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Community and Company Capacity: The Challenge of Resource-Led Development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt'

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Abstract

Relationships between the extractive industries, society and development are often symbolized by unfulfilled expectations and even conflict. The poor, rural, politically marginalized and indigenous communities often face the greatest impacts by the extraction of energy and non-energy minerals. This paper explores the challenge of resource-led development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt', i.e. the Northwestern Province. It demonstrates how Kansanshi, a mid-tier mining company, has struggled with various community development aspects from resettlement and compensation, hiring and employment, as well as local government interactions, to formulating a coherent corporate social responsibility (CSR) and infrastructure project strategy. Findings suggest that community capacity to hold Kansanshi and local government to account is relatively weak. Recommendations include aligning CSR strategies with district, regional and national development objectives, as well as building linkages between local civil society organizations (CSOs) and national/international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to enable communities around the mine to share experiences, lessons learned, and effective company and local government engagement strategies.

Introduction

Global demand for minerals has been growing rapidly during the past decade, driven largely by emerging developing nations in Asia seeking to secure access to strategic assets for their rapidly industrializing economies. Africa in particular has found itself at the centre of this geopolitical scramble for natural resources, as reserves there are still relatively unexploited and plentiful (Morgan, 2010).

From a community perspective, relationships between the extractive industries, society and development are often symbolized by unfulfilled expectations and even conflict (Kemp, 2009, Kemp, et al., 2010). In many operating contexts, even though national governments may receive significant revenues, there is little evidence that the extractive industries have contributed to sustainable local development. This is particularly relevant because it is often poor, rural, politically marginalized and indigenous communities that are most impacted by the extraction of energy and non-energy minerals. The literature on site level conflict often highlights issues of power asymmetries, differing perceptions of knowledge, and struggles over land rights, revenue distribution and environmental impacts (Bridge, 2004). Maximizing mining's contribution to community development is a complicated field (Bebbington, et al., 2008). Consequently, the extractive industries have been under sustained pressure to improve the sustainability of their operations in developing countries.

Operating in weak governance contexts – and as processes of globalization have intensified – companies may attempt to fill development gaps through corporate social responsibility (CSR) and social investment strategies (Fitzpatrick, et al., 2011). CSR is largely a Western construct, with developing countries lacking the stringent regulations, labour unions and consumer demands that characterize CSR environments in developed capitalist society contexts (Hilson, 2012). Companies often experience situations where they have to self-regulate and undertake what are effectively governmental functions. This 'blurring of lines of accountability' between public and private actors creates further problems for the operations of mining companies (Campbell, 2012: 141). Bypassing the state in favour of industry-led stakeholder engagement and social investment initiatives has been increasingly criticized as eroding the developmental functions of the state, which has led some to call for integration of mineral policy and development policy (Campbell, 2012). It is also important to identify how engagement processes as well as community expectations and sentiments may change over time, from the feasibility and design stages of a project, through to construction, operations, divestment, closure and rehabilitation (Parker, et al., 2008).

This paper explores community-company-government relations in the 'New Copperbelt' in Zambia's Northwestern Province in order to assess community capacities to engage more effectively with the extractive industries for sustainable local benefits. Although the impacts of mining in Zambia's Copperbelt are well documented (Fraser and Larmer, 2010), little research has been undertaken to date in the Northwestern Province, which has a rapidly emerging mining sector hence the moniker the New Copperbelt. This paper draws upon a case study on the Kansanshi mine in Solwezi District, Northwestern Province, which reopened in 2005 and is the eighth largest copper mine in the world. The data presented in this paper were collected as part of a larger study aiming to increase understanding about the extractive industries in industrialized and developing countries and enhance community capacities to negotiate more effectively with the extractive industries for sustainable local benefits (Van Alstine, et al., 2011; see also www.lse.ac.uk/communitycapacities).

