

Mapping Gender Based Violence and Mining Infrastructure in Mongolian Mining Communities

Isabel Cane, Amgalan Terbish, Onon Bymbasuren

Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining

Gender Center for Sustainable Development Mongolia

National Committee on Gender Equality Mongolia

University of Queensland

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Research summary:

This research sought to improve our understanding of gender based violence experienced in mining communities by examining:

- The scale of impacts
- Their link to the mining industry
- How governments and companies can provide policies to prevent and mitigate these impacts

For further information on this action research:

Contact person: Isabel Cane i.cane@uq.edu.au

IM4DC Action Research Report



Summary of Action Research Activity

Mapping gender based violence and mining infrastructure in Mongolian mining communities

This report details findings on the prevalence and nature of Gender Based Violence (GBV) in mining communities in South Gobi, Mongolia. Mongolia is undergoing a widespread and rapid minerals boom that is changing the social and cultural landscape of the nation. This is most obvious in communities that reside in close proximity to large-scale mine operations. Evidence suggests that women often withstand the worst of the negative social impacts from mining. The increase in Gender Based Violence (GBV) is an example of this.

The purpose of this research was to improve understanding of the extent to which GBV is experienced in mining communities in Mongolia. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative research, this report examines whether the proximity of mine camp locations (and other associated infrastructure) to population centres increases the likelihood of GBV being experienced in the community. The project was undertaken in three stages to:

1. Maximise access to often-sensitive information
2. Increase the uptake of recommendations
3. Promote understanding of GBV issues more broadly

The first stage focused on engaging with the Mongolian partners to exchange mutual expertise on the mining industry and the Mongolian gendered cultural context. This assisted the team to understand the organisational culture of the minerals industry and to appropriately access sensitive data and personnel in the affected communities. During this stage, the team consulted a number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and mining companies, and undertook fieldwork in the affected communities.

The second stage involved compiling the collected information and presenting the findings at a roundtable discussion hosted by the Mongolian government's National Committee on Gender Equality. This approach brought together NGOs, mining companies and a diverse range of government officials and multilateral agencies, and provided a platform to discuss views and opinions on GBV and the recommendations presented in this report.

The third and final stage involved the preparation and release of this report and recommendations, free to access on the internet, in both English and Mongolian.

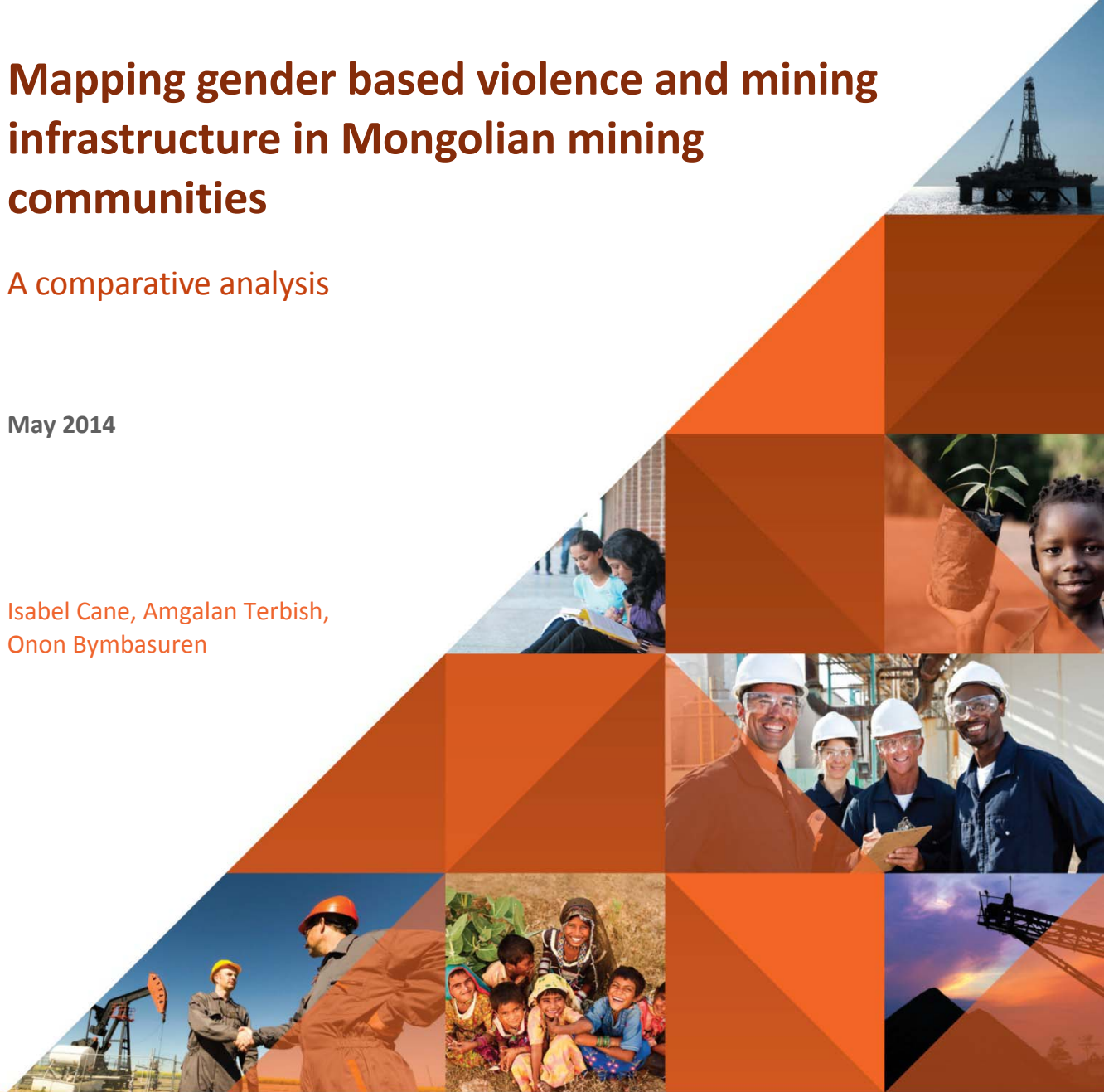
The research findings suggested that the rate of GBV has increased since the onset of mining in the communities. Specifically, victims and informants reported that domestic violence, prostitution and alcohol-fuelled violence have increased and caused personal trauma, family break-ups, health related issues and broad community insecurity. The scale and type of GBV differed between the research sites and may be attributed to different types of infrastructure developments (transport corridors, stockpiles, etc.) present in the area and proximity of mines to townships. A set of recommendations was produced and agreed upon at the roundtable discussion to assist policy makers in reducing violence against women, men and children in the communities surrounding mining operations.

Mapping gender based violence and mining infrastructure in Mongolian mining communities

A comparative analysis

May 2014

Isabel Cane, Amgalan Terbish,
Onon Bymbasuren



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Summary

This final report summarises a three-staged development research project funded by the International Mining for Development Centre (IM4DC). It details the findings on the prevalence and nature of Gender Based Violence (GBV) observed in mining communities in the South Gobi, Mongolia. The research was led by Isabel Cane of the Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining (CSRm) at The University of Queensland, Australia, alongside the Gender Center for Sustainable Development (GCSD) and the National Committee on Gender Equality (NCGE), Mongolia.

