

FOUR YEARS AFTER THE MOVE: VILLAGE RELOCATION AT SADIOLA AND YATELA GOLD MINES, MALI, WEST AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The recent Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development (MMSD) project highlighted concerns regarding mining induced resettlement and its impact on societal sustainability. Particular issues of concern were highlighted as: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common resources, loss of access to public services, social breakdown and risks to host populations.

In Mali, West Africa, three villages were relocated in 1999 & 2000 as a result of opencast pit development on two separate gold mines, Sadiola and Yatela. This case study provides an overview of the relocation planning and implementation process. Both resettlement projects were carried out in accordance with the World Bank guidelines on Involuntary Resettlement (OD 4.30) and involved extensive community participation. An independent review (audit) process was instituted from the start of the project and has continued through to the present day. The paper will examine the various issues that have arisen over the past four years, explain how these have been resolved and address those that continue to present challenges, particularly in the context of post mine-closure sustainability.

1 CONTEXT

Three villages in Mali, West Africa, were relocated as a result of opencast pit development on Sadiola and Yatela gold mines in the period 1998 – 2000.

Resettlement of local communities, for whatever reason, is inevitably a controversial topic. The recent Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development (MMSD, 2002) project highlighted concerns regarding mining induced resettlement and displacement and its impact on societal sustainability. Particular issues of concern were highlighted as: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common resources, loss of access to public services, social breakdown and risks to host populations.

In the local context, the Southern African MMSD report made a number of specific recommendations with regard to resettlement:

- Companies institute resettlement policies which are formulated in close consultation with the affected communities and which ensure that the disruption of the livelihoods and development of individuals and communities is minimised.
- If resettlement is unavoidable, companies determine whether there are national guidelines for resettlement and, where no guidelines exist, use the following guidelines: World Bank Involuntary Resettlement directive (OD 4.30) and the report of the World Commission on Dams.
- To guide resettlement, governments develop guidelines and legislation, implemented in partnership with companies, which are used to support integrated social development plans, and are flexible and include sufficient economic data for decision making.

There are currently no national guidelines on resettlement in South Africa, although the issue is currently being addressed by a project initiated by the Chamber of Mines. This paper examines the Sadiola and Yatela experiences, which were carried out prior to report of the World Commission on Dams and the MMSD project, but in accordance with the World Bank Guidelines on Involuntary Resettlement (OD 4.30). As in South Africa, there are no resettlement guidelines in Mali; however, representatives of local and regional government were closely involved in the entire resettlement process. The relocation experience described below confirms the first three of the above recommendations (carried in the South African MMSD Report).

2 INTRODUCTION

The Sadiola and Yatela gold projects are situated roughly 30 km apart near the western border of Mali, approximately 50 - 80km south of the regional capital of Kayes. The Sadiola project is a joint venture between South Africa's AngloGold (38%), the Canadian listed International African Mining Corporation (IAMGOLD) (38%), the Malian Government (18%) and the International Finance Corporation (6%). AngloGold and IAMGOLD are equal partners in the Yatela project (40% each) with the Malian government holding a 20% stake.

Construction of Sadiola Hill Gold Mine commenced in 1995, with production commencing at the beginning of 1997. Capital costs of the project amounted to approximately US\$300-million. It consists of a single large open-cast pit, two smaller satellite pits, a processing plant employing carbon-in-pulp (CIP) gold recovery technology, a tailings storage facility, waste dumps and a modern mining town. Water is extracted by a pump-station on the Senegal River and pumped ± 50 km to the mine. As oxide ore within the deposit became depleted, a gradual transition occurred to the mining of deeper sulphide ores in 2001. The mining and processing of these soft sulphide ores has required several modifications to the conventional metallurgical circuit with additional capital investment.

While the possibility of village relocation was discussed during the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA, 1994) and early planning phases of the project, resettlement was not required for the initial development of the project. It was only during contiguous exploration after the commencement of production, that it became clear that economic reserves extended northwards under Farabakouta village. Planning showed that although the larger village of Sadiola (the district centre) was not situated on the orebody, it would have been situated very close to the western edge of the planned pit. It was clear that in order to gain access to extensions of the Sadiola gold-bearing ore-body relocation of the villages would be necessary, but it was not until September 1996 that following discussions between the mine, the Malian government and the affected villages, a decision was taken to proceed with the planning for the relocation of the two villages

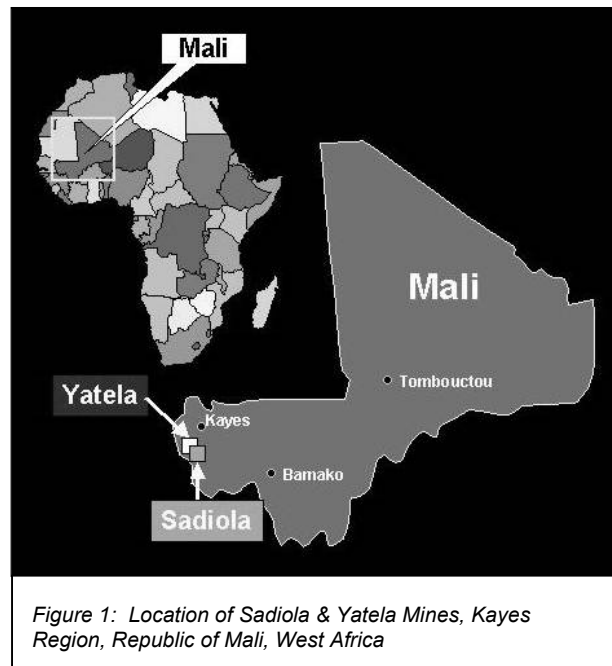


Figure 1: Location of Sadiola & Yatela Mines, Kayes Region, Republic of Mali, West Africa

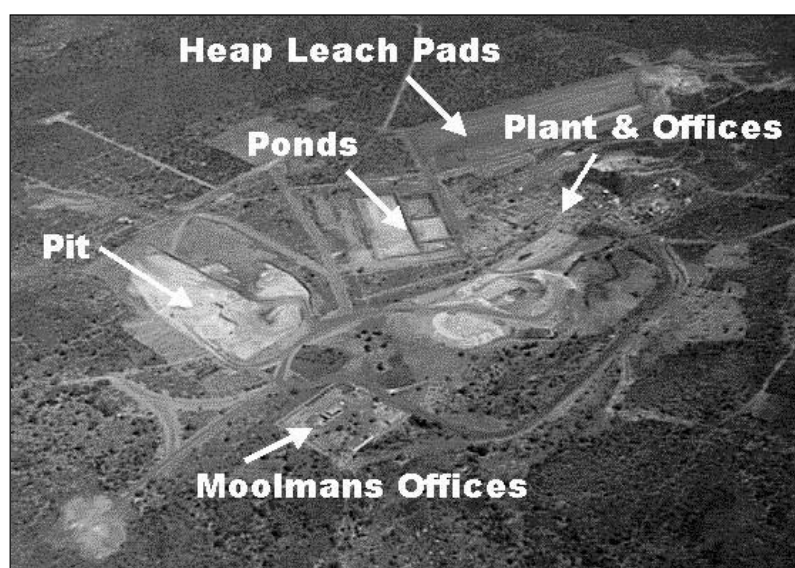


Figure 2: Yatela project. The former Niamboulama hamlet was located between the pit and the Moolman's offices.

villages. The duration of the resettlement project from the commencement of planning to the physical relocation of the villages was approximately three years, with planning commencing in 1996, construction of the new villages taking place in 1998 and 1999, and the relocation of Farabakouta and Sadiola carried out on 22nd April and 8th July 1999 respectively. Post-relocation monitoring and community development initiatives will continue throughout the life of the mine.