The findings of the analysis help to contextualize the manner in which communities perceive the positive and negative impacts of mining, as well as the causes of such impacts. Community perceptions can then be compared and contrasted against those of companies and local authorities in

order to inform how community development opportunities are shaped and constrained in extractive contexts. The paper begins with a discussion of the challenge of resource-led development, and then focuses on the experiences of Zambia with copper mining and provides background information on the New Copperbelt region. Next the paper's methodology is presented followed by a discussion of the primary research findings, the perception of community benefits and barriers to those benefits by community, company and local government actors. The implications of these findings are discussed, and the paper concludes by summarizing key company, community and local government challenges to resource-led development.

Background and Methodology

Zambia has a long history of mineral dependence, with copper and associated products (e.g. cobalt and gold) currently providing nearly four-fifths of exports (Carmody, 2009). Zambia is the fourth largest copper producer worldwide, holding some six percent of global deposits (World Bank, 2011). Whereas the Copperbelt has traditionally been the industrial heart of Zambia, recent discoveries of oil and gas reserves, plus the opening of the Lumwana mine, the development of the Trident mine and the resuscitation of the Kansanshi mine in Solwezi have put the Northwestern Province in the spotlight. This is the most sparsely populated of Zambia's nine provinces, with an area of 125,826 km² and a population of 706,462 (Republic of Zambia, 2011). Solwezi is the provincial capital and Kaonde the largest tribe represented in the area. The primary industry is copper mining at the Kansanshi mine (about 10 km north of Solwezi) and Lumwana mine (65 km to the west) [Figure 1]. Kansanshi Mining Plc, a First Quantum Minerals (FQM) subsidiary, owns 80% of the Kansanshi mine, while the remaining 20% is owned by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd (ZCCM). FQM is a Canadian-based company listed on the Toronto and London stock exchanges. The mine employs in total about 4000 staff; 1500 are employed directly by Kansanshi Mining Plc, while the rest are employed through contractors.

Figure 1: Map of the study area in the Northwestern Province, Zambia

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in the Solwezi District of the Northwestern Province during November 2010 and September 2011, with a focus on those communities directly impacted by Kansanshi's operations. Six researchers collected the data, which mainly originate from interviews conducted in the communities of Kimasala, Zambia Compound, Mushitala, Kabwela, Kyafukuma and New Israel (Figure 2). Community stakeholders interviewed included women, youth groups, elders, marketers/business people, farmers and local leaders. In addition, a number of senior management and community relation officers at the Kansanshi mine were included in the sample, as were various local government officials. In total, 106 individual, small group and focus group interviews were conducted with stakeholders from communities, local authorities and company (including union and contractor representatives). A snowballing sampling strategy was employed to ensure the views of hard-to-reach groups, such as women were also obtained.

Figure 2: Map of Kansanshi Mine and adjacent communities

Community benefits and barriers

Infrastructure and CSR projects

Regarding infrastructure, Kansanshi staff noted that there existed a variety of projects which have or will be undertaken, such as the construction and improvement of bridges in New Israel and

Kyafukuma, investments in local road infrastructure and provision of funding for the extension and patching of the Solwezi airport runway. Local government officials welcomed a number of infrastructure projects, such as the partial rehabilitation of the Chingola- Solwezi road, but also said that communities had unrealistic expectations of the mine:

‘When Kansanshi does not deliver, people complain of not benefiting from the mine, even when the demand is a responsibility of government.’ [local government official]

The mine also supports a variety of CSR projects in areas such as health, education and local enterprise development. With regards to healthcare, a variety of relevant initiatives and projects were identified by Kansanshi staff. For instance, Kansanshi facilitated community access to clean water through the construction of several water wells. In addition, a community HIV/AIDS project has been implemented, as well as measles campaigns, condom distribution, an anti-cholera water purification campaign and a malaria prevention programme. A plethora of health-related infrastructure projects were reported as being planned for the future, such as training for traditional birth attendants, upgrading the Solwezi General Hospital (US\$2.2 million), renovating various clinics in the area, plus constructing a health post for New Israel.