Mongolia is undergoing a widespread and rapid minerals boom that is changing the social and cultural landscape of the nation. This is most obvious in communities that reside in close proximity to large-scale mine operations (Cane Forthcoming). Evidence suggests that women often withstand the worst of the negative social impacts from mining (Macdonald and Rowland 2002; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). The increase in Gender Based Violence (GBV) is an example of this (Dunkle, Jewkes et al. 2007).

The purpose of this research was to improve understanding of the extent to which GBV is experienced in mining communities in Mongolia. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative research, this report examines whether the proximity of mine camp locations (and other associated infrastructure) to population centres increases the likelihood of GBV being experienced in the community. Currently, very little empirical research exists that documents: i) the scale of GBV in Mongolian communities; ii) the social and structural aspects that contribute to GBV, and iii) provides recommendations for future engagement of policy makers with GBV issues and mining. This research aimed to fill some of these gaps in the current research and provide insight for a more focused engagement with GBV issues.

The action research project was undertaken in three stages to:

1. Maximise access to often-sensitive information
2. Increase the uptake of recommendations
3. Promote understanding of GBV issues more broadly

The first stage focused on an information exchange with the Mongolian partners to exchange mutual expertise on the mining industry and the Mongolian gendered cultural context. This information exchange assisted the team to engage with the organisational culture of the minerals industry and to appropriately access sensitive data and personnel in the affected communities. During this stage, the team consulted a number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and mining companies, and undertook fieldwork in the affected communities.

The second stage involved compiling the collected information and presenting the findings at a roundtable discussion hosted by the Mongolian government's National Committee on Gender Equality (NCGE) in the capital Ulaanbaatar. This approach brought together NGOs, mining companies, a diverse range of government officials and multilateral agencies, and provided a platform to discuss views and opinions on GBV and the recommendations presented in this report (see Appendix 1 for a list of attendees).

The third and final stage involved the preparation and release of this report, free to access on the internet, in both English and Mongolian.

The research undertaken for this report suggests that the rate of GBV has increased since the onset of mining in the communities. Specifically, victims and informants reported that domestic violence, prostitution and alcohol-fuelled violence have increased and caused personal trauma, family break-ups, health related issues and broad community insecurity.

Analysis of the data suggests that the scale and type of GBV differs across the research sites, which can be attributed to different types of infrastructure developments (transport corridors, stockpiles, etc.) present in the area. A higher level of GBV was also reported in communities where the mine camps are positioned in closer proximity to neighbouring towns. The report finds that impacts are not directly related to a specific company per se, but rather to the social and structural changes that accompany large-scale industrial development and economic opportunity in a community.

Fulfilling the third stage of the project, this report provides a set of recommendations for policy makers to incorporate to reduce violence against women, men and children in the communities surrounding mining operations. This will require practical and organisational steps, including further workplace programs aimed at changing the

informal norms, attitudes and cultural practices that give rise to increased rates of GBV in Mongolia, and resourcing support centres to assist victims of GBV. It will also be important to conduct more in-depth research to generate a better understanding of the prevalence and nature of GBV more broadly across Mongolia.



Image 1: GBV Multi-Stakeholder Roundtable discussion, Ulaanbaatar, September 2013

Background

The introduction of any type of large-scale industry creates positive and negative changes within a community. Rapid industrial expansion changes the gendered norms of a society either resulting in new opportunities, or, emerging tensions from changing routines and expectations. Whether it is a large manufacturing factory, an army base or a mining development, the community goes through a process of social and cultural change created by a sudden inflow of economic revenue and opportunity, coupled with population influx and ‘development’ (Enloe 2000; Bainton 2008).

Mongolia has a long tradition of protecting women against violence, observed by the laws passed in the 13th century that punished offenders for violently impinging upon a woman’s space or possessions (Oyunbileg, Sumberzul et al. 2009). During the transition to democracy, social changes caused by widespread under-employment and an associated rise in alcoholism contributed to higher levels of GBV in Mongolian communities (Oke 2008). GBV continues to affect the lifestyles of over 35% of women, children and men in Mongolia and causes considerable economic, health and social cost to the broader community (Oyunbileg, Sumberzul et al. 2009). The Mongolian government continues to implement policies to protect women, recently becoming the 64th nation to join the UN Women’s ‘Commit initiative’ to end violence against women globally (UN Women, 2012).

This report, *Mapping Gender Based Violence and mining infrastructure in Mongolian mining communities, a comparative analysis*, uses a modification of the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP’s) definition of GBV as a “manifestation of power and control and a tool to maintain gender inequalities, disrupting the health, survival, safety and freedom of women and their families around the world” (Fulu, Warner et al. 2013 p iii). The United Nations reports that 95% of GBV cases are perpetrated by men against women and girls and include the following actions: domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, sexual abuse, forced sex-work¹ and sex trafficking (Fulu, Warner et al. 2013). These actions can lead to increased incidences of STD/HIV/AIDs, family breakdowns, unwanted pregnancies and an increase of vulnerable peoples in the

¹ Due to the negative associations attributed to the word prostitution, the term sex-work is used throughout the report.

community. Although the majority of the victims of GBV are women, GBV is inherently a ‘gendered’ issue. The changes in individual or community norms are both influenced and experienced by men and boys, as either a victim or offender, and so need to be considered in any discussion of GBV. Therefore, this report extends on the UN definition and considers the issues of GBV to include all members of the community regardless of a specific sex.

A recent UNDP report demonstrates that the form and type of GBV differs across specific countries and regions (Fulu, Warner et al. 2013). In Mongolia, research and advocacy has been conducted on domestic violence, sex trafficking and sex-work (Oke 2008; Oyunbileg, Sumberzul et al. 2009). Although Social Impact Assessments of mining companies have documented GBV as an area of concern within the communities that they operate in, there is very little information on the types of GBV and relationship to the dynamics of the rapid growth of large-scale mining (Farmer 2009; Environmental Resources Management and Sustainability East Asia 2010; Oyu Tolgoi 2012). Therefore, the main aim of this research is to provide information on the incidence of GBV related specifically to the arrival of large-scale mining in Mongolia.

Field sites

The South Gobi aimag² is located approximately 500 kilometres south of the capital Ulaanbaatar. Historically the region relies upon animal husbandry (nomadic pastoralism) as the main source of income. However, it is fast becoming a burgeoning industrial area largely due to minerals development. Two of the nations 'strategic deposits' are located in the South Gobi, in the areas of Tsogttsetsii (Tavan Tolgoi mine) and Khanbogd (Oyu Tolgoi mine) (see Map 1).

Mongolia Location Map



Map 1: Map of Mongolia with Tavan Tolgoi and Oyu Tolgoi in the south. Source: <http://gmz.ca/portfolio/mongolia-met-coal/>

In Tsogttsetsii and Khanbogd large mining operations have recently developed in tandem with accompanying infrastructure to support the minerals extraction. The most significant infrastructure development in the region is the long haulage road, known as the 'coal road'. The coal road has 6500 trucks daily hauling coal from the mine-site in

² An aimag is an administrative division in Mongolia similar to a province in Canada or in-between a local government and a State governing boundary in Australia. There are 23 aimags in Mongolia.

Tsogttsetsii to the stockpiling yards at the makeshift border town of Tsagaan Khad, on the border to China (see Map 1).³ The initial field of research was Khanbogd and Tsogttsetsii; however, once entering the field a decision was made to include the township of Tsagaan Khad due to the high level of impact that mining has had on this community also.

