

The relationship between mining and local community development:

The case of Munali nickel mine in Southern Zambia

By

Mwape Mungu

**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree**

Master of Social Science (Gender Studies)

In the Department of Sociology at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

SUPERVISOR: PROF. DEBBY BONNIN

November 2017

DECLARATION

I, Mwape Mungu, declare that this dissertation is my own original work. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements.

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.


.....
SIGNATURE

27/03/2018
.....
DATE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God for the good health and strength I have enjoyed while working on this dissertation. Almighty God, I will forever live to worship you.

I also give special thanks to my adept supervisor, Prof. Debby Bonnin for the resolute guidance she has rendered in the entire process of producing this dissertation. I really appreciate the many lessons learnt.

My wife Belinda Pellser, you are a special woman. You have provided unwavering support in all my struggles. While there were times when I almost gave up, you were always there encouraging me to press on. Thank you very much. I love you and truly thank God for bringing you into my life.

To the Department of Sociology (the University of Pretoria), the Department of Gender Studies (the University of Zambia), my interviewees, family and friends, and everyone who has helped me while I was working on this dissertation, I am truly grateful.

Finally, I cannot overemphasise my gratitude to the Maastricht University and the University of Zambia for funding my studies. Thank you so much.

This dissertation is a special dedication to my parents, Joseph C. Mungu and Mable Nkandu. Though you are not alive to see your influence on my life, your desire to see me excel and praise God still drives me. I miss you and it really hurts.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates how mineral resource exploitation intersects with development in Zambia. The main objective is to understand mining contributions to local community development and how these vary according to gender. The study draws empirical insights from Munali nickel mine in the Mazabuka district of Southern Zambia. Findings suggest that the relationship between mineral resource exploitation and development in Zambia has been restructured mainly due to neoliberal political-economic policies of the 1990s. One key outcome is that mining-led development in rural communities was seriously undermined. The research finds that mining-led development benefits men more than women due to the gender relations in the mining sector. Mining is traditionally considered a macho activity, which puts men at an advantage. The dissertation carries the argument that the implementation of IMF and World Bank-sponsored neoliberal political-economic policies compromised mining-led development in Zambia. A focus on neoliberal policies and ensuing privatisation made the country lose the development contributions which mines were making, especially in local mining communities. The subsequent introduction of development agreements did little to improve the situation. In fact, they worsened policy directions, with the country oscillating between tight mining regimes to relaxed ones. One outcome has been uncertainty in mines' role in the development process, leading to limited benefits to Zambia's mining communities. Overall, countries such as Zambia, where there is high dependency on mineral resource exploitation for economic growth, prioritising optimal taxation benefits tends to undermine mineral resource-led development, particularly in mining communities.

Key Terms: community development, development, gender, mineral resources, mining, modernisation, neoliberalism, privatization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of contents.....	iv
Abbreviations.....	viii
List of figures.....	ix

CHAPTER ONE: DISSERTATION INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Research background and rationale.....	3
1.3 Research objectives and questions.....	6
1.4 Research argument.....	6
1.5 Dissertation structure.....	9

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONTRIBUTION OF MINING TO DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction.....	12
2.2 Contribution of mining to Zambia's development.....	13
2.2.1 A brief history of mining in Zambia.....	13
2.2.2 Privatisation of Zambia's mining sector.....	17
2.2.3 Increased Chinese investment in Zambia's mining sector.....	20
2.3 Debates on the mining-led development agenda.....	23
2.3.1 The efficacy of the mineral resource-led development agenda.....	23
2.3.1.1 The resource-curse account.....	24
2.3.1.2 The mineral resource-led development perspective.....	27
2.3.2 The political economy of mineral resource-led development.....	30
2.4 Gender and mineral resource-led development.....	34
2.5 Conclusion.....	37

CHAPTER THREE: EXPLORING THE DEVELOPMENT, GENDER AND ‘GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT’ CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES

3.1 Introduction.....	39
3.2 Discourses of development.....	41
3.3 Theories of development.....	43
3.3.1 Modernisation theory.....	43
3.3.2 Structuralism.....	48
3.3.3 Dependency theory.....	49
3.3.4 Structural adjustment and neoliberalism.....	53
3.3.5 Postdevelopment theory.....	57
3.4 The concept of gender.....	60
3.5 The Gender and Development (GAD) theory.....	65
3.6 Conclusion.....	69

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction.....	71
4.2 Qualitative research approach justification.....	71
4.3 Research site description.....	74
4.3.1 Access to the research site and respondents.....	75
4.4 Data collection methods.....	77
4.4.1 Documentary review.....	77
4.4.1.1 Institutional consultancy reports.....	79
4.4.1.2 Newspaper and magazine articles.....	80
4.4.2 Interviews.....	80
4.4.2.1 Sampling.....	82
4.4.2.1.1 Sampling of residents.....	83
4.4.2.1.2 Sampling of key informants.....	85
4.5 Data analysis.....	87
4.6 Ethical considerations.....	88
4.7 Limitations in the research methodology.....	89
4.8 Conclusion.....	90

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROLE OF THE MUNALI NICKEL MINE IN MUGOTO COMMUNITY'S DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction.....	91
5.2 Revocation of development agreement.....	92
5.3 The Munali nickel mine's operational situation.....	98
5.4 Conclusion.....	105

CHAPTER SIX: THE MUNALI NICKEL MINE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUGOTO COMMUNITY

6.1 Introduction.....	107
6.2 Development situation in the Mugoto community.....	107
6.3 General view of development contributions.....	111
6.4 The mine's contribution to agriculture.....	112
6.5 The mine's contribution to health.....	117
6.6 The mine's contribution to education.....	127
6.7 Employment creation by the mine.....	132
6.8 Conclusion.....	137

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISTRIBUTION OF MINING-LED DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

7.1 Introduction.....	140
7.2 Distribution of agricultural benefits.....	141
7.3 Distribution of health benefits.....	145
7.4 Distribution of education benefits.....	148
7.5 Distribution of employment benefits.....	150
7.6 Conclusion.....	153

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Research focus reiteration.....	155
8.2 Mining-led development in neoliberal Zambia.....	155
8.3 Intersection of mining and development in the Mugoto community.....	157
8.4 Gender implications of the intersection between mining and development.....	162

REFERENCES.....165

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: List of interviewees.....178
APPENDIX 2: Interview schedules.....179
APPENDIX 3: Informed consent letter.....191
APPENDIX 4: Conditional ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria.....193
APPENDIX 5: Introductory letter.....194
APPENDIX 6: Ethical clearance from the University of Zambia.....195
APPENDIX 7: Written permission from Ministry of Health, Zambia.....196
APPENDIX 8: Ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria.....197

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome
FDI	foreign direct investment
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	gross domestic product
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NGOs	non-governmental organisations
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TNCs	transnational corporations
UNIP	United National Independence Party
USA	United States of America
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Location of the research area.....	75
Figure 2: Interviewed community residents.....	85
Figure 3: Interviewed key informants.....	86
Figure 4: Classroom block awaiting renovation at Mugoto Basic School.....	104
Figure 5: A road in the Mugoto resettlement area.....	109
Figure 6: The Mugoto health centre.....	110
Figure 7: Mugoto Basic School.....	111
Figure 8: The Mugoto resettlement area dam.....	116
Figure 9: Houses built at Munsangu clinic construction site.....	125
Figure 10: Munsangu clinic construction site.....	126
Figure 11: Classroom blocks at Munsangu School construction site.....	128
Figure 12: Wood and metal workshops block at Munsangu School building site.....	129
Figure 13: Teachers' houses at Munsangu School building site.....	129

Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Frequently quoted figures show that Africa holds “42% of the world’s share of bauxite; 38% of its uranium; 42% of the world’s reserves of gold; 73% of its platinum; 88% of diamonds. The continent also has enormous reserves of non-ferrous metals like chromite (44%), manganese (82%), vanadium (95%) and cobalt (55%)” (Bush 2008: 361). Despite this resource abundance, there is little evidence that mineral resource exploitation translates into community development. Past studies such as those by Bush (2008) and Ferguson (2006) report that even where strategies have been deployed to convert local resources nationally or pool them regionally, there is little evidence of local benefits. The wide-spread failure of resource-abundant countries to ignite significant national and local community development, especially from the 1960s to 1990s, captured the idea of resource curse.¹ However, a focus on the inverse relationship between resource availability and economic performance (sometimes linked to war and conflict in countries such as Sierra Leone and Liberia, Angola and the DRC) within the resource perspective have tended to downplay context-specific community realities of mining and resource exploitation in Africa (Bush 2008).

This dissertation explores the intersection between mineral resource exploitation and local community development in Zambia. In the period between 1960 and 1994, the mining sector was a key driver of development in Zambia, spurring modernity in mining communities (see Ferguson 1999; Larmer 2005; Fraser 2010; and Banda & Bunda 2016). Today, however, as many studies show, these investments are enclaves for enriching Transnational Corporations (TNCs) while walling off the resource-endowed communities (Ferguson 2006: 36). One key feature of Zambia’s mining expansion (which, arguably, has subsequently proved to be an instrument of undermining mining-led development in

¹ The idea of the resource curse captures the view that resource-endowed states benefit less than they are negatively affected by the establishment of mines in their economies (Pegg 2003; Dobado & Marrero 2006; Sovacool 2010; Dougherty 2011; Murombo 2013). See Chapter Two, Section 2.3.1.1 for details about the resource curse account.

Zambia and part – if not all – of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa) was the adoption of donor-induced neoliberal policies (1990-2000), which led to the privatisation of the mines (Larmer 2005; Fraser 2010). This shift is seen to have restructured not only the role of the state in development but also what the mines could do in Zambia, especially in local mining communities, which historically had a greater dependence on state-owned mines for development (see Ferguson 1999; Larmer 2005; Ferguson 2006; Fraser 2010).

This dissertation engages in this ongoing discourse. It specifically explores the relationship between mining and development, focusing on the Munali nickel mine located in the Mazabuka district of southern Zambia. In this exploration, three main findings were made:

Firstly, privatisation of state-owned mines has implications for mineral resource-led development. One of the implications relevant to this research has been the restructured role of mining firms in Zambia's development process. There is uncertainty in the role of mines in the development process of local communities, which partly stems from the revocation of development agreements between the Zambian government and private mining firms in 2008. These agreements were signed during the time of privatisation from the late 1990s to 2008 (Banda & Bunda 2016: 280; Werner 2016: 36), and gave specific development obligations to mining firms. The revocation of the development agreements is problematic in that it allows mines to define their own role in the local development process.

Secondly, while Zambia's state-owned mines contributed to local community development by financing development projects such as infrastructure development and welfare services provision, among others (Ferguson 1999; Fraser 2010: 5; Werner 2016: 36), it is not clear how mines in private hands are contributing to Zambia's development. Exploration into this finds that mineral resource exploitation offers insignificant development benefits to local communities. This is partly because the Zambian government has prioritised maximising on mineral tax collections as opposed to giving mines development obligations in local communities. This is reflected in the Zambian government's tendency to change mineral exploitation policies in pursuit of realising optimal mineral taxation benefits. This has contributed to undermining mineral resource-led development in Zambia, especially in local communities.

Finally, the research envisaged escaping exclusive focus on exploring the distribution of mining benefits predicated on the assumption of a homogenous beneficiary group. That is, it separates men and women as mineral resource-led development stakeholders of different interests and expectations. In this regard, findings suggest that traditional values and beliefs, which have shaped gender relations in the local community, influence how mineral resource-led development benefits are distributed. The mining sector has historically been regarded as a field best suited for men, and has therefore been dominated by them. Hence, men are in a privileged position to benefit from mining-led development compared to women.

1.2 RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Much research on topics that may be associated with the relationship between mining and development in Zambia has been on copper mines, with little attention (usually none) given to other mines such as the Munali nickel project (see Lungu 2008a; Lungu 2008b; Simutanyi 2008; Fraser 2010; Mususa 2010a; Namatovu and Espinosa 2011; Carmody 2012; Evans 2014a; Evans 2014b, etc.). Although these studies may explore the diverse intricacies of mineral resource-led development on the Copperbelt the attention they give to the development dynamics surrounding non-copper mining communities is negligible. Thus, this research departs from this concentration on the frequently studied copper mining communities by using the Munali nickel mine (the only nickel sulphide development in Zambia) as a case study. This is because the nickel project provides a basis for understanding mineral resource-led development dynamics in a non-copper mining community.

In addition, the Munali nickel mine shares less in the broader history of mining in Zambia as it was established in 2006. It allows us to analyse mining operations that have emerged in a different time period and under a different policy arrangement. While many mines in the Copperbelt Province were nationalised between 1969 and late 1990s, and formed part of *Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM)* from 1982 to the late 1990s, the Munali nickel mine had not yet been established by then. ZCCM was a state conglomerate responsible for the management of state-owned mines which were driving development in mining communities in Zambia (Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010: 8). Having been established after the ZCCM era, the Munali nickel mining project is a good case for

exploring the contribution of private mines to local community development in Zambia. Focusing on this nickel mining project's contribution to local community development, therefore, contributes to a unique direction in mining and development related research in Zambia.

Mining in Zambia has faced criticisms about failure to make significant contributions to the development of the economy. The implementation of neoliberal policies seems to have failed to induce any significant changes (see Ferguson 2006; Fraser 2010; Werner 2016). Since the privatisation of ZCCM, between the late 1990s and 2000, mining communities have been provided insufficient welfare services as, because the mines are now in private hands, they have negligible interest in developing these areas (Lungu 2008a). This is in contrast with the era when ZCCM employed a lot of people, offered free education and health services, constructed roads, provided accommodation and many other development-related benefits (Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010; Spilsbury 2012). This may lead to questioning why state-owned mines were privatised when the mining sector has been very important in Zambia's development process. Furthermore, now that the mines are in private hands, questions around who really benefits from the mines may be considered. Finally, it may be asked whether the mines are contributing to local community development as they did when they were owned by the state.

Despite the seemingly negligible benefits of the privatised mines compared to ZCCM, the mining sector seems to still hold considerable potential to expedite development in Zambia's local communities. Validating this potential, the investments made in copper mining in the period between 2002 and 2008 resulted in sustained economic growth in the country after approximately two decades of economic stagnation (Negi 2011). In export earnings, copper has been Zambia's key commodity, accounting for at least 75% of its total export earnings (Negi 2008: 48). In 2010 the country accounted for 77.8% of the mining sector's total contribution to export earnings (McMahon & Moreira 2014: 13), with recent data indicating that this has risen to 80% and is expected to rise further due to the increased rate and amount of investments in the sector (Banda & Bunda 2016: 280). This further shows how important the mining sector is to Zambia's development.

This potential has influenced me to put the mining sector under scrutiny as it has experienced exceptional growth that fuelled an annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

growth rate of approximately 5% between 2008 and 2012, now accounting for roughly 11% (Negi 2011; Banda & Bunda 2016: 280). The growth in GDP, credited to mining investments, led to the country redesigning its policies to encourage and attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the mining sector (Fraser 2010). This led to increased investment and production in the mining industry, particularly in 2008, with investors concentrating mainly on copper mining (Namatovu and Espinosa 2011). Nonetheless, there has been caution that:

“Whilst FDI can clearly contribute to a country’s development, if not appropriately regulated, foreign investors can also undermine sustainable development by having an adverse effect on the local population, as has been the case in Zambia” (Spilsbury 2012: 240).

The investments in the mining sector are yet to be reflected in increased and sustained economic growth, and ultimately development. This is because Zambia’s poverty levels remain high, with poor living conditions and high unemployment being among the major problems (Namatovu and Espinosa 2011).