Sentiments among communities regarding healthcare were somewhat mixed. On the one hand, Kabwela, Kimasala and Zambia Compound community members expressed satisfaction with the periodic health campaigns organized by the mine in collaboration with the Health Directorate in Solwezi. On the other hand, several communities expressed concern with lack of access to proper medical facilities, and hence recommended that the mine should invest in upgrading some of the local clinics. In Kyafukuma for instance, the only health facility in the community is understaffed, with only two nurses serving the entire community and other nearby hamlets. In New Israel, several years after relocation, inhabitants still have to walk five hours to the nearest health clinic.

‘When we first came here and when we fell sick we walk for eight km to the main road; if we found a car on the road it would charge us ZMK10,000 (US\$2). If we didn’t find a car we would walk to Solwezi Town. I have walked five times to Solwezi Town.’ [New Israel community member]

Turning to education, Kansanshi-sponsored classroom blocks have been built in Kabwela and Mushitala. At the Solwezi High School, the mine has refurbished and equipped laboratories, built a girls dormitory and secured funding for new electrical cooking pots. The Solwezi training centre was being upgraded, a community school is planned to be built in Israel, and US\$ 5 million has been secured to build a high school for 1000 students in Solwezi. Community respondents generally identified positive impacts on education projects, mainly through the provision of schools and teacher training, construction of teacher houses and supply of books. Members of the Kabwela, Kyafukuma and Mushitala communities acknowledged that the Kansanshi mine had assisted them in promoting and improving the level of education, even though some concerns were highlighted in relation to unfulfilled promises. In Kabwela, for instance, assurances for the construction of a second classroom block and staff houses were not met, leaving the 412-student local school with one teacher, who problematically enough lives 15 km away from the community. In New Israel, however, lack of proper education facilities altogether was noted.

‘We used to live near a school and clinic. Even the hospital in Solwezi Town was close. This place is far from anything. Even the school we have we have struggled to construct as a community, except for the iron sheets provided by the mine.’ [New Israel community member]

On enterprise development, Kansanshi has engaged with communities through a variety of initiatives, which include bee-keeping projects in New Israel, conservation farming in Mushitala, fish and vegetable farming in Kyafukuma, and poultry rearing in Mushitala, Kabwela, New Israel and Kyafukuma. Community members said that Kansanshi should engage in more tangible projects, such as roads, houses, boreholes, schools and clinics. Much of the criticism hinged on the perception that there was little or no project follow up and that the mine was not completing projects it had promised. There was therefore a common sentiment among communities that their expectations had been raised but the company had not fulfilled them.

In terms of remedial action, the company set up a Foundation in 2006 to channel funds to infrastructure projects in Solwezi. While the Foundation was allocated US\$1 million for projects in the area, several limitations have since emerged with regards to its operations. For instance, during the economic crisis (2008-2009) the Foundation was inactive, and in the past there were instances of mismanagement of funds through corruption, such as taking bribes from contractors. Another complication concerns the fact that the Board of the Foundation is composed of the same individuals on the Kansanshi Mining Plc board, which substantially restricts the ability of local stakeholders, e.g. Chiefs, government and community representatives, to engage and participate with the Foundation's funding process.

When evaluating the mine's social and economic impact on the host community, local government officials generally adopted a more positive stance than did residents. They were pleased that Kansanshi was able to complement government efforts in such areas as education and healthcare. Apart from undertakings in the communities per se, well received were projects in Solwezi proper, such as the construction of classrooms in the Solwezi High School and of a new mortuary unit at the municipal Hospital. Kansanshi's help was also acknowledged with regards to the financial and material support provided for various government programmes, such as international women days.

Employment

With regards to the mine's economic impact on the host community, Kansanshi staff held that there existed a number of positive developments, particularly in the field of employment. Commenting on community concerns over the lack of local employment opportunities, Kansanshi and its contractors stressed that the large majority of workers were from Zambia. Indeed, FQM's 2010 Corporate Sustainability Report highlighted that 'local citizens' accounted for 90-95 percent of the workforce, while one of the contractors, Teichmann, highlighted that out of its 526 employees only 2 percent were non-Zambian (FQM, 2010). However, how many workers come from the Solwezi area is a far more difficult figure to quantify.