Tsogttsetsii

Tsogttsetsii has grown rapidly since the commencement of large-scale coal extraction and transportation from the Tavan Tolgoi coal mine to international markets in 2008 (see Image 2 and Image 3). The official statistics show that the population has developed from 2,200 people to 5,100 people between 2008 and 2012 (see Table 1). In addition, government representatives place figures of approximately 12,000-15,000 extra migrating people living in and travelling through the community. Therefore, some 20,000 people are likely to be currently residing in and shifting through the Tsogttsetsii area.

Before mining, we had a small population. Since mining, our population has increased and mostly men from abroad and other parts of country came to our town.

Local woman

Migrating populations are most often motivated by economic need and with this comes insecurity and risk (World Bank 2009). The migrating population consists of a combination of unregistered citizens, families, industry workers (mine and supporting infrastructure) and truck drivers. The majority of these workers are male and travel to the area looking for financial and business opportunities. Most mine employees and truck drivers work on a rotating fly in - fly out (FIFO) or drive in - drive out (DIDO) roster that sees them on-site for between 2 weeks to 3 months.⁴ During these times, they are away from their families and then return home for leave. Women have also arrived as transients; to work in the mines, accompany partners, begin business or engage in sex-work.

³ Dependent on the price and level of coal extraction. This figure was representative at the time of research.

⁴ This information is based on Mongolian employees; the rosters of Chinese migrant workers could not be confirmed.

Table 1: Official population statistics excluding transient population⁵: Khanbogd and Tsogttsetsii

Year	Khanbogd soum	Tsogttsetsii soum
2008	3022	2245
2009	3154	2642
2010	3522	3366
2011	3948	4042
2012	4300	5180
Change (%) 2008-2012	42.3%	130.7%

Source: National Statistics Office of Mongolia. Source: <http://www.nso.mn/>

Coupled with the population growth associated directly with the mine, the rapid development of mining has had a substantial impact on the Tsogttsetsii community, due to the minerals deposit being only 15 kilometres from the town (soum) centre. In between the deposit and the soum centre resides a large mine camp, various construction sites and lines of trucks waiting to be loaded with coal (see Image 3). The proximity of the infrastructure to the town means the interaction between large populations of miners and the townspeople is readily observable, with carloads of men driving in 4WDs to purchase store goods, utilise restaurants and public services. Another distinct feature of Tsogttsetsii is the many local hotels, cafes and Karaoke bars that have sprung up around the town.

⁵ Transient populations at the time of research were reported to be between 12,000 to 15,000 people.



Image 2: Tsogttsetsii soum centre with the coalmine in the background, taken in 2009



Image 3: Tsogttsetsii soum centre with the coalmine in the background, taken in 2013

Khanbogd

Khanbogd soum is located 70 kilometres from Tsogttsetsii soum and hosts the Oyu Tolgoi mine (see Map 1). Oyu Tolgoi (OT) is the third largest copper and gold mine in the world. By 2019, OT is expected to contribute one third of the entire Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Mongolia. Khanbogd's registered population has grown rapidly in the past five years (see Table 2) and the area has experienced an influx of transient workers of up to 15,000 people. However, the majority of the transient workers are located within the mine site and only interact with the community occasionally.

Unlike Tsogttsetsii, where there is a lot of business development and constant interaction between the community and the nearby mine, Khanbogd is much quieter (Image 4). An important distinguishing feature of Khanbogd is that the mine site and associated infrastructure is located further away, 40km from the town's centre. The arrival and departure of shift workers is the primary observable activity associated with the OT mine. Within Khanbogd, there is one main contracting company camp, which has previously caused problems within the community. At the time of research, the contracting camp had been closed and the workers moved to reside at the mine site.



Image 4: Khanbogd Soum, photo taken in 2009

Tsaagan Khad

Tsaagan Khad is a small municipal of the Khanbogd soum governing area that lies on the border with China. Originally, herder families and small border control units occupied the area and before the onset of large-scale mining, the border opened twice a year for the trading of goods. In 2009, the border crossing opened for full-time traffic to service the haulage of minerals from the Gobi. Nowadays, a makeshift border-town stockpiles coal from the mines of Tsogttsetsii before delivery to China. There are 28 to 50 registered herders to the area of Tsagaan Khad and a fluctuating transient population of 1,000 to 2,000 people. This consists of 70 to 80% men. The population fluctuates, depending on the level of extraction from the mines. Although Tsagaan Khad is primarily used by the coalmines of Tsogttsetsii soum, it falls under the governance of Khanbogd soum (for policing and health, etc).

*Big mines, big camps,
equals lots of STDs*

*Health Practitioner,
Tsaagan Khad*



Image 5: Tsagaan Khad border town – coal stockpiling yards in the background

The research team visited Tsagaan Khaad and found it to consist of: 1) stockpiling camps and accommodation sites for hundreds of drivers and a handful of women; 2) demountable buildings and ger (traditional dwelling) businesses (tyre, restaurant, shops, pharmacy, hotels and karaoke bars) catering to the coal drivers/workers; and 3) the stockpiling yards. The town has no running water or electricity and exists in a haze of dust, and the ground is covered in smashed alcohol bottles. Men work for up to three months at a time, of which a lot can be spent waiting for the border to open, or coal to be hauled or stockpiled. In these cases, groups of men often spend a lot of this time drinking, fighting and engaging with female sex-workers.⁶

⁶ There were no reports of male sex-workers in the South Gobi at the time of research.

Methodology

Researchers from CSRM, GCSD and an accompanying translator conducted the fieldwork over a ten-day period in September 2013. The research sought to apply both a qualitative and quantitative methodology to capture the types of GBV relevant to the different conditions of the field sites. Previously, both researchers had spent time in the two communities before the arrival of large-scale mining. This contextual knowledge has informed the analysis presented in this report.

One of the major obstacles to this research is the hidden nature of GBV. Due to social, legal and personal reasons, GBV is often concealed and therefore difficult to research. The taboo and shame that continues to surround GBV often silences victims, pushing the topic further underground and creating further insecurity in the lives of women, children and men. At a personal level, fears of ‘losing face’ (individual reputation and family shame), or the victim being dependent on the perpetrating partner, prevent women from seeking assistance. In addition, many of those involved are socio-economically vulnerable people who do not have the capacity to report or leave abusive situations, so remain in the situation.

Further, interviews with sex-workers, victims and the acquaintances of victims explained that the lack of support services (in the form of women’s shelters/health centres) and the

We let patients to stay for a night, until their husband gets sober and released from the police. We also provide the description of the injury. But the next day the patients say that they don’t need the description anymore and that they are taking their reports back from the police. It’s a very complicated issue.

Hospital Worker

inadequacy of legal protection (from policing through to the judiciary) contributed to a lack of reporting.

The governors and police from both jurisdictions explained that victims of abuse often sought protection but did not want to charge offenders, so offences are not recorded as a statistic for analysis. The police specifically outlined that the worst offences are well organised and that they do not have the resources to convict people and therefore could not provide us with ‘hard data’. They did, however, allow us to speak with sex-

workers and their managers under arrest before they went on trial – their accounts inform later findings.

Qualitative methodology

Just over fifty semi-structured and informal interviews with stakeholders were conducted in the field sites of the South Gobi (see Table 2). The key stakeholder groups interviewed included:

- Community members – women and men, both long-term residents and new arrivals to the communities
- Government employees – a range of employees who work at the forefront of GBV issues (including governors, social workers, police officers and hospital employees)
- Mining company personnel – a small number of company employees were interviewed to ascertain their understanding of GBV issues in the communities

The interview questions focused on individual understandings of GBV in surrounding communities and its perceived connection to the commencement or expansion of mining.