What this background shows is that mineral resource exploitation has been important to Zambia’s development, particularly in mining communities. Mining companies were instrumental in local community development, especially in the post-independence period when they were nationalised, as they financed development projects. They facilitated development mainly through financing provision of social services and infrastructure development. However, this role was restructured immediately the mines were privatised, when Zambia implemented the IMF and World Bank-sponsored neoliberal policies. The situation leads me to question the implications of the restructured role of mining companies on the development process of mining communities. This is because the mines are under the private sector, where the main objective is profit maximisation as opposed to expediting development as was the case when they were nationalised. This is what spawned my interest in exploring how mines contribute to development, especially in local communities in Zambia. In addition, the desire to understand the gender dynamics under the restructured role of mines in the development

process of local communities is what has led me to question how the development contributions of the mines are distributed between men and women.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The main objective of this research is to explore the contributions of mining to local community development and across gender lines. Specific objectives include:

- i. to explore the economic development contributions made by mining to local communities;
- ii. to explore the contributions of mining to wider community social services provisioning; and
- iii. to investigate how the development contributions are distributed between men and women and factors shaping the development contributions

Drawn from the above objectives, the main question this research seeks to answer is: How does the Munali nickel mine contribute to the development of the local community (Mugoto community) and how are these contributions distributed between men and women? In order to answer this question, the following questions will be answered:

1. What is the role of the mining company in the development process of the area?
2. In what ways has the mine contributed to development in the area?
3. How are the development benefits accessed by men and women?

1.4 RESEARCH ARGUMENT

In this dissertation I make the argument that the implementation of IMF and World Bank-sponsored neoliberal political-economic policies compromised mining-led development in Zambia. A focus on neoliberal policies and ensuing privatisation made the country lose the development contributions that mines were making, especially in local mining communities. The subsequent introduction of development agreements did very little to salvage the situation. In fact, they have worsened policy directions, with the country oscillating between tight mining regimes and relaxed ones. One outcome has

been uncertainty in the role of mines in the development process, leading to limited development benefits to Zambia's mining communities. Overall, in countries such as Zambia, where there is high dependency on mineral resource exploitation for economic growth, prioritising optimal taxation benefits tends to undermine mineral resource-led development, particularly in mining communities.

In the case of the Munali nickel mine, which I focused on in this research, in addition to the revocation of development agreements, which affected all mining firms, the mine is experiencing challenges in its operations. These challenges have made the mine unproductive to be a force in expediting local community development. It should also be stated that neoliberalism's advocacy for limited state intervention in the development process makes it very difficult for the state to control the distribution of the possible development benefits emerging from mining in the community. Therefore, while the mine has made some contributions to local community development, these contributions are not significant and are unevenly distributed, with men benefiting more than women.

In making the stated argument, firstly, I explore the role of the Munali nickel mine in expediting development in the local community. The exploration leads me to posit that the mine is uncertain of the role it should play in the development of the local community. This has emerged from the state's revocation of development agreements, which served as a legal obligation outlining the way in which mines should contribute to local community development. The development agreements were annulled in favour of mineral royalty taxes. Moreover, the mine's operations are unstable due to financial and management challenges. Thus, the mine is not sufficiently productive to be a key driver of development in the area. This part of the dissertation argument is presented in Chapter Five, as the focus in the chapter is exploring the role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the local community.

Secondly, attention is placed on how the Munali nickel mine has been contributing to the development process of the local community. In this vein, this dissertation shows how the mine has contributed to education, health, agriculture and employment in the community, as the most notable development contributions following the modernisation theoretical understanding of development. However, research findings suggest that most of the contributions the Munali nickel mine has made in these aspects have not been

voluntary. They are as a result of the mine's quest to meet the compensation agreements made with people who have been displaced due to the establishment of the mine in the Mugoto community. In addition, other contributions have been complimentary to government initiatives. This part of the dissertation argument focuses on the way in which the mine contributes to the development of the local community. Hence, it is presented in Chapter Six, where the focus is on exploring how the Munali nickel mine contributes to development in the local community.

Finally, I shift attention to how the development benefits emerging from the Munali nickel mine have been distributed between men and women. Central to understanding the distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women is the role of gendered traditional values and beliefs in this process. These traditional values and beliefs have produced and reproduced inequalities in the distribution of these development benefits. Men are benefiting more than women as they find themselves in an advantaged competitive position in relation to the mining-led development process. Moreover, in cases where development benefits are directly linked to mining operations that may affect or reinforce profit maximisation, the benefits are given according to a 'gender' considered better suited to delivering in the interest of the mine.

Given that the mining sector has been historically considered suited for men, which makes it male dominated, men tend to benefit more than women from the development opportunities emerging from the mine. This means that gender relations are important in the distribution of mining-led development benefits. With neoliberalism advancing non-state intervention in the development process rather than state-control, the inequalities created in the distribution of development benefits remain unaddressed. Therefore, the neoliberal philosophy and local community gender relations have revealed themselves as mechanisms that produce and reproduce inequalities in the distribution of mining-led development benefits. This argument is presented in Chapter Seven, where I focus on gender dynamics regarding the distribution of development benefits emerging from the mine.

1.5 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

This dissertation has eight chapters which are outlined as follows: Chapter One presents the background and rationale, research objectives and questions, research argument, and structure of the dissertation. The overall purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the entire dissertation.

Chapter Two presents literature on the contribution of mining to development. This chapter has three sections. The first section focuses on mining and development in Zambia. This explores the history of mining in Zambia, privatisation of Zambia's mining sector and increased Chinese investments in the sector. The second section covers literature of global debates on the mineral resource-led development agenda. This explores the efficacy of the mineral resource-led development and the political economy of the mineral resource-led development agenda. In the third section, focus is on literature on gender issues surrounding mining and development.

In Chapter Three, I explore the concepts guiding this dissertation. These include Development, Gender, and Gender and Development (GAD). The concept of development is explored in order to provide the context within which the concept is used in this dissertation. While different theories of development are presented to show how development theory has evolved in the post-World War II era, I make use of the Modernisation theory as the main theoretical paradigm within which development is used in this dissertation. In addition, I use Structural Adjustment/neoliberalism as a political-economic concept that has largely influenced development in Zambia. Furthermore, the Gender and Development (GAD) theory is used in exploring the distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women. This is because the GAD theory advocates focusing on both men and women in analysing development as they are both important stakeholders in the development process. Thus, men and women should not be viewed as a homogenous development beneficiary group. Before exploring the theory of gender and development, the concept of gender is also explored to provide the context within which it is used in this dissertation.

The methodology used in the research is presented in Chapter Four. In this chapter I justify the relevance of the qualitative approach in conducting this research. A detailed description of the data collection methods used (documentary review and interviews) and how the data was analysed is presented. Additionally, I explore ethical issues linked to the research, as well as the limitations encountered in conducting this research. Thus, this

chapter explains how data related to the contribution of the Munali nickel mine to the development of the local community and how these contributions are distributed between men and women were gathered and analysed.

In Chapter Five, focus is on exploring the role of the mine in the development process of the local community and how the mine makes these contributions. The chapter carries the argument that the revocation of development agreements has left the mine uncertain of its role in the development of the local community. This has led to the mine defining its own role, which in turn has resulted in the mine contributing by playing a complementary role to state initiatives and meeting displacement compensation agreements. In addition, the chapter exposes the challenges the mine is facing in its operations as another factor explaining the mine's compromised role in the development process of the local community. There are two main sections in this chapter. The first section centres on the revocation of development agreements as one of the factors that have compromised the role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the community. This is what has created uncertainty in the role of the mine in the development process of the local community. In the second section, focus is placed on the operational challenges of the mine as another factor that has led to compromise in the role of the mine in contributing to development in the local community.

The contributions of the Munali nickel mine to the development of the local community are presented in Chapter Six. In this chapter, I argue that the uncertainty of the mine's role in the development of the community has undermined the development contributions the mine makes to the community. In spite of this uncertainty, the mine is making some contributions to the development of the community. However, these contributions are largely aimed at meeting compensation agreements between the mine and the local community residents, who were displaced and resettled as a result of the establishment of the mine in the area. In addition, the mine plays a complementary role in state-led development activities.

Chapter Seven explores the gender dynamics in the distribution of development benefits arising from the mine. My argument in this chapter is that the development contributions the mine is making in the community are unevenly distributed. Men are benefiting more than women, mainly due to existing gender relations among the community residents and the mine. The gender relations in the community tend to favour

men more than women in relation to development benefits. The situation is exacerbated by the historical view that mining is a macho sector. I link this chapter with Chapter Six by analysing how the development contributions revealed in Chapter Six are distributed between men and women. The chapter specifically investigates the factors that explain the way in which development benefits from the mine are distributed between men and women.

The overall dissertation conclusion is presented in Chapter Eight. In this chapter I suggest that mineral resource-led development is influenced by the political-economic situation in Zambia. Since the late 1990s, Zambia has been following neoliberal political-economic policies which have led to privatisation of mines and the consequent compromise in mining-led development, especially in local communities. Moreover, Zambia's prioritisation of income generation from mining firms has been at the expense of local community development, as this shifts the responsibility of the mines in the development process of local communities back to the state – and the state tends to neglect such responsibilities. Hence, there is need for the state to strike a balance between revenue collection and development. While the state may view maximising revenue collection from the mining firms as important to the country's economic growth, there is a need to put in place measures to ensure that mining firms expedite local community development. Furthermore, there is need for affirmative action to ensure that women are not disadvantaged compared to men in benefiting from development contribution from mines, as mining is a gendered sector.

Chapter Two:

The contribution of mining to development

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I review literature on overriding debates around the contribution of mining to development. Chapter One indicated that this research explores how the Munali nickel mine contributes to the development of the local community and how these contributions are distributed between men and women. Literature review allows exploration of existing debates around mining and local development. Firstly, I examine literature around the link between mining and development in Zambia, focusing on the history of mining in Zambia, privatisation of Zambia's mining sector, and increased Chinese investments in Zambia's mining sector. A large body of literature on the history of mining in Zambia does exist and supports my argument that the implementation of neoliberal political economy management policies in Zambia has largely undermined mining-led development in local communities. I draw on this literature to demonstrate how the implementation of neoliberal policies disrupted the contribution of mines to the development of local communities in Zambia.

Secondly, I explore global debates on the relationship between mining and development and factors that influence the mineral resource-led development agenda. I review in detail literature on the efficacy of mineral resource-led development as well as the political economy of such development. In this review I show that debates on the efficacy of mineral resource-led development centre around two opposing viewpoints. One view suggests that mineral resource endowment is an important ingredient of development. On the other side is the view that resource endowment is not very important for development. The latter view based on cases of economies where mineral resource patrimony has yielded negative rather than positive development consequences. However, literature on the political economy of the mineral resource development agenda reveals that the contribution of mining to development is largely influenced by how mineral resources are managed.

Thirdly, I focus on literature around the gender implications of the contributions of mining to development. This is because one of my research questions is focused on

investigating how mines' development contributions are distributed between men and women. The literature depicts the mining sector as gendered, favouring men over women. This is because mining has historically been considered a macho activity – hence the mining sector being dominated by men. This literature shows that women, as latecomers in the mining sector, are still negotiating their position in this sector dominated by men.

2.2 CONTRIBUTION OF MINING TO ZAMBIA'S DEVELOPMENT

Literature on the contribution of mining to the development of Zambia's economy offers debates revolving mainly around two themes. Firstly, there appear to be concerns around the development-related consequences of the privatisation of state-owned mines in Zambia (see Craig 2000; Rolfe and Woodward 2004; Larmer 2005; Lungu 2008a; Lungu 2008b; Mususa 2010a). Secondly, debate is ongoing on development implications of the increased Chinese investments in Zambia's mining sector (see Kragelund 2009; Gadzala 2010; Kopinski and Polus 2011; Carmody 2012; Carmody et al. 2012; Zhao 2014). To comprehensively understand these debates, it is important to have a historical understanding of mining in Zambia as this history is what has greatly shaped the debates on mining and development in Zambia.

2.2.1 A brief history of mining in Zambia

Mining in Zambia has been predominantly *copper-exploitation* centred; hence, the history of mining in Zambia is generally the history of copper mining (see Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010, Kragelund 2014). Despite concentration being placed on copper, Zambia boasts a variety of mineral resources such as zinc, cobalt, manganese, nickel, and many more (Dreschler 2001; Negi 2008). The *British South Africa Company* (BSAC) under Cecil Rhodes, it is argued, was the first to commercialise copper mining in Zambia in 1895, and the first copper mines started producing in 1929 (Ferguson 1999: 1; Fraser 2010:2; Werner 2016: 33). From 1895, Zambia's mining industry has gone through three major ownership phases: initially they were in private hands under two companies (*Anglo American Corporation* and the *Rhodesian Selection Trust*, now *Roan Selection Trust*) (Werner 2016: 33), then they were nationalised in 1969, and reverted to full private hands in the early 2000s under the influence of IMF and World Bank-supported neoliberal SAP policies (Lungu 2008a: 413).

From the early 1930s, in the period when the mines were owned by *Anglo American Corporation* and *Rhodesian Selection Trust*, Zambia's mining sector was profitable for the owners. This changed in the early 1970s when there was a slump in copper prices (Lungu 2008a: 405; Fraser 2010: 2; Kragelund 2014: 154). However, the *United National Independence Party* (UNIP) under President Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia's first President) nationalised the mines in 1969 following the tenets of socialism, which they called humanism (Larmer 2005; Ferguson 2006; Lungu 2008a). The failure of private mines to invest in mines, claiming that the royalty taxation system dissuaded them, is the main reason that President Kaunda forced the mines to sell 51% of shares to the government (Fraser 2010: 8).

Upon nationalisation, the mining sector became the backbone of Zambia's development, especially in mining communities (see Dreschler 2001; Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010; Kragelund 2014; Werner 2016). However, the first and second oil crises in 1974 and 1979, respectively, as well as the collapse of copper prices in the mid-1970s, disrupted the income flow from the mining sector (Lungu 2008a: 405; Fraser 2010: 2; Werner 2016: 34). Thus, in 1982, in a bid to ensure effective management, the nationalised mining companies were consolidated to form the *Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines* (ZCCM), a state-owned conglomerate tasked with managing the nationalised mines (Lungu 2008a; Adam and Simpasa 2010: 68; Fraser 2010: 8; Larmer 2010: 41).

Due to the profits obtained from the copper mines, there was significant development in Zambia's mining communities in the first decade of independence (Werner 2016: 33), but the development slowed following the first oil crisis in 1974 and the collapse of copper prices in the mid-1970s (Lungu 2008a: 405; Fraser 2010: 2). Having faith that copper prices would rise again, Zambia borrowed from a range of private banks including the World Bank and IMF in order to maintain welfare services provision, which made the country fall into a severe debt crisis after the second oil crisis in 1979 (Lungu 2008a: 405; Fraser 2010: 9). Throughout the economic depression, caused mainly by the oil crisis, the mines in Zambia were making losses and Zambia was running on debt, which gave power to the World Bank and the IMF to force the country to adopt neoliberal political-economic policies, infamously known as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (Ferguson 1999: 9; Lungu 2008a: 405; Fraser 2010: 12; Werner 2016:

34). Ever since Zambia entered the World Bank SAP in 1983, the international financial institutions have arguably been controlling the country's economic policies (Lungu 2008a: 405). This implies that Zambia's development process is being influenced by neoliberal development philosophy as this is the development philosophy associated with institutions such as the World Bank.

The SAP included privatisation policy, which meant privatisation of the state-owned mines under the ZCCM (see Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010; Kragelund 2014). The Zambian government, *Mine-workers Union of Zambia* (MUZ) and the *Zambia Congress of Trade Unions* (ZCTU) resisted this proposition as the mining sector was the mainstay of the Zambian economy (Lungu 2008a; Ferguson 2009; Fraser 2010: 12). Describing the importance of the mining sector to Zambia, Adam and Simpasa (2010: 65) assert that:

“Initially, given the totemic position it occupied in Zambian society, the mining sector was not even considered suitable for privatization.”

However, resistance by the Zambian government, the Mine-workers Union of Zambia (MUZ) and the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) did not manage to stop the privatisation process. The World Bank demanded the sale of the state-owned mines as soon as possible and donors encouraged the *Movement for Multiparty Democracy* (MMD) under President Fredrick Titus Jacob Chiluba (Zambia's second President) to establish an 'investor-friendly' policy regime (Lungu 2008a: 406). Thus, after privatisation of the mines, Zambia introduced investor-friendly development agreements which were signed between the Zambian government and individual mining firms (Lungu 2008a: 409; Fraser 2010; Werner 2016: 38). The concessions in the development agreements were investor-friendly as they were aimed at attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Lungu 2008a: 409; Werner 2016: 35).