The Yatela project, which is situated 30km north of Sadiola, is situated in the same Biriamian gold-bearing province as Sadiola. However, the deposit was only identified a few years after the establishment of Sadiola, as a result of additional exploration in the area. It was clear from the outset, that the proposed development of a new mine would require the relocation of Niamboulama hamlet which was situated within the planned perimeter of the pit. Construction of the Yatela project, at a capital cost of approximately US\$75-million, started in 2000 and the mine was commissioned in 2001. The mine comprises an open-cast pit, a heap-leach facility, waste dumps and a small mining village. Activated carbon (containing gold) is trucked to the Sadiola plant for final processing.

The village resettlement processes at both Sadiola and Yatela were conducted in accordance with the World Bank Group guidelines on Involuntary Resettlement (Operational Directive 4.30) and relevant Malian laws. The Institute of Natural Resources (University of Natal, Pietermatitzburg) and the Malian non-governmental organisation, ASERNI (Association d'Etude et de Mise en Valeur des Ressources Naturelles et des Institutions) were contracted to prepare Resettlement Action Plans (RAP's), incorporating comprehensive community participation programmes, for the village relocations. Both organisations had been involved in the social components of the original Environmental Impact Assessments for the projects.

The EIA's for both the Sadiola and Yatela projects found that the most significant impacts of the mine would be those of a socio-economic nature affecting the surrounding villages. The broader social impacts of the mines have been mitigated in part through the establishment of a Community Development Foundation, the primary aims of which have been to make substantial and immediate short-term contributions toward local development and in the longer term, towards socio-economic sustainability. The Foundation caters not only for the relocated villages but also for the other villages in the vicinity of the mines. *(These activities are discussed in a separate paper to be presented at the same conference.)*

3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

Mali is a Francophone country with a population of approximately 11-million inhabitants. Over the last century the country has experienced a range of governmental systems ranging from the French colonial period through to socialist Independence. As a developing country, with a limited infrastructure and sizeable government bureaucracy, the country has embarked on a programme of economic reform and political decentralization. Mali's recent adoption of increasingly Western capitalist ideals has resulted in it becoming an attractive contemporary investment destination in West Africa. The gold mining industry has grown from a relatively insignificant informal economy to the third largest of the African gold-producing countries, with gold surpassing cotton as the mainstay of the economy. Tourism is another significant component of the Malian economy, with world-renowned attractions including Timbuktu (Tombouctou), Djenne and the Dogon area.

The country is a politically stable multi-party democracy (despite occasional tensions mainly in the northern parts with Touareg people). The Malinke are the largest tribe in the Kayes region, although the Bambara and Fulani people are more influential in government circles. The dominant religion is Islam, although this is intermingled with animist practices common in the remoter parts of the country. Concerns about tree-dwelling spirits played an important part in the village site selection and bush-clearing processes. Animal sacrifices were also practiced at various phases throughout the project (e.g. site clearance and physical relocation).

Each village is headed by a Chief who is assisted by a number of Advisors or Councillors, who have primary responsibility for internal village affairs. The eldest male member of the royal or hereditary family is chosen as the village chief. Conflict is handled through communication and physical intimidation is rare, although "wars of words" are commonplace. There is tremendous respect for human life and belief in divine intervention. The younger men form organised youth committees and through these groups also influence village politics. Women are all but excluded from participating in

village administration and decision-making. Their role is restricted to domestic chores, child rearing and food production. They traditionally have very little influence in this male dominated society.

From a geographic perspective, the country grades from tropical forests in the south to true desert in the north (Sahara). Sadiola and Yatela mines are situated in the savanna region, which is hot (temperatures commonly exceed 40°C in the dry season) with markedly seasonal rainfall (800 – 1000mm per year). The terrain is gently undulating (100-300m a.m.s.l.), and covered by savanna woodlands. The scarcity of surface water in the dry season has a major influence on the distribution of rural villages. For the most part, the villagers are subsistence farmers. The production system is based on livestock (cattle, sheep and goats) and staple crops (millet and maize), with rotational cropping being practiced. The better arable lands are situated in fluvial drainage systems, and are therefore relatively scarce. There is often an overlap between villages in the use of lands furthest from the village (which can result in “ownership” disputes). The above factors played an important role in the selection of village sites.

4 DETAILS OF THE RESETTLEMENT PROJECTS

Table 1 provides a summary of the main features of the relocation of Sadiola, Farabakouta and Niamboulama villages.

Aspect	Sadiola Village Relocation Project		Yatela Village Relocation Project
	Sadiola	Farabakouta	Niamboulama
No of people resettled	496 original inhabitants	550 original inhabitants	109 original permanent residents
	16 government-employed families		
	Approx. 1000 'New Arrivals'		
No of households resettled	35 households of original inhabitants	34 households	6 households
	16 government-employed families		
	689 'new arrival' structures		
Construction of replacement village and associated dwellings	129 housing structures, 57 'pungalutho toilets'®, village mosque, 39 government structures (clinic, school, local offices, agric department, etc), reticulated water system with strategically located standpipes, roads and drains. 'New Arrivals', with assistance from the mine, re-built their own structures.	125 housing structures, 52 'pungalutho toilets'®, a village mosque, reticulated water system with strategically located standpipes, roads and drains.	37 structures & 17 traditional pit toilets, village mosque, school, 2 handpumps, 1 well
Compensation	Cash compensation was paid for the loss of croplands, secondary structures (granaries, cattle kraals, shady shelters, etc.) which were rebuilt by the villagers on their new sites. Provision of agricultural equipment for the development of new croplands.	Cash compensation was paid for the loss of croplands, secondary structures which were rebuilt by the villagers on their new sites. Provision of agricultural equipment for the development of new croplands.	Cash compensation was paid for secondary structures which were rebuilt by the villagers on their new sites. Labour costs for the clearing of new croplands and provision of fertilizer for the establishment of new croplands was paid.
Total cost of resettlement	US\$5.5-million		US\$400,000
Date of resettlement	8 July 1999	22 April 1999	6 October 2000

5 PLANNING THE RESETTLEMENT OF SADIOLA, FARABAKOUTA & NIAMBOULAMA VILLAGES

The project joint venture partners agreed that relocation of the affected villages should be carried out in accordance with the World Bank Directive on Involuntary Resettlement (OD 4.30). A central tenet of OD 4.30 is that a resettlement project is conceived and implemented as a development programme. The objective for the relocation was to improve, or at least to restore, the populations' former livelihoods and production levels (i.e. nobody was to be worse off than they were before the move).

