SOUTHERN AFRICAN
PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
VOLUME 4 NUMBER 2

ARTICLE

Social Conflict in the Context of the Development of New Mining Concessions in Zambia

Robby Kapesa, Jacob Mwitwa and D.C. Chikumbi
Copperbelt University, Zambia

Abstract

Zambia's mining sector currently accounts for over 80% of the country's total export earnings, contributes about 11 per cent to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and it has created over 65,000 jobs in the fourth largest copper producing country in the world. It is worth noting that the improvement in the sector's performance is highly attributed to a favourable investment climate and competitive global metal prices, among other factors. This is evidenced by the expansion of the industry both in terms of quantity and type of minerals mined in the country. This article reports on new direct foreign investments, the impacts of new mining concessions on local livelihoods and the conflicts they have triggered. The authors review evidence regarding debates on the resource curse and the possibility of an extraction-led pathway to development and its consequent social conflicts. Further, the authors describe different types of resentments and social mobilization that have greeted mineral expansion at two mining concessions within the country, and consider how far these conflicts have changed the relationships between mining firms and local communities. The conclusions in this paper address how far economic benefit-based social conflicts can be managed in mining communities so that the very investment that was meant to improve the livelihoods of the local people in those communities is not threatened.

Background

Mining is an activity that should bring extensive economic benefits to poor countries, especially those (like Zambia) that lack alternative sources of development and are otherwise unattractive to foreign investors. Since 1991, a great deal has been done to establish an enabling framework for mineral investment in Zambia. A new mineral policy, together with legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks more favourable to private investors were formulated and established (UNCTAD 2006). Emphasis was placed on security of tenure and strengthening of mineral rights. Comprehensive packages of incentives for the mining investors in terms of reduced taxes and royalties were also approved. Much of this was due to World Bank interventions (World Bank &

IFC 2002). Associated with a rise in mineral prices, this resulted in substantial inflows of foreign direct investment (FDI) from as low as US$121.7 million in 2000 to US$334.0 million in 2004 (UNCTAD 2006), creating new opportunities as well as challenges for Zambia. Zambia's Investment Policy Review Report (UNCTAD 2006) further indicates that the country's new opportunities include: technology and skills transfer, hard-currency earnings in the economy, increase in government revenue, direct and indirect employment, and infrastructure development such as roads, electricity, water, local development and contribution towards the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Zambia's GDP has been growing steadily since 2004. Table 1.1 gives Zambia's real GDP growth and other macroeconomic indicators from 2010 to 2014.

Table 1. Macroeconomic Indicators (Figures for 2014 are projections)

Macroeconomic indicators	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Real GDP growth	7.6	6.7	7.3	6.5	6
Real GDP per capita growth	7.0	3.1	3.4	3.3	5.4
CPI inflation	7.9	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.9
Budget balance % GDP	-3	-2.6	-3.6	-3	-3.5
Current account % GDP	3.6	3.2	3.9	4	4.2

Source: Ministry of Finance and National Planning (MFNP) (2014)

Regrettably, Zambia has failed to translate GDP growth into tangible economic benefits especially for rural communities where mining is taking place. To reverse the increase in poverty, Zambia's economy needs to grow by more than 7%, while policy should ensure that the growth is inclusive (UNCTAD 2006). Macroeconomic and structural policies that promote job creation, social empowerment and significant levels of investment in health and education are essential to achieve economic inclusion (African Economic Outlook 2012; World Bank 2012). Unfortunately, Zambia occupies 164th position out of 179 countries on the UNDP's Human Development Index, with over 60 percent of the population living below the national poverty line, of which over 40% are in extreme poverty (UNDP 2013)

With these realities in mind, the present paper addresses the following questions: To what extent are the livelihoods of the local people in a manganese mine in Matelo; and a copper mine in Kalumbila, impacted upon by mining activities taking place in the area? And what social conflicts are resulting from mining activities in both Matelo and Kalumbila mining communities? Subsequent to this introduction is the clarification of the key concepts used in this discourse, followed by a brief discussion of the theoretical framework within which we pose these questions. The remainder of the discourse is subsumed under the three remaining thematic sections.

Conceptual explications

Given the reality that concepts in social sciences elicit varying meanings, we will clarify the usage of the key concepts – mining, economic benefits and conflict – as a way of providing a common platform upon which the interpretation of these concepts can be based and also as a means of understanding their linkages in social existence.

Campbell (2008) defines mining as the extraction of valuable materials from the earth from an ore body, lode, vein, seam, or reef, which forms the mineralised package of economic interest to the mining firms. Mining is accompanied by many disruptions to the social, environmental, cultural and economic issues of surrounding communities. Jenkins (2004) argues that historically, the mining industry has taken a "devil may care" attitude to the impacts of its operations, often acting without social legitimacy, causing major devastation, and also leaving when an area has been exhausted of all economically valuable resources a legacy of impunity and poverty. Similarly, Hilson (2002) argues that mining activities can be potentially destructive to host communities. It is this very nature of mining operations that carries with it the inevitable phenomenon of conflict. Mining-induced environmental degradation, violation of human rights, forceful evictions and demolitions affect the way mining is perceived at a local community level and to a greater extent evoke local hostility and resistance against existing and proposed mining projects.

Therefore, in this paper, mining is largely seen as a socio-economic issue associated with loss or significant reduction of access to basic natural resources on which communities depend. Notably, social-economic and environmental impacts associated with extractive sector developments can exacerbate conflict through diverse mechanisms, generating the need for multi-level and multi-disciplinary analysis resulting in mining development in Zambia to be seen as both an environmental and socio-economic challenge.

The concept of economic benefits refers to both tangible and intangible gains. Goessling (2010) argues that multinational corporations (MNCs) remain as major beneficiaries of mining projects in most developing countries and, to a lesser extent, individuals in the ruling governments. Mining in Zambia is no different, and very rarely contributes to an improvement in the situation of local communities (Mwitwa et al. 2011, Mwitwa and Kabemba 2007, Moyo 2012, German et al. 2014). Profits made from mining are transferred abroad and appear to function poorly in raising the level of economic development in local communities and the country at large. Meher (2009) links technological advancements and the need for highly qualified workers to low employment opportunities available to local and indigenous people in economically undeveloped rural regions hosting mining activities. This is the case in Matelo and Kalumbila, discussed in this paper, as the few employment opportunities created by the

mining companies operating in the area were usually taken up by ‘outsiders’ due to lack of education and necessary skills by the locals.