The development agreements were lopsided and the Zambian government did not focus much on ensuring that the proceeds from the mines expedited development to benefit local communities (Lungu 2008a: 413; Fraser 2010). Moreover, Werner (2016: 36) reveals that these development agreements were not made public. This revelation suggests that the process of generating development agreements was surreptitiously

controlled. Thus, the outcome of the privatisation of Zambia's copper mines has been loss of mining-led development in mining communities (Lungu 2008a: 414).

In a bid to salvage benefits from the privatised mining sector, Zambia has undergone six mineral tax reforms aimed at maximising revenue collection from mineral proceeds (Fraser 2010: 2; Banda and Bunda 2016: 280). According to Banda and Bunda (2016: 280), these reforms have been as follows: firstly, the Development Agreements regime: These were agreements signed with individual mines at privatisation between 1997 and 2000 (Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010). The development agreements were in place up to 2008. Secondly was the 2008 tax regime which was used from April 2008 to March 2009. Thirdly, there was the 2009 tax regime which was effective from April 2009 to March 2012. Fourthly was the 2012 tax regime used from April 2012 to December 2014. Fifthly was the 2015 tax regime which was effective from January 2015 to June 2015. Now there is the sixth tax regime, the Post-2015 tax regime which has been effective since July 2015.

More important to this dissertation regarding the tax reforms is the cancellation of development agreements. In January 2008, the MMD under President Levy Patrick Mwanawasa (Zambia's third President), through the budget speech by the Zambian finance minister, laid out the detail of a new mining tax regime, effective from April of that year, and designed to capture a greater share of windfall profits for the Zambian government (Adam and Simpasa 2010: 78; Fraser 2010: 19). This marked the end of development agreements. The mines resisted the new tax regime and this attracted the attention of Chinese investors ready to make investments under the new tax conditions:

“picking up apparently unattractive assets that Western capital investors have lacked the interest in or courage to pitch for” (Fraser 2010: 22).

The result of this has been increased Chinese investments in Zambia's mining sector. Thus, since 2008, debates on Zambia's mining sector have included Zambia's mining-led development prospects under increased Chinese investments (see Lungu 2008b; Lee 2009; Fraser 2010; Kopinski and Polus 2011; Nakayama et al. 2011; Van Alstine and Afionis 2012; Kragelund 2014). It should, however, be stated that it was mainly the:

“Western-imposed liberalization that created the space into which investment by Chinese state-owned companies flowed” into Zambia (Fraser 2010: 22).

The above history of Zambia’s mining sector shows that mineral resource exploitation has been important to Zambia’s development, especially in mining communities. But the implementation of SAP policies in Zambia has seen the mines’ role in expediting development in the country restructured. There are two main themes that have emerged from this history. First is the theme of privatisation of Zambia’s mining sector, which has led to the restructuring of the relationship between mining and development in Zambia. In the early stages of privatisation of Zambia’s mining sector, the government seemed to have attached a level of priority to mining-led development through the introduction of development agreements. Nonetheless, the revocation of the development agreements in 2008 suggests a shift in this focus as the state prioritised maximisation of revenue collection from mines at the expense of mining-led development. The second theme is the increased Chinese investment in Zambia’s mining sector. The introduction of a new tax regime in 2008 discouraged some investors, which Chinese investors saw as an opportunity to invest in Zambia’s mining sector. Given this understanding, the two themes that have dominated literature on mining and development in Zambia include privatisation of the mining sector and increased Chinese investment in Zambia’s mining industry. These themes are explored in the subsequent two subsections.

2.2.2 Privatisation of Zambia’s mining sector

The literature around the privatisation of Zambia’s mining sector is generally viewed in two contending interpretations. One perspective holds that, the whole process was flawed and has done more harm than good to mining-led development in Zambia (see Craig 2000; Rolfe and Woodward 2004; Ferguson 2006; Lungu 2008b). This is, arguably, largely due to the way development agreements were formulated. The development agreements favoured the interests of foreign investors while undermining benefits for the local people, for which the Zambian government bears most of the blame (Lungu 2008a; Lungu 2008b). The question is, who really benefited from the privatisation of the mines? This question comes amid concerns noted by Fraser (2010: 12) that:

“The process featured accusations of corruption on the part of the team selling the mines, concerns on the part of the Zambian state that private buyers were colluding with international aid donors, and lengthy negotiations that did Zambia no favours.”

Moreover, the manner in which the development agreements were formulated during the privatisation process facilitated attraction of FDI but paid negligible attention to Zambia’s development needs (Fraser 2010). As already stated, the development agreements were not made public (Werner 2016: 36). This raises questions as to whether the development agreements were designed to facilitate the contribution of mines to Zambia’s development or to meet the interests of foreign investors. If anything, keeping the development agreements secret enabled private mines to avoid meeting the responsibilities (Fraser 2010: 16). This is because the local people could not influence the mines to be responsible as they did not know the contents of the development agreements.

From another perspective, the privatisation process is regarded as a successful implementation of the guidelines of international financial institutions, though manipulated to enrich those linked to the political system and the privileged few (Craig 2000; Larmer 2005). The political environment under which privatisation of mines in Zambia prevailed facilitated and ensured that the politically connected enjoyed the benefits at the expense of Zambia’s development. Moreover, as the World Bank and IMF were pushing Zambia to sell the mines in order to recover the money Zambia borrowed, the implementation of the privatisation policy had negligible benefits for Zambia but served to meet the interests of the international financial institutions (Larmer 2005; Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010).

Generally, privatisation of the state-owned mines has undermined mining-led development in Zambia. One of the specific effects of the privatisation of mines has been compromised employment opportunities in Zambia’s mining communities (Larmer 2005; Ferguson 2006; Fraser 2010; Mususa 2010a). This is because mining has been the major source of employment in mining communities. In analysing the implications of privatisation on the livelihoods of former mine employees and their families, Larmer (2005) and Mususa (2010a) reveal devastating experiences among those directly affected,

especially retrenched workers. Summing up the consequences of privatisation for the Zambian economy, especially in mining communities, Werner (2016: 36) states that:

“As a result of the extent of social involvement and support provided by the state-owned mines in the Copperbelt (including health and education services), there has been some disenchantment over the lesser involvement of the newly privatized mines. When nationalized, the mines were like small local governments onto themselves, providing their own schools, hospitals, sports facilities, roads and other amenities for their employees.”

The process and experiences of privatisation of Zambia’s mining sector may, thus, be described as a short-term success and long-term failure for the Zambians (Rolfe and Woodward 2004). This is because, in the long run, the mining sector under private ownership appears not to have contributed significantly to Zambia’s development, especially mining communities (Lungu 2008a; Simutanyi 2008; Fraser 2010; Namatovu and Espinosa 2011).

Furthermore, privatisation of Zambia’s mining sector may be seen as both a political and economic move that has had devastating effects on the country’s economy (Craig 2000; Simutanyi 2008). This is because in Zambia socioeconomic and political challenges directly link to each other, with political decisions tending to leave the country in a poverty trap that hinders development (Simutanyi 2008; Spilsbury 2012). This may, arguably, be seen in the privatisation process and its devastating consequences on the overall development of Zambia, such as the cut in welfare services and employment (see Larmer 2005; Simutanyi 2008; Fraser 2010; Mususa 2010a; Werner 2016). Despite this atrocious depiction of privatisation, credit may be given to FDI advocates as it paved the way for FDI in what appeared as a collapsing mining sector (Craig 2000; Rolfe and Woodward 2004; Lungu 2008b). However, Werner (2016: 35) asserts that:

“While the hope was that foreign investment in the mines would lead to a revival of the sector, producing employment and supporting the local economy, the effects have been minimal, despite the increase in production.”

This literature on privatisation of Zambia's mining sector provides insights regarding the predicament of the mineral resource-led development agenda in Zambia. This has been predicated on the implementation of the neoliberal political-economic policies as advocated by the World Bank and the IMF. Among the notable results of Zambia's implementation of neoliberal policies in the mining sector is privatisation of state-owned mines. This has development implications as the role of the mines in the development process has been restructured. The restructured role of mining firms in the development process raises questions around who holds the responsibility for ensuring mining-led development in Zambia, especially in mining communities.

2.2.3 Increased Chinese investment in Zambia's mining sector

Among the outcomes of privatisation of the mining sector has been an influx of Chinese investments in Zambia's mining sector, particularly after the revocation of development agreements. Literature on increased Chinese investments in Zambia's mining sector is mainly twofold, having political and economic dimensions. Political debates largely revolve around the historical relations between China and Zambia (Kopinski and Polus 2011), and how this has compromised the Zambian political system, as China is seen to have been indirectly influencing FDI policies in Zambia (Carmody et al. 2012). It is asserted that, due to historical relations that exist between the two countries, Zambia is placed in a position of compromise in anticipation of assistance from China under the pretext of diplomatic relations (Kopinski and Polus 2011; Kragelund 2014). Thus, it may be argued that this has sublimely influenced the government of Zambia to embrace Chinese FDI with little consideration of the contribution the Chinese make to the development of the local economy.

Economic debates regarding Chinese investment in Zambia are embedded in the way China conducts business in the country, and indeed in Africa as a continent. Chinese investments appear to show little or no regard for the development of local communities (Zhao 2014). In this regard, Anyu and Ifedi (2008: 105) assert that Chinese investment may be detrimental to Africa, especially for infant industries which may not be able to compete with the Chinese in terms of capital or the quantity and price of goods they are able to offer. That is, Chinese investors are better placed than African infant industries to

supply bulky, cheap goods. Therefore, local infant industries are more likely to be pushed out of business by Chinese investments.

It should, however, be stated that despite such concerns, “nowhere in the continent was China’s role in African development more prominent than in Zambia and Tanzania” (Lee 2009: 649). This has been perpetuated by the understanding that Chinese FDI is important for the development of small African countries such as Zambia (Kragelund 2009). Moreover, China is known for providing non-concessional loans and debt forgiveness, as well as funding public health, education and training, among other things (Gill and Reilly 2007: 37). In terms of financing infrastructure development, the Chinese investors in Zambia fund more of these projects than the World Bank and other international financial institutions do (Anyu and Ifedi 2008; Condon 2012). The only major interest that seems known is that the finances are provided with a view to ensuring that the Chinese secure access to natural resources in recipient countries such as Zambia (Condon 2012: 5).

Additionally, there has been a view associated with the ‘win-win’ outcomes of the historical China-Zambia political and economic relations (Kopinski and Polus 2011) drawn from the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA) line (Kragelund 2014). This view suggests that the Chinese have always been a good partner in the development process of Zambia. However, whether this is a valid assertion is yet to be reflected in the outcomes of the investments the Chinese are making in Zambia. With the understanding that the Chinese have little or no concern for local or international issues (Zhao 2014), concerns regarding the Chinese mining companies’ contribution to the development of the local communities can be justified. This is because it may be unrealistic to expect significant development contributions from an investor who shows little or no concern for the local people.

The main concern with Chinese investment has been around the environmental contamination or pollution that the mining companies have deposited on the local communities (Kambole 2003; Lungu 2008b; Nakayama et al. 2011; Van Alstine and Afionis 2012). The mines, especially those that are Chinese-owned, have come under close scrutiny from Zambians as regards their policies concerning pollution. It is argued that these mines operate to low environmental standards (Kambole 2003; Carmody 2012). They are endangering the livelihoods of the local people through air pollution and

contamination of water, as well as land degradation, as exemplified by the water pollution of the Kafue river (Kambole 2003). In addition to environmental concerns, Werner (2016: 37) argues that, “other complaints have been surrounding the health and safety of mines particularly in Chinese-held mines in Zambia.” This is largely in relation to the Zambians employed in these mining firms as they are the ones who are mostly affected.

This literature on increased Chinese investments in Zambia’s mining sector suggests that the influx in Chinese FDI has created new challenges and opportunities for Zambia’s development. The major challenges include pushing infant industries out of business, environmental pollution, and organisational health and safety compromise for the Zambian employees in Chinese mines. This does not only compromise the wellbeing of local communities, but also suggests that the Chinese have negligible commitment to contributing to the development of local communities where they are operating. However, at the same time, the Chinese are financing Zambia through non-concessional loans, which can be seen as a contribution to Zambia’s development process. Given these two opposite realities, the Zambian government has to find a way of balancing having access to finances with ensuring that Chinese mining firms are held responsible in their operations and facilitate, instead of compromising local community development.

Having presented this literature on the relationship between mining and development in Zambia, in the following section I present debates on the mineral resource-led development agenda at the global level.

2.3 DEBATES ON THE MINING-LED DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

The contribution of mining to development in resource-endowed communities stirs debates in extensive resource-led development literature. The literature seems broadly distributed across two themes. The first theme focuses on contested analyses of the efficacy of the mineral resource-led development agenda (see Pegg 2003; Dobado and Marrero 2006; Dougherty 2011; Murombo 2013; Standing and Hilson 2013). The second theme centres on the political economy of managing mineral resources (see Canterbury 2003; Hilson 2004; Mohan and Power 2009; Dougherty 2011; Frangie 2011; Barma et al. 2012; Standing and Hilson 2013).

These themes are discussed in the next sections, and they are arranged as follows: firstly, the efficacy of the resource-led development agenda is discussed in relation to two

opposite views on the intersection between mineral resource exploitation and development. One view suggests that mineral resource endowment is an important ingredient of development. This view is regarded as the mining-led development perspective. The other view focuses on the negativity that comes with mineral resource endowment and therefore argues that mineral resource development is usually a curse in local economies. This perspective is called the resource-curse account. Secondly, I discuss the theme titled the political economy of the resource-led development agenda. This theme explores the politics involved in the exploitation of mineral resources and suggests that mineral resource-led development or curse results from how well or poorly the resources are managed.

2.3.1 The efficacy of the mineral resource-led development agenda

Mineral resource endowment is perceived to be both a blessing and a curse depending on how the resources have been managed in facilitating mining-led development (see Dobado and Marrero 2006; Sovacool 2010; Dougherty 2011). In many developing economies, mineral resource endowment has been described as a resource-curse due to negative manifestations arising from the management of these resources, while a few economies that seem to have experienced mineral resource-led development consider mineral resource patrimony a blessing (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Dougherty 2011).

Behind the support of a mineral resource-led development agenda is the argument that mining is an important development ingredient in mineral resource-endowed communities (see Dobado and Marrero 2006; Mehlum, Moene and Torvik 2006; Dougherty 2011). This assertion is based on positive contributions that mining makes to development. On the other hand, the resource-curse is a contrast of the argument made in support of the mining-led development agenda (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Dougherty 2011). The resource-curse perspective suggests that host states benefit less than they are negatively affected by the establishment of mines in their economies (Pegg 2003; Sovacool 2010; Murombo 2013). Hence, mineral resource endowment is perceived as a curse due to the multiplicity of negative effects. These opposing views are explored comprehensively in the subsequent subsections, beginning with the mineral resource-curse account.

2.3.1.1 The resource-curse account

Analyses on the efficacy of the mineral resource-led development agenda presents more questions than answers regarding the role that mining plays in the development process of local economies, particularly in resource-dependent economies. The concept of resource-dependence captures the extent to which a country's economy relies on resource rents, which is usually measured in proportion to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), exports, or government revenues (Pegg 2003; Ahrend 2005; Barma et al. 2012). To be more precise, resource-dependent economies are often those in which natural resources account for more than 10 percent of GDP and 40 percent of exports (Ahrend 2005: 592). For instance, a country like Zambia, which collects approximately 80% of exporting earnings from copper mining (Banda and Bunda 2016: 280), can be considered a resource-dependent country. Thus, an economy may be considered resource-dependent if its resources comprise the major source of revenue. The sub-Saharan African region, in particular, is richly endowed with diverse natural-resource wealth, but this natural resource patrimony has proved to be more of a curse than a blessing to these economies (Pegg 2003: 4).