Once the decision had been taken to move the villages, a Steering Committee was formed and led by the Governor of the Kayes Region to oversee the identification and selection of new village sites. The INR and ASERNI were appointed to help plan and facilitate the relocation process. These parties were also involved in the social components of the original environmental impact assessment process dating back to 1994 and were hence familiar with the people, their culture and the project history. The consultants were tasked by the Steering Committee with preparing a socio-economic and land-use planning study as well as a participative village site selection process.

The land use planning study identified the distribution of agricultural lands and other important natural resources. The village leadership, together with the consultants and the mine's community liaison officer (environmental department) were involved in the identification of a range of alternative sites, and criteria against which to evaluate these. Selection of the new village sites was completed in August 1997 (Sadiola & Farabakouta villages) and 1999 (Niamboulama hamlet), respectively.



Figure 3: Aerial view of the former Niamboulama hamlet (Yatela project). Note the surrounding croplands.

Once the sites had been identified and agreed by the Steering Committee, the Executive Committee (comprising representatives of the mine, the Malian government and the village leadership) then approved the preparation of a detailed Resettlement Action Plan (RAP). A Working Group ("Groupe de Travail") consisting of the implementing bodies (the mine and the various consultants) was established to co-ordinate activities and would meet on a weekly basis. The mine's team was led by the General Manager and included the Engineering Manager, his architect and support personnel as well as several members of the Environmental department, and others depending on needs.

Extensive community involvement and the use of participatory methods involving all interested and affected parties were employed. The appointment of a Malian NGO (ASERNI) as the implementing agent, together with the insights from the mines' Malian staff, brought a great deal of understanding of the local village dynamics to the management team. The appointment of a community liaison officer early in the project phase resulted in a continuous and formal programme of community consultation and participation starting in 1994 and continuing through 1999, to the present day. ASERNI's recommendation to base a full-time facilitator ("animatuer") in each of the villages provided important insights into village politics and the concerns of individual families, as well as providing a convenient "go-between" the village and the mine. This open channel of communication

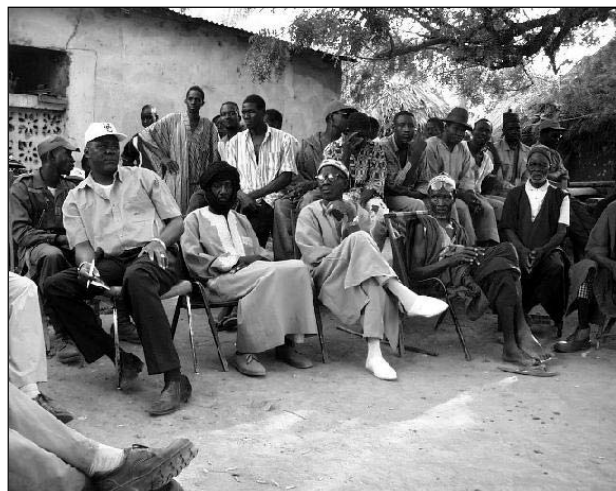


Figure 4: Consultative meeting regarding the relocation of Niamboulama hamlet. Left to right: Chef du Arrondissement, Niamboulama elder & Chief of Kourketo

proved to be very important to the resettlement process. (The facilitators of Farabakouta and Niamboulama were subsequently retained and employed as Community Development Facilitators after the relocation process.)

An important aspect of village relocation planning was the distinction between 'Original Inhabitants' and 'New Arrivals'. The construction of Sadiola mine attracted a large number of work seekers from all over West Africa – these became known as the 'New Arrivals' as opposed to 'Original Inhabitants' resident in the villages before the establishment of the mine. A record of the 'Original Inhabitants' of the area was contained in the socio-economic work carried out for the environmental impact assessment.

Once the decision to relocate the villages had been made public, a number of socio-economic studies were initiated to establish a baseline for planning purposes. These included a full census of families in the affected villages, and an inventory of property and other significant material possessions. These were carried out by the mine's consultants in collaboration with government agencies responsible for social affairs and public works (Direction Regionale Action Sociale (DRAS) and Direction Regionale Urban Construction (DRUC)). These baseline surveys were important in that they served as an official record of what, apart from natural expansion, would be either substituted for, or compensated, in the new villages. These surveys would prevent 'free riders' from establishing or expanding their properties simply to qualify for compensation.

From the outset it was agreed that the mine would have to provide appropriate alternative accommodation and that cash compensation would not be a satisfactory way in which to facilitate village relocation. However, discussions within the Executive Committee later determined that some components of the village would be better replaced by the villagers themselves and that in such cases cash compensation would be appropriate, particularly with respect to secondary structures (e.g. granaries, chicken coops, cattle enclosures and shade shelters). Compensation values were based on official government figures issued by DRUC.

Relocation of the 'New Arrivals' at Sadiola was initially to be managed by the regional government, who were to allocate plots within the new village site, and provide limited assistance to 'New Arrivals' to move to their new stands. The idea was that a moratorium would be placed on the construction of new shelters in the old village. However, as events unfolded, so the mine became more involved in the physical relocation of the New Arrivals. At Yatela, a New Arrivals area was identified before the construction phase began, in consultation with local village leaders, such that the majority of new arrivals settled in a pre-agreed area a few kilometers from the new mine.

Resettlement planning for Niamboulama hamlet began in August 1998 with the initiation of consultation and a Social Impact Assessment for Yatela Mine. Site selection for the new village commenced in September 1998 and was completed in December 1998. After a period of sterilisation drilling, resettlement planning commenced again in June 1999, with detailed socio-economic studies being undertaken, authorities being consulted and cropland and household structure surveys being undertaken. The Resettlement Action Plan was completed in early 2000 and the village was relocated on the 6th October 2000.

Having previously worked through many of the resettlement related issues, the relocation of Niamboulama was a lot easier for all parties concerned. Representatives from Niamboulama hamlet had visited the villages of Sadiola and Farabakouta and were therefore more familiar with what physical relocation would entail. Through extended family structures, they were also able to learn and prepare psychologically for the move as well as improve their negotiating positions in the various issues around resettlement.

6 CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW VILLAGES

With the relocation of Sadiola and Farabakouta, the Malian government required that the design of the new villages be based on modern town planning principles. The new villages were therefore constructed on a symmetrical grid-type pattern, with plots being allocated to individual families. Natural expansion in the old village had led to cramped and over-crowded conditions so the inhabitants welcomed the extra space provided through larger plot sizes in the new villages. With the allocation of plots, it was important to maintain the same sense of social order in the new village so that, for example, somebody living next to the village chief in the original village, would continue to live next to

the village chief in the new village. A similar approach was adopted in the case of Niamboulama hamlet.