Furthermore, loss of access to natural resources, physical displacement, and relocation of communities to pave the way for the establishment of private mining concessions are widely acknowledged as posing an enormous social risk to the affected communities (Banks 2013; German et al. 2014; Kemp and Owen 2015; Sonter et al. 2014). Unlike other industries such as agriculture and manufacturing, mining companies are faced with high levels of uncertainty around their land requirements. Banks (2013) attributes this uncertainty to improved geological knowledge as operations progress, commodity prices volatility, and to the availability of new technologies. On the contrary, Downing (2014) blames mining firms and describes it as a “stepwise mining expansion and land take” strategy, the piecemeal tendency in which mining companies move human settlements. This strategy is seen as a move by mining companies to grab land from local communities without attracting significant condemnation from the general public than if land is taken at once. Though this strategy enables mining companies to avoid attracting adverse international attention (Downing 2014), it generally contributes to strained relationships between mining companies and local communities (Davis & Franks 2011).

In addition, Bainton and Mcintryre (2013) argue that mining does not provide host communities with the much needed benefits but instead MNCs are concerned with fast gains above all, and not with establishing any long-term contributory mechanisms that benefit local development and as a result very rarely adhere to the principles of sustainable development.

The term conflict has been defined differently by different scholars. Wilmot and Hocker (2011) define conflict as an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources and interference from others in achieving their goals. Maill (1999) has offered a more relative definition. He posits, “Conflict is an inevitable aspect of social change. It is an expression of heterogeneity of interests, values and beliefs that arise as new formations generated by social change come up against inherited constraints.” Furthermore, Sandole (1999) defines conflict as any situation in which two or more social entities or parties perceive that they have mutually incompatible goals. A scrutiny of the many definitions (including those stated above) reveals that the choice of words depends largely on one’s intellectual persuasion and professional interest. However, a general and logical conclusion is that conflict involves: parties, goals, behaviour, competition and incompatibility of objectives or interests. There is also a greater degree of agreement within the field of peace and conflict studies that conflict is inevitable and that it has both functional and dysfunctional roles to play in society (Ohlsson 1999).

Therefore, it is worth noting that mining and the social conflicts in Zambia are two separate components but are tied intrinsically by development. For the mining sector to

flourish, the business and social environments in which mining is operating from must be conducive. Mwitwa et al. (2012) posit that the extent to which the local people benefit from mining taking place in their community often determines the degree of coexistence of the mining firm and the local community.

Theoretical framework

Structural dependency theory is often used with regards to mining in low-income countries. Mining in countries like Zambia is a capital-intensive enclave industry, foreign-owned, largely expatriate operated and using imported inputs (especially equipment). In Zambia there are not enough linkages created within the local economy to support national development because minerals are exported as raw materials leaving nothing behind in communities where mining is taking place (Kangwa 2008, Mwitwa and Kabemba 2007, Mwitwa et al. 2011, Moyo 2012, Van Alstine and Afionis 2012). This is one of the root causes of local resistance and resentment in mining communities such as Matelo and Kalumbila in Zambia.

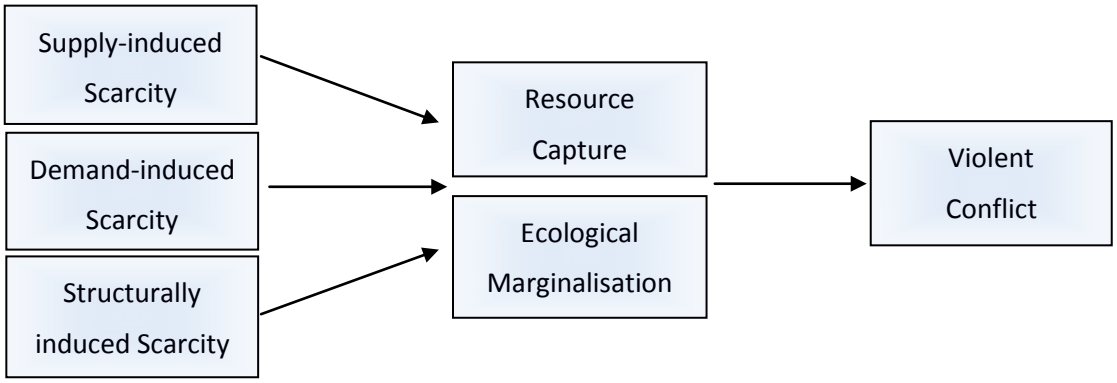
The challenge of sustainable mining especially in developing countries like Zambia is likely to persist well into the future, despite a recent decline in mineral prices (Helwege 2015, World Bank 2013). However, it is imperative for governments in developing countries to realise that while no mining is environmentally benign, more can be done to protect the health and livelihood of the local people in source areas. Sustainability in the mining sector requires the mining country not only to improve the technical capacity of its institutions tasked with revenue collection but also to increase local people's stake in the generated mineral wealth (Mohan 2012, Viale 2013), while at the same time promoting the rights of local communities (German et al. 2014). Thus, from the dependence theory upon which this study is partly based, it can be postulated that generated mineral wealth should work to improve the welfare of the local people in source areas to recompense for the incurred environmental degradation, with a view to promoting peace and stability in these areas. In this regard, the important question of this paper is: To what extent are the livelihoods of the local people impacted upon by mining activities in a manganese mine in Matelo; and a copper mine in Kalumbila?

The link between environmental resources and conflict has engaged the minds of scholars (Gleditsch 2001, Gleditsch and Urdal 2002, Onuaoha 2008) and institutions (ICMM 2012, UNEP 2009). These scholars have argued that denying people access to natural resources upon which their livelihoods depend drive them into conflict in order to win back access to such resources. Based on the aforementioned, Homer-Dixon (1991, 1994, 1999) and Homer-Dixon and Blitt (1998) articulate the theory of eco-violence upon which this study is also premised. According to this theory, a large population in many developing countries are highly dependent on natural resources such as land, water and other related resources for their livelihoods, and if access by the local

people to such resources is denied then social unrest is unavoidable in the affected communities.

In explaining the above, Homer-Dixon identifies three types of environmental scarcity: (i) Supply induced – degradation or depletion of resources; (ii) Demand induced – increase in demand for resources due to population growth or increased per capital consumption; and (iii) Structural scarcity – changes in access to resource due to inequality in the distributions of resources among social groups. The Figure 1.1 demonstrates the linkages amongst majors variables as identified by Homer-Dixon (1991, 1994, 1999).