Table 2 – List of type and number of interviews

Sites	Community members	Government representatives	Company representatives
Tsogttsetsii	16	7	2
Khanbogd	12	4	1
Tsagaan Khad	6	NA	1
Total	36	11	4

An interview technique was designed to ensure that the sensitive nature of the topic did not produce trauma or discomfort to the interviewee. On several occasions during interviews, informants disclosed that they themselves had been victims of different forms of GBV, including domestic violence, sexual discrimination and sex-work. The

interview was conducted with an NGO worker who had been trained in working with women and violence. In most cases, the informants were very open about the type of GBV and the changes in the community they had observed over time. In rare cases, government officials asked to remain off record as they felt the content was too politically sensitive, demonstrating the difficulty of researching and managing the issue of GBV.

Due to the hidden nature of GBV and the potential for rumours or gossip to inflate scenarios, the team were careful to put research processes in place to cross-reference issues within and across different groups of interviewees. The findings presented in this report are based on evidence provided by more than two or three informants across groups. Likewise, interviews were conducted with more than one member of the government agency, community and company to verify findings. For example, if hospital staff discussed a rise in cases of domestic violence presenting in emergency departments, then the research team would see if domestic violence was also discussed as an issue in the police department, in the community or company. If cases were only discussed in one group, or by one person, and no other evidence was provided to support claims, the issue was excluded from the findings.

Markedly, the findings between the government officials and community members were consistent. However, information from companies sometimes differed in scale and size and in one case took the form of a complete denial of the issue.

Quantitative methodology

The team collected secondary aggregated data from local government, health and police practitioners at both field sites. Statistics were gathered from 2008 (a period before large-scale extraction) until the latest records in 2012.

The compiled data included information relating to population growth and statistics on crime related to GBV (see Figures 1 and 2, and Appendix 2). It is important to note that researchers, government and community informants considered the statistical data unreliable due to lack of resourcing, information gaps and inconsistent data between local, state and national levels. The government employees and community members suggested that the incidence of GBV was much higher than that recorded.

Key findings

Key findings suggest that mining is associated with an increased incidence of GBV, which in turn is linked to transient population migration, employment conditions, infrastructure development, and underpinning economic and cultural changes. In this regard, the report identifies impacts triggered by rapid industrialisation as not directly attributable to a specific company, but rather to social changes, caused by an array of business development, infrastructure development and influx of transient groups of people that are a product of, or associated with the industry. Indeed, community members in Tsogttsetsii cited the good practices of particular mining companies in building and fostering family-friendly environments.

The negative impacts encountered by women and men in the area of GBV were identified and categorised into three main themes, discussed further below:

- Domestic violence
- Threats to health and safety
- Sex-work

Population increase and levels of GBV

Although the statistical data understates the incidence of offending (due to not all offences being reported), it can still be useful for analysing trends. For this study, we examined trends in both the number and rate of reported offences (i.e. the number of offences per 1,000 residents). The latter measure partly controls for the effect of population increases (although the population data counts only residents, not the transient population, which may have increased more rapidly). Appendix 2 provides a table of all reported crimes in the Tsogttsetsii and Khanbogd soum from 2008-2012 and Table 1 provides population data for 2008-2012. Importantly, the category 'offences against the health of individuals' in Appendix 2 encompasses acts of violence against another person, including domestic violence, alcohol related violence and sexual assaults (excluding rape, which was separately categorised). This category is considered by government employees to be the category in which most GBV cases are recorded.

A comparative analysis of population growth and the 'offences against the health of individuals' provides information on the level of violence in the communities and its relationship to the onset of mining. The following statistics illustrate, i) the significant rise in reported offences against individuals in Khanbogd and Tsogttsetsii (see Figures 1 and 2), and ii) the correlation between this indicator and the peak construction phases for mining at both sites during 2011 and 2012 (see Figure 3).

Between 2008 and 2012, the population of Khanbogd grew 42% and 'offences against the health of individuals' increased 1300% (from 2 to 28 reported cases). Likewise, in Tsogttsetsii, in the same period, the population grew by 131% and 'offences against the health of the individual' by 517% (from 3 to 18.5). These figures clearly illustrate how in both areas, 'offences against the health of individuals' have risen more rapidly than residential population growth.

Further analysis of the data on 'offences against the health of the individual' also shows a marked increase in the number of offences per capita over the period under consideration (see Figure 3). For example in 2008, 0.7 per 1000 people of Khanbogd soum reported incidents and by 2012 this number had risen to 6.5 per 1000 people (see Figure 3). Similar patterns are observed in Tsogttsetsii where reported offences per capita rose from 1.3 to 3.6 per 1000 people. It is also interesting to note that the largest increase in offences per capita in Khanbogd and Tsogttsetsii occurred in 2011, which coincided with peak construction phases and mine-expansion (Friedland 2011). During these phases employment was also at its peak. This points to a link between construction activity, higher population numbers and the incidence of reported offences against individuals. However, for Khanbogd, the number of offences per capita increased again quite considerably in 2012, despite it being further away from its associated mine site than Tsogttsetsii where numbers fell slightly between 2011 and 2012. The impact of a contracting company accommodation camp set up within Khanbogd is discussed later.

