lack of participation, especially by women's organizations and women from mining-affected communities, is nonetheless a barrier that needs to be overcome. In addition, Zambia needs to engage in a deeper conversation on what constitutes women's rights and how such rights can be achieved through mining revenue accountability.

This research has also attempted to draw a link between social accountability on EI revenue transparency and women's rights using an overarching women's rights approach. Based on this analysis, more can be done to link the preexisting social accountability examples found in Zambia to a women's rights lens. Specifically, this means ensuring that women and WROs have access to information on which they can act and that they are able to set agendas related to EI revenue transparency by, for instance, being able to participate in key meetings arranged by CSOs or like ZEC. This study has also identified opportunities to incorporate a stronger women's rights approach to mining revenue accountability as well as to increase the participation and leadership of women and women's rights organizations in EI decision-making around the use of mining revenues.

ANALYSIS

This research looked at the interplay of women’s rights, social accountability, and EI revenue to explore whether and how social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency incorporate women’s rights. This section provides (1) a comparison of the literature review and the two case studies, focusing on the barriers to women’s meaningful participation as identified in each section; (2) an examination of the opportunities for incorporating women’s rights; and (3) final remarks on the overall report.

BARRIERS TO WOMEN’S MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

The case studies both confirmed and expanded on the barriers identified in the literature review (see Table 3). In terms of commonalities with the literature review, the Zambia case was the only case study where sociocultural context was a barrier. Information gathered from key informants in both instances spoke about limitations to women’s participation due to sociocultural norms that circumscribed EI as a “man’s issue.” Indeed, the literature review illuminated in great detail the different ways that sociocultural context impeded women’s participation, whether because women did not have access to the financial resources necessary to attend meetings or because of gender norms and structural barriers that discouraged women from speaking in public forums.

Table 3. Barriers to women’s meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency

Literature review	Dominican Republic	Zambia
1. Sociocultural context 2. Changing power relations 3. Invisibility of women	1. Lack of access to information 2. Lack of clarity on decision-making processes 3. Participation costs	1. Sociocultural context 2. Lack of access to information 3. Lack of a gender focus in EI social accountability initiatives

The literature review also pointed out that women’s participation in EI revenue transparency issues can increase violence against women because it transforms gender power relations. Finally, the review observed that women could sometimes be hidden in the concept of “community,” masked by a false assumption that if the community as a whole was targeted by social

accountability initiatives, then so were women. This latter barrier resonates with findings from Zambia on the lack of a gender focus in EI social accountability initiatives. Zambian civil society actors assumed that women were participating in their meetings on EI issues, despite not specifically targeting women's engagement—an assumption that fails to recognize the gendered dynamics of meaningful participation.

The literature review focused on access to information as an *opportunity*, and both the Dominican Republic and Zambia case studies highlighted the lack of access to information as a barrier to women's participation. While access and lack of access to information are two sides of the same coin, the emphasis on poor access to information as a barrier in both countries is telling. The focus in the case studies is mainly on what information is missing and not enough on how to rectify such a gap, though the Zambia case does acknowledge the need for information to be shared in local languages and in public spaces like markets and health centers where women tend to be located. Even if information is available, it may not be easily understood, and women may find it difficult to act upon it to improve social accountability. As noted in the literature review, in a strategic social accountability approach, information for the sake of information is not enough; citizens and civil society must be able to act upon it, and more details on what constitutes actionable information are required.