'Getting locals (for employment) has been quite a bit of a challenge, who is a local? We try to encourage them (i.e. contractors) to hire locals, but if a contractor comes from the Copperbelt, they come with their own workers.' [Kansanshi staff member]

Highlighting a barrier to local employment opportunities, local government respondents said that the low level of education among community members is the main issue preventing them from securing high skilled jobs.

Mixed responses were again recorded in the six communities with regards to employment. Positive impacts in the form of some new job opportunities were identified, but community representatives felt these were largely limited. In all six communities employment was highlighted as the reigning concern, with corruption, in-migration and lack of necessary skills to gain employment at the mine

being noted as major barriers. The vast majority of skilled labour is sourced from the Copperbelt and if locals do succeed in getting low-skilled jobs, they are often paid low salaries working for contractors. Lack of salary harmonization between those employed directly for Kansanshi and those working for contractors was often stressed: ‘There is no equal pay for equal work at the mine.’ Notably, contractors are mainly from outside Solwezi and are therefore more prone to recruiting workers for the mine from their areas of residence. Kansanshi staff said they encourage contractors to adhere to their labour/hiring policies, but are unable to enforce them.

‘The Kaonde stand no chance of employment at the mine: they have no skills, no money to offer bribes, and no relative in the mine. If you see someone working at the mine, know they have got their job through bribery or nepotism – without these two, you are out of the system.’
[Mushitala community member]

In terms of remedial action, Kansanshi instigated a community recruitment programme called ‘Lucky Dip’ in 2010, which was run using a ballot system. Communities, however, expressed dissatisfaction with the modalities and frequency of this mechanism. For instance, Lucky Dip occurred only twice in Kabwela during 2010, while the selected unskilled workers were only employed for the course of a few weeks or months. As of September 2011, Kansanshi discontinued Lucky Dip given the challenges of administering the programme. In its place, a casual labour stakeholder database is maintained at Kansanshi’s office in Solwezi.

Local economic development

Kansanshi staff stressed the positive impacts of the ‘multiplier effect’ on the local economy, meaning the manner in which spending in town by mine employees creates additional business opportunities, thus contributing to the promotion of prosperity and progress in Solwezi. As a Kansanshi staff member commented: ‘Definitely, there are more people with money in their pockets.’ Furthermore, it was stressed that because of the mining-related growth of the Northwestern province, banks and telecom companies established themselves in Solwezi.

Local procurement was also highlighted as a means through which the mine helps stimulate the regional economy. Kansanshi, for instance, is supporting local communities by buying their harvested maize. According to mine officials, out of a total US\$ 540 million spend on procurement, US\$ 430 million was actually Zambia-based. Of course, how much of the Zambian procurement spending actually stays within the country is unknown. Yet, beyond salaries, the bulk of the expenditure – particularly in relation to the mining and processing of ore – should unequivocally be for supplies which cannot be sourced in Zambia.

Kansanshi officials also noted that there existed a number of barriers to doing business in Zambia, such as high start-up costs for small businesses, high manufacturing taxes and unrealistic contract bids by local suppliers. As one mine manager highlighted:

‘Zambia is a business unfriendly environment; there is very little manufacturing. Manufacturing tax in Botswana is 15%, manufacturing tax in Zambia is 35%.’

The above remarks corroborate with findings from other studies, which indicate that several companies view corruption, high taxes and transportation costs – the latter due mainly to Zambia being landlocked – as standing out among the difficulties with operating in Zambia (Carmody, 2011).