In the traditional villages, huts were made of mud brick and thatch roofs but the mine agreed to provide more permanent structures. In Mali, the most widely used alternative is the cement brick but cement is a fairly expensive commodity. In an effort to reduce costs, the use of a cement-laterite brick was investigated and four brick-making machines were imported from South Africa. In an effort to prove its effectiveness to the Malian administration and to persuade the local village leadership, demonstration structures were built and comparative destruction testing was carried out. Acceptance of this technology resulted in the employment of a team of 140 local villagers over a 9-month period to manufacture 1.4 million laterite-cement bricks. This provided a significant boost to the local economy. These laterite-cement bricks were not used at Niamboulama hamlet, as a result of the need to build the village within a shorter timeframe and because the economies of scale did not provide as significant a cost difference as that for Sadiola and Farabakouta.



Figure 5: Women at the Farabakouta water borehole, fitted with handpump, with the old village in the background. Note the traditional mud and thatch huts.

The architectural designs for the replacement buildings were developed by the mine's architect working in conjunction with ASERNI, DRUC and the village leadership. A series of standardized designs were available for selection by the affected households. Showhouses were built in each of the villages so that people could understand what would be provided and have an opportunity to comment on them. One of the early issues was that of mono-pitched roofs versus double-pitched roofs. Ease of construction and lower costs favoured the mono-pitch roof design, but some people preferred the double pitch design. The negotiated compromise was that structures with double pitch roofs would be replaced with double pitch roofs, but that the remainder would be mono-pitched. (Interestingly, this design was later adopted by many of the 'New Arrivals' who constructed their own dwellings.) All roofs were made from corrugated iron, fitted with insulation on the inside. With the hot Malian climate, one would have expected complaints about the heat of the modern structures compared with the traditional mud-brick thatched huts, however this has not been the case. The thick cement-laterite bricks and the roof insulation appear to have been adequate.

Where families owned unique structures, the architect sought to build features of these special structures into the replacement buildings. The position of buildings on the allocated plot was first discussed by the facilitators with the head of the household, then translated onto plans and approved by the head of the household. Final approval was obtained from the head of the household once the site had been pegging out according to the physical location of the buildings. The plans were then submitted to DRUC for approval in accordance with Malian building legislation.



Figure 6: Example of a special design house in Niamboulama, features of which would need to be duplicated in the new village.

The first phase of construction was the clearance of the new village sites by bulldozers. This also involved the identification of large trees that would need to be felled either because they might present a physical hazard, or could provide refuge for evil tree-dwelling spirits. Site clearance was preceded by a religious ceremony and animal sacrifice to appease the spirits. Over enthusiastic men-folk condemned almost every tree on the village site, which with hindsight should have been more

vigorously challenged, as it will take many years to grow shade trees in the new villages. (This has been one of the main post-relocation complaints by the women of the village who now suffer the lack of shade.)

A selection process was used to identify and select local building contractors to build the new villages of Farabakouta and Sadiola. Intensive supervision was required to get the contractors to build in accordance with the designs and to meet the agreed project schedule. Originally contractors were required to source their own building supplies, but the size of the project proved to be logistically too complex for the local contractors, and the mine took over the procurement aspects of the project, providing building supplies from the mine stores as required. The Engineering Department oversaw construction of both villages on a site by site basis. Payments were authorized at various stages of construction, with a 10% guarantee retained for a six-month period. Weekly meetings were held to monitor the relocation process, including progress with construction activities and associated issues.



Figure 7: The mosque in new Farabakouta village

Construction of Farabakouta started on the 27th February 1998, and construction of Sadiola started on 27th May 1998. Construction of Niamboulama began in May 2000. The local villages monitored progress with the construction of their dwellings, and immediately raised concerns if there were any doubts about the quality of workmanship or other issues. DRUC also carried out regular inspection of construction on the new village sites.

Construction of the villages included the installation of access roads, stormwater drains and other public amenities such as a mosque, central meeting place and football field. In Sadiola construction included the replacement of government facilities such as the district administrative complex, the agricultural facilities, the forestry office, the clinic and the primary school. Towards the end of the construction period, the mine agreed to provide a district secondary school as part of its contribution to community development.



Figure 8: The new Sadiola district clinic

During this phase, compensation for secondary structures (based on DRUC valuations) and croplands was paid at the Chef d'Arrondissement's office to enable villagers to proceed with the replacement of cattle kraals, chicken coops, granaries, etc. Payments were witnessed by the government representative at the local administrative office and signed records were kept as proof of payment.

At Niamboulama a preliminary village design and layout was compiled using various surveys conducted in June/July 1999, based upon the existing village layout, existing village composition, household preferences regarding building sizes, and anticipated infrastructural needs. Modification of this design and layout occurred by means of discussions with village leaders and household heads. The designs and layouts were then verified and approved by the appropriate Malian agencies, as required by Malian law.

7 PHYSICAL RELOCATION OF THE NEW VILLAGES

7.1 Farabakouta

The physical relocation of Farabakouta village, lead officially by the Governor of Kayes representative, started on 22nd April 1999 and was commemorated by the sacrifice of a cow at a ceremony on the day of the move. Once initiated, the move to the new village proceeded very rapidly and within a week most families had relocated to the new site. Each family was provided with a container in which to place their household belongings, and these were then loaded onto a truck and transported to their new home where the goods were again offloaded. Despite concerns about possible claims for damages, no problems were encountered. After the move, the Farabakoutans began a process of salvaging all useful materials from the old village. Many of the old structures were demolished to recover bricks, roof sheeting, door and window frames, etc. A bulldozer completed the official demolition of all remaining structures at old Farabakouta on 23rd December 1999.



Figure 9: During the physical relocation, transfer of household contents was simplified by the use of containers which could be left at a household to be packed and then moved to the new village when ready.

Despite official approval of the quality of the buildings (from DRUC), the owner of one of the 'special buildings' in Farabakouta was not satisfied with the end product and refused to accept the replacement. The matter was taken to court, but dismissed on the basis of subjective reasoning.

In Farabakouta, one influential household (headed by Mr Baba Macalou) resisted relocation. At the start of the relocation planning process, Mr Macalou had indicated that he and his household did not wish to relocate with the rest of the village, but wanted to break-away and establish a new site to the north of New Farabakouta. Mr Macalou had not agreed with the site selected for the new village and a rift developed between him and the rest of the village leadership. After months of discussions between the



Figure 10: One of the replaced 'special buildings' in new Farabakouta

Administration, SEMOS, the leadership of Farabakouta and Mr Macalou, an agreement was reached. The Administration finally approved the establishment of his settlement and SEMOS provided materials and cash up to the value of what would have been required to build his structures in Farabakouta village. The Administration oversaw the construction of Mr Macalou's structures at Soukouta (the name of his preferred site) situated to the north of new Farabakouta. Construction was completed in December, and following a number of additional demands (including the provision of an additional well and hard-capping of the access road to his settlement), Mr Macalou moved to his new site on the 5th May 2000.