Figure 1. Environmental scarcity and violent conflict



It can be seen from figure 1.1 that three environmental scarcities presented in the first three blocks interact and reinforce each other, resulting in the two social processes shown in the two middle blocks – 'resource capture' and 'ecological marginalization'. The former occurs when resource depletion and population growth induce unequal access to resources. In such cases, powerful state elites – attempting to secure resources that may become scarce in the future – manipulate a country's policies in their own favour (Bernauer et al. 2012). Further, Bernauer and colleagues argue that the weakness in institutional responses to social grievances increases the risk of violent conflict. The latter process occurs when unequal resource access and population growth affect resource degradation and depletion. Under those circumstances, groups facing resource scarcity may develop coping strategies such as migration.

Mining companies operating in indigenous communities in developing countries tend to place different socio-economic values on land and other environmental resources to that of host communities. Historically, the mining industry's approach to the impact of its operations on land and other environment resources has resulted in massive environmental degradation in source areas. However, mining-induced environmental degradation is linked to conflict between host communities and involved

mining companies (Gamu et al. 2015, Helwege 2015, Hilson 2002, Mensah and Okyere 2014). Therefore, conflicts or disputes between mining companies and host communities centre on the distributional effects – who gains, and who loses and bears the cost exerted on the environment.

The deep-seated theoretical assumption of this theory is that resource scarcity is the product of inadequate supply, too much demand or inequitable distribution of a resource that puts vulnerable groups in a difficult situation. These three sources of insufficiency are in turn exacerbated by variables such as population boom, economic development and environmental degradation. Environmental resource degradation on the other hand will reduce economic productivity, further inducing the disruption of economic livelihoods, poverty and migration. Constrained productivity together with migration is linked to violence usually perpetuated ostentibly along religious, class, ethnic, or linguistic lines (Gleditsch and Urdal 2002, Onuoha 2008).

Therefore, in the context of mining in Matelo and Kalumbila, as will be seen below, the eco-violence theory may be useful in explaining the dynamic link between mining investments and rural natural resource-based livelihoods. In Matelo and Kalumbila, indigenous cultures and identities are inextricably linked to the lands on which people live and the natural resources on which they depend. However, mining activities in the two affected communities are likely to lead to significant and permanent changes to the social, cultural, economic and political landscape; conflicts in the area are likely to worsen as competition over natural resources is likely to heighten between the mine and the local people and between newcomers and the local people. Against this background, this paper discusses the issue of social conflicts resulting from mining activities in both Matelo and Kalumbila mining communities.

Matelo and Kalumbila Mines: Diversity of Livelihoods and Vulnerability Context

The Matelo community is about 25 km west of the centre of Mansa, in Luapula Province, Zambia. It is located on latitude 11°12' S and longitude 28°53' E and lies about 1,216 metres above sea level. The mine is situated at the western-most point of the community. The entire community is within Senior Chief Chimese's chiefdom, situated in the northern part of the Mansa district. The Matelo mine is operated by Genesis Procurement Group of Companies. The mine is currently producing manganese ore. The Luapula Province which hosts this mine is currently considered largely rural and ranked as the poorest province in Zambia, characterised by a monoeconomy with high poverty levels standing at 80.5% (CSO et al. 2015).

The Kalumbila mine on the other hand, is located on latitude 12°07' S and longitude 26°24' E and lies about 1,373 Metres above sea level (FQM 2014). It is situated about 180 km from the centre of Solwezi in the western direction along the Solwezi-Mwinilunga road. The Kalumbila Mine is in Chief Musele's chiefdom in a remote part

of Solwezi District in the North-Western Province of Zambia. The mine is operated by Kalumbila Minerals Limited (KML), a subsidiary company of First Quantum Minerals Limited (FQM) and is set to be the largest copper producing single mine in Africa. Production is scheduled to commence by 2015 (FQM 2014). Zambia's 2013-2014 demographic and health survey ranks North-Western Province as the second poorest province in Zambia with high income inequalities and poor amenities (CSO et al. 2015).

In the case of Matelo and Kalumbila, even though households do not derive their income and livelihood exclusively from agriculture, it is however the principal land-based livelihood strategy. These communities are characterised by monoeconomies with, among other hardships, poor infrastructure, poor access to social and economic amenities, poor water and sanitation conditions, and low levels of economic activities (CSO et al. 2015). The Catholic Diocese of Solwezi (2013) submits that local people living in the rural areas of North-Western Province engage themselves in small scale farming as their main occupation and, that farming stands at 72% compared to other livelihood activities in the area. Similarly, civil society for poverty reduction (CSPR) (2013) confirms that the agriculture sub-sector contributes significantly to improved rural livelihoods of more than 80% of the rural people in Luapula Province.

To complement subsistence income from traditional agriculture, rural households in both Matelo and Kalumbila also engage in harvesting and processing of natural resources from the village commons. Chileshe (2005) argues that where land-based livelihoods are of primary importance to households, open access to arable land and other natural resources becomes very important.

Without a doubt, land-based livelihoods, in particular cropping, livestock and natural resources, do provide an important contribution to rural households in Zambia such as in Matelo and Kalumbila. Chileshe (2005) and Mwitwa et al. (2011) emphasise the importance of local people's open access to village commons in Zambia because of the many benefits people draw from such land. Unfortunately, land-based livelihoods in Matelo and Kalumbila have been distressed as access to land and other natural resources by the local people has been increasingly restricted. Previously land that existed as village commons have been turned into private mining concessions in which local people's access is not allowed. Thus, local people can no longer access important resources upon which their livelihood depends (e.g. firewood for cooking and heating purposes; caterpillars, wild vegetable and mushroom for consumption; and thatch grass and poles for building houses).

However, denying local people access to the valuable natural resources upon which their livelihoods depend, comes with a great cost to the mining companies involved as well as the host communities. The costs to the companies include, among others: project delays, damaged infrastructure, diminished reputation, shut-down time, legal and other organizational costs because of the violence and resentment from host communities (Franks 2009, Reed 2002, Ruggie 2010). Kemp and colleagues (2011) identify costs

resulting from lost employment and other business opportunities due to failure by projects to take off, and lost time for personal projects especially for those who are fully engaged in active conflict with the mine where much of the time is spent attending meetings designed to resolved conflict as the major costs to host communities.