The Dominican Republic case study brought up additional barriers that were not addressed in the literature review or the Zambia case study: (1) lack of clarity on decision-making processes; and (2) the cost of participating in civil society and women's organizations. The lack of clarity on decision-making processes was noted in the review of how mining development funds received and disbursed project revenues, mainly in the discussion of civil society actors' view of FOMISAR. FOMISAR is attempting to be more transparent about how revenue reaches mining communities, particularly compared with other mining development funds, or even with the case of Zambia. This lack of clarity on decision-making could contribute to the "invisibility" of women—where women do not know how to engage and therefore are absent. The case of Zambia showed that information is lacking on how EI revenue is supposed to flow from companies to national and subnational governments, and on how civil society and citizens could influence decision-making on the spending EI revenues. CSOs and WROs can target their attention to FOMISAR, and they know there is a process, even if that process is prone to problems of "closed doors" and lack of clarity, as discussed in the Dominican Republic case study. In the Zambia case study, in contrast, the focus is still on implementing the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism that would allow for at least 10 percent of revenue to go to local communities, after which concern will likely shift to how decisions are made about disbursing and spending that revenue.

Participation costs were also flagged as a barrier to the involvement of women's organizations in the Dominican Republic. Such costs might consist of fees to be a formally registered organization, transportation from rural areas to the capital Santo Domingo for meetings of ENTRE, or the cost of owning a phone or email address to keep apprised of information related to EI issues. Interestingly, such participation costs did not come up as an issue in Zambia, perhaps because several of the main actors involved in EI social accountability efforts like CTPD are based in Lusaka but closely connected with CBOs in the mining areas.

OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE WOMEN'S MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

The literature review and case studies are better aligned in terms of how they describe opportunities to amplify women's rights in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency (see Table 4). The case studies offer no new ideas for opportunities, though the details of the opportunities identified in the case studies vary slightly. For example, when calling for an intersectional focus in the Dominican Republic, the case study focuses on local civil society and women's organizations in mining-affected rural areas, whose participation in EI social accountability initiatives faces challenges because of their relatively remote location.

Both the Zambia and Dominican Republic cases emphasize the need for building cross-sectoral alliances between WROs and other CSOs. These alliances might be agenda-based (e.g., EI issues could be linked to common women's rights issues such as violence against women or natural resource management, as in Zambia), or they might involve increasing WRO participation in EI CSO spaces (e.g., in ENTRE in the case of the Dominican Republic). Indeed, a key finding from this research is that two important arenas of official "invited spaces" are crucial in both countries' civil society efforts to influence EI revenue decision-making processes: (1) municipal or district-level official bodies for allocating EI project funds; and (2) EITI MSGs.

In both countries, awareness raising was highlighted, such as the work WROs are doing in the Dominican Republic to teach women about their rights in relation to EI issues and mining revenue. In Zambia, the research noted the need for an intersectional approach to awareness raising that encourages local women in Solwezi to become more aware of their rights and to connect those rights with their own experiences with structural inequality. Surprisingly, neither case study promotes accessible information, even though both cases view lack of access to information as a barrier to women's participation. This may result from the

difficulty of knowing what information is needed in order to move on social accountability efforts.

Table 4. Opportunities to amplify women’s meaningful participation in social accountability initiatives on EI revenue transparency

Literature review	Dominican Republic	Zambia
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prioritizing women’s priorities 2. Intersectionality 3. Promoting accessible information 4. Consciousness raising 5. Cross-sectoral alliances 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Intersectionality: Greater engagement of local communities and local CSOs 2. Consciousness raising: Greater awareness about women’s rights 3. Cross-sectoral alliances: Enhancing the role of WROs in CSO spaces 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prioritize women’s priorities: WROs in oversight bodies 2. Intersectionality and consciousness raising 3. Cross-sectoral alliances: Connecting EI issues with WRO agendas

FINAL TAKEAWAY

As mentioned earlier in the report, Oxfam believes that extractive revenues should be used to fund important social programs. How these revenues get distributed and used has been the subject of several social accountability initiatives across the two case studies. It is important to note that apart from the presence of the *Cotuí Existe!* campaign, little evidence in the report speaks to policy advocacy or to campaigns to push for specific social programs to address women’s rights. The assumption here is that women’s meaningful participation in decision-making about how EI revenues are spent will lead to investments in services and infrastructure that meet the strategic gender interests of women, thus promoting women’s rights. As of yet, however, none of the social accountability examples encountered during the course of the research set explicit targets for funding social programs that advance women’s rights. Further development of the social accountability initiatives described in the report needs to occur before moving to this next stage.