7.2 Sadiola

Legend had it that when Sadiola was first founded, the Chief offered two goat skins of gold and two slaves girls as a sacrifice. While there was no discussion about slave girls, serious negotiations took place around the issue of two goat skins of gold as a suitable offering for the relocation of Sadiola village.

The relocation of Sadiola was set for the 8th July 1999, but prior to this date, there was great concern that the relocation would be delayed. A division between the chief of the village and the village elders had formed. Without notice, the chief left Sadiola and went to Paris, apparently to receive medical attention. Before his departure, he announced a series of preconditions to the move, one of which related to the two goat skins of gold. After extensive discussions between the local Administration and the Sadiola village leadership, a number of realistic agreements were made in order to save the process. SEMOS finally conceded to the allocation of six million CFA (approx. US\$10,500) for each village including 2.5-million CFA for the sacrifice and 3.5-million CFA for community development projects. The chief returned in time to preside over the relocation formalities. A grand village relocation ceremony, to mark the start of the relocation of Sadiola, was held on the 8th July 1999. Once initiated, the movement of household goods proceeded speedily and without incident.



Figure 11: Sadiola, 8th July 1999 - Official handover of the keys of the new village by the General Manager of SEMOS (Mr Dave Burgess) to the Chief of Sadiola (M. Sankoumba Dembele). The goat was presented as a thank you gift from the village to the Regional Governor for his role in the relocation process.

During the course of construction, it became clear that the mine would need to assist the Administration with the relocation of the 'New Arrivals' if the agreed timetable was to be met. Despite the proposed moratorium on the construction of new shelters, there had been an increase in the number of 'New Arrivals'. In accordance with the approved town plan, the mine cleared and levelled an area for the 'New Arrivals'. This was then divided into plots by the Administration's surveyors, and allocated to those who had formerly been living in Sadiola. Plots were also sold to those who had arrived after the relocation had been officially announced. SEMOS provided assistance to the 'New Arrivals' by paying the costs of the plots, and by providing some assistance in the form of building materials for the construction of their accommodation.



Figure 12: New Arrivals building replacement structures in the new Sadiola village. Bricks are made of mud and straw. Note the similarity of design to those provided to the Original Inhabitants - a departure from the traditional hut design.

Salvage of materials from the old village occurred over an extended period of time with demolition of all remaining structures at old Sadiola taking place on 21st December 1999.

In Sadiola, the only contentious issue was that of the former secretary of the Chef d'Arrondissement (District Administrator), who continued to reside in the government owned old Administrative complex in Sadiola. Mr Sissoko, who had originally requested cash compensation for the secondary structures he had added to these premises, refused to accept the payment. After months of negotiations between him and his former employer, the situation remained unresolved. At the request of the Governor, Mr. Sissoko was evicted and his structures bulldozed. The cash compensation for his secondary structures, was deposited with the Délégué du Gouvernement de la Commune de Sadiola (the former Chef d'Arrondissement).

Within the 'New Arrivals' section, some concerns were expressed about the favourable allocation of plots, particularly alongside the road which offered better businesses opportunities. Some who were formerly on the edge of the road, had not been allocated plots along the road.

7.3 Niamboulama

The new Niamboulama hamlet site is located roughly 1.5 km from the original village site. Although the optimal alternative village site had been identified at another location, the fact that Niamboulama is actually a



Figure 13: Aerial view of new Sadiola village – the New Arrivals are located to the west (right) of the central hill and the original inhabitants are on the eastern side (left). Note the modern layout adopted for the new village.

cropping village of another, larger, village (Kourketo) meant that the Kourketo leadership ultimately dictated its new location. Kourketo elders feared that, should Niamboulama be relocated too far away, they might lose control over the village and hence a relatively large area of fertile land. Implementation of the resettlement action plan for Niamboulama hamlet (Yatela Mine) commenced in May 2000, culminating in an official relocation ceremony on October 10th, 2000. The Yatela Project agreed to pay 1.5 million CFA to the affected community or traditional sacrifices associated with relocation. This money was used to purchase a black and white cow for sacrifice (at the beginning of the construction process), to purchase medicine from the local Marabou (medicine man) for each family, and to purchase a red cow for the relocation feast. A goat was also slaughtered at the relocation ceremony.

Lessons relating to new arrivals learnt at Sadiola were applied at Yatela. Extensive negotiations during resettlement planning lead to the participatory identification of a mutually acceptable New Arrivals site adjacent to the nearby Kourketo Village. Key infrastructure, such as water points, was established at this site, in order to draw new arrivals here rather than into existing villages or near to Yatela Mine itself. Within six months of the commencement of the construction phase at Yatela Mine, nearly 400 new arrivals households had occupied the new site and its surrounds, including a ribbon development along the main Kayes and Niamboulama roads. Interestingly, in subsequent years new arrivals have been allowed to move into new Niamboulama hamlet, which is situated closer to the mine than the new arrivals area, and have been observed to be renting the new structures built for the original inhabitants.

8 RESETTLEMENT MONITORING PROCESS

A thorough and independent monitoring procedure was developed and implemented in order to assess the overall progress of the village relocation process. The monitoring procedure provided a consistent and independent review of the implementation of the RAP and served as a means of recording and reporting the results of the relocation to the Board of SEMOS. The approach to monitoring was for the Institute of Natural Resources to undertake quarterly reviews during the various phases of village construction, consisting of a review of project documentation; site visits and related observations, meetings and interviews with key stakeholders and consultations with the implementation agents. Following each visit, a report was produced and circulated to all stakeholders recording progress as well as identifying any new issues or impacts and recommended corrective action. This consisted of five monitoring reviews, with the fifth and final review carried out once the villagers had had an opportunity to settle into life in the new villages and after the physical structures had seen a reasonable period of service.

On completion of the resettlement projects, a formal procedure for carrying out annual socio-economic monitoring of the relocated and neighbouring villages was developed under the mine's environmental

management programme and continues to be implemented. This is subject to independent evaluation as part of the mine's annual environmental audit process.

Many of the villagers had expressed the concern that after the relocation, people would be abandoned by SEMOS. However, prior to the lapse of the six month guarantee period, an inspection of all structures was carried out and all problems related to the new buildings were identified for repair before the release of retention monies to the building contractors.

Post-relocation surveys have shown that the 'New Arrivals' have felt more marginalised during the relocation process as their relocation was not as well planned as that of the 'Original inhabitants'. The process, which was driven by the local Administration, provided for the allocation of plots to people who had been residing in Sadiola and permanently occupying a structure in the 'New Arrivals' area. Later arrivals who had to purchase plots felt disadvantaged by the process.

The resettlement project was a major undertaking, and a major learning experience for everybody involved. Protracted negotiation and adaptation was a feature of the entire relocation process. Throughout the construction, communications between the mine and the affected communities was facilitated through ASERNI, the community liaison officer and the Environmental Superintendent.