The prevalence of the resource-curse may be used as a basis for arguing that mineral resource exploitation is not making significant contributions to the development of local communities. This situation is mainly created because “resource-cursed governments tend to manage natural resources opportunistically rather than strategically” (Sovacool 2010: 229). This is arguably in the interest of the mineral resource-endowed economies' elites who stand to benefit from the mineral resource exploitation (Mohan and Power 2009). Social stratification is usually the result, and in some cases it generates social conflict and crime, which can also produce social instability and a backlash against mining endeavours (Canterbury 2003; Dougherty 2011).

It is worth noting that, particularly in Africa, there has been a remarkable progression in mining investments, and mining industries have in the process been touted as key to alleviating poverty in developing countries (Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Murombo 2013; Standing and Hilson 2013). This should partly be a reflection of a global phenomenon, given that since 2002 the nominal value of world mineral resource production has grown at least fourfold, because of increased output and considerable

increases in the price of primary commodities (Standing and Hilson 2013). This partly explains why Murombo (2013) affirms that extractives, including the mining industry, underpin most economies on the African continent. However, even with this progress, the big question, '*why is there no significant development?*' still lingers on.

The mining industry is traditionally considered among the 'dirtiest' industries as it is responsible for major environmental degradation, negative health impacts, and often has negative social consequences for host communities (Dougherty 2011: 4). Extraction of minerals can degrade the environment by polluting the air and water resources, affecting forests and wildlife, and reducing arable land on which local communities depend for their livelihoods (Murombo 2013: 37). This is probably due to the nature of the mining industry which demands direct contact with the environment (land, water, air, etc.). For instance, slightly over a decade ago, copper smelting in Zambia annually emitted 300 000 to 700 000 tons of sulphur dioxide (Pegg 2005: 378). All this contributes to environmental degradation through air and soil pollution.

Nevertheless, the negative impacts of mining activities are often accepted as a '*necessary evil*' in the provision of the world's needed minerals (Whiteman and Mamen 2002: 18). Whether this means that there are no better ways of engaging the environment in mining, or even ways of reducing the negative environmental effects that come along mining, is something that has to be figured out. In problematising the damage to the environment caused by mining, Latifovic et al. (2004: 29) argue that the problem in management of mineral resources common to ensuring sustainable development is in the quantification of the effects that mining has on the ecosystem. They advise that there is need to balance benefits from resource exploitation against degradation caused to the environment.

There is also growing concern around mining and land-grabs which are causing social disruptions in local communities (Murombo 2013: 37). Land-grabs are in form of displacement of local community residents to facilitate mining operations as mining is usually a land-intensive activity (Downing 2002; Murombo 2013). In this context, displacement involves not only the physical eviction from a dwelling, but also the expropriation of productive land and other assets to make possible an alternative use by the mine (Cernea 2000). In some cases people are asked to relocate to other areas, a common practice now, making for what may be referred to as mining-induced

displacement and resettlement (Downing 2002). One of the problems associated with mining-induced displacement and resettlement is that, the consequences usually create new poverty-linked vulnerabilities for the affected (Downing 2002).

Due to the negatives associated with mining, Dansereau (2005) indicates that some Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and community groups even doubt that mining can contribute to sustainable development as there is usually a lack of resilience and diversification in mining-dependent economies. As such, resource-dependent countries, particularly in the sub-Saharan African region, usually underperform economically and politically in comparison with other countries that do not depend on natural resources (Hilson 2004; Dougherty 2011). In addition, developing countries with large mining sectors are generally economically worse off than countries without large, if any, mining sectors (Ross 2001; Weitzner 2002).

The other concern linked to mining and development is related to it being a highly capital-intensive activity (Pegg 2005: 380). Deepening specialisation in such industries can be detrimental to the development of poor economies as this may consume the limited financial resources and contribute to real exchange appreciation (Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Dougherty 2011). The sectoral uniformity that results from this economic situation leaves an economy more vulnerable (Lewis 1984). Moreover, as commodity prices are often volatile, a situation in which export revenues depend significantly on commodity price developments implies that resource-dependent economies are rendered vulnerable to external shocks (Ahrend 2005: 592). This may also lead to limited effect, if any, on efforts to reduce poverty levels in a country (Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006).

What this literature reveals is that mineral resource dependency, especially in developing countries such as those in sub-Saharan African region, tends to yield more negatives than positives to development. This is because mineral resource patrimony in such developing economies usually makes states neglect other sectors such as agriculture which may contribute significantly to development. With the dependency placed on mineral resource exploitation, failure in the mining sector entails lack of economic growth and general development of the economy. As such, these mineral resource-dependant economies' mineral resource endowment is considered a curse. The resource-curse account has, however, been critiqued through the view that mineral resource endowment should not be considered as a curse as it has the ability to expedite development of local

economies. This critique forms the mining-led development perspective which is presented in the next subsection.

2.3.1.2 The mineral resource-led development perspective

From an optimistic perspective, there is acknowledgement of the positive aspects that can be attributed to mining, suggesting that the mining sector has potential to facilitate development in local economies. Despite the ubiquity of the resource-curse admonition, some countries have successfully leveraged their mineral wealth for sustained and substantive development (Dougherty 2011: 4). For instance, mining appears to have been a significant contributor to the early development stages of Australia, Canada, Mexico, Norway, Spain, and the United States of America (USA) (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Mehlum, Moene and Torvik 2006; Dougherty 2011). In addition, nations like Indonesia, Chile, Tanzania and Botswana are viewed to have mitigated the resource-curse effects of their mining sectors and used those sectors to achieve significant development (Dougherty 2011: 4).

As some countries have managed to avoid the resource-curse, the implication is that “the resource-curse is by no means inevitable” (Sovacool 2010: 234). In this regard, Murombo (2013) affirms that, mines can have a positive socioeconomic impact on local economies. Among the most notable benefits from mining is employment for local people (see Moodie 1994; Hilson 2002; Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010; Dougherty 2011). However, natural resource exploitation generates few job opportunities for the low-skilled who are the majority in mineral resource-dependent economies (Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006). Moreover, the mining sector is capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive which entails that the available jobs may only benefit very few people (Pegg 2005: 380).

Investments in mining can also activate formation and development of small-scale business firms to offer goods and services to the mine and the mining community (Hilson 2002; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010). This is because mining projects are generally a source of financial capital introduction in many poor economies (Dougherty 2011: 4). Hence, the local people may have access to financial capital for small-scale business establishment and operation. Moreover, through employment opportunities, the mining community may attract population growth which will require goods and services

(Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010). Thus, some small-scale entrepreneurs may take advantage of the opportunity to start supplying the necessary goods and services to the mine and the mining community. In addition, as employment is created, it may mean that wages will boost the purchasing power of the local people, thereby having a positive contribution to the operations of business entities.

Mining investments are also usually considered a boost to local economy revenues such as tax and export earnings, which can contribute to foreign exchange earnings (Hilson 2002; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010). Thus, mining may be viewed as an important source of revenue for mineral resource-endowed economies. According to Dougherty (2011: 4), it is important to acknowledge that mineral extraction generates significant tax and multiplier effect revenue in poor economies. In fact, tax revenue is considered one of the major benefits mineral wealth generates for the local economies and can help developing countries deliver development (Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010: 4). This revenue, if properly used, can help in poverty reduction, and ultimate elimination. Echoing this view, Pegg (2005: 376) asserts that:

“Lucrative natural resources, such as copper, diamonds, gold and tin, can provide poor countries with large revenue streams that can be used to alleviate poverty.”

How this revenue is spent is what matters. For instance, if the money is spent on development projects such as improving health, education, road construction and infrastructure development, among other things, it may significantly contribute to local economy development.

Furthermore, Murombo (2013) points out that mining companies often contribute to the development of infrastructure such as roads, hospitals, schools and housing. However, mines have mainly made contributions to construction of infrastructure that directly supports their operations (Jenkins and Obara 2008: 19). For instance, mining companies may be seen to be involved in road construction and maintenance projects to facilitate easy transportation of minerals. Additionally, in order to provide quality health and education services to their employees and their families, local health and education centres may be constructed or supported. While such engagements may contribute to local

community development, the main reason for supporting such projects is not to facilitate local community development per se but to facilitate optimal operations of the mines by providing facilities or services that will benefit them.

Mining can also be an important driver of economic growth which may ultimately lead to development if well managed (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Mehlum, Moene and Torvik 2006). In support of this assertion, Dobado and Marrero (2006: 1) argue that mining was a very important engine for the colonial Mexican economy throughout the eighteenth century, mainly because of the linkages it generated on the market-oriented, more dynamic sectors of the economy. In substantiating their argument, Dobado and Marrero (2006: 4) describe the economic growth in Bourbon, Mexico as mining-led growth because of the long-term expansion of silver production facilitated by good mining policies. This implies that institutional frameworks are important for the mining industry to facilitate economic growth and, ultimately, development in resource-endowed economies. Even though one may argue that so much has changed over the years there are fundamental mining principles to learn from the colonial Mexican mineral resource-led development management.

To summarise the debates around the efficacy of the contribution of mining to development, it can be argued that, while mining may anchor development, minerals have also been often referred to as a curse. In many countries, mineral resource endowment has been described as a resource-curse due to the negative consequences that surround possession and management of these mineral resources (Dansereau 2005; Sovacool 2010; Murombo 2013). However, there is evidence that the mining industry can transform resource-endowed economies into prosperous ones (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Mehlum, Moene and Torvik 2006; Dougherty 2011). Thus, on the basis of the positives that have been associated with mining, what is apparent is that mineral resource endowment may not be a 'curse' per se, as it can be a platform for expediting development (see Hilson 2002; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010; Murombo 2013).

What this literature suggests is that being resource-endowed is not a guarantee that the economy will grow and translate into development. This means that mineral resources are not determinants of development but they can contribute to development (development ingredient) if well managed. What is important is to find ways of mitigating the resource-curse. This is a task that largely lies in the political economy of mineral

resource management, as the way resources are managed is what determines the prevalence of a resource-curse or mining-led development. The next section delves into literature on the political economy of mineral resource management and unearths factors surrounding mineral resource management linked to mineral resource-led development agenda.

2.3.2 The political economy of mineral resource-led development

While there are opposing views on the efficacy of mineral resource-led development, there is literature suggesting that the ability of a resource-rich economy to realise mineral resource-led development or resource-curse is embedded in the way these resources are managed (Hilson 2004; Dobado and Marrero 2006; Dougherty 2011; Barma et al. 2012). In this regard, Barma et al. (2012: 4) point out that mitigating the resource-curse to realise mineral resource-led development may be considered inherently a mineral resource management challenge. As mining expands in mineral resource-rich economies, it is asserted that the mining sector also increasingly becomes a significant source of social and political conflict (Dougherty 2011: 1). As such, debates in literature on the political economy of mineral resource-led development concentrate on the role of the state in managing mineral resources with a view to realising development. The literature focuses much on sub-Saharan Africa. This is because since 1974 economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa has been slower than that of most other regions of the developing world, yet the region is endowed with numerous resources (Hilson 2004: 54).

The modern history of mineral resource (mis)management in sub-Saharan Africa can arguably be traced to the period of political independence, as most African countries sought to reclaim mineral resource ownership and management (Pegg 2003; Hilson 2004). Despite the desire to reclaim ownership of mineral resource exploitation management, sub-Saharan Africa lacked the skills and infrastructure necessary to develop their extractive industries which partly may account for turning to foreign investors for help in mineral resource exploitation in many African countries (Pegg 2003; Hilson 2004; Frangie 2011). However, repeated unsuccessful attempts to attract foreign investors gave rise to a period of unprecedented state intervention in the economy (Hilson 2004). State interventions came with prolonged periods of inefficiency, along with widespread corruption, economic mismanagement, and political instability which caused precipitous

economic decline throughout the sub-Saharan Africa region (Hilson 2004; Frangie 2011). Thus, the state proved to be incompetent which resulted in what may be described as problematisation of the state by neoliberalism (Frangie 2011).

This history of the modern state inefficiency partly validates arguing that the resource-curse story is created through the political economy of managing mineral resource exploitation and allocation of the benefits to facilitate development. It is arguable that the mining sector can have a number of benefits accruing to the local economies or vice versa but management is important in determining the outcome (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Dougherty 2011; Standing and Hilson 2013). In the process of mining-led development, concern should be placed on how the benefits are distributed. A key feature of the '*who benefits?*' question includes the politics of redistribution and accountability attached to such revenue, leading to rents from minerals often tending to accrue to elites and failing to trickle down to the poor (Mohan and Power 2009). Furthermore, Standing and Hilson (2013) question how governments use these resources to facilitate development. This suggests that translation of mining benefits into development is highly dependent on the political economy of managing mineral resources.

There are economies that have managed resources well enough to benefit the local people, such as Australia, Botswana, Canada, Chile, Mexico, Norway, Spain, Tanzania and the USA (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Mehlum, Moene and Torvik 2006; Dougherty 2011). In explaining how these countries have managed to realise mineral resource-led development, political economy scholarship often relies on regime typologies to illuminate why certain types of country settings yield certain outcomes different from other states (Barma et al. 2012: 11). These typologies are distinguished mainly on two crucial dimensions: firstly, the credibility of intertemporal commitment, that is, the degree to which policy stability and bargains over time can be enforced and deviations from such agreements are subject to sanction (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Dougherty 2011; Barma et al. 2012). Secondly, is the overall political inclusiveness of the prevailing state-society compact, that is, the extent to which diverse social, economic, and political viewpoints are incorporated into decision-making, and a sense of either collectivist or clientelist welfare is privileged over purely elite interests (Dobado and Marrero 2006; Barma et al. 2012).

The central political contradiction that many states face in management of mineral resource exploitation is the dilemma between fostering a political environment that will be amenable to the needs of foreign capital and upholding the rights of the citizenry and the integrity of the natural environment (Dougherty 2011; Barma et al. 2012). Some government leaders tend to neglect their social contractual obligations to their citizenry and concentrate on enriching themselves (Shafer 1994; Karl 1997; Dougherty 2011). In some instances, governments pursue policies that will facilitate their political dominance and enable them to hold on to power (Dougherty 2011).

The secret to having mineral resource-led development lies in the state's management of these minerals because "political economy and governance play a [significant] role in how susceptible countries are to the resource-curse" (Sovacool 2010: 234). In mineral resource-led growth and ultimately development, there is a need to recognise the role of the state in pursuing active and reformist mineral exploitation policy as demonstrated in Bourbon, Mexico (Dobado and Marrero 2006: 4). This is because, inasmuch as mining can be an important economic growth driver, the role that the state plays in determining how these resources are exploited and the way the income from these resources is used is essential in realising mineral resource-led development (Barma et al 2012). In many developing countries, the quality of regulation, such as the predictability of changes of regulations and anticorruption policies, is most important for effective natural resource management and growth (Iimi 2007).

Among the policy measures that may help in the expansion of the mining industry, as documented by Dobado and Marrero (2006: 10), include the need to create or establish a sound legal and institutional framework that will contribute to long-lasting expansion of mineral production. This is important as the effect of mineral resources on a country's development is shown to depend on the interaction between institutions and, crucially, the types of resources possessed by the country (Boschini, Pettersson and Roine 2007). In addition, mineral resource management to mitigate the resource-curse calls for a great many specific and interrelated decisions on the part of government in interaction with resource developers (private and state-owned) and the society (Barma et al. 2012: 4). These decisions should strengthen environmental management and respect the rights of the local community residents (Murombo 2013).

This literature on the political economy of managing mineral resources reveals that the possibility of an economy benefiting from mineral resource endowment largely depends on how the mineral resources are managed. Therefore, local governments have a responsibility to manage mineral resources productively to benefit their economies in terms of development. However, it is also important to acknowledge that besides micro resource management, macro conditions are also crucial. Thus, national governments need to put in place policies that will be favourable for attaining mining-led development based not only on micro economic conditions but also considering macro conditions. Amid all these debates, what should probably also be asked is what the mineral resource-led development dilemmas mean in terms of gender. That is, there is need to understand the gender implications of the mining-led development agenda. The main gendered aspect of interest in this dissertation is how the development benefits from mines are distributed between men and women. In the next section, focus is placed on literature on gender issues surrounding the mineral resource-led development process.