Dynamic Link between Mining Investments and Rural Natural Resource-Based Livelihoods

Employment creation

Mining in Matelo and Kalumbila has both positive and negative impacts with regard to local employment. Positive impacts included (albeit limited) new employment opportunities and knowledge and skills transfer. Negative impacts include corruption, in-migration and lack of relevant skills by the local people to gain employment. It was reported in Kalumbila that for anyone to find a job easily in the mine he or she must be well connected to either the chief or to the mine officials charged with staff recruitment responsibilities. At the time of the study Kalumbila had a total of 2,000 permanent and casual workers against the projected figure of 10, 000 workers by 2016 (FQM 2014).

However, in both Matelo and Kalumbila communities, local employment was highly emphasised and was seen as an entitlement by the locals themselves which the mining company was supposed to provide without fail. In Kalumbila, the locals felt of the 2,000 total employed personnel at the mine, the majority of them were ‘outsiders’ (coming from outside Kalumbila). In contrast, the company reported that of the 2,000 total employed personnel at Kalumbila, about 1,600 were locals, sourced from within the communities around the mine (FQM 2014). The perception that there were more labour migrants at Kalumbila Mine than the locals had deepened local resentment and hostility against the mine and migrants in the area.

On 25 March 2015, violence erupted in Kalumbila around Kisasa area in which some unruly job-seekers positioned themselves on the road, burning tyres and disturbing the flow of traffic. The clashes were between job-seekers from North-Western Province and those who had just arrived from other regions within the country, primarily the Copperbelt Province. The newcomers felt discriminated against and were fighting for their consideration while the locals were fighting to protect ‘their’ job opportunities against the perceived ‘outsiders’. The violence left two people critically injured and 18 arrested by the police (The Zambia Daily Mail 2015). Kalumbila Mine regretted the incident and blamed the people of North-Western Province for the violence. The mine once more reiterated the fact that FQM, the owner of Kalumbila Mine, is an equal opportunity employer which does not employ people along tribal or regional lines (The Zambia Daily Mail 2015).

Job-seekers from other regions reported that corruption had surrounded recruitment processes at Kalumbila. They said for anyone to be recruited at the mine he or she must be a local person and well connected to the chief. The job-seekers from outside

Kalumbila complained bitterly against employing only 'locals' and questioned whether Zambia is one country any longer. In Matelo, the same problems occurred, with newcomers complaining that they were being discriminated against by the 'locals' (personal interviews 21 October 2014).[1]

At the national level, the mining sector contributed about 11% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) involving some 65,000 jobs in Zambia in 2010 (World Bank 2011), compared to 56,200 jobs and a contribution of about 5% to the country's total GDP in 2014 (Chamber of Mines 2014). In 2013, mining contributed only 3.5% to the country's total employment (World Bank 2013). The 2013 Afrobarometer Survey indicated that "unemployment" topped the list of the most critical problems facing Zambia that the people in the country wanted the government to urgently address (Afrobarometer 2013). This situation did not change much from 2009 when unemployment was ranked the second biggest problem, after agriculture (World Bank 2012b).

Therefore, it is clear that though unemployment in Zambia is a national problem, in mining communities such as Matelo and Kalumbila located in remote areas, the problem is complicated as other issues such as local benefits and ethnicity have taken centre stage. In Matelo and Kalumbila, employment issues are causing social unrest and deepening local resentment and hostility against newcomers who are always seen as competitors for the limited employment opportunities available. Local people feel more entitled to employment than newcomers; that jobs should be allocated to the locals first before anyone else. However, much of these problems can be attributed to a lack of sufficient employment opportunities available at the two mines to meet local people's expectations.

Support to social services and infrastructure development

In Southern Africa, Kemp (2009) and Kemp et al. (2011) indicate that the relationship between the extractive industries, resident communities and local economic development are frequently symbolized by unfulfilled expectations and even conflict. Unfulfilled expectations in Matelo and Kalumbila include inadequate employment opportunities and insignificant mining contributions to the improvement of social services and infrastructure development in local communities as part of mining firms' corporate social responsibilities (CSR). Infrastructure such as roads, health and education facilities in both Matelo and Kalumbila are in a deplorable state while in some areas within the community access to these facilities is non-existent, due to distances between the community and social service facilities.

[1] Personal interviews with job-seekers from other regions within the country in Matelo.

The expectations of the local people in Matelo and Kalumbila are that mining should improve their livelihoods and develop their communities. Mensah and Okyere (2014) assert that community self-assessment of financial benefits together with corporate promises significantly shape local community's expectations. It is sufficient here therefore to say that the people in Matelo and Kalumbila mining communities expected much from the mining companies operating in the area, but unfortunately, the actual realization of social and economic benefits are far below these expectations. People expected mining to contribute significantly towards improvement and construction of education and health infrastructures, roads, and the provision of water and sanitation facilities. Unfortunately, the Matelo and Kalumbila communities have not received significant support in these areas. Failure by Matelo and Kalumbila mines to provide meaningful CSR projects in their project areas of influence has acted as a breeding ground for disputes and resistance by the local people. The local people in these communities have developed a strong negative stance against existing and proposed future mining projects.

Though many mining companies tend to assert that these expectations are imaginary and often lie outside their sphere of influence as private business entities, they also should realise that a smooth company-community relation is good for the company and that the cost of company-community conflict to the company is huge and puts the reputation of the company at stake. Mining companies, like any other business entities, should develop as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR), programs meant to meet some of the local people's expectations (Davis and Franks 2011, Mensah and Okyere 2014). CSR, therefore, remains mining company's tool for driving the development progress of their catchment areas and the surest way for a mining company to receive a 'social licence' for its operation in the community from the local people.

However, it is imperative to note that the situation of communities in Zambia looking to mining companies as 'development entities' may present shadows of a failure or inadequate efforts of the central, provincial and local governments to take charge of the development process and improve the livelihoods of the local people in source areas by transforming unsustainable resources (minerals) into sustainable social development benefits for local communities.

Support to agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the majority of people in Matelo and Kalumbila and it is considered both an economic activity and source of domestic support. Thus, the land on which agricultural activities are undertaken remains the most important resource for the local people that perceive it as being critical to their livelihoods and socio-economic survival (Chileshe 2005, Mwitwa et al. 2011).