From a local government perspective, the most visible economic benefits from Kansanshi include the increased revenue for the Solwezi Municipal Council, who is receiving over ZMK3 Billion

(~US\$600,000) in property rates, plus the mine's contribution to the national tax base. In addition, similar to the company perspective, it was indicated that the presence of the mine had a positive impact on the local economy in terms of bringing auxiliary industries and therefore more disposable income for people. Farmers, as well as small and medium-sized enterprises, were also described as beneficiaries, on the grounds that population growth had resulted in increased market size. A number of communities reported mixed impacts from the increased economic activity that followed the commencement of operations by Kansanshi in 2005. In terms of benefits, residents of Kimasala and Zambia Compound stated that several locals working for the mine have been able to acquire assets such as farm land, houses, and vehicles for commercial and private purposes. Indirect benefits were also highlighted:

‘Employees from the mine buy chicken from here. They are giving us money, and we are giving them chicken, so we are benefitting also.’ [Kimasala community member]

Yet, in-migration and the resulting increase in population size in the two communities, had resulted in accommodation becoming quite expensive, plus had caused increased pressure on infrastructure such as schools. In New Israel, complaints centred on scarce and costly public transportation, following the relocation of the community 40 km north of its previous location. Since moving to the new site the high bus transport cost to Solwezi had consumed a substantial share of the resettlement allowance provided by Kansanshi.

Crime, corruption and compensation

In response to concerns about security and crime, Kansanshi staff acknowledged a number of impacts related to the presence of the mine, even though it was noted that an upsurge in such problems is inherent in every area experiencing rapid population growth. For instance, broken mineworker families were identified as a complication requiring urgent attention, given family separation due to migrant labour.

‘Most of employees are migrant workers, their families are elsewhere. When they come here of course, living in all sorts of places, because accommodation is a problem. Some get missed, some drink, and land in problems. Broken homes are rampant.’ [Kansanshi staff member]

Regarding corruption, while recognizing that accusations of occasional corporate bribery were valid, one staff member referred to the Kansanshi Foundation to note that following the hiring of a new Foundation Coordinator “there [was] a new sheriff in town.” Interestingly, lack of proper accountability in communities and local government was identified as the prime issue necessitating more immediate attention, since the company would be prepared to contribute more financial resources to the locality had there been assurances of greater transparency:

‘When we give out money, it gets misused by almost everyone. We expect that money goes to communities, but it ends up in people’s pockets.’ [Kansanshi staff member]

Almost all communities reported negative impacts. Issues of nepotism and bribery when seeking employment at the mine were frequently raised. In the communities closest to Solwezi, namely Kimasala, Zambia Compound and Mushitala, theft and prostitution due to in-migration were described as being on the rise. Cultural impacts were mainly raised by members of communities most adjacent to Solwezi, such as Kimasala and Zambia Compound. In particular, mining development was pinpointed as having disrupted social norms and community ties.

‘Workers from Kansanshi, they are too much drinking beer. At the end of the month they will get drunk and be beaten. They end up grabbing the wives of their friends, because they have money, they can do whatever they want.’ [Zambia Compound community member]

A number of complaints were also reported in those communities whose land areas were completely or partially appropriated to accommodate the mine and related developments. Mushitala residents, for example, claimed that compensation of community property lost as a result of fencing the mine’s golf course was still incomplete. In Kabwela, although several farms were displaced as a result of the operations of the mine, compensation packages for the assets never occurred. Currently, given Kabwela has been earmarked for the construction of a new tailings dam, the situation regarding lack of information about compensation is causing significant concern within this community:

‘Agreement on displacement has not been reached yet but they have already taken action of measuring our fields for a dam, we are worried because we don’t know where we will be displaced to...’ [Kabwela community member]

Company officials felt people who were unwilling to be resettled or land speculators seeking compensation from the company negatively impact company-community relations.

Discussion

The above highlights an uncoordinated approach to extractive industry development. Critiques often identify short-sighted and paternalistic approaches of extractive firms as the root cause of suboptimal community development outcomes (Muthuri, 2008). Here we broaden the discussion to identify how company, local government and community actors among others interact to shape and constrain local development benefits.

To begin with, findings from this study indicate that the Kansanshi mine has had a rather ad hoc approach to community development, although its officials have begun to recognize past shortcomings and have taken some action to address them. As was noted in interviews with Kansanshi staff, the community engagement strategy needed urgent buy-in from the highest levels of management at the mine. Interviewees acknowledged that while this issue may be removed from the everyday experiences of individuals at the apex of the corporate hierarchy, adequate sensitization of board members and senior level staff represented a key precondition for building a healthy relationship with the surrounding communities. This link between the preferences and strategies of key senior managers and the adoption of effective CSR strategies is documented extensively in the literature (Baumgartner, 2009).