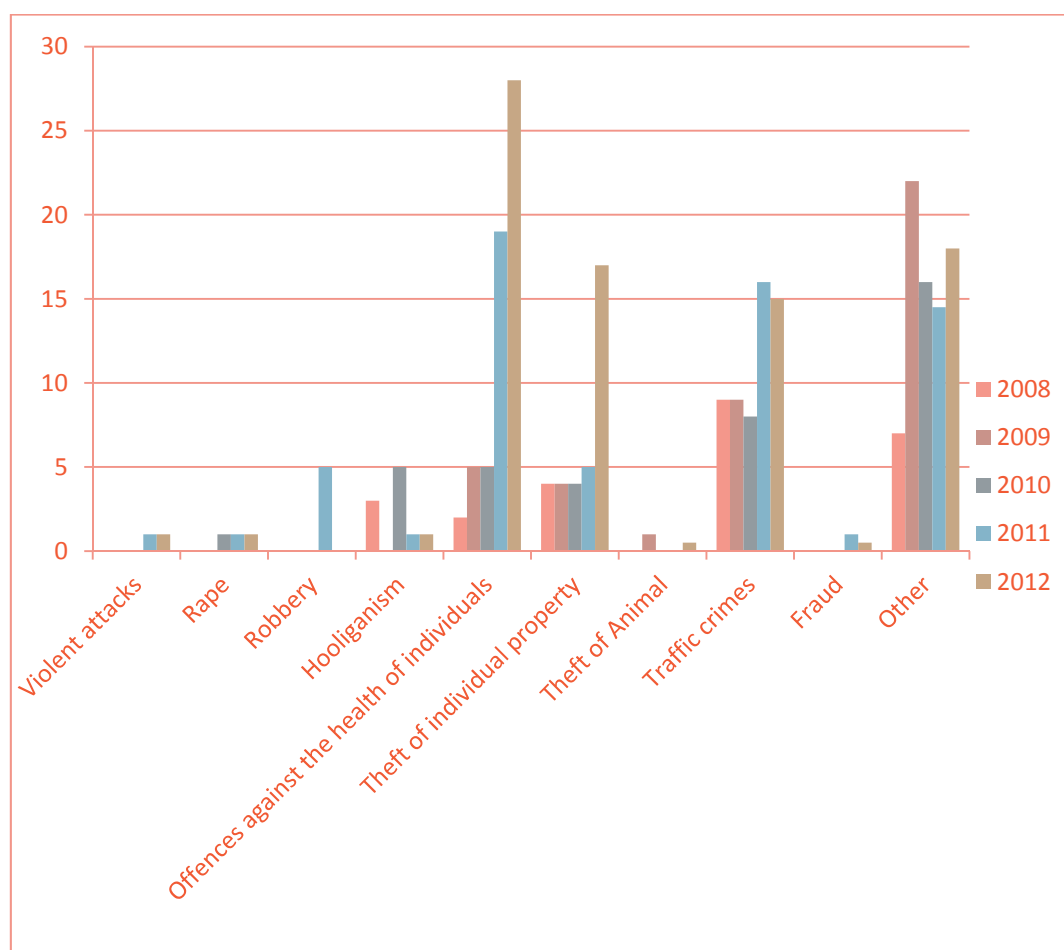


Figure 1: Statistics of crime in Khanbogd, 2008-2012

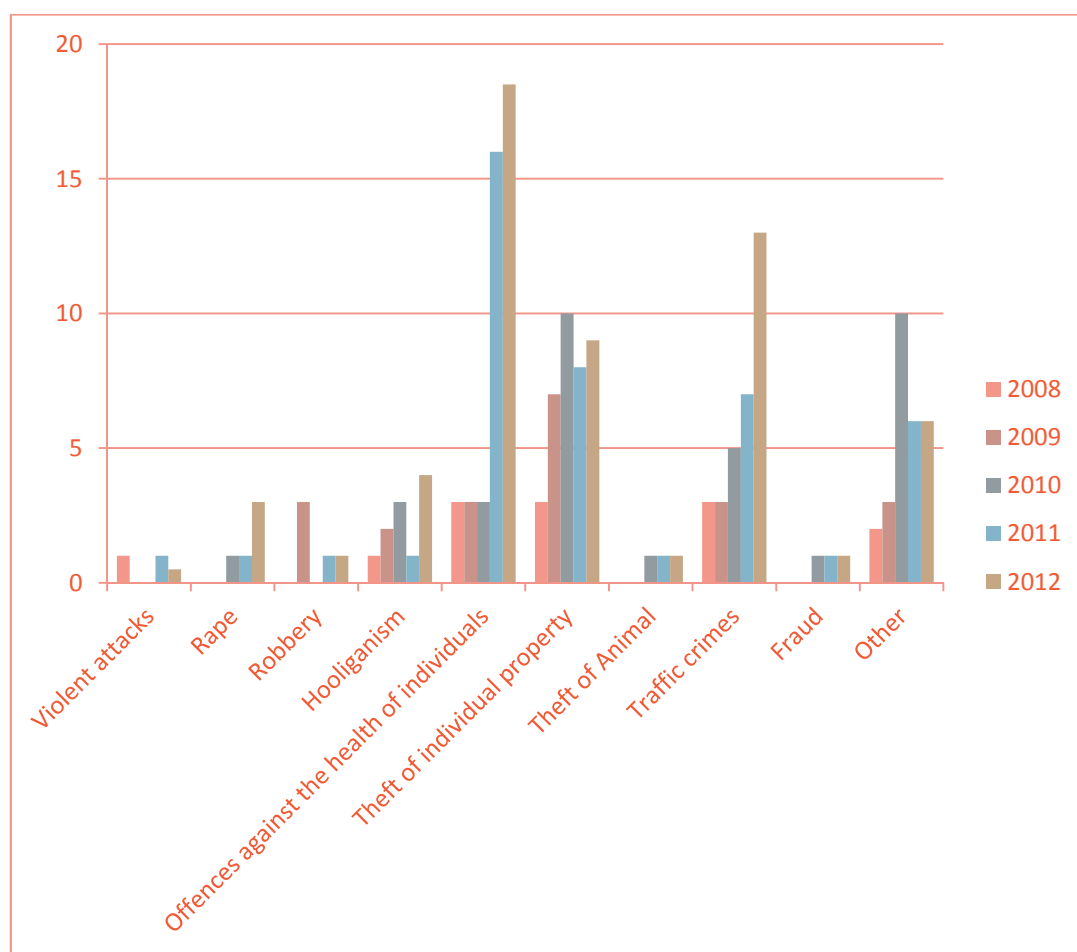


Figure 2: Statistics of crime in Tsogttsetsii, 2008-2012

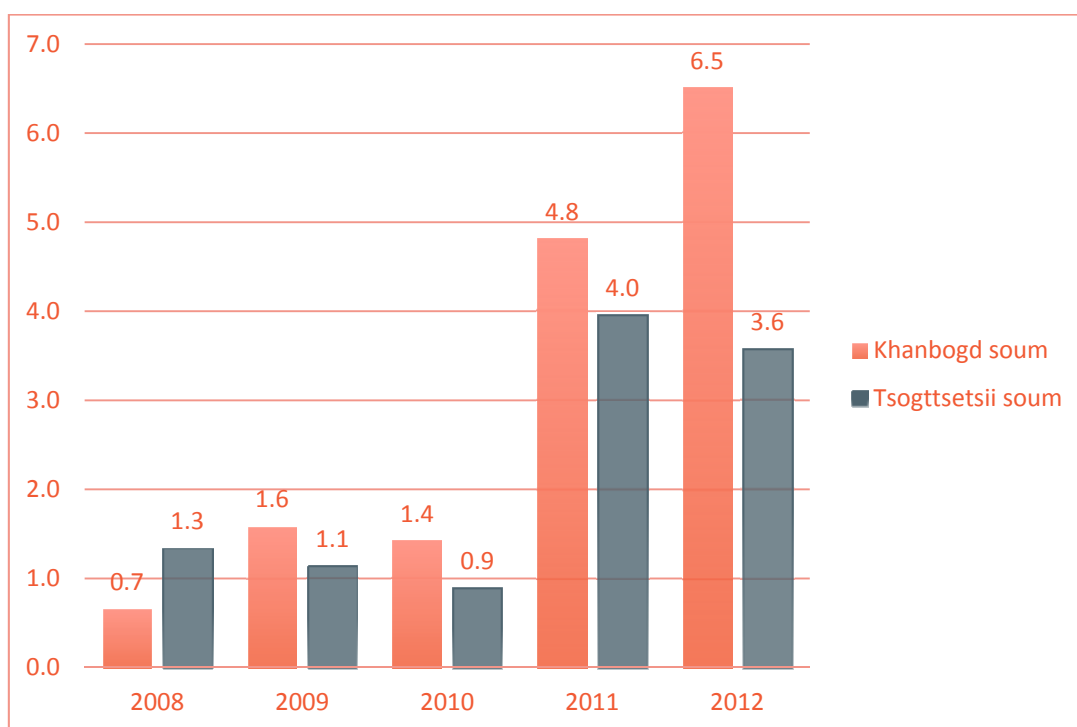


Figure 3: Per capita offences against the individual per 1000 people based on soum boundary

It is important to note that the statistics do not provide a breakdown into the types of ‘offences committed against the individual’, nor a breakdown of where the offences are occurring. This is particularly pertinent for Khanbogd Soum, as it is unclear whether the reported offences occurred in the soum centre, on the mine site, or at Tsagaan Khad. However, qualitative findings (see below) suggest that the increase in reported offences in Khanbogd could be connected to Tsagaan Khad and not a direct impact of the Oyu Tolgoi mine.