However, there are no traceable contributions towards agriculture that mining has been making in Matelo as part of its CSR. On the other hand, the Kalumbila community

has received a smaller portion of support towards its agriculture sector as part of CSR from Kalumbila Minerals Limited (KML). The support is directed towards equipping local farmers with modern and sustainable farming methods. Unfortunately, the community has lost about 618 km^2 of the total 950 km^2 of community land to the mine. This therefore implies a massive takeover of agricultural land previously cultivated for domestic and economic purposes. The community bears the immediate negative impact of the mining activities on the land surface and also faces displacement and resettlement. The Wanyinwa community was resettled in two locations: part of the community was resettled in an area (Northern Settlement) about 10 km from their original community, away from their farmlands into congested urban-like settlement. The other part was resettled about 40 km away. The Kankozhi community also faces the threat of being further pushed away from their long held farmlands due to the explorative activities of KML mining operations.

On the other hand, the fact that local employment at the Matelo and Kalumbila mines is limited and that locals are not provided with access to financial schemes by the mine as part of CSR or by the government as part of local empowerment, not enough cash goes into the local economy to impact on agriculture. Additionally, there is an informal pressure in Kalumbila on local farmers to plant non-traditional crops such as maize, jatropha and other related crops favoured by the government and the mining company but without fully providing local farmers with enough necessary farming inputs to support the cultivation of such 'modern' crops. In retaliation, local farmers have continued with the cultivation of their traditional crops that include cassava, millet and sorghum despite the poor yield. The mining company has responded to that move by the local farmers by effecting a reduction of the already low levels of support (capacity building in modern and sustainable farming methods) given to local farmers.

From the above discussion, it is clear that local livelihoods in Matelo and Kalumbila have been negatively impacted upon by mining and have remained subsistence in nature or 'survivalist' and are characterized by uncertainty. Chileshe (2005) submits that most rural livelihoods in Zambia are susceptible to natural and socio-economic shocks such as poor soil, poor cash, crop prices, lack of finances, and natural resource degradation. Other limitations identified include poor road infrastructure, distance from health and education facilities. Therefore, there is an apparent need for transformation of structures and processes at a village level to reduce the livelihood constraints in source areas such as Matelo and Kalumbila and to compel mining companies to support agriculture as part of their CSR.

Mining and Social Conflicts

Human rights issues and conflict

Indigenous communities in both Matelo and Kalumbila suddenly have found themselves in a situation where their open access to land and natural resources is no

longer guaranteed. Furthermore, these communities suddenly have found themselves disempowered during decision-making processes regarding mining operations that concern the land and resources they depend upon or with which they are otherwise connected. Their pre-existing rights (e.g. rights of access, use and withdrawal) on land previously held under customary regimes cannot be supported now that such land is converted from customary to private mining concessions.

Previously some land existed as village commons before being converted to private mining concessions. Local people had open access to valuable products on such land that include wild vegetables, mushroom, caterpillars for consumption; trees for charcoal burning; and thatch grass and poles for building houses. These products have been supporting livelihoods in Matelo and Kalumbila.

However, the Kalumbila Mine has taken over large portions of land, installed shafts and other major installations, and fenced the explorative areas to prevent any trespassing and encroachment in the area. While some concessionaires may allow a restricted set of access and withdrawal rights such as use of paths cutting through the concession, collection of firewood, and collection and harvesting of environmental products, as commercial operations proceed (German et al. 2014); others, such as the Kalumbila mine, do not allow even restricted access in its land, thus cutting off benefit flows entirely from the local community. The effect has been loss of open access to valuable natural resources upon which many rural livelihoods depend. Productive agricultural land for the people of Kalumbila has also been lost.

Conversely, the Matelo manganese mine was allowing a restricted set of access and withdrawal rights; (e.g. use of paths cutting through the concession, collection of firewood, and collection and harvesting of environmental products). However, cultivation within the concession was not allowed. The result is a limited access to variable resources and a loss of valuable agricultural land upon which livelihoods in Matelo depend upon.

In both Matelo and Kalumbila, the communities have suffered limited expansion space, as huge tracts of land are under private mining concessions, and impoverishment as a result of the loss of their livelihoods. Locals in the two mining communities disclosed that their consent was not sought before mining activities started in their area. The mining companies in both communities worked out their compensation packages without involving the affected people. The move has seen an increase in conflict between host communities and the mining companies involved in the area. Free, prior and informed consent of the locals help them to have control over granting of concessions to private entities and to understand how the concession would shape the shifts of local rights (German et al. 2014, Helwege 2015, Hilson 2002, Whiteman and Mamen 2002). The granting of a ‘social licence’ to the mining company by the community and the understanding of the local stakes in the project helps to strengthen

the relationship between host communities and involved companies thereby reducing conflict.

German and colleagues (2014) argue that the pre-existing rights of the local communities such as rights of access, use and withdrawal on land can be alienated if no compensation is paid to any of the affected land users when rights are transferred to industry, when compensation is less than its true value or when it is inequitably captured by local elites. Thus, the fact that affected households in both Matelo and Kalumbila are not compensated (or are under-compensated) is an indication that their land rights have been violated. A comparative study of cases in Zambia and the DRC also analysed how copper mines led to increased deforestation adversely affecting forest-dependent communities (Mwitwa et al. 2012).

Therefore, as long as local people's rights, such as access, use and withdrawal on land in Matelo and Kalumbila remain unprotected, conflict is inevitable. The local people want their resources back because to them land is a 'God given resource' and land means more than a resource to them, land is life.

Conflicts arising from socio-cultural changes

One of the significant impacts of mining on the local community in Kalumbila is a rapid change in the economic and social fabric of society. The allure of new opportunities such as employment and business opportunities as a result of mining creates in-migration in Kalumbila. Job-seekers and other migrants, many of whom are from the Copperbelt Province, resorted to camping in local villages around the mine which include Wanyinwa, Musele, Kankozhi and Kisasa in Kalumbila. In-migrants were found competing with locals for natural resources such as land, firewood, and water that traditionally support local livelihoods. These actions, as well as greater competition for limited employment opportunities had aggravated relations between locals and in-migrants. This scenario was increasing social unrest in Kalumbila.

Beyond competition for resources, services, and utilities, the rapid influx of workers and their families can profoundly impact the social and cultural fabric of local communities, threatening their values, norms, and traditions (Banks 2003, Kelly 2014, O'Faircheallaigh 2013). It was reported that social ills such as alcohol abuse, theft and prostitution had increased in Kalumbila since the inception of mining activities in the area. Haley (2012) argues that social ills such as theft, prostitution, alcohol abuse, fighting and child labour that come as a result of in-migration are a danger to the social fabric of society and the reason for many social conflicts in mining communities. In Kalumbila, these social ills have proven to contribute to significant negative social impacts. The consequences include increased criminality, conflict and violence in the ensuing general breakdown in the community's law and order. Changes in community values, norms and traditions have presented the community and the mine management with additional social challenges to cope with in Kalumbila.

