

# 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. Poor, rural, politically marginalized and indigenous communities are often significantly impacted by the extraction of fuel and non-fuel minerals. This paper explores the challenge of resource-led development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt' (i.e. the Northwestern Province). It explains how Kansanshi, a mid-tier mining company, has struggled with various community development aspects, including resettlement and compensation, hiring and employment, the maintaining of local government interactions and 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 and national/international non-governmental organizations. This would enable communities around the mine to share experiences, lessons learnt and effective company and local government engagement strategies.

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## Introduction

Global demand for minerals has grown rapidly over the past decade, driven largely by emerging developing nations in Asia seeking to secure access to

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strategic assets for their rapidly industrializing economies. Africa in particular has found itself at the centre of this geopolitical scramble for natural resources, as its reserves 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). The extractive industries have thus been under sustained pressure to improve the sustainability of their operations in developing countries.

The maximization of mining's contribution to community development has been particularly challenging (Bebbington *et al.*, 2008). 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 assume 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, p. 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 the amalgamation 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, assessing 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 the Solwezi District, Northwestern Province, which reopened in 2005, and is now the eighth largest copper mine in the world. The data presented in this paper were collected as part of a larger study, which aimed to broaden the understanding of 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](http://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, namely the perception of community benefits and barriers. 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 6 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, in addition to 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 km<sup>2</sup> 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 the Lumwana mine (65 km to the west). Kansanshi Mining Plc, a First Quantum Minerals (FQM) subsidiary, owns 80 percent of the Kansanshi

mine, while the remaining 20 percent 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 people are employed directly by Kansanshi Mining Plc, while the remainder are employed through contractors.

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 1). 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.

## Community benefits and barriers

### *Infrastructure and CSR projects*

Regarding infrastructure, Kansanshi staff noted that there are a variety of projects which have or will be undertaken, including 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 as one officer explained, at the same time, 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'.

The mine also supports a variety of CSR projects in areas such as health, education and local enterprise development. On the issue of health care, 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 programme and a malaria prevention programme. A plethora of health-related infrastructure

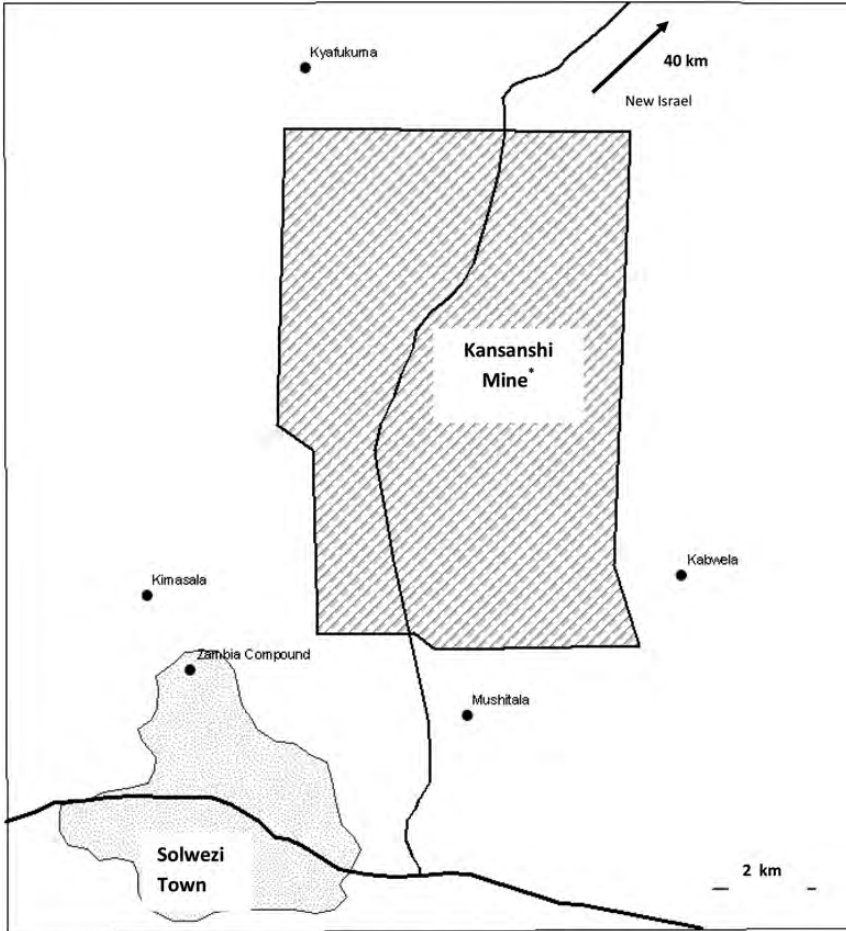


Figure 1 Map of the Kansanshi mine and adjacent communities

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, residents consulted in Kabwela, Kimasala and Zambia Compound 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 the lack of access to proper medical facilities, and hence recommended that the mine invest in upgrading some of the local clinics. In Kyafukuma, for instance, the only health facility in the community is understaffed. Its

two nurses serve 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. One resident reflected on the situation in an interview:

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. At the time this research was being carried out, the Solwezi training centre was being upgraded, plans for a community school were being hatched for New Israel and US\$5 million had been secured to build a high school to serve 1000 students in Solwezi. Community respondents generally described education projects in a positive light, grateful for 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 have not been met, leaving the 412-student local school with one teacher, who, quite problematically, lives 15 km away from the community. In New Israel, however, a 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 the issue of 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 concerning its operations. For instance, during the economic crisis (2008–2009), the foundation was inactive, and in the past, there were instances where funds were mismanaged and embezzled (e.g. bribes were received from contractors). Another complication concerns the board of the foundation. It 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 described developments more positively than residents. They all seemed pleased that Kansanshi was able to complement government efforts in such areas as education and health care. In addition to undertakings in the communities, projects launched in Solwezi were well-received, including the construction of classrooms in the Solwezi High School and a new mortuary unit at the municipal hospital. Kansanshi's assistance with financial and material support to various government programmes, such as International Women's Day, was also acknowledged.