Understanding the relationship between different localities and GBV is important to policy makers. In regards to government, it can inform resourcing decisions for jurisdictions and public services. Likewise, in a cumulative impact area, such data provides the private sector with important information on the source of the impact, so that responsible parties can take action to mitigate further harm.

Finding 1: Domestic violence

Family breakdowns and domestic violence was the primary issue raised during interviews in the community and with government representatives. Acts of physical

violence towards women attributed to alcohol abuse and jealousy were reported to be common. Psychological abuse in the form of emotional control and financial dependency was experienced and contributed to individual isolation, boredom and stress, which often eventuated into violence. A connection between physical and psychological abuse was observed by respondents and researchers, and one form of abuse often led to the other.

The local police explained that over half of the total daily calls made in Tsogttsetsii and Khanbogd concerned alcohol related fighting. Of this total amount, they stated that two-thirds of the phone calls were partners or spouses whom were being threatened physically.

Tsogttsetsii

In Tsogttsetsii, the rise in domestic violence was primarily attributed to infidelity. In discussion with the female interviewees, it was explained that domestic violence arose from jealousy within the household, due to affairs or perceived affairs with 'outsider' people - particularly miners and truck drivers. It was explained that many of the local women were either in relationships with miners or businesspersons associated with the industry due to their own financial insecurity and the perceived wealth of miners. Government representatives informed us that divorce and family break-ups were relatively uncommon before mining came, but now were a regular occurrence.

The affairs impacted strongly on both men and women in the community and were considered the primary reason behind domestic violence disputes. As two women in the community explained to us:

...money is the main factor. They see them for the money. Young girls don't care about the ages of men. If they have money, age is not a big deal.

Economic dependence is involved. The man starts to spend more money here [in Tsogttsetsii] with other women, rather than sending it to his family [in Ulaanbaatar], and if the wife can't accept this situation, the family splits. Even if she accepts it, she will shift her care for the family or to other men. This creates more conflict, fighting, beating and serious injuries, etc. All kinds of violence are going on, women become physically, emotionally, financially vulnerable, in all aspects of their life.

In this situation, we see that the relationship in the community impacts not only the women and men in the community but also the spouse at home.

Another reported cause for the increase in domestic violence was attributed to a lack of social and economic opportunities for women in the town. A new arrival to Tsogttsetsii explained:

Here, mostly the husbands are working and earning the income. Because wives are not employed, women who used to work find it difficult to stay at home the whole day and this makes women stressed. Even if we want to go out, we do not have friends and relatives here. Women let out this stress to their husbands and domestic violence starts from there. The husband, who cannot take the stress anymore, starts drinking and having arguments with his wife. I would say 90% of women experience this issue.

That is, it was explained that less economic opportunities exist for women in Tsogttsetsii and as new arrivals they are socially isolated.

Khanbogd

Similar patterns were observed in Khanbogd, where reports of increases in domestic violence were associated with infidelity and alcohol abuse. During a conversation with a female interviewee who grew up in the town, it was explained that the culture of Khanbogd has altered since the onset of mining. She explained that due to shift work, jealousy had increased and women were more frequently presenting to the hospital after having been beaten by partners. Indeed, the police reported that 50% of the calls made to the police department are now related to domestic violence.

Further examples were discussed relating to the mine site saying of 'second life, second wife'. This maxim describes on-site relationships and the 'second-life' that was experienced away from their families in Ulaanbaatar, where they also took a 'second wife'. In the roundtable discussion held in the second stage of this research, NGO groups (see Appendix 1) were of the view that domestic violence and consequent family divorce have increased in Ulaanbaatar since the mining boom in Mongolia. Further research is needed to assess the impacts of mining on families in Ulaanbaatar.

The police and hospital personnel of Khanbogd reported that many of the underlying issues that motivated violence and family break-ups came from new arrivals and transient workers. In particular, a contracting company accommodation camp (to sleep 700 to 800 people) located in the town was an issue of contention. These workers were employed in the Oyu Tolgoi services sector (cooks, cleaners, laundry, etc.). It was alleged that relationships between contract workers led to family break-ups and violence. The workers also drank at the karaoke bars, which led to violence in the streets. The camp was temporarily closed in mid-2013 and the contract workers relocated to site. According to police, this was due to the social upheavals caused by the employees of the contracting company. Indeed the sharp rise in 'offences against the health of the individual' in 2012 supports the Police claim. However, the research team could not verify the reasons for the relocation of the employees to site with company representatives. The police and community specifically stated that when the camp was open negative social behaviours had a destabilising effect on the community, but now the loss of economic benefits from the contracting company to the local businesses is causing economic insecurities.

Another issue that was unique to Khanbogd was the phenomena of 'children headed households'. This is an issue which has not previously been identified in Mongolia but was discussed by local women and government representatives. It is important to note that this phenomena was not directly connected to a particular mine, but was reported as an impact caused by a combination of large and small-scale mining. The following narrative explains the situation:

Our region, Gobi, is rich with gold. Therefore, people started to leave their children behind and went to dig gold, or they went to work for the mining companies. As a result, the concept of "children headed family" came up. When I was a bagh governor, I used to visit these families. They did not have any food to eat, no person to look after them, so they became vulnerable. They got easily attracted by bad behaviours, dropped out of school and then became more vulnerable to violence and crime.

In some cases it was reported that children were living in situations of domestic violence perpetrated by other children in the household or neighbourhood.

Currently there are no childcare support services for families in this position. However, at the roundtable discussions company personnel indicated an intention to engage in this space.

Tsaagan Khad

The issue of domestic violence was not strongly reported in Tsagaan Khad as there are very few domestic situations.

Finding 2: Threats to health and safety

As discussed earlier, the collected statistical evidence supports a rise in rates of GBV since the onset of large-scale mining (see Figures 1 and 2, and Appendix 2). In the qualitative interviews, health and safety concerns were the second most recorded GBV related impact. Data collected suggests a correlation exists between the proximity of the mine and associated infrastructure and negative impacts of health and safety. In the situation where the mine and associated infrastructure were closer to the town (Tsogttsetsii), the rates of reported GBV were higher than for the other area (Khanbogd).

Tsogttsetsii

Threats to health and safety, particularly through crime, have become a major problem in the township of Tsogttsetsii. Many of the community informants explained that in 2006 the only problems attributed to mining were traffic accidents and environmental impacts connected to the 'Coal Road'. However, effects within the township are now more readily identified, particularly incidents related to alcohol abuse and alcohol fuelled violence. The primary areas of concern were as follows:

- In the last two years, many karaoke bars have given rise to alcohol-fuelled violence in the form of intimate partner abuse and public scuffles. The government recently enforced already existing regulations, which led to the closure of illegal Karaoke bars, leading to reports of safer streets.
- The hospital personnel informed us that the incidents of alleged rape had tripled since the onset of mining in the region. In 2013, three incidents of alleged rape were reported, of which two were related to mine workers and alcohol. Furthermore, in discussions with hotel managers and cleaners in the soum area,

there have been accounts of young women found naked and crying. Causes were attributed to being ‘taken advantage of’ while under the influence of alcohol and young vulnerable women being peer pressured into situations with groups of men. When asked whether these incidents were reported, it was explained that potential social ostracism and peer pressure prevented reporting.