2.4 GENDER AND MINERAL RESOURCE-LED DEVELOPMENT

In this section I delve into literature around gender issues that emerge in the mineral resource-led development process. This literature provides insights into the ways in which mineral resource-led development contributions are distributed between men and women. It should be noted that mining gives hope for development to local communities, though residents all too frequently find themselves betrayed, cast aside, and disconnected from the processes of development (Ferguson 1999: 236). However, men and women experience these consequences in different ways and hence may be affected differently as they have different needs and interests (Moser 1989).

Employment is perceived as one of the important benefits emerging from mining (see Moodie 1994; Hilson 2002; Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010; Dougherty 2011). But, mining-related productive work in many societies arguably favours men, as women's participation in the labour force is constrained by their triple commitment, that is, productive, reproductive, and community work (Moser 1993: 27). This gender inequality in employment in the mining sector may be a reflection of traditional gender relations which consider men as suitable for productive work (Moodie 1994; Evans 2014b). Consequently, women's work in mines

has been limited to work above ground where they provide cleaning, administrative, clinical nursing and other services to miners (Namatovu and Espinosa 2011: 70).

Additionally, the increased participation of African countries in the international economy, as raw material providers, has led to deepening sexual division of labour (Chant 1998; Todaro 2000). This is because mining is largely considered a macho activity, thereby giving advantage to men and segregating women (Moodie 1994). Thus, most women are found at the very bottom of the sector's hierarchy, doing subordinate work (Dreschler 2001: 6). The segregation in favour of men in employment, arguing that it is in the interest of promoting efficiency (an aspect of neoliberalism) in mining operations, is a serious infringement on the labour rights of women (Oxfam 2009; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). This may result in increased income gaps between men and women, in favour of men. Moreover, since its inception in Africa, mining has served as a source of income and generally a means through which men have hoped to improve their wellbeing, with women being the late-comers in the mining sector (Moodie 1994).

In the Zambian context, there is negligible research focusing on the gendered implications of the relationship between mining and development in Zambia (see Mususa 2010b; Namatovu and Espinosa 2011; Evans 2014a; Evans 2014b). These studies have basically focused on the gendered implications of the 2008/9 economic crisis on mines (Namatovu and Espinosa 2011; Evans 2014b) and the gender divisions of labour in the mining areas (Evans 2014a). Findings from these studies suggest that gender inequalities in mining communities still exist even though they had been reduced during the economic crisis.

The mining sector in Zambia is seen as a major source of employment in the mining areas, especially in the Copperbelt region (Namatovu and Espinosa 2011: 68). This makes people in mining communities over-dependent on the sector for employment (Craig 2002). This is the case even though the employment opportunities have been characterised by low labour standards and gender inequalities exacerbated by gender division of labour (Carmody 2012; Evans 2014a). In this regard, Evans (2014a) notes that the gendered inequalities and divisions of labour in mining communities can be traced back to Christian ideologies and colonial capitalist concerns. The mining industry is seen as an area for men, making it a male-dominated industry in many communities. This has, arguably, ultimately allowed the perpetual exclusion of women from prestigious positions

in the sector (Dreschler 2001; Namatovu and Espinosa 2011). Consequently, women have generally been relegated to jobs on the mines and not in the mines.

In Mususa's (2010b) research, the focus was on women involved in illegal mining as a source of income. She asserts that the devastating consequences of privatisation have partly led to women being involved in the illegal mining related activities in mining dump sites. Making a distinction between life before and after the privatisation of mines in Zambia, Mususa (2010b: 191) notes that:

“On the Copperbelt the contrast between the ‘nationalised’ past and the ‘privatized’ present is clear: many people feel they are not benefiting from foreign investment and that the cause of this is the greed of the new investors. The nationalised ZCCM mines had operated as the financier of the socialist vision of Zambia under Kaunda regime.”

It is such shared realities among the local people in mining communities that have created the need to resort to desperate measures for survival – in this case, illegal mining in the dump sites. However, of great concern to Mususa (2010b) is how women and children have been incorporated into the illegal mining business. She notes that, “[b]efore privatization, women would not have been compelled to eke out a living in the harsh working conditions of the copper dump sites” (Mususa 2010b: 194). However, she asserts that despite women being incorporated in these activities, gender inequalities exist, with women being disadvantaged compared to men. In Mususa's (2010b: 203) words:

“Gender inequalities that disadvantage women are also reflected in subsequent trade relations once the copper ore is mined from the dump sites. At all stages of the supply chain after the initial digging, men control flows, prices, and access to informal and formal markets.”

Research conducted by Namatovu and Espinosa (2011) focused on the gendered perspective of the implications of the 2008/9 economic crisis on mining. The study establishes the connection between the mining industry's formal and informal sectors as well as the impact of the crisis on the livelihoods of mining communities' residents. This

research appreciates that the effects of the economic crisis on the mining sector do not only affect the formal sector but the informal sector as well. In this regard, Namatovu and Espinosa (2011: 67) assert that women are mostly employed in the informal mining sector where they are more vulnerable to economic shocks than men, who are mostly employed in the formal mining sector. More important with regard to gender is considering that these effects may have different implications for men and women.

This literature on gender and mining demonstrates that mining is a gendered sector which favours men over women. Mining activities have historically been associated with men. That is, mining activities are considered macho. Hence, women can be viewed as latecomers in the mining sector and still negotiating their position in this arena dominated by men. The dominance of men in mining has been created by traditional beliefs and values that regard men as physical. Hence, men were considered suited for hard work in mines. While women are currently being incorporated in the mining sector, the physicality associated with the sector is still widely seen to suit men. Therefore, men tend to benefit more than women from development opportunities emerging from mines.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The literature presented in this chapter shows that there are concerns around the intersection between mineral resource exploitation and development, particularly in sub-Saharan African economies such as Zambia. It seems many mineral resource-rich sub-Saharan African economies have realised limited development benefits from mineral resource exploitation. Negatives appear to outnumber benefits. Thus, these economies have been described as resource-cursed economies. However, as exemplified by Botswana and Tanzania, which are argued to have successfully abetted the characteristics of the resource-curse and turned their resource patrimony into a blessing, mineral resource-led development is possible. The possibility of realising mineral resource-led development is embedded in the political economy of managing mineral resources. That is, how well mineral resources are managed largely determines the chances of experiencing mining-led development.

In the Zambian context, the implementation of neoliberal political-economic policies has undermined mining-led development. This is because, with the privatisation of the state-owned mines, the role of the mines in the development process has been

restructured. While the state-owned mines contributed to Zambia's development, especially in mining communities, privatisation has resulted in the discontinuation of welfare and development support that the mines rendered to local communities. This has been exacerbated by the revocation of development agreements between the Zambian government and mining firms. With the revocation of development agreements, the Zambian government has been changing mining taxation policies in trying to maximise on mineral taxation benefits. What the implementation of neoliberal political-economic policies has done is to leave the state with a limited role of facilitating development in communities while taking away state-ownership of mines which financed Zambia's development, especially in mining communities. This leads me to question the current role of mines in the development process of the Zambian economy, particularly in mining communities.

In terms of gender-related aspects, literature indicates that the mining sector is macho. Therefore, another question that emerges is that of how the mineral resource-led development benefits are distributed between men and women. It should be stated that there seems to be a negligible number of gender-focused studies concerning the relationship between mining and development, particularly in Zambia. In fact, it is inevitable to conclude from the body of literature that there seems to be no systematic research conducted to comprehensively guide an understanding of the gendered implications entrenched in the contributions of mining to the development of the local communities in Zambia. It is such gaps arising from the broader literature on the link between mining and development that further necessitate this research.

Chapter Three:

Exploring the Development, Gender and ‘Gender and Development’ conceptual perspectives

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between mining and development in Zambia has, since the late 1990s, been restructured due to the implementation of World Bank and IMF-sponsored neoliberal political-economic policies. This restructuring has undermined mining-led development in Zambia, particularly in mining communities. Given this background, the theoretical argument in this dissertation is embedded in James Ferguson’s view that, prior to the introduction of IMF-sponsored reforms of structural adjustment aimed at political-economic liberalisation, mining investments contributed significantly to development in Zambia and many other sub-Saharan African economies (Ferguson 1999; Ferguson 2006). But today these investments are enclaves for enriching multinational corporations while walling off the resource-endowed communities (Ferguson 2006: 36).

In this chapter, my main focus is on exploring the concepts I have used in understanding the relationship between mining and development. Specifically, this chapter is aimed at theorising the main concepts I have used in exploring the contribution of mining to local community development and how these contributions are distributed between men and women. The main concepts I explore are Development, Gender, and Gender and Development (GAD). It should be mentioned that theorising these concepts is important as this will highlight the perspectives within which the concepts are used in this dissertation. This is because these concepts’ meanings are context-specific. That is, the concepts may carry different meanings to different people in different contexts. As such, theorising the stated concepts will provide a context within which they should be understood in this dissertation.

Conceptualisation of development will allow for a comprehensive understanding of the contribution of the Munali nickel mine to the development process of the local community. This is because the concept of development has different meanings depending on the context within which it is used. As such, it is important to know what

is meant by development in order to provide the frontiers within which the contribution of the Munali nickel mine to the development of the Mugoto community should be analysed. This will further provide a foundation for determining how the development contributions are accessed by men and women, because determining what encompasses development contributions is dependent upon understanding the meaning of the concept of development.

In exploring the concept of development, I will present discourses on development and some important post-World War II development theories that have influenced the current development theories. However, I place attention on modernisation theory and structural adjustment (neoliberalism) as these are the theoretical perspectives influencing the context within which development is used in this dissertation. The modernisation theory is important in understanding development as it marks the beginning of contemporary development theories as defined in the post-World War II era. Thus, it has significantly shaped the contemporary meaning of development. In addition, I explore the concept of neoliberalism as it has greatly influenced Zambia's development path, particularly mining-led development. Specifically, I use neoliberalism as a political-economic policy framework, which is arguably designed to facilitate wellbeing advancement through the creation of a free market economy while limiting state interventions, but yielding economic malaise in implementing economies (Larner 2000; Harvey 2005; Ferguson 2006).

Furthermore, I conceptualise the Gender and Development (GAD) theory as I use this theory in exploring how mining-led development benefits are distributed between men and women. The application of Gender and Development (GAD) theory is done in relation to Women in Development (WID) theory, and Women and Development (WAD) theory. This is based on the premise that these theoretical perspectives are not entirely conceptually distinct, and it is often not possible to place a development project squarely within a single theoretical framework (Rathgeber 1990). However, I principally make use of Gender and Development theory as it focuses on men and women rather than solely focusing on women as is the case in Women in Development and Women and Development theoretical arguments. Before exploring the Gender and Development theory, I explore the concept of gender as it is important to know the context within which gender is used in the dissertation. In this regard, I use gender as a socially constructed

concept that separates men and women through creation of social relations among them as different groups of beneficiaries in the development process.

3.2 DISCOURSES OF DEVELOPMENT

The concept of development is subject to diverse construal perspectives. That is, development has different interpretations which may be biasedly influenced by personal experience or desire (Rist 2008: 11). Moreover, it is subject to debate that nations or individuals have the same development needs or even attach equal value to certain elements attributed to development (Andreasson 2005; Potter et al. 2008). Therefore, the concept of development is widely used subjectively depending on one's understanding of the ideal conditions of social existence (Rist 2008: 10). Having stated this, it should be mentioned that its use "as both an enterprise and a scholarly discipline, development became significant in the period immediately following World War II" (Rapley 2007: 1). Put simply by Nederveen Pieterse (2010: 5), "[t]he term 'development' in its present sense dates from the postwar era of modern development thinking."

While contemporary development theories date from the post-World War II epoch, the early traces of development theories' existence can be located in the enlightenment period (Escobar 1992: 24; Potter et al. 2008; Rist 2008: 73). The enlightenment represents a period of European intellectual history that stressed the belief that science and rational thinking could progress human groups from barbarism to civilisation (Potter et al. 2008; Rist 2008). Among the notable philosophers associated with influencing enlightenment thought is Aristotle, who believed that "the field of science was coextensive with nature" (Rist 2008: 29). As such, scientific thought was perceived to be at the centre of driving the process of development.

Nevertheless, the precise origin of the contemporary use of the concept of development can be traced to the inaugural speech made by the then USA President Harry S. Truman on 20 January 1949 (Mohan 1997; Potter et al. 2008: 6; Rist 2008; Omar 2012). In the speech, Truman employed the term 'underdeveloped areas' as a socioeconomic concept to describe the so-called Third World (Potter et al. 2008: 6). The underdeveloped countries – also known as the Third World countries – included mainly countries of the Asian, Latin America and African regions, even though the peoples of these regions did not see themselves in relation to development (Escobar 1992). It should, however, be

noted that the term development in the socioeconomic context was also used in the pre-World War II era by theorists such as Karl Marx and Leroy-Beaulieu among others (Rist 2008: 73). Nonetheless, Truman's use of the term underdevelopment added momentum to advocacy for development, and development as a concept was used more broadly to entail regional change in the direction of a final state (Rist 2008: 73).

President Truman reasoned that it was the duty of the First World countries to bring development to such relatively underdeveloped countries (Potter et al. 2008: 6). That is, development would be realised through "major economic effort, to be stimulated by foreign capital and the introduction of modern technology" (Rist 2008: 87). In this case, in addition to development being viewed in economic terms, the underdeveloped were seen to be incapable of propelling themselves to modernity, which represented development. Hence, it was inevitable that foreign aid be disbursed to these poor economies. In addition, capital and technology transfer were perceived as the key forms of assistance to be injected into developing nations. From the early post-World War II years to the end of the 1970s, therefore:

"Development was chiefly a matter of capital, technology, and education and the appropriate policy and planning mechanisms to successfully combine these elements" (Escobar 1992: 20).

Development was largely synonymous with ensuring industrialisation, a task for which institutions such as the World Bank (formerly International Bank for Reconstruction) were put in place (Rapley 2007: 1). Given this understanding, it can be argued that the concept of development in the early post-World War II era was highly associated with economic growth and transformation of countries from traditional (backward) societies to modern (advanced) ones (Escobar 1999: 383). However, it is important to note that the images associated with development and the practices it entails vary depending on one's position in relation to the development process (Rist 2008: 2). This has paved the way for diversity in theorising about the different problems being faced in the developing economies and how to help them develop (Rapley 2007: 1). In the next section I explore some of the main development theoretical perspectives that have emerged in the post-World War II era.

3.3 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Due largely to the varied viewpoints in which the concept of development is understood there are a number of development theories that have emerged in the post-World War II period. Given this multiplicity in perspectives within which development has been theorised, Rist (2008: 13) asserts that:

“facts, then should not be considered on the basis of one or another currently available theory of ‘development’, for we know that what is envisaged in a theory does not necessarily happen in practice, and that similar practices can lay claim to opposing theories.”

What this suggests is that the process of development cannot necessarily be explained using a single perspective. This thought allows for the existence of divergent perspectives from which development can be viewed. Consequently, there exist different theoretical paradigms explaining the occurrence of development and how it may best be attained. Usually, more than one theoretical perspective can be used to understand the development path of a particular economy. It should be mentioned that it is following this view that has shaped my decision to understand the relationship between mining and development in Zambia using modernisation theory and neoliberalism as the main theoretical lenses. In the next subsections I explore some of the main theories that have shaped development in the post-World War II epoch.

3.3.1 Modernisation theory

The theory of modernisation emerged in the 1950s (Huntington 1971: 290). It is an important development theory as it marks the beginning of contemporary development theories in the post-World War II era and has, therefore, significantly shaped contemporary thinking about the meaning of development (Tipps 1973: 200; Escobar 1992: 24; Rist 2008: 73). The main idea under modernisation theory is to achieve economic development by transforming traditional or backward societies into modern societies (Leys 1996: 66). It should be noted that “[t]he contrast between modern man and traditional man is the source of the contrast between modern society and traditional

society” (Huntington 1971: 287). In this regard, Huntington (1971: 287) provides the following characteristics as the basis for distinguishing between traditional person and modern person:

“Traditional man is passive and acquiescent; he expects continuity in nature and society and does not believe in the capacity of man to change or to control either. Modern man, in contrast, believes in both the possibility of change, and has confidence in the ability of man to control change so as to accomplish his purposes.”