Escalating costs necessitated revisions to the budget on at least three occasions. Part of the increase in costs was due to the negotiating skills of the local villagers. However the project was completed within the allocated time and hence had no affect on mining operations. The relocation of the villages was accomplished to the satisfaction of the mine, the affected communities and the Malian government.

The final RAP monitoring report concluded that "the relocation process has been conducted positively and peacefully. It is felt that the World Bank guidelines have been followed and achieved with some notable success. Besides some reluctance from the villages to take-over and manage the water supply systems, the physical relocation process can be considered complete."

9 ISSUES IDENTIFIED DURING THE FOUR YEARS OF ONGOING REVIEW

An independent review (audit) process was instituted from the start of the projects. It was subsequently integrated as a procedure in the environmental management system, and continues to the present day. This section will examine the various issues that have arisen over the past four years, explain how these have been resolved and address those that continue to present challenges, particularly in the context of sustainability post mine closure.

Post-relocation issues at Sadiola and Farabakouta

Roads, storm-water drains, a reticulated water supply system and refuse sites were provided in the new village. These facilities have been the cause of on-going concern.

The most significant of these concerns is that of water supply. In Mali's Sahel region most of the villages are dependant on groundwater supplies during the dry season, and water is a significant limiting factor in both food supply and general village development. In the old villages of Sadiola and Farabakouta, as is generally the case in Mali, water was supplied via a series of wells and hand-pump equipped boreholes. The



Figure 14: Header tank of the reticulated water supply system which has been the greatest issue regarding sustainability of the relocation process

The government insisted that a reticulated water system with standpipes, be provided in the new villages,

against the advice of the mine's social advisors. The installation of reticulated water supplies represented a major departure from local norms, but was regarded by the government as an opportunity to modernise the villages. Both systems consist of boreholes, equipped with diesel-driven pumps that feeds a header-tank above the village. In order to be self-sustaining it was envisaged that the village leadership would impose a system of levies to fund the operating costs of the water supply (pump maintenance, diesel fuel and operator salaries). The mine undertook to provide 6-months of training to two nominees selected by the village leadership. As the Malian law discourages the supply of free water, a lot of effort has been made to get the Sadiola mayor and the Local Development Committee (CLD) to set up water committees so that villagers are able to raise revenues from water sales for the management and maintenance of their own water supply systems. Despite efforts from many parties (including the government), the villages have still not taken ownership of the water supply system and the mine continues to operate these in the interests of harmonious relations. The reluctance to take ownership of the water supply system by either village leadership or local government is probably linked to a realization of the costs involved, which at this time are being borne by the mine. This is probably one of the greatest sustainability challenges facing both the mine and the community.

Another maintenance issue that has presented problems is the cleaning of stormwater drains in the wet season in order to facilitate rainwater run-off and to prevent localised flooding. The first wet season resulted in localized ponding of rain water in some yards which was resolved through the provision of laterite to build up the site levels as well as the provision of a few additional drains. In Farabakouta, an additional cattle bridge was requested by the villages in order to access lands to the north of the village during the wet season.

To improve sanitation, the INR recommended the provision of 'pungalutho ("no smell") toilets'® in the project design, which have been proven in the southern African context. Prior to the decision to use these toilets, an extensive educational programme, complemented by the provision of demonstration toilets in the old village, was carried out. The toilets were renamed 'kassatan toilets' (meaning 'no smell'). At significant cost, numerous kassatan toilets were provided in the new villages. During the initial commissioning phase, some of the toilets produced bad odour. The villagers quickly developed various "proven" remedies to eliminate the odour - measures such as pouring drain cleaner, or throwing used batteries into the pit. These measures destroyed the bacteria which are critical to the operation of the system and thereby exacerbated the problem. Very quickly, the toilets were determined to be "useless" and in some cases, the structures were converted to other uses. No amount of persuasion could alter the "collective mind" and the toilets have all but been abandoned in favour of the traditional pit latrine.



Figure 15: Kassatan 'no smell' toilet (& shower) (based on the SAfr pungalutho) has not been successfully introduced. Pit latrines are favoured.

Traditionally domestic waste would have consisted mainly of natural, bio-degradable products, that would have been deposited on the perimeters of the village. The ubiquitous availability of plastics has not altered these habits, with the result that many of the contemporary Malian villages have a severe litter problem. The provision of waste disposal sites on the perimeters of the new villages has not adequately resolved this problem, as a communal system for the collection and transport of refuse to waste pits outside of the village has not been established. Both the toilet and the refuse site examples raise issues around the use of appropriate technology - while intentions were to help develop the communities, there are limits to what is acceptable and appropriate in the community.

During site preparation at the new Sadiola and Farabakouta villages, (male) village leaders insisted that all large trees be clear-felled. The resultant lack of shade in the new villages has subsequently been one of the main complaints raised by village women. During the village relocation process, cash compensation was provided for the loss of all fruit trees in the old village and saplings were made available for re-establishment in the new villages. Numerous sapling Neme trees (*Azadirachta indica*) have also been provided as shade trees, but many have died due to lack of maintenance (water).

Due to concerns about the possible impact of village relocation on food security, the RAP included, as a contingency, the possible provision of supplementary foodstuffs (maize and millet) to the affected

villages. This aspect became widely known in the affected villages. Shortly after the physical relocation, repeated demands and protestations for its supply were forthcoming. In order to prevent a precedent, and to discourage future dependence on the mine for food provision, it was agreed that mine would support the establishment of 'grain banks' in both villages and provide 5 tonnes of millet as 'capital' using part of the 'sacrifice fee' to pay fund this initiative. The concept behind a 'grain bank' is that one can withdraw food during hard times, and repay this after a successful crop. Despite efforts to manage the 'grain bank', it soon became evident that these were simply being used as a 'hand-out', and the collapse of the 'grain banks' soon followed. This however, did not dissuade the community from demanding that the remainder of the 'sacrifice fees' to be used to replenish the 'grain banks' and a dispute arose between the mine who refused to accept and fund this as a legitimate development project.

Project management issues

Village relocation is an extraordinarily complex undertaking and presented numerous challenges to the capacity of both the mine and local and regional government, not to mention the affected communities. It requires an intimate understanding of the affected communities, in order to develop a realistic plan, with appropriate deadlines and adequate resources (both financial and project staff). Learning to say 'no' is an important part of managing expectations within the community. Dispute resolution mechanisms need to be agreed up front in order to deal with problems that arise along the way, such as inaccuracies in key socio-economic surveys.

The impact of deviations from the agreed plan must be well communicated and understood by all parties as the collective impact of these can be highly significant, not only upon the costing and scheduling of the project, but also on the psychological well-being (security) of the affected communities. It is critical to build trust between all parties within the relocation process. The development of relationships will ultimately reduce the degree of suspicion and conflict; particularly during critical components of the project schedule (e.g. disputes about architectural design of structures while the contractor is waiting to build can be enormously costly). Trust and good relationships with the authorities helps minimise the amount of bureaucracy that the project staff must deal with.