Highlighted in multiple interviews with Kansanshi personnel was the need to increase CSR and community engagement staffing. As of November 2010, there were only three community engagement officers who were tasked with covering all of the communities – rural, peri-urban and urban – surrounding the mine. These findings support others which highlight limited capacity in mid-tier and junior mining companies, particularly related to resources and skills, to effectively engage with community and sustainable development issues (Buxton, 2012). In August 2011, following a review of the draft report on which this study is based (Van Alstine, et al., 2011), Kansanshi confirmed that it had recruited additional staff members in the field of CSR, and that it was in the process of recruiting a monitoring and evaluation officer.

Secondly, exploring the interactions between government officials, the mine, and communities is of vital significance. Given that the Municipal Council is the custodian of land, any envisaged

infrastructure project requires the mine to consult and get clearances from the local authority. Critically assessing the responses from provincial and local government officials, there have been interactions with the mine at multiple levels (e.g. through the Foundation), although these started with difficulties, particularly with regards to the local council: ‘Kansanshi overlooked the Council in the past, the Council was nobody, even in their attitude to obligatory issues such as paying rates.’ Difficulties remain, as evidenced by complaints that the local council was not invited to participate in the formulation of development agreements between Kansanshi and higher levels of government: ‘When we try to engage the mine on issues, we are told... this has been discussed with the Minister.’

Interviews revealed that the company is seen to be ‘in cahoots’ with authorities at the national level, which has resulted in the emergence of an antagonistic relationship between the local council and Kansanshi. The links between local governments, communities and mining companies is a largely understudied area, with the focus being often limited to interactions between the latter two actors or the process through which mining companies tend to reluctantly assume state-like responsibilities (Campbell, 2012). Yet, factoring in local governments could immensely enhance our understanding of the manner in which the livelihoods of mine-affected communities could be improved. Kansanshi could ensure that local government officials are appropriately kept informed of its deliberations with the national government, so that they are in a better position to adequately represent local interests. In addition, local government could facilitate transparency and accountability in council budgeting processes. Stakeholder engagement in the local council budgeting process is in their by-laws, but has not been fully implemented.

Third, the results of this study support arguments by other authors (see e.g. Garvin, et al., 2009), according to whom locals are interested in the environmental consequences of mining, but social and economic impacts may often take precedence. Indeed, throughout this research, environmental issues did not feature as high in the agenda of community members as did employment concerns. Consistent issues highlighted by both community and company representatives were variations between the recruitment policies of Kansanshi and its contractors. Harmonization of policies and practices between the two is an important step to be taken. Kansanshi needs to encourage sourcing of as much casual labour from local communities as possible and should require contractors to adhere to Kansanshi’s hiring policies instead of simply encouraging them.

Fourth, with regards to the New Israel resettlement in 2005, it appears little was done to follow International Finance Corporation (IFC) and World Bank resettlement guidelines on physical and economic displacement related to land acquisition and involuntary displacement. It is thus imperative for Kansanshi to ensure that the Israel resettlement plan is revisited to adhere to IFC’s Performance Standards, and that this assessment is externally audited (see IFC, 2012). Interestingly, the Environment and Social Impact Assessment (ESIA) study in relation to the new tailings storage facility near Kabwela has been conducted by a South African consultancy according to international best practice. The contractor held extensive consultations with Kabwela community members with regards to the ESIA, which had a positive impact on community-company relations (Van Alstine, et al., 2011).

Finally, this paper adds to the rather limited literature dealing with pathways for communities to more successfully engage with firms, hold companies and local governments to account, and maximize sustainable local benefits (see e.g. Muthuri, 2007). Much of the community-company interaction has been initiated by Kansanshi and/or its contractors. The frequency and type of interaction at the village level depends on a number of factors, including proximity to the mine, direct or indirect impacts from mining operations, and Kansanshi’s CSR strategy. Although regular stakeholder meetings are hosted

by Kansanshi for some communities, there was an overall sentiment that this was a one-sided form of interaction.