CONCLUSION

This research helps clarify the need to bring a gender lens explicitly to bear on social accountability work within the EI sector and to analyze the connection between women’s participation and women’s rights. The research identifies a women’s rights approach that discusses the barriers preventing women and women’s rights organizations from participating in social accountability on EI revenue transparency, and it provides recommendations to overcome them. A key aspect of this women’s rights approach is women’s meaningful participation, which goes beyond simply counting women to include women’s ability to exercise voice and leadership and to influence decision-making.

Table 5 reviews the social accountability strategies used in the Dominican and Zambian case studies and analyzes them through a women’s rights approach. More needs to be done to connect such strategies with women’s rights in terms of both process (because women’s inclusion in social accountability initiatives is an intrinsic function of their rights) and outcomes (because women’s meaningful participation ensures that social accountability achieves outcomes that advance women’s rights).

Table 5. Conceptual framework: How to advance women’s rights through social accountability

Social accountability strategies reviewed in this research	Meaningful participation of women?
<p>Enhancement of citizen knowledge Public access to information</p>	<p>Ensuring that women are more aware of their rights regarding mining revenues is the first step to social accountability efforts that include women’s voices and participation. WROs can be key facilitators, like CEFORMOMALI in the Dominican Republic, in ensuring that women’s perspectives and interests, particularly those in rural communities, are represented in arenas of power such as national MSGs.</p>
<p>Enhancement of citizen knowledge Information campaigns</p>	<p>Information campaigns should make explicit mention of their relevance to women and how they can advance women’s rights. For example, the Cotui Existe! campaign in the Dominican Republic can show how educational services and clean water are connected to women’s rights. In Zambia, current efforts to share information on the mineral revenue-sharing mechanism and the NRWGs do not explicitly mention impacts on women. Getting women and WROs more involved in such efforts could help ensure that a gender lens is included.</p>

Involvement in oversight bodies and public commissions and hearings	While involvement of women's organizations is needed in EI spaces, there may be restrictions on how they can participate, which limits their ability to set agendas, bring their gender expertise into these discussions, and represent the interests of the women with whom they work. More attention is needed on how to overcome the barriers women's organizations face when participating in oversight bodies like FOMISAR in the Dominican Republic or the ZEC in Zambia.
Public expenditure tracking	Public expenditure tracking can allow citizens to influence what EI revenue data are disclosed and how, and facilitate accountability by publicizing how much revenue is or should be available to specific national or subnational government entities. Involving women's organizations in such activities ensures that attention is paid to whether and how women benefit from such expenditures.
Community monitoring	A community monitoring strategy needs to include gender-disaggregated data to help delineate the issues affecting women due to EI in these communities.
Building a coalition base	<p>Alliance building between women's organizations and civil society has the potential to create a powerful social base from the local to national levels. Such collaboration can lead to positive steps, such as the ZAMI communiqué from Zambia that made explicit mention of women and girls in local mining communities.</p> <p>The meaningful participation of women's organizations in national MSGs is also key in order to effect change. Participation in EITI MSGs offers women's organizations in the Dominican Republic and Zambia important opportunities to build much-needed political and technical credibility with key influence targets. It can also support the efforts of women's organizations to influence how EI revenues are spent by facilitating knowledge of, and access to, the political actors, institutions, and processes that govern the revenues.</p>

The goal of this research was to explore the link between social accountability and women's rights, focusing on EI revenue transparency. This involved examining women's participation in social accountability initiatives both as an expression of their rights and with the assumption that women's participation may be key to ensuring that EI revenues are used to fund programs that are valued by women and advance their rights. EI revenue transparency work in both the Dominican Republic and Zambia is ongoing, and it is hoped that this research can help influence these efforts to better consider and integrate women's meaningful participation in order to amplify women's rights.

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