'New Arrivals'

It is important to recognise and anticipate the limitations of government early on and factor these into the plans. With hindsight, the 'New Arrivals' issue could have been much better managed. In what proved to be a rather short-sighted view, driven by cost considerations, the issues surrounding the influx of migrants was left to the government to deal with. Given the complexity of this issue, the lack of capacity and resources within government, and the potential impact on the project outcome, the mine should have approached this as a partnership together with government. As it was, the mine had to become involved in these issues and ended up funding most of the costs associated with site clearance, plot allocation, provision of building materials and assistance with physical relocation.



Figure 16: A New Arrival (Mr Keita) established in the relocated Sadiola village

The importance of independent facilitators

The socio-economic consultants played a central role in the resettlement project. They brought valuable skills which were not available within the company to the project. In particular, the Malian NGO ASERNI brought an understanding and a respect for local culture and traditions to the project. The facilitators which were based in the various villages brought important insights into community dynamics. The INR team brought an independent, educated and balanced perspective to the project and provided some critical insights and recommendations to the resolution of contentious issues.

The resettlement project represented a tremendous exercise in the art of negotiation and diplomacy. The 'win some, lose some' experience was part of this experience. The communities, for their part proved to be masters of the art, probably because this culture is so ingrained in their society.

Sustainability issues

For the village relocation exercise to be judged a success, some consideration of questions regarding long-term sustainability, and more specifically the need to avoid a dependency syndrome, is required. The affected subsistence communities are adept at identifying and negotiating windfall arrangements, i.e. short-term benefits which liberate them from the strains of life in the Sahel. As a result, great pressure has been exerted on the mining projects to supply various forms of support, almost certainly under the assumption that, if and when this support is eventually withdrawn, an alternative strategy can be developed. The project, on the other hand, has attempted to resist such attempts at creating a reliance upon it for basic needs, realizing that it cannot guarantee the success of such an alternative strategy after support is withdrawn.

The first challenge in this regard was related to demands for ongoing food provision following relocation (described above). The mine's refusal to provide food on an ongoing basis has hopefully, driven home the fact that the mine cannot be relied on as a source of food.

The second, but still unresolved issue has been that of the provision of a reticulated water supply (addressed elsewhere). The recent establishment of a Water Committee by the Haut Commissaire of Kayes comprising representatives of all the key stakeholders is a promising step towards the resolution of this issue.

Future challenges will be the acceptance of the responsibility for the upkeep and maintenance of individual houses, and the total village infrastructure. Although as part of the decentralization policy, government funds are flowing into the Sadiola district, the full challenges of maintaining and further developing this infrastructure remain.

Significant benefits, or a 'windfall', have accrued over a relatively short space of time to the villages as a result of relocation. Expectations could have been generated that such benefits will, from time to time, flow to the affected population as a result of mineral development in their district. The ability to plan for a future post-mine closure will be the real test of long-term sustainability in the district.

Equity issues

The relative degree to which the various communities and individuals were perceived to have benefited from and/or suffered as a result of the resettlement process had a marked impact on subsequent community development efforts. One of the major problems encountered related to unrealistic expectations generated in the two most directly affected villages (i.e. Sadiola and Farabakouta) concerning the use of development funds. These villages quickly developed a culture of entitlement whereby any effort to assist other mine affected communities (6 in total) was taken as an affront, and whereby villagers at one stage expected all jobs to be given to them, regardless of skills levels or dedication. Another issue related to the misunderstandings surrounding the subject of cash compensation for certain communal infrastructure lost during relocation. These seemingly arose due to a lack of local knowledge of monetary systems, having been accustomed to traditional bartering systems prior to relocation. At Yatela, Kourketo Village played a significant role in planning the new Niamboulama hamlet, although they were not directly affected by the mine, and also demanded priority access to mine jobs over the residents of the affected village.

The lesson learned was that villagers needed to be sensitized well in advance as to the true costs and benefits of the resettlement exercise, and that emphasis should be placed upon ensuring that all affected persons obtain a clear and consistent explanation of what they would derive from the process (in terms of jobs, compensation etc). This was achieved to some degree at Yatela Mine (building on lessons learned at Sadiola), although the unpredictability of mine development and resettlement planning ensured that many issues had to be resolved as they arose.

10 A CONSIDERATION OF CONCERNS HIGHLIGHTED IN THE MMSD REPORT

In the MMSD report, particular issues of concern were highlighted as: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common resources, loss of access to public services, social breakdown and risks to host populations.

With four years of experience following the relocation of Sadiola, Farabakouta and Niamboulama it is interesting to reflect on the significance of each of these aspects.

Landlessness

Expansion of the mine pit at Sadiola, and development of the pit at Yatela, meant a small reduction in the availability of land. However, the district is relatively sparsely populated and the availability of land in itself was not of great concern. Of greater concern was the selection of alternative village sites, which traditionally are based on the availability of water and good agricultural lands. The identification of alternative land resources was done not only with the affected villages, but also in consultation with the leadership of neighbouring villages.

In all cases the villages were relocated no further than 10km from their original location, so there were no major upheavals in terms of geographic differences between the areas. As previously described, ownership of agricultural lands next to each village is fairly well defined, while there is some overlap with neighbouring villages in the use of fields furthest from the village. The relocation of the villages required agreement with neighbouring villagers over the 'ownership' of agricultural lands, and some minor disputes over outlying areas had to be resolved through local administrative channels.

Displacement from the district was never a consideration of the project, and therefore one of the greatest concerns about resettlement was not a significant issue in these particular projects.

Joblessness

Formal employment in the Sadiola district has always been low. Subsistence agriculture was the basis of the economy, but was supplemented to a small degree by artisanal mining in the wet season. The construction of Sadiola created an influx of work seekers from around West Africa. From early in the project, both the community and the mine distinguished between the 'original inhabitants' of the area and the 'new arrivals'. With employment opportunities, where possible, the 'original inhabitants' were preferentially selected over 'new arrivals'. However, the 'new arrivals' had the advantage of previous work experience and associated skills, with the result being the 'original inhabitants' were generally restricted to the few unskilled positions (cleaning, labour, etc.) that were available.

The construction of the new villages created brick-making opportunities for approximately 140 local villagers over a 9-month period. While this provided a significant injection of cash into the local economy over the duration of the project, this level of employment was unsustainable and resulted in a fair degree of discontent at the conclusion of the brick-making component of the project. Although the building contractors did use a number of local people, they too preferred to use skilled employees from the regional capital of Kayes.