‘The Group Leader can’t call a meeting with Kansanshi. It is not like the mine is at our disposal. The mine is always having us at their disposal.’ [Mushitala community member]

Capacity needs to be developed within communities in order for more community-driven forms of interaction to be implemented, such as participatory monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Development practitioners and industry leaders highlight the dearth of domestic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations willing and able to work with mining companies within host communities. In fact, Kansanshi personnel noted few civil society organizations (CSOs) in Solwezi that were interested and able to work with the mine to implement community development objectives. Often local organizations, such as the Catholic Diocese, would take strong advocacy stances at stakeholder meetings, but were less willing to engage on an ongoing basis with the mine on community development issues. As of September 2011, Kansanshi was working closely with an international development consultancy to implement the mine’s local development plan, which it sought to align with local council development goals. This exemplifies limited local civil society capacity in Solwezi to engage with mining companies on community development issues.

Two recommendations were distilled from community interviewees on how to strengthen community participation in development matters. First, community project committees, which are set up by the company to implement CSR projects, could be more proactive in responding to community concerns and following up on pending projects and improvements. Second, community participation in Kansanshi quarterly stakeholder meetings could be improved through the inclusion of representatives from project committees. Typically, communities are represented at stakeholder meetings by their Group Leader (or Sub-Chief) and Area Development Committee (ADC) chairperson or secretary. However, the dynamics between a democratic local government system and a less participatory traditional system are complex and potentially problematic. Given a company’s initial entry into a community is through the Group Leader or Sub-Chief it is assumed that they represent community concerns, but the way they came to power may have little to do with community interests. Interviewees highlighted that Group Leaders and Sub-Chiefs may in fact block the implementation of community-company projects. ADCs are set up by the local council in order for rural communities to feed into local and national government strategies, but how these community governance bodies actually work in practice and represent community concerns was questioned by some. Thus it was recommended that individuals from project committees also represent communities on a rotating basis at quarterly stakeholder meetings. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to delve deeper into how perceptions varied between community sub-groups, this would be a highly relevant area for further research.

Conclusion

This paper drew upon a case study from Zambia in order to discuss the different perceptions of communities, companies and local authorities with regards to the benefits and barriers of copper mining’s contribution to community development in Solwezi District, Northwestern Province. Key company, community and local government challenges were identified.

One area that is understudied is the way “mining capital itself is highly differentiated” (Bridge, 2004: 240). This is quite significant as junior and mid-tier companies are likely to respond differently to

social pressure than larger-scale mining firms, which may have higher reputational risks. Corporate styles, capacities and cultures differ, thus it is highly relevant to assess how companies vary in their approaches to community development (Bebbington, et al., 2008). The evidence demonstrates how Kansanshi has struggled with various community development aspects, including formulating a coherent CSR and infrastructure project strategy. Although the mine is seeking to address some of these concerns, it's somewhat ad hoc and fragmented approach confirms observations that junior and mid-tier companies often take pragmatic case by case responses to sustainable development issues, which "in some cases results in good work but is generally not benchmarked to international standards and can be highly variable in the quality of both delivery and outcome" (Buxton, 2012: 8). However, best practice guidelines and international standards may in fact be tailored to the priorities of industry, rather than to those of mine-affected communities (Whitmore, 2006).

Another substantive research finding, as noted above, concerns the limited abilities of communities to hold companies and local government to account, particularly in the New Copperbelt. Policy coherence is needed which aligns CSR strategies with district, regional and national development objectives and drives the transparency and accountability of both private and public actors. Linkages between local CSOs and national/international NGOs could, for example, enable communities around the mine to share experiences, lessons learned, and effective company and local government engagement strategies. There is also an interesting opportunity to carry out similar research in other extractive contexts within and beyond Zambia. This comparative research can provide important insight into effective community-company-local government engagement, and build linkages between CSOs and communities living in close proximity to large-scale mining operations.

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