Drive-in drive-out arrangement at Matelo mine

In Matelo, mining has not yet impacted negatively on the social fabric of the society partly because of the drive-in drive-out arrangement prevailing at the mine. As an isolated facility relatively close to Mansa town (about 20 km away from the Mansa central business area) workers at the mine prefer staying in Mansa town and only drive-in and out for work. Few local people employed by the company – such as watchmen and general workers – stay within the community. Poor pay is one of the major reasons why local workers cannot relocate to town. Having an insignificant number of migrant and local workers staying in Matelo means social cultural stability is assured in the area. Haley (2012) asserts that where migrant mine workers do not stay in local communities around the mine but scattered around distant urban centres, the impact of mining on the socio-cultural aspects of the local communities is minimal. In Matelo, the negative impacts of mining on the local culture such as alcohol abuse, child labour and prostitution are negligible currently but are slowly coming to the fore in Matelo as the area is being opened up by mining to the wider community.

Mineral dependency, governance and conflict

The concentration of economic activity in one sector gives rise to socio-political and institutional relationships that weaken sustainable and inclusive development. Bebbington et al. (2008) argue that sector concentration of economic activities implies a concentration of ownership and of power (often in foreign hands) which reduces political competition in policy making and institutional design, increasing the potential for elite capture and bias. Mining in both Matelo and Kalumbila are managed by foreign investors. Zambians benefit through tax and other mineral rents. Kangwa (2008) argues that the concentration of economic activities in a single sector in Zambia leads to revenue streams that are large and easily identifiable, triggering struggles over their control. Kangwa further argues that mineral rents in Zambia also feed the over-expansion of bureaucracy, and induce patronage, clientelism and graft that weaken the quality of governance systems. Mineral resource abundance is linked to governance issues which suggest that mineral resources weaken institutions of governance and also bring about rent seeking and corruption (Bebbington et al. 2008, Bihuzo 2012, Burnley 2011, Mwitwa et al. 2012).

Therefore, the major challenges of mineral resource governance for Zambia currently during the sector investment boom are to provide security in employment, income, human rights and agriculture for all of its citizens especially in source areas, and to promote participatory management of resources through transparent and accountable institutions capable of managing its mineral resource wealth for the benefit of its entire population. Presently, Zambia's mining sector has been negatively impacted by a lack of transparency and corruption in the appropriation and use of state revenue.

Recommendations and Conclusions

Recommendations

This study has shown that the current conflict surrounding mining in Zambia centres on inequitable distributions of risks, impacts, and benefits. It has been argued in this study that if this conflict is left unresolved it has the potential to lead to serious costs to the companies involved, the host communities, the government at both local and national levels, and to the broader society. Therefore, while community relations approaches can be of help to shape mining companies' actions so that they are more economically, socially, culturally, and environmentally responsive to the communities their activities impact upon, such as Matelo and Kalumbila in Zambia, there is an urgent need to:

1) Adopt certain minimum guarantees, from political, legal and economic perspectives, that safeguard the interest of vulnerable mining communities such as Matelo and Kalumbila. These guarantees should include entitlements, legal framework support and land users' rights that make local communities indispensable actors in the decision-making framework.
2) Actively engage communities at all levels especially from the beginning of a project to ensure that the expected costs and benefits in the pending mining project are fully understood. Deeper and stronger community engagement will undoubtedly reduce on violence and strengthens company-community relations. Other key stakeholders such as civil society groups should also be taken on board as this promotes a functional relationship amongst key stakeholders, during and after the mining operation life span.
3) Consider sustainable alternative livelihoods that are far reaching and empowering. The government and the mining companies involved should invest in sustainable businesses, projects, training schemes and enterprises that will provide host communities with alternative livelihood opportunities. CSR projects should be directed towards helping communities develop sustainable alternative livelihood activities that will survive even after mining closure.
4) Make conflict resolution process at all levels (community, district, provincial, and national) more encompassing, involving, and inclusive and mutually trustworthy. Existing local mechanisms in both Matelo and Kalumbila do not recognise women, children, newcomers, and other international civil society groups with necessary expertise, thus rendering current local mechanisms for conflict resolution and management inadequate.

All of these proposed recommendations are challenging to implement in a developing country like Zambia with ineffective institutions and poor political will. Conflict in the mining and minerals development industry has persisted in Zambia not only because the multinational corporations operating in the country are exploitative, but also because the country's political processes fail to protect humans and both the

built and natural environment. However, with the renewed efforts, resolute political will and institutional change the mission is not impossible for the country to accomplish.

Conclusions

This paper brings to the fore the social conflict in the new Matelo and Kalumbila mining concessions in Zambia. It argues that inequitable distributions of risks, impacts, and benefits are the key drivers of mineral resource-related social conflicts in these areas and are likely to remain at the centre of mining-related research and advocacy in Zambia far into the future. It further argues that the lack of benefits from mining by the local people lies at the very heart of some of the real and ongoing challenges in mining in Zambia, including: intractable local-level conflict; emerging national norms and performance standards; and ever increasing expectations for the industry to translate high-level CSR policy into tangible benefits.

Property rights and customary uses of land are still poorly defined in Zambia. In both Matelo and Kalumbila, chiefs and other traditional leaders assert disproportionate power as custodians of land and other natural resources. While some of these leaders have used this power to the benefit of their subjects, it is unfortunate that a greater number of traditional leaders in Matelo and Kalumbila have used this power to divert some benefits meant for the whole community to building their own power base. Furthermore, the distinction between surface and subsurface rights that grants national control over land use creates inevitable tension. Not only does it create an ideal environment for conflict over appropriate levels of compensation, but it also leads to forced displacement and resettlement of residents. In addition, traditional uses of open land (village commons), such as grazing land, lack legal title though seen as community resources. Mining firms have appropriated such land, especially in Kalumbila, resulting in conflict between host communities and the mining firms. Therefore, the conflict between mining companies and host communities in Matelo and Kalumbila usually ensues due to the fact that mining companies and communities place different socio-economic values on land.