These characteristics depict a traditional person as one who is too dull, irrational, and lazy to bring about desirable change. That is, he is seen to be content with the environment around him, even in discomfort. On the other hand, a modern person is perceived as intelligent, creative and hardworking, and capable of bringing about desired change in his environment. But there is no evidence to show that there was stagnation in the so-called underdeveloped economies where traditional man arguably exists. The main issue is that the supporters of modernisation theory focused on change that existed in Western economies as the determinant of development. This raises questions about the validity of the view that in the developing economies (traditional societies) there exist negligible change to consider them modernising.

As a result of such distinctions between the so-called traditional person and modern person, societies were considered traditional if they displayed characteristics such as relationships being based on kin, jobs being held due to ascription rather than achievement, feelings prevailing over rationality, and traditional rulers assuming the role of the state, among other aspects (Leys 1996: 65). In addition, traditional societies were seen to be highly dependent on agriculture (particularly subsistence agriculture), had limited administrative competency, and had low rates of growth in production (Leys 1996: 66).

On the other hand, modern society is characterised by better health; longer life expectancy; being predominantly urban rather than rural; and placing less importance on agriculture compared to commercial, industrial, and other non-agricultural activities, among other features (Huntington 1971: 287). These aspects of modernisation were to be

attained through industrialisation, technological advancement, commercialisation of agriculture, and advancing education and health by replacing traditional knowledge with scientific knowledge to the elites of the periphery (Leys 1996: 10; Escobar 1999: 383). That is, modernity allows someone to have greater control over his natural and social environment through the expansion of scientific and technological knowledge (Huntington 1971: 286). Therefore, the development understanding that exists under the modernisation thinking is that:

“development is about paving the way for the achievement of those conditions that characterise rich societies: industrialisation, agricultural modernisation, and urbanisation” (Escobar 1992: 25).

In this case, modernity is viewed as transformation of societies from backwardness, which is caused by inclination to traditional values, to advancement characterised by contemporary values which are typically Western values (Escobar 1999: 383; Rist 2008: 21). Drawn from this, modernity is fundamental to the development premises as it is viewed as the only force capable of destroying archaic superstitions and relations that exist in underdeveloped countries (Escobar 1999: 383). This suggests that development would only take place by way of destroying traditional beliefs and values which are perceived to hinder the occurrence of development. For development to be achieved in the modernisation sense, at the centre of the process should be the local state with the help of developed countries (Rapley 2007: 2). The state is viewed as having the ability to bring modernity to local economies.

Despite the admonition of traditional beliefs which exist in developing countries, Rist (2008: 21) asserts that there is no society that lacks traditions and beliefs. If this is the case, then development in the modernisation theoretical perspective entails negation of Third World countries' traditions and beliefs in order to adopt those of Western countries. It is based on such views that Escobar (1992: 23) reasons that, it does not make sense to focus on the bright side of modernity while ignoring the dark side of domination it creates. In this regard, Escobar sees development as being shaped by the domination of patriarchy and ethnocentrism. That is, societies are to be transformed following the

interests, values and beliefs of the white minority, or mestizo majority, and generally those of the Europeans (Escobar 1999: 384).

Following the need to modernise, the main emphasis of development in the early post-World War II period was economic, with minimal consideration of social and political aspects among other facets (Escobar 1999; Nederveen Pieterse 2010: 5). But, development is too encompassing to be restricted to economic indicators of social change. It also includes aspects such as people's attitudes, relationships, and perceptions of nature, among other aspects (Rist 2008: 25). Nevertheless, the idea of development may not be easily separated from economic progress as development has been largely interpreted to entail change that is a result of economic progress (Rist 2008: 26).

Due to its main focus on economic advancement, the modernisation theory of development is highly associated with the linear growth model, which focuses mainly on economic growth as the key determinant of development. Among the main theorists of the linear growth model of modernisation include Walt Whitman Rostow, well-known for the five stages of growth model and defining development as economic growth (Rostow 1959, 1960). Rostow argues that a society advances in a linear progression and suggests five stages through which every country should pass to realise development. The five stages Rostow refers to are; the traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and age of high mass consumption (Rostow 1959: 1).

The key features of these five stages of growth are the following: the traditional society is characterised by limited production functions (Rostow 1959: 4). That is, economies rely heavily on primary goods as they lack manufacturing capability. The preconditions for the take-off stage requires industrialisation, improvement in transport and technology, and increased import financed by proceeds from natural resources (Rostow 1959: 5). The take-off stage comprises achievement of rapid growth in at least three main sectors of any given economy (Rostow 1959: 7). The drive to maturity stage is that where a society has applied modern technology to the majority of its resources and may have abated the characteristics of traditional societies (Rostow 1959: 8). The age of high mass consumption is generally characterised by improved and increased consumption of goods and services (Rostow 1959: 11). It is at this point (age of high mass consumption) that an economy is considered among the development economies.

It is worth noting that the process of modernisation has nine basic characteristics, namely revolutionary, complexity, systemic, global, lengthy, phased, homogenising, irreversible, and progressive (Huntington 1971: 288-290). Huntington explains these features as follows: the process of modernisation is said to be revolutionary in that “the change from tradition to modernity...involves a radical and total change in patterns of human life” (Huntington 1971: 288). It is complex as it cannot be easily reduced to a single dimension, because it encompasses all areas of human thought and behaviour. The process of modernisation is systemic because “changes in one factor are related to and affect changes in the other factors” (Huntington 1971: 288). It is global as all societies were at one point traditional and are now modern or in the process of modernising. The modernisation process is seen as lengthy, as it can only be easily measured in terms of generations. It is phased as it has different stages, noting that countries are not at the same level of modernity. It is homogenising because modern economies share basic similarities. Modernisation as a process is irreversible, as it is impossible for a modern society to turn back into a traditional society due to its complexity and systemic nature. Finally, it is believed that the modernisation process is progressive as its results are good, inevitable and desirable.

However, the modernisation theory in general is not without criticisms. It is criticised for trying to force external values of developed countries on underdeveloped countries (Escobar 1995). The view is that underdevelopment is a result of backward traditions and beliefs prevailing in the underdeveloped economies. Criticising this view, Rist (2008: 21) reckons that:

“To consider modern society as different from others, on the pretext that it is secular and rational, is actually a result of Western arrogance. As there is no society which is not based upon traditions and beliefs, nothing indicates that Western society is lacking them either – even if they are different from those of other societies.”

Moreover, despite explicit or implicit advocacy for the need to modernise as a way of developing, it is not clear whether modernity is desirable or even possible for every society (Escobar 1992; Andreasson 2005; Omar 2012). This criticism emerges from the

attribution of modernity to virtue, which means that all good things are modern (Huntington 1971: 294). By implication, all bad things are traditional, which is an atrocious misconception. In this vein, modernisation has been accused of creating misery without delivering the development promises it makes (Escobar 1992). Partly due to these weaknesses in the modernisation theory, other theories of development emerged, such as structuralism which I explore in the next subsection.

3.3.2 Structuralism

Structuralism as a development theory emerged in the 1950s, partly to supplement the weaknesses of the modernisation theory. Structuralism, as a development theory:

“was mainly developed by staff working in the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) during the 1950s and 1960s under the inspired leadership of Raul Prebisch” (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 50).

Just like modernisation theory, structuralism places emphasis on the state rather than the market playing the leading role in the development process, as it is believed that the state is in a good position to facilitate development in line with the local people’s needs (Rapley 2007: 2). This is because the state is perceived as operating in the interest of everyone, unlike the market which is viewed as favouring the interests of the rich. Whether the state indeed operates in the interest of the majority is an issue that may raise debate.

Structuralism diverges from modernisation thinking in that, while modernisation theorists assume that underdeveloped countries will only develop with the help of developed countries, structuralists argue that Third World countries can only develop through massive state intervention policies (Payne and Phillips 2010). In this case, structuralists place negligible, if any, importance on the role of foreign assistance as an instrument for development attainment in developing nations. This implies that they believe that local states should drive their own development. Therefore, structuralism advocates the following state interventions among others as important for development to take place in underdeveloped countries: import substitution and industrialisation, protection of local infant industries by limiting foreign/international trade, and generally

pursuing local development without relying on foreign aid (Rapley 2007: 3; Kay and Gwynne 2000: 50). Despite the lack of faith in foreign aid by structuralists:

“A central vision of structuralism is its conceptualisation of the international system as being constituted by asymmetric centre-periphery relations” (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 51).

In this system, developing nations are producers of raw materials while developed countries concentrate on manufacturing finished products. The export of raw materials provides developing nations’ governments with the capital needed for industrialisation, which it was thought would lead to development (Rapley 2007: 3). The desire for industrialisation to attain development under structuralism entails that it does not depart much from the tenets of modernisation theory. Nevertheless, having faith in the ability of national governments to facilitate local development without foreign assistance, structuralists advocated for import substitution industrialisation policies (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 50). This is because structuralists were more interested in the internal national structure and believed that development could be attained through internal national efforts, unlike the modernisation theory’s belief that developing countries needed the help of developed countries in order for them to develop.

However, the state-led development failed to deliver, which resulted in an economic depression in the 1970s (Rapley 2007: 3). Around that time, another theory called dependency theory arose, which claimed that the market and not the state was the problem in the development process (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 51; Rapley 2007: 3). I explore the dependency theory in the next subsection.

3.3.3 Dependency theory

Like structuralism, dependency theory focuses on the relations between developed and underdeveloped economies and points to the inequality in these relations as the reason for underdevelopment (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 51), with the result that much state intervention is needed instead of market intervention (Rapley 2007: 3). The dependency theory of development can be traced back to the 1950s through its connection to structuralism, but was popularised in the 1960s to 1970s (Payne and Phillips 2010: 71).

Among the most notable theorists are Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein. The term dependency, as used in the development theory context, gained currency through writings on Latin America's economic progression, though it is argued to have emerged through writings on African or Asian economies (Smith 1979: 247). According to Wallerstein (1974: 1):

“The term itself emerged out of the ‘structuralist’ theories of Latin American scholars and was meant as a rebuttal to ‘developmentalist’ or ‘modernisation’ theories and ‘monetarist’ policy views.”

It should be mentioned that, just like modernisation theory and structuralism, dependency theory focuses on economic growth and capital accumulation as the determinant of development (Nederveen Pieterse 2010: 6). However, dependency theory is highly connected to structuralist ideas, especially the view that state intervention is vital for development (Rist 2008). But while structuralism focuses on the internal structure of an economy, one of the main features of the dependency theoretical perspective of development is the realisation that the development process of an economy is not so much dependent on internal structure as the international system (Smith 1979: 248). Moreover,

“While structuralism argued in favour of an inward-directed development policy largely through import-substituting industrialisation (ISI), dependency theory proposed a new international economic order and, in one of its strands, a transition to socialism as a way out of underdevelopment” (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 50).

In addition, the dependency theoretical perspective sees developing countries as highly dependent on developed countries for development. That is, development in developing economies is tied to the relations they have with developed economies (Wallerstein 1974). In this regard, Smith (1979: 249) states that;

“According to the best-known exponents of this perspective, the sovereign states of the South have long been dependent for an evolving mixture of

technology, financing, markets, and basic imports on the international economic system dominated by the northern capitalist powers (including Japan).”

While there are these stated forms of dependency, emphasis is placed on technological dependence (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 54). That is, developing countries are viewed to be more dependent on developed economies for technological advancement than any other aspect. Furthermore, the dependency theory asserts that developing economies’ survival is dependent upon the relations held with developed economies (Smith 1979: 249). This suggests that developing nations do not have the ability to develop without the help of developed countries.

The dependency in the development process is explained by the view that developing countries and developed countries have trade relations. In these relations, developing countries supply raw materials while developed countries provide manufactured products and are for the most part the centres of industrialisation (Rapley 2007: 2). One of the key writers on dependency development theoretical perspective, Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) argues that there is one world which is connected by economic relations. It should be noted that, because of this connection, since the 1960s the world has been analysed in the core-periphery image, but:

“The core and the periphery of the world economy were not two separate ‘economies’ with two separate ‘laws’ but one capitalist economic system with different *sectors* performing different functions” (Wallerstein 1974: 2).

By making this assertion, Wallerstein rejects the idea of the First World and the Third World as may have been theorised by the modernisation theorists. However, while Wallerstein focuses on the importance of the whole world system, the importance of the individual parts making up the whole should not be underestimated (Smith 1979: 259). Thus, the role each economy plays in the world’s development process is something important to note.

In the world system, the core countries provide high skills and capital-intensive production while the semi-periphery and periphery provide low-skilled and unskilled

labour and raw materials for the development process. Though the semi-periphery and the periphery specialise in providing raw materials, they are not doomed to provision of raw materials as they can develop using these raw materials (Rist 2008: 118). Economies are viewed as dependent on each other though in this relationship the semi-periphery and periphery countries are manipulated for the benefit of core countries (Rist 2008). In the process, largely induced by manipulation, the semi-periphery and the periphery economies seem highly dependent on the core for attaining development. The result has been a widening gap in development. Regarding this, Wallerstein (1974: 7) states that;

“To be very concrete, it is not possible theoretically for all states to ‘develop’ simultaneously. The so-called ‘widening gap’ is not an anomaly but a continuing basic mechanism of the operation of the world economy. Of course, *some* countries can ‘develop.’ But the some that rise are at the expense of others that decline.”

From the dependency theoretical perspective, it may be argued that the current development trends, particularly in developing countries, should be viewed as a culmination of historical events. That is, the contemporary development situation in underdeveloped nations must be understood as aspects of imperialism (Smith 1979: 248). The core countries have systematically dominated the semi-periphery and periphery countries in the world system. Needless to say, with the modernisation, structuralism and dependency theories failing to provide a clear development path for developing economies, structural adjustment, well known as neoliberalism, gained credence in the 1970s. Neoliberalism’s main point of departure was its advocacy for market-led development, unlike the state-led development advocated in the modernisation, structuralism and dependency theories. I explore neoliberal thought in the next subsection.

3.3.4 Structural adjustment and neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a political-economic philosophy viewed to have emerged through the writings of Friedrich von Hayek, Ludvig von Mises, Milton Friedman, and Karl Popper among others, who depicted themselves as liberals (Brenner and Theodore

2002: 350; Harvey 2005: 20). The concept of neoliberalism has been interpreted and utilised in different ways, both theoretically and in practice (Larner 2000; Peck and Tickell 2007; Ferguson 2009). Neoliberalism has been characterised as:

“a theory of political-economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey 2005: 2).

This clearly implies that neoliberalism makes a shift away from development that can be considered state-led to that which is private. Specifically, “[l]ess state, more market: this was the essential thrust of the strategy known as structural adjustment [neoliberalism]” (Rapley 2007: 3). It can be argued, therefore, that neoliberalism sought to limit forms of state intervention in the development process. In other words,

“The linchpin of neoliberal ideology is the belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development” (Brenner and Theodore 2002: 350).

Thus, neoliberalism disagrees with modernisation theory, structuralism, and dependency theory, which put the state at the centre of the development process, though it also focuses on economic growth as its main objective (Nederveen Pieterse 2010: 7). The neoliberals believed free markets would control and distribute wealth evenly compared to the state which is viewed as operating in the interest of the rich at the expense of the poor (Harvey 2005). This meant that the implementation of neoliberal political-economic policies would liberate mankind (especially the poor) from state-engineered economic captivity. It was believed that this would achieve less state interference in the economy to realise maximum political-economic efficiency and ultimately development (Harvey 2004: 7). In other words, the political-economic liberation advocated under neoliberalism was what would culminate in development. Thus, in this interpretation, changing and limiting the

role of the state was a fundamental objective of neoliberalism as this, it was thought, would bring the much-desired liberation (Peck 2010: 4).