### *Employment*

On the topic of the mine's economic impact on the host community, Kansanshi staff held that there have been a number of positive developments, particularly in the area of employment. Reflecting on community concerns over the lack of local employment opportunities, Kansanshi and its contractors stressed that the large majority of workers were, indeed, from Zambia. The 2010 Corporate Sustainability Report highlighted that 'local citizens' accounted for 90–95 percent of the workforce, while one of the contractors, Teichmann, emphasized that out of its 526 employees only 2 percent are non-Zambian (FQM, 2010). The number of workers who actually originate from the Solwezi area, however, 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)

During interviews with local government officials, it was explained that the low level of education among community members is the main issue preventing them from securing high skilled jobs.

On the issue of employment, mixed responses were again received in the six communities. 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 major concern, with corruption, in-migration and a lack of necessary skills to gain employment at the mine identified as major barriers. The vast majority of skilled labour is sourced from the Copperbelt and if locals do succeed in securing low-skilled jobs, they are often paid low salaries working for contractors. A lack of salary harmonization between those employed directly at Kansanshi and those working for contractors was often stressed, the main message conveyed being that 'There is no equal pay for equal work at the mine'. Notably, most contractors originate from outside the Northwestern Province and therefore tend to recruit workers for the mine from their areas of residence. Kansanshi staff indicated that the company encourages 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 launched 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 employed only for the course of a few weeks or months. As of September 2011, Kansanshi had discontinued Lucky Dip because of the challenges with 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 facilitating prosperity and progress in Solwezi. As a Kansanshi staff member explained in an interview, 'Definitely, there are more people with money in their pockets'. Furthermore, it was stressed that because of the mining-related growth in the Northwestern Province, banks and telecom companies have been established in Solwezi.

Local procurement was also identified 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 spent 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. 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 explained, ‘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 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 the country (Carmody, 2011).

From a local government perspective, the most visible economic benefits from Kansanshi include the increased revenue for the Solwezi Municipal Council, which is receiving over ZMK3 billion (approximately US\$600,000) in property rates, and 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 generating 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 led to 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 have led to accommodation becoming quite expensive, and have placed 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. The

high bus transport cost from this new location to Solwezi has 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 bribery in the Kansanshi foundation were valid, one staff member, following the hiring of a new foundation coordinator, explained that 'there [was] a new sheriff in town'. A lack of proper accountability in communities and local government was identified as the primary 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. One staff member reflected on this, explaining that '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'.

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 communities where 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 dis-

placed as a result of the operations of the mine, compensation packages for the assets never occurred. Kabwela has been earmarked for the construction of a new tailings dam. The lack of information about compensation, however, is causing significant concern in this community, because, as one resident explained in an interview, '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'.

An added complication is that company officials seem to be of the view that people who were unwilling to be resettled or land speculators seeking compensation from the company are posing considerable strain to company–community relations.

## Discussion

The above findings highlight a rather uncoordinated approach to community development in the extractive industries. Critiques often identify the short-sighted and paternalistic approaches of extractive firms as the root cause of suboptimal community development outcomes (Muthuri, 2008). Here, the discussion is broadened to identify how key actors such as the company, local government and the community interact to shape and constrain local development.

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 healthy relationships 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.

Second, 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. In critically assessing the responses from provincial and local government officials, it becomes clear that there have been interactions with the mine at multiple levels (e.g. through the foundation), although these started with difficulties, particularly concerning the local council. One official summed up why in an interview, explaining that, 'Kansanshi overlooked the Council in the past, the Council was nobody, even in their attitude to obligatory issues such as paying rates'. Problems remain, however, as evidenced by the many complaints voiced by local council officials. Interviewees explained that the local council had not been invited to participate in discussions yielding development agreements between Kansanshi and higher levels of government. As one official noted in an interview: '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 working in partnership with authorities at the national level, which has led to an antagonistic relationship between the local council and Kansanshi. The links between local governments, communities and mining companies are a largely understudied area, with the focus often being 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 the 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 make council budgeting processes more transparent and accountable. 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 on the agenda of community members as did employment concerns. An issue consistently highlighted by both community and company representatives was 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 source 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 to do so.

Fourth, with regard 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 New 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, in line with international best practice. The contractor held extensive consultations with Kabwela community members concerning 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, 2008). 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 take place, 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 (Parker *et al.*, 2008). In fact, Kansanshi personnel noted few civil society organizations (CSOs) in Solwezi that were interested in 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 on-going 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 that 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, due to intra-community politics. These 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 regard to the benefits and barriers of copper mining's contribution to community development in the 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, p. 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, its 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, p. 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 significant research finding, as noted above, concerns the limited abilities of communities to hold companies and local government to account, in this case, in the New Copperbelt. Policy coherence is needed, which is capable of aligning CSR strategies with district, regional and national development objectives and improving the transparency and accountability of both private and public actors (Van Alstine, *forthcoming*). Linkages between local CSOs and national/international NGOs could, for example, enable communities around the mine to share experiences, lessons learnt and effective company and local government engagement strategies. Finally, comparative research is needed to provide further invaluable insights into effective community–company–local government engagement.

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