Civil society groups are playing an important facilitatory and capacity building role in both Matelo and Kalumbila, helping to bridge divergent views between local people and mining companies and to manage conflict within or among communities. They have generally displayed greater commitment to empowering communities than government ministries and departments, and have worked better to integrate the development needs of local people with mining companies' concerns. However, it is imperative to mention that the influence of civil society groups was not always positive as they sometimes pushed communities into making decisions they may otherwise not have made, and some of these decisions have resulted in disputes between mining companies and host communities.

Finally, it is worth noting that though disputes have been comparatively less violent and damaging in both Matelo and Kalumbila than elsewhere, the country's efforts in addressing the underlying causes of these disputes will significantly frame how things evolve into the future. Will there be more resentment, resistance and hostility from local communities leading to severe conflict or disputes? Will current disputes be properly resolved or managed? These are some of the questions yet to be answered.

References

African Economic Outlook (2012) 'Zambia 2012'. Available at <www.africaneconomicoutlook.org>, accessed 12 November 2014.

Afrobarometer (2013) 'The Performance of the PF Government in the Past One Year: Results from the Afrobarometer Round 5 Survey in Zambia' 04 July 2013. Available at <www.afrobarometer.org/files/documents/media_briefing/zam_r5_presentation1.pdf>, accessed 5 July 2014.

Bainton, A.N. and Macintyre, M. (2013) ' "My Land, My Work": Business Development and Large-Scale Mining in Papua New Guinea', engaging with capitalism: cases from Oceania', *Resource Economy Anthropology*, 33: 139-165.

Banks, G. (2003) ' "Faces We Do Not Know:" Mining and Migration in the Melanesian Context', Unpublished paper presented at the 'Mining Frontiers: Social Conflicts, Property Relations and Cultural Change in Emerging Boom Regions' workshop, Halle/ Saale, Germany 18 June 2003.

Banks, G. (2013) 'Little by Little, Inch by Inch: Project Expansion Assessments in the Papua New Guinea Mining industry', *Resource Policy,* 38 (4): 688-695.

Bebbington, A., D., Bebbington, J. H., Bury, J., Lingan, J., Munoz, J. P. and Scurrah. M. (2008) 'Mining and Social Movements: Struggles over Livelihood and Rural Territorial Development in the Andes', *World Development*, 36(12): 2888-2905.

Bernauer, T., Bohmelt, T and Koubi, V. (2012) 'Environmnetal Change and Violent Conflict', *Environmental Research Letters*, 7 (1): 015601.

Bihuzo, R. M. (2012) "Unfinished Business: A Framework for Peace in the Great Lakes", *Africa Security Brief.* Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 21:1-8.

Burnley, C. (2011) 'Natural Resources Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Question of Governance?', *Sustainable Development Law and Policy*, 12(1): 7-53.

Campbell, B. (2008) 'Regulation and Legitimacy in the Mining Industry in Africa: Where does', *Review of African Political Economy*, 35 (3): 367-389.

Catholic Diocese of Solwezi (2013) 'Strategic Plan 2013 – 2017'. Catholic Diocese of Solwezi: Solwezi.

Central Statistical Office (CSO), Ministry of Health (MoH), Tropical Diseases Research Centre (TDRC), University of Zambia, and Macro International Inc. (2015) 'Zambia Demographic and Health Survey 2013-2014'.Rockville, Maryland, USA: CSO and Macro International Inc.

Chamber of Mines (2014) 'Presentation on the Impacts of VAT Rule 18(6)', Press Briefing. Moba Hotel: Kitwe.

Chileshe, R. A. (2005) 'Land Tenure and Rural Livelihoods in Zambia: Case studies of Kamena and St. Joseph', PhD Thesis, University of Western Cape: South Africa.

CSPR (2013) *On Impact Assessment of Mining Activities and the Economic Benefits of the Poor in Luapula Focusing on Poverty Reduction*. LPPMT: CSPR Luapula.

Davis, R and Franks, D. M. (2011) 'The Cost of Conflict with Communities in the Extractive Industries', First international Seminar on Social Responsibility in Mining 2011, 19-21 October 2011, Santiago: Chile.

Downing, T.E. (2014) 'Does the Kosovo Power Projects Proposed Forced Displacement of Kosovars Comply with International Involuntary Resettlement Standards? The Kosovo Civil Society Consortium for Sustainable Development'. Available at <http://allthingsaz.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Final-Draft-Downing-Involuntary-Resettlement-at-KPP-Report-2-14-14.pdf>, accessed 10 March 2016.

FQM (2014) 'First Quantum Minerals Ltd: 2013 Annual Report'. Available at <www.firstquantum.com/Investors-Centre/Investor-Briefcase/default.aspx>, accessed 14 January 2015.

Franks, D. (2009) 'Avoiding Mine-Community Conflict: From Dialogue to Shared Futures', Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Environmental Issues in the Mining Industry, Santiago, Chile.

Gamu, J., Le Billon, P and Spiegel, S. (2015) 'Extractive Industries and Poverty: A Review of Recent Findings and Linkage Mechanisms', *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 2: 162-176.

German, L., Mandondo, A., Paumgarten, F. and Mwitwa, J. (2014) 'Shifting Rights, Property and Authority in the Forest Frontier: 'Stakes' for Local Land Users and Citizens', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41(1): 51-78.

Gleditsch, N. P. (2001) 'Environmental Change, Scarcity and Conflict', in C. Crocker, F. H and Aall, P. (eds.) *Managing global chaos II*. Washington D. C: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Gledtsch, N. P. and Urdal. H. (2002) 'Eco-violence? Links between Population Growth, Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict in Thomas Homer-Dixon's Work', *Journal of International Affairs*, 56 (1): 283–302.

Goessling, K. P. (2010) 'Mining-Induced Displacement and Mental Health: A Call for Action', *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 32(3): 153-164.

Haley, S. (2012) 'Shareholder Employment at Red Dog Mine', ISER Working Paper 2012-2. Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska. Available at <http://www.iser.uaa.alaska.edu/publications.php?id=1481>, accessed 8 February 2015.

Helwege, A. (2015) 'Challenges with Resolving Mining Conflicts in Latin America', *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 2: 73–84

Hilson, G. (2002) 'The Environmental Impact of Small Scale Mining in Ghana. Identifying problems and possible solutions', *The Geographical Journal*, 168: 55-72.

Homer-Dixon, T. F and Blitt, J. (1998) *Ecoviolence: Links among environment, population and security*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1991) 'On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict', *International Security*, 16 (2): 76-116.

Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1994) 'Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from cases', *International Security*, 19(1): 5-40.

Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1999) *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

ICMM (2012) *Mining Contribution to Sustainable Development: An Overview*. International Council on Mining and Metals. London: UK.

Jenkins, H. (2004) 'Corporate Social Responsibility and the Mining Industry: Conflicts and Constructs', *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, 11: 23-34.

Kangwa, K. P. (2008) 'An Assessment of the Economic, Social and Environmental Impacts of the Mining Industry: A Case Study of Copper Mining in Zambia', Master Thesis. Lund University: Sweden.

Kelly, J. (2014) ''This Mine Has Become Our Farmland': Critical Perspectives on the Coevolution of Artisanal Mining and Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo', *Resource Policy*, 40: 100–108.

Kemp, D. (2009) 'Mining and Community Development: Problems and Possibilities of Local-Level Practice', *Community Development Journal*, 45(23): 198-218.

Kemp, D. and Owen. J. R. (2015) 'Mining-induced displacement and resettlement: a critical appraisal', *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 87: 478-488

Kemp, D., Owen, J. R. Goztman, N. and Bond, J. C. (2011) 'Just Relations and Company-Community Conflict in Mining', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 101: 93-109.

Meher, R. (2009) 'Globalization, Displacement and the Livelihood Issues of Tribal and Agriculture Dependent Poor People. The Case of Mineral-based Industries in India', *Journal of Developing Societies*, 25(4): 457-480.

Mensah, S. O. and Okyere. S. A. (2014) 'Mining, Environment and Community Conflicts: A Study of Company-Community Conflicts over Gold Mining in the

Obuasi Municipality of Ghana', *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies*, 5 (1): 64-99.

Miall, H. (1999) 'Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task'. Available at <http://www.berghof-handbook.net>, accessed March 2016.

Ministry of Finance and National Planning (MFNP). (2014) 'The State of the Zambian Economy', Lusaka: Zambia.

Mohan, J. (2012) *Tax Incidence and Tax Reforms in Latin America*. Wilson Center Working Paper. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC.

Moyo, P. (2012) 'An Analysis of the Impact of Small-Scale Emerald Mining on Local Communities' livelihoods in Lufwanyama District', Master Thesis. The Copperbelt University: Zambia.

Mwitwa, C. and Kabemba. C. (2007) 'Copper Boom in Zambia: Boom for Whom?', Resource Insight No. 3, ISSN: 1994-5604. Southern Africa Resource Watch.

Mwitwa, J., German, L., Muimba-Kankolongo, A. and Puntodewo. A. (2012) 'Governance and sustainability challenges in landscapes shaped by mining: mining-forestry linkages and impacts in the Copper Belt of Zambia and the DR Congo', *Forest Policy and Economics*, 25: 19-30.

Mwitwa, J., Paumgarten, F. and German, L. (2011) 'Evaluating the Impacts of Expanded Trade and Investment in Mining on Forests: Customary Rights and Societal Stakes in the Copper Belt of Zambia', Conference paper at the 13th Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons, Hyderabad, India.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2013) 'Extractive Industries and Indigenous Peoples: A Changing Dynamic?', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 30: 20-30.

Ohlsson, C. (1999) *Environmental Scarcity and Conflict: A study of Malthusian concerns*. Department of Peace and Development Research, Goteborg University.

Onuaoha, F. C. (2008) 'Environmental Degradation, Livelihood and Conflicts: A Focus on the Implications of the Diminishing Water Resources of Lake Chad for North-Eastern Nigeria', *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 8(2): 35-62.

Reed, D. (2002) 'Resource Extraction Industries in Developing Countries', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 39: 199–226.

Ruggie, J. (2010) 'Further Steps toward Operationalization of the 'Protect, Respect, Remedy' Framework', Human Rights Council of the United Nations, A/HRC/14/27.

Sandole, D. (1999) *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*. New York, Taylor and Francis Publications.

Sonter, L. J., Barrett, D. J., Soares-Filho, B. S. and Moran, C. J. (2014) 'Global Demand for Steel Drives Extensive Land-Use Change in Brazil's Iron Quadrangle', *Global Environmental Change*, 26: 63–72.

The Zambia Daily Mail (2015) 'Kalumbila Mine Clashes: Police Arrest, Charge 18', The Zambia Daily Mail, Tuesday 31 2015, Lusaka: Zambia.

UNCTAD (2006) 'Zambia Investment Policy Review', UNCTAD/ITE/IPC/2006/14. New York and Geneva, USA.

UNDP (2013) 'Millennium Development Goals: Progress Report, Zambia 2013'. United Nations Development Programme, Lusaka: Zambia.

UNEP (2009) 'From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resource and the Environment', DEP/1079/GE. Nairobi: Kenya.

Van Alstine, J. and Afionis. S. (2012). 'The Challenges of Resource-Led Development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt''. *Sustainability Research Institute-Papers*, 39: 1330-1753.

Viale, C. (2013) *Distribution and Use of Mining and Hydrocarbon Revenues in Latin America*. Presentation Slides. Revenue Watch Institute.

Whiteman, G. and Mamen. K. (2002) 'Examining Justice and Conflict between Mining Companies and Indigenous Peoples: Cerro Colorado and the Ngabe-Bugle in Panama', *Journal of Business and Management* 8(3): 293–329.

Wilmot, W. and Hocker. J. (2011) *Interpersonal conflict*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

World Bank (2011) 'What Would It Take for Zambia's Copper Mining Industry to Achieve Its Potential?', Report No. 62378-ZM, World Bank.

World Bank (2012) 'World Development Indicators', World Bank.

World Bank (2012b) 'Zambia Poverty Assessment: Stagnant Poverty and Inequality in a Natural Resource-Based Economy', Report No. 81001 – ZM. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network, Africa Region, Washington, DC.

World Bank (2013) 'Peru: A Country Committed to Poverty Reduction and Shared Prosperity', News Release, 28 June 2013. Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/ 2013/06/27/peru-comprometido-conreducir-pobreza>, accessed 11 December 2014.

World Bank (2013) 'Zambia's Jobs Challenge: Realities on the Ground', Zambia's economic brief, October 2013.

World Bank and International Finance Corporation (2002) *Large Mines and Local Communities: Forging Partnerships, Building Sustainability*. International Finance Corporation.

Biographical Note

Robby Kapesa (PhD candidate) and D.C. Chikumbi (lecturer) and are based at the Dag Hammarskjöld Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (DHIPS) at Copperbelt University, Zambia. Jacob Mwitwa is a professor at the School of Natural Resources, Copperbelt University, Zambia.