The concept of neoliberalism has also been widely viewed as a policy framework largely associated with international institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF (Larner 2000: 8; Payne and Phillips 2010: 94; Peck 2010: 1). That is, neoliberalism is viewed as synonymous with the World Bank and the IMF (Washington Consensus – a term coined by John Williamson in 1989) market-oriented philosophy (Green and Griffith 2002: 52; Peck 2010: 1). The main elements of neoliberalism as a policy framework, widely dubbed ‘Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)’, have included privatisation of state-owned companies, trade liberalisation, removal of subsidies to ensure reduced public spending, and currency devaluation (Riddell 1992: 53; Onis and Senses 2005: 264). These policies were expected to culminate in development. Thus, in this perspective, analyses of neoliberalism “tend to take the form of arguments over the success, or otherwise, of policy programmes” (Larner 2000: 8).

Though the different sets of neoliberal policies have been implemented in different economies, Riddell (1992: 53) argues that four basic elements are always present, namely:

“currency devaluation, the removal/reduction of the state from the workings of the economy, the elimination of subsidies in an attempt to reduce expenditures, and trade liberalization.”

In explaining the reasoning behind these four policies and the consequence of implementing them, Riddell (1992: 57) states that, firstly, currency devaluation was aimed at reducing the value of local currencies in implementing economies. This is because the purchasing power of these economies’ currencies was over-valued. The consequence of the implementation of this policy was increased costs of importation and purchasing essential commodities (Riddell 1992: 57). This implies that the cost of living became higher than before the implementation of neoliberalism.

Secondly, the removal of government involvement in the operations of the economy meant dissolution of all parastatals and compromised development plans (Riddell 1992: 57). The most notable consequence of this policy has been loss of

employment by many people (Ridell 1992: 57). This has meant a cut in people's source of income leading to reduced ability to access goods and services compared to when they were in employment. The effects were more negative as at this point the cost of essential commodities had also gone up due to the devaluation of the currency.

Thirdly, the subsidies which governments put in place, especially in African economies, were considered very expensive (Riddel 1992: 58). Thus, the removal of subsidies, which was aimed at reducing public expenditure, was expected to make governments stop what can be termed as 'unnecessary' or 'wasteful' spending. But such actions further worsened the wellbeing of many people, especially the poor. This is because prices of many commodities which were subsidised appeared high upon the removal of subsidies, making them too expensive for many to afford.

Finally, liberalisation of trade has led to removal of protection for local industries as it opens international trade (Riddel 1992: 58). This is seen as a way of giving developed countries easy access to cheap raw materials from developing economies while they bring expensive goods in developing economies. With the competition that comes from TNCs, local infant companies usually resort to closing, causing many people to lose employment. In this regard, Riddel (1992: 58) argues that:

“the loss of employment is as devastating as the removal of the perceived path to development and growth.”

It should be noted that the implementation of neoliberal political-economic policies was touted as one of the ways through which development resulting from superior economic performance was to be attained (Onis and Sense 2005: 265). But the implementation of these policies has been uneven globally and the consequences have varied from one economy to another (Brenner and Theodore 2002: 350). The most significant variation in the results of implementation of the neoliberal policies has been between the developed and underdeveloped economies. This is because developed economies have benefited more from neoliberalism than underdeveloped economies (Harvey 2004: 32). Such analyses of neoliberalism support the ideas of the structuralist and dependency theoretical perspectives, which hold that the world economy favours the centre countries and not periphery countries (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 61).

While neoliberal policies have been implemented in both developing and developed economies, highly devastating effects are predominant in developing economies (Harvey 2005; Ferguson 2006; Gideon 2006; Peck 2010). Many of the poorest economies, particularly African countries, implemented these policies, but the general result for most has been a collapse of major industries and social services (Ferguson 2006: 35). Of course, structural adjustment has brought some positives in some developing economies, but in many places, especially in the poorest economies, it did more harm than good (Rapley 2007: 4). This shows that instead of improving the wellbeing of the implementing economies, neoliberalism has thwarted the development it claims to facilitate.

According to Gideon (2006: 1270), the implementation of neoliberal reform programmes led to massive restructuring of economies, which in turn led to underdevelopment in the developing economies, while developed nations have benefited even more (Harvey 2005; Ferguson 2006). This is because the state withdraws from intervening in the development process. That is, the state withdraws from provision of social services such as education and health services, among others (Harvey 2004: 19; Gideon 2006: 1270). In this regard, the role of the state is reduced to ensuring or facilitating the prevalence of a free market economy. That is, the state is expected to facilitate development through creation of such market conditions as will enable individuals to explore their development opportunities (Harvey 2005).

From a critical perspective, the principle of a free market economy arguably ignores the fact that people have different capabilities in the development process (Sen 1993). There are those who have better access to development opportunities than others, and those with better access are more likely to benefit from the free market economy (Harvey 2005; Gideon 2006). For instance, opening local economies to global competition from developing nations makes neoliberalism seem willing to sacrifice local industries to foreign industries (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 58). This is because local industries in developing economies are unable to competitively face transnational corporations originating in developed economies. As such, neoliberalism enhanced the wellbeing of the developed economies at the expense of the underdeveloped ones.

In conclusion, it can be argued that neoliberalism has seen a trend where underdevelopment has been deepened in developing economies, while development has

been furthered in developed economies. In addition, within developing economies, neoliberalism has exacerbated the underdevelopment of the poor people while enriching the wealthy. This manifestation of neoliberalism suggests that it is a failed development agenda for the implementing underdeveloped economies. Thus, going by the effects of implementing the neoliberal policies, especially in developing economies, one may wonder whose development neoliberal policies were designed to facilitate – the developed or underdeveloped economies? With the failure of neoliberalism, the whole idea of development was questioned as both state-led and non-state-led development efforts proved unsuccessful. Reacting to this situation, the postdevelopment theory emerged with the view that the whole idea of development is a fallacy. I explore the postdevelopment theory in the following subsection.

3.3.5 Postdevelopment theory

Postdevelopment theory emerged between the late 1980s and the early 1990s and is embedded in postmodern currents of thought which do not subscribe to grand narratives about the existence or desirability of anything (Rapley 2007: 4). Postdevelopment thinking rejects “development theory in both its orthodox and its alternative guises” (Payne and Phillips 2010: 138). With the previous development theories (modernisation, structuralism, dependency, and structural adjustment or neoliberalism) seemingly yielding less, if not nothing, compared to the results they claimed development would bring, postdevelopment theory rejects the whole idea of development (Rapley 2007: 4). That is, postdevelopment completely rebuts the idea of development, viewing it as a fallacy.

From the postdevelopment perspective, development is viewed as an instrument of exploiting developing countries for the benefit of developed countries (Escobar 1999; Matthews 2004; Omar 2012). The justification of this view which rejects the idea of development:

“appears to emerge from a feeling that the negative consequences which have been observed to result from development are intrinsic to development, rather than being unintentional side-effects of it” (Matthews 2004: 374).

Postdevelopment advocates argue that developed countries use their knowledge of what development should be and impose it on developing nations (Escobar 1995). That is, developed economies determine what should and should not be considered elements of development without considering the interests of local economies. Moreover, the term development is applied arbitrarily as it is not known whether the goals of the development agenda can be attained or are desired by every society (Omar 2012: 42). It is quite clear, from this perspective, that the imagined desirable possibilities promised by the development project would be unattainable (Escobar 1992; Matthews 2004; Omar 2012).

Furthermore, postdevelopment thinking questions the validity of modernity as the measure of development. As already stated, with the influence of modernisation theory, conceptualisation of development in the early post-World War II period was synonymous with modernity, which is defined as emancipation from traditional values and beliefs that prevent the Third World from developing (Escobar 1992; Rist 2008). Postdevelopment theory questions “the compatibility between human development and modernisation” as modernisation appears to ignore the interests of the people it intends to develop (Payne and Phillips 2010: 119). In this regard, Escobar (1992: 23) contends that despite the portrayed bright side of modernity, the domination that comes with it cannot be ignored. In modernisation theory’s quest for emancipation, Escobar sees the underdeveloped economies as being dominated by the developed economies (Escobar 1992, 1995). Arguably, the result of domination has been the creation of misery in the development processes of the Third World, suggesting that the development agenda is in a crisis as it appears incompatible with the values of these underdeveloped societies (Escobar 1992; Rapley 2007: 4).

However, while poststructuralists are sceptical about the entire development agenda, they do not offer a clear direction to be followed and neither do they state exactly what development is or should be. From the postdevelopment viewpoint, the concept of development is largely considered an imaginary idea of desirable change in society (Escobar 1992; Rist 2008). Despite development being considered imaginary, the concept seems to have been a driver of economic, social and political policies, particularly in developing economies (Omar 2012: 42). But postdevelopment thought stresses the need to focus on enhancing people’s wellbeing by meeting their interests rather than following

Western models of development with little or no regard for the underdeveloped economies (Rapley 2007: 6).

Needless to say, theorising about development has continued despite the acute criticism received from the postdevelopment theoretical perspective, especially given that there has been no alternative to development. Recent trends in development theory show that, in the past three decades development theory has seen a significant shift from focusing on specific economies to a global focus in the development agenda. As such, globalisation – the increasing interconnectedness of individual groups, companies and countries (Green and Griffith 2002: 50-5) – has been highly influential in development theory. This focus on global development can be traced back to the late 1960s, though it has been refined over the past three decades (Leys 1996: 43). According to Nederveen Pieterse (2010: 1):

“Globalization and regionalization are taking over the standard unit of development, the nation. International institutions and market forces are overtaking the role of the state, the conventional agent of development.”

This suggests that the role of the state in the development process is continually being limited as advocated under neoliberalism. In the process, neoliberalism imposes Western economic management systems on underdeveloped economies, partly to accelerate globalisation (Nederveen Pieterse 2010: 5). Among the main theories which have emerged with a global focus have been sustainable development theory and human development theory. Sustainable development theory emerged in the late 1980s with the view that we should meet present development needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Briassouls 2001: 410; Rist 2008). It should be noted that, while development challenges surround mainly the underdeveloped economies, environmental challenges affect the entire planet (Rapley 2007: 9). As such, the idea of sustainable development is more focused on the environment, though it is applied to other aspects such as economic sustainability (Briassouls 2001: 410; Payne and Phillips 2010: 119).

Despite the importance of focusing on environmental sustainability, the need for development to be centred on human beings' wellbeing has not faded. The 1990s saw the

emergence of human development theory, which is focused on harnessing the full potential of a human being's ability to develop (Sen 1993; Rist 2008). Amartya Sen's capability approach is one of the most well-known human development approaches. Sen's work introduced "the understanding of development as *capacitation*" (Nederveen Pieterse 2010: 7). Sen argues that wellbeing is determined by what human beings can do and achieve as opposed to the basic needs approach's focus on what human beings receive (Sen 1993). The main focus of human development is to ensure that development benefits are attainable at an individual level (Payne and Phillips 2010: 119). That is, "the capability of human beings to choose the lives they want, should be the ultimate measure of social progress" (Welzel, Inglehart and Klingeman 2003: 344).

It is important to note that development theory is currently not focused so much on debates around state or non-state intervention in the development process as on better provision of goods and services considered important for the people, whether by the state or the market (Rapley 2007: 5). This is not to argue that development theories have become irrelevant to the development process, especially in developing economies. For instance, it can be argued that, even under globalisation, structuralism and dependency development theories are relevant in understanding the development process as they view development from a global perspective (Kay and Gwynne 2000: 51). Nevertheless, the modernisation theory remains an important foundation of contemporary development theories in the post-World War II era.

3.4 THE CONCEPT OF GENDER

This dissertation is partly focused on answering the question of how development benefits emerging from mines are distributed between men and women. In making this exploration, I use the theory of Gender and Development (GAD). However, it should be noted that the theory of Gender and Development carries two important concepts, namely 'Gender' and 'Development', which require conceptualisation to fully understand the theory. I have already theorised the concept of Development in the preceding section. Therefore, in this section I will focus on exploring the concept of Gender before moving to conceptualising the theory of Gender and Development.

The term gender has been used generally to make a distinction between masculinity and femininity, or to depict the relations between men and women (Unger

and Crawford 1993: 123; McDowell 1999: 11; Bradley 2007). That is, gender is used as a concept that separates men and women as differently sexed bodies. This implies that the term gender has been used as a social construct that contrasts with sex (Nicholson 1994: 79). From this perspective, gender should not be seen as a fixed category but one which is continually being produced and reproduced, and it only becomes a meaningful term when the relationship between a woman and a man and the broader relations in which they live are considered (Bradley 2007: 5). This implies that gender comes into play as men and women interact with one another as differently sexed individuals.

When De Beauvoir (1949: 273) notes that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”, she brings alive the importance of socialisation in determining one’s gender. That is, society presents certain characteristics, or rather roles, that are attributable to either femininity or masculinity. Thus, males are expected to exhibit masculine traits while women conform to feminine ones. As such, gender is constructed by society and it becomes an instrument of organising relations in society. There are three more important aspects that gender introduces in this regard, “hierarchy, power and inequality, not simply differences” between females and males (Kimmel 2008: 1). That is, gender creates hierarchies, power relations and inequalities in social relations.

Additionally, Ingraham (1994: 204) contends that, gender “is the asymmetrical stratification of the sexes in relation to historically varying institutions of patriarchal heterosexuality.” In basic terms, it can be asserted that gender is as much a process as a fixed state, not simply a characteristic of individuals but occurring at all levels of the social structure, and it is important in organising relations of inequality (Wharton 2012: 9). In this regard, McDowell (1999: 14) asserts that, “by differentiating gender from sex, gender could be theorised as the cultural or social elaboration of the latter as such amenable to change.” This shows that the concept of gender also interacts with other aspects of society that may differ from one society to another, thereby making its attributes extremely variable depending on the society. In this case, culture is important as it is a context within which gendered differences take meaning (Kimmel 2008: 3).

In the social construction of gender, culture has played a significant role in both its construction and as a unit of analysing gender relations across societies (Bigwood 1991; Kimmel 2004). There is need to mention that the social construction disposition towards conceptualisation of gender is not solely based on social factors, as the

differences between men and women have been conflated with sex differences, which are largely determined biologically and often considered as natural (Oyewumi 2005). Due to focus being placed on biological/sex differences between men and women as an important aspect for determining one's gender, in addition to social construction, biological determinism has also been very influential in theorising gender. Under biological determinism representations, a dominant assumption exists that gender is determined by sex and the innate biological differences which provide the basis for gender difference and inequality (Kimmel 2004: 52).

The search for biological origins of sexual orientation, particularly in exploring gender differences, is considered one of the most interesting and controversial efforts by scientists who study the biological origins of behaviour (Kimmel 2004: 35). However, this perspective also relies on society's characterisation of what should be considered biological or otherwise. In this regard, Wharton (2012: 15) has declared that, "[l]ike most sociologists, I believe that the biological and the social worlds are interdependent and mutually influential." In this declaration Wharton highlights the development of scholarship that seeks to appreciate both biological determinism and social construction. As such, contemporary directions in theorising gender are shifting away from the sole focus being on either biological determinism or social construction, to conflation of both as one cannot be distinctly explained without consideration of the other (Butler 1990; Udry 2000). Hence, the gender/sex dichotomy may be collapsing. In this regard, it is important to consider both biological and social factors in conceptualising gender, as they both have a role to play (Udry 2000). This perspective forms what may be referred to as the '*biosocial*' viewpoint.

Against this backdrop, it can be argued that the theories of gender, whether biological determinism or social constructionism, appear to be dependent upon the existence of two seemingly distinct categories – male and female – which are largely described and distinguished in terms of genital differences (Unger and Crawford 1993; Udry 2000). But beyond biological determinism and social construction of difference between men and women are other social, political and economic relations that are important to gender conceptualisation (Walby 1996; Kimmel 2004; Tripathy 2010). It is important to note that gender is more than a fixed category or label for individuals, and it only becomes a meaningful term when we consider the relationship between a woman

and a man and the broader relations in which they live (Bradley 2007: 5). Thus, gender is more about the relations that exist between and among men and women than their differences in terms of biological features.