The establishment of Sadiola mine resulted in the loss of the best artisanal mining areas in the district. Although artisanal mining was restricted to the wet season, during which time water would be available for panning gold, it was nevertheless an important source of cash income for women, who are generally the providers of family subsistence requirements. Although the establishment of the mine has resulted in greater availability of cash (through employment), this has been restricted to the male element of society. Various initiatives have sought to make available alternative artisanal mining areas, and improved processing technologies, but none have been able to either replace the resources that were lost or have gained the acceptance of improved gold recoveries. While there has been a decrease in the level of artisanal mining, the women have found other sources of cash such as participation in entrepreneurial projects supported by the Community Development Foundation.

One of the more significant yet less explored elements of the mines' presence in Sadiola Commune concerns the impact of mine closure on traditional livelihoods in the area. Many of the local men, including youths, have become accustomed to a cash-based economy. When the mine closes, it is likely that a significant proportion of these men, especially those with relevant skills, may choose to

leave the area in search of salaried employment (i.e. in preference to returning to relatively labour-intensive and low-return subsistence farming activities).

Homelessness

Detailed socio-economic surveys sought to inventory all of the structures, and significant assets of each of the families in each of the villages. Through a negotiated process, the Resettlement Action Plan sought to replace each of the dwellings and to provide cash compensation for secondary structures such as granaries, animal enclosures, shady shelters, etc.

A government employee had to be evicted from the old Administrative Offices in Sadiola, after extended negotiations with his employer failed to resolve a dispute over the amount of compensation for secondary structures. At Farabakouta, Mr Baba Macalou managed to negotiate the establishment of a new settlement for his extended family despite continued pressure for him to remain part of the village.

Marginalisation

Particular attention was given in the Resettlement Action Plan to the plight of the elderly, the disabled, and otherwise handicapped members of the community. Special arrangements were made, through the facilitators, to assist with the physical relocation and other needs of these individuals. In particular, there was an elderly blind couple in Sadiola and a 'mad man' among the 'New Arrivals'.

Although the size and shape of family plots was modernised in the new village, the allocation of these plots was on the same basis as that in the original village (i.e. somebody living next to the village chief, would continue to live next to the village chief in the new village.)

Post-relocation surveys have shown that the 'New Arrivals' have felt more marginalised during the relocation process as their relocation was not as well planned as that of the 'Original inhabitants'. The process, which was driven by the local Administration, provided for the allocation of plots to people who had been residing in Sadiola and permanently occupying a structure in the 'New Arrivals' area. Later arrivals who had to purchase plots felt disadvantaged by the process. (A reconciliation process in the Sadiola commune has recently 'forbidden' the use of the term New Arrival, and the Chief of Sadiola has extended his group of advisors, in an effort to establish a sense of unity and common purpose for the village.)

Food insecurity

One of the criteria for the selection of a new village site was access to suitable agricultural lands. Compensation was paid for lands which villagers would lose either as a result of physical loss, or because the lands would be too distant to work from the site of the new village. The compensation was paid on the basis of the effort required to establish new lands, covering issues such as bush clearing, ploughing and weeding.

One of the concerns in the relocation planning process was that the timing of the move could interfere with cropping activities and hence affect village food security, thus making it important to complete the physical relocation at the right time of year. The provision of fertilizers was included in the RAP as a way of ensuring the productivity of new cropping lands. However the use of fertilizers is not common in the district, and the provision of cattle-drawn ploughs and other agricultural equipment was suggested and accepted by the relocated villages as a more appropriate (and sustainable) alternative. The district agricultural officer was contracted to supply agricultural extension services and advise regarding the use of implements, seed and sowing techniques.

The RAP also included, as a contingency, the possible provision of supplementary foodstuffs (maize and millet). This aspect became widely known in the affected villages, and shortly after the physical relocation, repeated demands and protestations for its supply were forthcoming but not necessarily based on hardship. Assistance rendered to villagers should be screened for possible dependencies in the villages because, for example, this can wreak havoc with local cropping activities that are central to medium term village survival. Interventions that allow villagers to rely upon the mine for an important good or service that will no longer be available once the mine closes need to be avoided.

Loss of access to common resources

Two issues which have already been addressed are the loss of artisanal gold mining areas and a decrease in agricultural lands situated furthest from the village.

Loss of access to public services

Sadiola village is also the administrative center for the greater Sadiola district which encompasses over 40 villages. The relocation of Sadiola required the replacement of government buildings such as the administrative office complex, the agricultural center, the forestry offices, the district clinic and the primary school and the mosques. The relocation provided an opportunity for significant upgrading of all of these facilities, as well as the residential units that accompanied them. In general, the relocation provided improved access to and quality of public services in the district.

Social breakdown and risks to host populations

Significant societal changes have resulted from the establishment of these modern mines in what was once a remote and isolated community. A predominantly subsistence based economy has been converted to a cash economy.

The authority of family figureheads has been progressively undermined. Younger family members would traditionally return all of their earnings to the head of the household who would then re-distribute them according to needs. As the youth have been exposed to modern ideals, and the desire for more material possessions (bicycles, radios, motorcycles, etc.) so has the resistance to part with the proceeds of their labour, and an element of rebellion has developed, which the village elders have described as 'juvenile delinquency'.

The influx of work seekers ('new arrivals') has brought with it modern lifestyles. A significant increase in alcohol and prostitution followed the arrival of the work seekers, and has become more attractive to village youth.

There is also a suspicion that HIV/Aids and other sexually transmitted diseases have become more prevalent in the region, spread particularly through the truck drivers bringing supplies to the mine.

11 CONCLUSION

The resettlement of a community is a major undertaking, and should not be under-estimated. Not only are there significant cost implications, but beyond that, and more significantly, there are major psychological and emotional effects on the affected populations.

While the consequences of a failed relocation exercise are easy to identify there is never really a point at which one can judge a resettlement exercise to be successful - doing so, invites misfortune. The population continues to adjust to the changed circumstances and encounters new hurdles along the way. For example, maintenance and upkeep of structures will possibly become an issue in future years. People who are unfamiliar with brick and mortar constructions and the ongoing attention required to cracks, fixtures, repainting, renovations, etc. will probably describe this as a failure of the Relocation Action Plan somewhere down the line.

Despite these concerns, the relocation of Sadiola, Farabakouta and Niamboulama have been carried out with remarkable attention to participative planning requirements, sensitivity to local community issues, the replacement of infrastructure and the restoration of livelihoods. Sincere attempts have been made to improve the living conditions in each of the villages, and to a point this has been achieved as evidenced by the demands for increased development initiatives in villages not relocated citing improved conditions that have been provided to the relocated villages.

The commitment to the planning process, and the roles played by mine management, planning professionals, Malian mine staff, community liaison and community development facilitators, the INR, ASERNI (Malian NGO), local and regional administration and village leadership should not be under-emphasised. The relocation process was at no time 'cast in concrete' but was the subject of continued and skilled negotiation by all parties, particularly, the affected communities.

The World Bank's requirement that all resettlement projects be conceived as development processes means that the relocation process is not over, but now moves into the phase of ongoing community development and ultimately, should be integrated in post-mining sustainability scenarios.

DISCLAIMER

The views presented are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily represent those of their employers.

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