- Local women have reported that they no longer feel safe to walk alone at night (primary mode of transport). When they do venture out, they now travel in groups. They explained that cars of men stop and ask them if they are prostitutes or want to go for a ‘drive’ with them. Although this form of proposition is a less violent case of GBV, it continues to impinge on their freedom to move and contributes to [a woman’s] sense of insecurity in her community.
- Reports of women being abducted and raped by groups of men travelling in cars were also made. This accusation was raised by community members; however, it was not confirmed or denied by government officials, who said they had heard of the incidents but were not sure if they were rumours or facts.
- According to hospital personnel, the rise in GBV has coincided with increased health impacts. Likewise, an interviewed health official has perceived links between the arrival of mining and increased health impacts on men and women. The following information was provided by hospital staff, but could not be supported by statistical data:
 - o In 2012, 1,800 women were examined for STDs, of which the majority were transient and mine workers. Hospital staff suggested that local staff did not check local long-term residential women who would travel to neighbouring areas, so the number could indeed be higher.
 - o There has been a sharp rise in teenage pregnancies.
 - o Just under 30 teenage girls travelled to the aimag centre hospital for termination of pregnancies in 2013.

Khanbogd

The most common references to GBV in Khanbogd concerned activities at the Oyu Tolgoi mine site. At the time of research, the site had approximately 8,000 workers and reports

of prostitution, sexual harassment and violence were discussed by the residents and officials interviewed for this study. Likewise, within the town centre, issues regarding new arrivals and their interactions with local people were a concern; specifically interactions involving infidelity and alcohol fuelled violence.

An increase in health related impacts was cited by hospital staff, since the onset of mining and growth in transient workers. These staff stated that more women were presenting with injuries from domestic violence, and that higher incidences of teenage pregnancy and higher levels of STDs were being reported. The main company operating Oyu Tolgoi has recorded an extensive Health Impact Assessment of the region. The research team approached the company to read the report. Although some practitioners at the company were content to share the report, the final decision of the company was not to share the information due to 'sensitivities'.

Although the population of Khanbogd (4,300) is similar to that of Tsogttsetsii (5,180), fewer threats to individual safety were reported in the soum center. The most commonly cited problem was fighting due to alcohol-fuelled violence; however, this had reportedly reduced once the contracting camp was moved back to the mining site 40 kilometres away.

Tsaagan Khad

The living standards in Tsagaan Khad are very difficult for women and men due to the lack of basic amenities like water and electricity. The police indicated that they frequently receive calls for assistance related to alcohol fuelled violence; however, due to the precinct being under-resourced they often could not act on these call-outs.

While men wait for the border to open or the coal loads to be dumped or carried, a primary pastime is the consumption of alcohol. It was reported that husbands (whom were most often drivers) protected older women working in restaurants. However, the police informed us that the situation for younger women, who had travelled there to find work or conduct sex-work, was one of violence and potential rape.

The rate of STDs in Tsagaan Khad was considered high in relation to other reported health incidents. The local health practitioner explained that on average 30 customers a day visited the pharmacy. Of these 30 people, five might come for STD tests, others for

medications and many for lung disease problems. We were informed that many are infected through engaging in sex-work in Tsagaan Khad and over the Chinese border (see Image 6). The health practitioner explained that women do not seek tests, and that men get tested and treated before they return home to their partners.

Finding 3: Sex-work

The relationship between the mining industry and the incidence of sex-work is documented in mine sites around the world (Campbell 2000; Parpart 2001; Swaminathan, Walker et al. 2008; Farmer 2009; Mahy 2011). The issue as to whether sex-work should be included as a form of gender-based violence was discussed at length within the research team. On the one hand, in many cases sex-work is entered into consensually through a mutually agreed upon exchange and can be a source of economic empowerment for women (Mahy 2011).

I used to work in a hotel for six months. I saw two or three girls staying in a hotel and sleeping with different men. I told them not to do that in this young age.

Local female hotel worker

However, in other cases, vulnerable women are coerced and not informed of the conditions of the agreement; in these cases the line between consent and abuse is blurred. For example, in our field of research, government representatives discussed conditions where a woman agreed to partner with a single man, but was met by a group of men. In other cases, high school-aged girls were given high levels of alcohol and did not remember incidents, but were paid or silenced the following morning.

Likewise, alternative forms of sex-work termed 'transactional relationships' are arrangements where money is not exchanged, but other forms of remuneration are expected⁷. Studies from South Africa have demonstrated that there is a direct correlation between transactional relationships and perpetration of GBV (Dunkle, Jewkes et al. 2007). These types of relationships were reportedly common in the South Gobi.

⁷ These are often in the form of 'gifts'; for example, jewellery, mobile phones, or transport and meals.

Tsogttsetsii

Reports of sex-work and transactional relationships were often discussed in the township of Tsogttsetsii, with reference to incidents involving: high school students, vulnerable groups and professional sex-workers arriving from Ulaanbaatar. In many cases, the encounters are consensual and involve young women servicing businessmen.

'Young girls are really into guys with cars and money. Even with the taxi drivers, they're having relationship with them to get to their destination for free.'
Tsogttsetsii female resident

In a confidential interview with a government representative it was explained that some hotel owners are organising the sex-work and calling male contacts in as clients. In one case, it was alleged that 10 men visited a hotel room over a two-day period.

The informant also spoke of incidents where women have jumped out of a hotel window to escape the situation and others where women have been found crying in the hotel hallways. We were informed that there is not a police record of these events; however, both the government representative and hospital spoke of assisting these women. It was understood that the women did not press charges due to fear and intimidation from the men involved and associated social shame.

Adjacent to the mine pits, coal trucks await loading. In this area many small businesses have begun operating out of gers. These are shops that often sell alcohol, provide tyre maintenance, or operate as small restaurants. In this area, it was reported by community members and police that a number of women work as cooks or cleaners and also engage in prostitution.

Khanbogd

Local government officials and hospital staff claimed that cases of sex-work are known to occur at Oyu Tolgoi. They gave details of particular sub-contracting companies encouraging an atmosphere that rewarded sexualised behaviour by women. Further enquiries into these statements suggested there was an expectation in some of the Oyu Tolgoi contracting companies that women had to perform a certain role to maintain employment. Company representatives who we discussed this matter with advised us that they had been aware of these views and had taken immediate actions to remove

troublesome personnel. The research team were not given permission to go on site to explore the issue in more depth; however, previous studies supported accounts of sexual discrimination and sexual harassment on the mine site (Cane Forthcoming).



Image 6: Coal trucks waiting to cross the border to China – Ganz Mod in the distance

Tsaagan Khad

The highest levels of sex-work were reported along the ‘Coal Road’ and at Tsagaan Khad. At the time of research, one woman and two men had been arrested for soliciting and sex-work, and four prostitutes had been arrested earlier in 2013. Before the commencement of mining, no reports of sex-work had been recorded in the area.

The police believe that the companies are bringing women to Tsagaan Khad under the pretence of cooking and cleaning, but they are really engaged in prostitution. This was supported by women who had previously worked in Tsagaan Khad; they explained:

I used to work in Tsagaan Khad, Khanbogd soum for two years with many drivers. So I would hear how drivers see different girls. Those girls look like they work in the guanz, but actually making money in that way. Some of them take money; some of them are accompanying them on trucks. Mostly they can’t get much money...

The police also believe that women are being paid or intimidated not to report the situation.

The research team was able to speak with several of these women and were informed of the lifestyle in Tsagaan Khad. The forms of sex-work in Tsagaan Khad are very informal, - usually conducted from gers, in trucks and in karaoke bars. These arrangements are performed in secret and front as other businesses. In these situations, the women can be paid with money, but also the very poor women are paid in trinkets, fuel or meals etc. For example, 'Fuel girls' are poor women that accompany drivers up and down the 'coal road', moving from truck to truck and are paid in fuel, which is then used by the family or sold for money. It was explained to us that women in these environments are more vulnerable to violence; indeed informants stated that customers treated them poorly, harmfully and had unrealistic expectations of them sexually.

The Khanbogd police were very concerned about the situation of Mongolian women over the border from Tsagaan Khad in Ganz Mod (see Map 1). Ganz Mod is a developed border town in China and since the permanent opening of this border, police indicated that cross border sex-work has increased. More so, the police reported that Mongolian women have had their passports revoked and allegations of a homicide were relayed, but the incident was outside of their jurisdiction. Health practitioners in Tsagaan Khad confirmed that most of the Mongolian sex-workers reside in Ganz Mod (China side) due to access to amenities that are not available on the Mongolian side of the border.

Outcomes and recommendations

This report demonstrates the value of including consideration of gendered impacts, particularly GBV issues, when planning mining developments, to minimise harm to surrounding communities and transient workers.

On the 4th of October 2013, a roundtable discussion was held in Ulaanbaatar to discuss the fieldwork findings. Following presentations by the research team, government bodies and a leading NGO in this field, the *National Center Against Violence (NCAV)*, a set of recommendations was proposed to all participants. These proposed recommendations are directed towards policy makers and were offered to the participants for discussion and agreement.

The below list of recommendations was agreed upon for action by policymakers:

- Create a multi-stakeholder taskforce to combat GBV in the region
- Increase consideration of the impacts of GBV, in the town and camp planning stage of minerals operations
- Build infrastructure to support family friendly communities to accommodate spouses and school children
- Provide work place environments that support and empower women in the work place
- Implement and promote anti-discrimination policies in the workplace
- Open women's shelters and childcare centres in both soums to prevent GBV and provide support for victims
- Install street lighting in communities to improve community safety
- Undertake further in-depth research on the correlations between GBV and mining in Mongolia
- Draft an anti-discrimination law to help protect employees from sexual assault in the workplace

The feedback from the roundtable attendees was largely supportive of the recommendations and appreciative of the timely research on this growing issue.

After the successful GBV roundtable held in Ulaanbaatar, two of the attendees, the government body NCGE and the Erdeness mining company signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The MoU was drafted to address issues related to GBV for women, men and children of the community of Tsogttsetsii. The MoU funding, worth AUD\$280,000, will be used over the next three years to do the following:

- Install street lighting to improve visibility and safety for women
- Build a health centre to operate as a support centre for women and girls
- Establish alternative activities for young girls by building a green park
- Improve the environment from mining impacts to foster a more family friendly community

The initiatives have been designed, and will be implemented, in accordance with gender equity principles.

Conclusion

The findings of this research suggest that extensive social change is occurring in the mine-affected areas of the South Gobi, Mongolia. Statistical data and interviews with a cross-section of stakeholders suggest this has given rise to new forms and higher incidences of GBV in the communities. GBV is having a negative impact upon women, children and men and directly affecting households and individual health. Furthermore, the impacts are causing family breakdowns and a broader atmosphere of insecurity in the communities.

Initial observations suggest that the proximity of the mine site and/or mine associated activities to the town's centre correlates to higher reported levels of GBV. For example, in Tsogttsetsii domestic violence and threats to the individual were more overt and commonly reported to authorities and the research team. In these cases, a higher interaction between the mine and the community is observed, via social and economic exchanges, be it karaoke bars or business development. Community and public services officials in Khanbogd supported this correlation, explaining that the presence of the company contracting camp in the community contributed to higher incidents of GBV until it was temporarily closed down.

This draws attention to the attributes and circumstances of transient workers. Larger populations of males migrate for economic opportunities and are employed in mine sites. Workers often work long rostered rotations away from families, which were reportedly connected to higher incidences of GBV. The existence of 'second life, second wife' situations is an example of this, where domestic violence impacts may be experienced by the worker's wife and within the new transactional relationship. This suggests a need for companies and government to take into consideration the impact of employment conditions on the incidence of GBV in communities. Likewise, town planning strategies that foster family-friendly environments are encouraged to mitigate the occurrence of GBV.

Finally, there is a need for mining companies and government, working alongside local civil society organisations, to support efforts aimed at changing the informal norms, attitudes and cultural practices that give rise to increased rates of GBV. It is encouraging to see that the Government of Mongolia and the mining company in Tsogttsetsii have

already begun to take steps to protect and mitigate the impacts of GBV on women and children. However, stronger legislative and social awareness will be required to prevent the potential growth of GBV in a nation undergoing a minerals boom.



Image 7: Full moon rising over Tsogttsetsii Ovoo

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Appendix 1 – List of Roundtable Participants

No.	Company/Organisation
1	National Committee on Gender Equality
2	Human Right Commission of Mongolia
3	National Statistical Office Of Mongolia
4	Ministry of Mining
5	Ministry of Population Development and Social protection
6	National University of Mongolia - Gender Consortium
7	National Center Against Violence (NGO)
8	Tolgoit Community Development Center (NGO)
9	Gender Equity Center (NGO)
10	National Network on Child Labour(NGO)
11	Mongolian Women's Association (NGO)
12	Monfemnet (NGO)
13	Women Lawyer's Association (NGO)
14	Women NGO's coalition against sexual harassment in workplace (NGO)
15	World Vision
16	DFAT Representative
17	UNFPA
18	Embassy of Canada
19	Mining Sector Institutional Strengthening Technical Assistance Project Representative
20	Rio Tinto\Oyu Tolgoi Representative
21	American Center for Mongolian Studies
22	Erdenes Tavan Tolgoi Representative
23	University of Queensland, Center for Social Responsibility in Mining
24	Gender Consortium and Gender Center for Sustainable Development(NGO)
25	Gender Center for Sustainable Development(NGO)

Appendix 2 – Table of Crimes 2008-2012*

	Year	Number of offences committed	Violent attacks	Rape	Robbery	Hooliganism	Offences against the health of individuals	Theft of individual property	Theft of Animal	Traffic crimes	Fraud	Other
KHANBOGD	2008	25	0	0	0	3	2	4	0	9	0	7
	2009	41	0	0	0	0	5	4	1	9	0	22
	2010	39	0	1	0	5	5	4	0	8	0	16
	2011	60	1	1	5	1	19	5	0	16	1	14.5
	2012	59	1	1	0	1	28	17	0.5	15	0.5	18
	Sub total	224	2	3	5	10	59	34	1.5	57	1.5	77.5
TSOGTTSETSII	2008	13	1	0	0	1	3	3	0	3	0	2
	2009	21	0	0	3	2	3	7	0	3	0	3
	2010	34	0	1	0	3	3	10	1	5	1	10
	2011	44.5	1	1	1	1	16	8	1	7	1	6
	2012	55.5	0.5	3	1	4	18.5	9	1	13	1	6
	Sub total	168	2.5	5	5	11	43.5	37	3	31	3	27
Total		392	4.5	8	10	21	102.5	71	4.5	88	4.5	104.5

*Statistics are compiled from the National Statistics Office, Ulaanbaatar and the Omnogovi statistics office. Where inconsistencies in figures between sources existed, the mean average was used.

http://web.nso.mn/portal/content_files/comppmedia/cpdf0x4619.pdf