In this dissertation, I take gender as a socially constructed concept that separates men and women based on the roles ascribed to them by society. Gender embeds three main aspects: categorisation of people into two main groups, namely male and female; creation of gendered division of labour; and creation of gendered power relations. As Scott (1999: 66) asserts, “gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relations of power”. Categorisation of people in terms of male (masculine) or female (feminine) is the main form of gender identity. To be identified as a man or woman, people enter a process of learning and unlearning traits considered suitable for their gender. This may be referred to as a gendering process. In this regard, Lorber (1994: 32) sees gender as a “process of creating distinguishable social status for the assignment of rights and responsibilities.” It should be noted that this process is not always smooth, as some people resist certain identities, but this does not overhaul society’s creation of gender identities. In this regard, Butler (1990: 17) asserts that:

“cultural matrix through which gender identity has become intelligible requires that certain identities cannot ‘exist’ – that is, those in which gender does not follow from sex and those in which practices of desire do not follow from either sex or gender”.

This view tries to solidify the existence of conformity in relation to gender expectations based on masculinity and femininity. Anyone who appears to flout the socially constructed gender norms may be considered abnormal as they are viewed as going against what society views as normal. If Lorber’s (1994: 32) view that gender is a process which is learned is anything to go by, then Butler (1990) is right to regard gender as ‘performative’ and, as such, something that people conform to. Specifically, Butler (1990: 33) argues that:

“gender is a repeated stylisation of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly regulated frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.”

In creating gendered divisions of labour, men and women are assigned different responsibilities based on what societies consider masculine or feminine activities. In this regard, there is “allocation of particular types of work to particular categories of people” (Connell 1987: 99). That is, people are allocated work or roles according to their sex. According to Lorber (1994: 33), “in a gender-stratified society, what men do is usually valued more highly than what women do because men do it, even when their activities are similar or the same”. This is based on the assumption that men are stronger than women, and hence, what women do is easy compared to what men do.

The discussion on gendered division of labour has gone further. Focusing on the implications of organisations being gendered, Acker (1990: 146) argues that they breed “advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of the distinction between female and male, masculine and feminine.” Women are the ones who are disadvantaged as their bodies are associated with reduced productivity, especially when they are pregnant and burdened with childcare responsibilities. These aspects become grounds for segregation and exclusion in organisations (Acker 1990: 152).

Gender as a means of creating power relations has more to do with the distribution of power relations between masculinity and femininity. Referring to gendered power relations, Connell (1987: 109) argues that, “if authority is defined as legitimate power, then we can say the main axis of the power structure of gender is the general connections of authority with masculinity”. In this case, men are advantaged due to gender relations that place men as superior while considering women subordinate. This is neither to say that all men are superior to all women nor that power is spread equally among men. It is such imbalances in the distribution of power relations that leads to the creation of power hierarchies.

3.5 THE GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD) THEORY

Having explored the concepts of 'Gender' and 'Development', in this section I explore the theory of Gender and Development (GAD). The application of Gender and Development theory in this dissertation is made in relation to Women in Development (WID) theory, and Women and Development (WAD) theory. This is based on the premise that these theoretical perspectives are not entirely conceptually distinct, and it is often not possible to place a development project squarely within a single theoretical framework (Rathgeber 1990). It should be stated that, each of these theories has been associated with a varying set of underlying assumptions and has led to the formulation of different strategies for the participation of women in the development process and the imbalance that exists between men and women (Rathgeber 1990: 489).

The initial lens through which the imbalance between men's and women's positions in development processes was analysed may be located in Women in Development (WID) theoretical arguments. The term 'Women in Development' was founded in the early 1970s by the Women's Committee of the Washington, D.C., Chapter of the Society for International Development (Moser 1993: 2). However, its current use as the Women in Development (WID) theoretical approach came into being through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Moser 1993: 2). Women in Development as a theory is understood to be focused on the integration of women into global processes of economic, political, and social change (Rathgeber 1990: 489). The underlying rationale of Women in Development, as popularised under the USAID, was that women are an untapped resource that can provide an economic contribution to development (Moser 1993: 2). The critique of the inequalities between men and women in the agricultural sector by Ester Boserup (1970) is among the breakthrough points of the Women in Development theory. Boserup (1970) argues that women are formally invisible in the development process. It is from this view that it can be argued that women have been left out of the development process, causing them to lag behind men. Therefore, there is need for strategies which will enable women to be incorporated into the development process. That is the thrust of the theory of Women in Development.

Women in Development theory's argument is largely based on the economic utility of women and the benefits women gain from economic change (Singh 2007: 101). In this theory, women are considered important to economic change processes and thus

should be formally incorporated in this process. This formal incorporation of women in the development process proffers them an opportunity to be important contributors to and beneficiaries of the process of development. In Women and Development theory, women's agency represents collective action centred on improving the position of the deprived, who are in this case women (Singh 2007). This is because women's formal participation in the development process is more likely to place them in a better position not only to contribute but also to benefit from development processes.

Women and Development (WAD) theory offers a different perspective from Women in Development theory as regards the position of women in the development process. The Women and Development theoretical perspective focuses on the relationship between women and development processes rather than purely on strategies for the integration of women into development, as it emphasises that women have always been important economic actors in their societies (Rathgeber 1990: 492). The understanding here is that women have always been part of the development process, but their contributions have been formally neglected. This view, thus, challenges the Women in Development assertion that women have been left out of the development process.

In this way, Women and Development theory may be seen as a critique to Women in Development theory's argument and focus, though they both concentrate on women. Women and Development theory invests in the agency of women rather than the influence of institutions on them, and focuses primarily on their economic agency (Singh 2007). Unlike Women in Development theory, which calls for incorporation of women in the development process, Women and Development theory asserts that women have always been in the process, hence agency is needed to ensure they attain official recognition. This official recognition of women's contribution to development processes is perceived as the best way to ensure they have improved access to development opportunities and have their contributions appreciated.

It should be noted that both Women in Development theory and Women and Development theory have weaknesses that deny them adoption as the main theoretical perspectives in this research. Both theories appear to have been fixated on women as a coherent category which is eternally exploited by either a social order or an economic capitalist system, and thus, created an impression that women's interests are essentially different from men's (Tripathy 2010). This may not be the case because women seem to

have different interests and needs depending on their social and economic contexts (Moser 1989). In addition, not every woman is deprived in relation to every man (Tripathy 2010).

Despite these weaknesses, it is argued that Women and Development theory offers a better critique of women's position in development than Women in Development theory, but it fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression (Rathgeber 1990: 493). The sole focus on women ignores unequal power relations between men and women, and thus fails to challenge the systemic subordination of women (Tripathy 2010). However, in order to make the development process gender-equitable and truly inclusive, there is a need to re-examine social, political, and economic structures as they relate to gender relations (Tripathy 2010). Thus, focusing on relations between men and women in the analysis of development-related issues brings the analyst's attention not simply to the sex of participants as embodied actors but to the cultural production of their subjectivities and the material production of their social lives, which are ever changing (Calas, Smircich and Bourne 2009). This weakness attributed to Women and Development theory reveals women as being disadvantaged merely by exclusion from official statistics, ignoring their interactions with men in the development process. These interactions shape the way in which both men and women access benefits from the development process, while shaping how they experience challenges.

The concern of Gender and Development (GAD) theory, however, is not women per se, but the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and men (Rathgeber 1990: 494). In other words, the focus for Gender and Development is on "the social relationship between men and women, in which women have been systematically subordinated" (Moser 1993: 3). The subordination of women thrives on the social construction of gender. This is because the social construction of gender creates stereotypes between men and women which are not biologically determined and vary from society to society as they are not permanently fixed (Tripathy 2010). This is a key realisation under Gender and Development theorists.

It should be acknowledged that "men and women play different roles in society" (Moser 1993: 3). As such, the Gender and Development theoretical perspective's focus on gender rather than women gives an important basis for understanding the roles that

have socially been assigned to men and women as they participate in the development process. This aspect facilitates a comprehensive understanding of how development contributions are distributed between men and women. However, the movement from Women in Development theory to Gender and Development theory has not been without weaknesses as Gender and Development theory raises more questions than it answers. There is a lot of confusion at the conceptual level as to what gender is about – whether it should accommodate men to prove the elasticity of the term gender, or sustain the difference between men and women (Tripathy 2010: 115).

In analysing Gender and Development theory in practice, it is perceived that the theory is often rather top-down, Western ethnocentric and barely allowing for broader participation in agenda setting or implementation (Cornwall 2003; Sharp et al. 2003). Thus, Gender and Development projects have generally struggled to be sensitive to local contexts in order not to impose universal, or rather Westernised, views of development or gender identities on diverse communities (Sharp et al. 2003: 281). This is because of Gender and Development theory's explicit concern with power, voice and rights, which makes women appear to be challenging the prevailing order, as the ethic of Gender and Development theory is ultimately about challenging and changing relations of power that objectify and subjugate both men and women (Cornwall 2003). Arguably, this makes women settle for 'patriarchal bargains' which they feel gives them benefits in relation to the supposedly challenging prevailing order (Kandiyoti 1988; Sharp et al. 2003).

Thus, Gender and Development theory provides an important analytic basis for understanding how development benefits are distributed between men and women. Important to note regarding Gender and Development theory is its identification of the need to focus on both men and women when analysing development. This approach provides a basis for avoiding analysing development beneficiaries as a homogenous group. By so doing, it offers a more realistic approach to analysing development in local communities than Women in Development and Women and Development theories, which only focused on women.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored the main concepts used in this dissertation to explore the relationship between mineral resource exploitation and local community

development. These concepts include Development, Gender, and Gender and Development. In conceptualising development, I have established that it is an ambiguous concept that may be interpreted differently depending upon context. Moreover, current development analysis trends do not focus on one development theoretical perspective in determining the development process or understanding the meaning of development. Thus, there is conflation of different theoretical perspectives in a bid to provide goods and services considered important in ensuring the wellbeing of individuals. This means that there is no one economy that can be located in a single development theoretical paradigm. In this dissertation the modernisation theory and neoliberalism (or structural adjustment) are the main development theoretical paradigms within which development is used.

From the modernisation theoretical perspective, development entails the achievement of modernity through negation of what has been referred to as backward values and beliefs. This is achieved through technological advancement, industrialisation, agricultural advancement, capital accumulation, and improvement of education and health services, among other aspects. In conceptualising neoliberalism, I have highlighted that just like development there are different interpretations of the concept of neoliberalism. However, in this dissertation I use neoliberalism in reference to the IMF-sponsored political-economic policies aimed at economic liberalisation. These policies included privatisation, currency devaluation, trade liberalisation, and limited public spending, among other aspects, which were to culminate in development, but yielded economic malaise when implemented in an economy. Generally, it should be mentioned that the implementation of these neoliberal political-economic policies has restructured the development processes of implementing economies.

I have also explored the Gender and Development theory as I use this theory in answering my research question regarding the distribution of mineral resource-led development benefits between men and women. Before exploring the Gender and Development theory, I explored the concept of gender as one that is subject to different interpretations. In this dissertation, gender has been used a concept that separates men and women into different categories, thereby creating gender relations that culminate in sexual division of labour, and the creation of power relations and hierarchies between men and women. This is, of course, to men's advantage.

In exploring the theory of Gender and Development (GAD), I have explored the Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD) theoretical perspectives as they are the theories from which the Gender and Development theory emerges. The Women in Development and the Women and Development theoretical perspectives show a bias towards the need to have women incorporated and have their efforts recognised in the development process as they have been historically disadvantaged. However, it should be noted that men and women are both important stakeholders in the development process, yet they are often separated based on gender relations. Therefore, the Gender and Development (GAD) theory's focus on both men and women makes it a more realistic theory for analysing the distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women.

Chapter Four:

Methodology

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methodology I used in conducting this research. It concerns methods used to resolve epistemological and theoretical issues (Bray 2008: 299). In its broadest sense, a methodology is a guideline system, framework, or philosophy that is used for solving a problem, or rather guiding research (Dawson 2009). Therefore, it includes practices, procedures and rules used by those involved in inquiry and covers issues such as the constraints, dilemmas and ethical choices within research (Dawson 2009; Dawson 2013).

In this chapter, I explain and give justification to the relevance of the qualitative approach which I used in conducting this research. Furthermore, I provide a description of the research site and how access to the research site and respondents was negotiated. I describe the data collection methods used, and how the data collected was analysed. In addition, ethical issues linked to the research and limitations of the research are explored. By so doing, the chapter raises some of the methodological and theoretical issues pertinent to this research, as well as epistemological and ontological issues involved (Dawson 2009: 138-139).

4.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH JUSTIFICATION

According to Creswell (2003: 18), a qualitative research approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives or advocacy/participatory perspectives, or even both. This entails that conclusions and theories are built from the analysis of the data collected in appreciation of constructivist ontology (Sarantakos 2013). As such, I collected open-ended qualitative data with the primary intent of developing themes from the collected data.

Additionally, qualitative research aims to examine a ‘process’ or the ‘meanings’ that people give to their own social situations (Liamputtong 2013: 14). This was crucial to this research as determining the contribution of the Munali nickel mine to the

development of the local community required knowing the elements that constituted development to the local people. Therefore, a qualitative research approach enabled me to examine the mineral resource-led development process and meanings people give to the outcomes of this process. Moreover, the interpretive and expository disposition of qualitative research necessitates a detailed and comprehensive account of participants' perceptions, understandings and experiences associated with the research topic (Creswell 2009).

The focus in qualitative research is on exploring, explaining, describing or understanding the dynamics of social situations, events and interactions in the natural environment (Liamputtong 2013). Thus, it can be asserted that the approach is naturalistic in nature as it is field-focused, thereby operating in the natural setting of the respondents (Sarantakos 2013: 36-37; Babbie and Mouton 2014: 270). In this research, appreciating the naturalistic nature of the qualitative research approach was important. This is because this research is purely an exploration of social interactions that explain how mining contributes to local community development and how these contributions are distributed between men and women. As such, in order to gain an in-depth understanding, investigating these issues in the natural environment was inevitable. This gave the respondents an opportunity to point out what they were talking about. In this way, I was able to relate their narratives to what I could see in their environment.

In addition, I find qualitative research's constructionist approach important as it assumes that the social world is always a human creation, not a discovery (Sarantakos 2013). In this regard, Liamputtong (2013) reasons that qualitative researchers have a belief that a qualitative approach produces well-grounded data, providing abundant and high quality descriptions as well as explanations of processes situated within social contexts. Therefore, the use of the qualitative approach gave me grounds for a detailed exploration of how the Munali nickel mine contributes to development in the local community as the approach allowed for detailed explanations from respondents. In addition, qualitative research explores attitudes, behaviour and experiences, through such methods as interviews, in an attempt to acquire in-depth opinions from research participants (Dawson 2009: 14-15). Hence, the qualitative approach enabled me to have a direct interaction with the respondents, which facilitated obtaining in-depth

explanations of people's experiences related to mineral resource-led development in the local community.

The interpretive and expository characteristics of the qualitative approach are also essential when researchers have little knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation (Liamputtong 2013). The interpretive and expository disposition of qualitative research necessitates a detailed and comprehensive account of participants' perceptions, understandings and experiences, allowing for reflective assessment of the reconstructed impressions of the world (Creswell 2009; Sarantakos 2013). The background and rationale of this research is indicative of little knowledge on mining-led development contributions, particularly of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community. This suggests that researchers have not extensively explored this topic, and that there is little, if any, systematically documented knowledge on the topic. Therefore, a qualitative research approach provides a systematic way of acquiring knowledge on the contribution of the Munali nickel mine to the development of Mugoto community and how these contributions are distributed between men and women.

According to Liamputtong (2013), qualitative research is necessary when there is a problem or an issue that needs to be explored, as this exploration will in turn allow researchers to hear more silenced voices. Thus, accommodating the expressions of the local people and other relevant respondents in this research realises the advocacy and participatory perspectives of the qualitative approach. In this regard, the use of the qualitative approach in this research is also justified by its advocacy and participatory perspectives. This aspect is very important in this research as the matter under investigation needs to be explored thoroughly in order to give voice to the voiceless persons affected by the establishment of the mining project in the area.

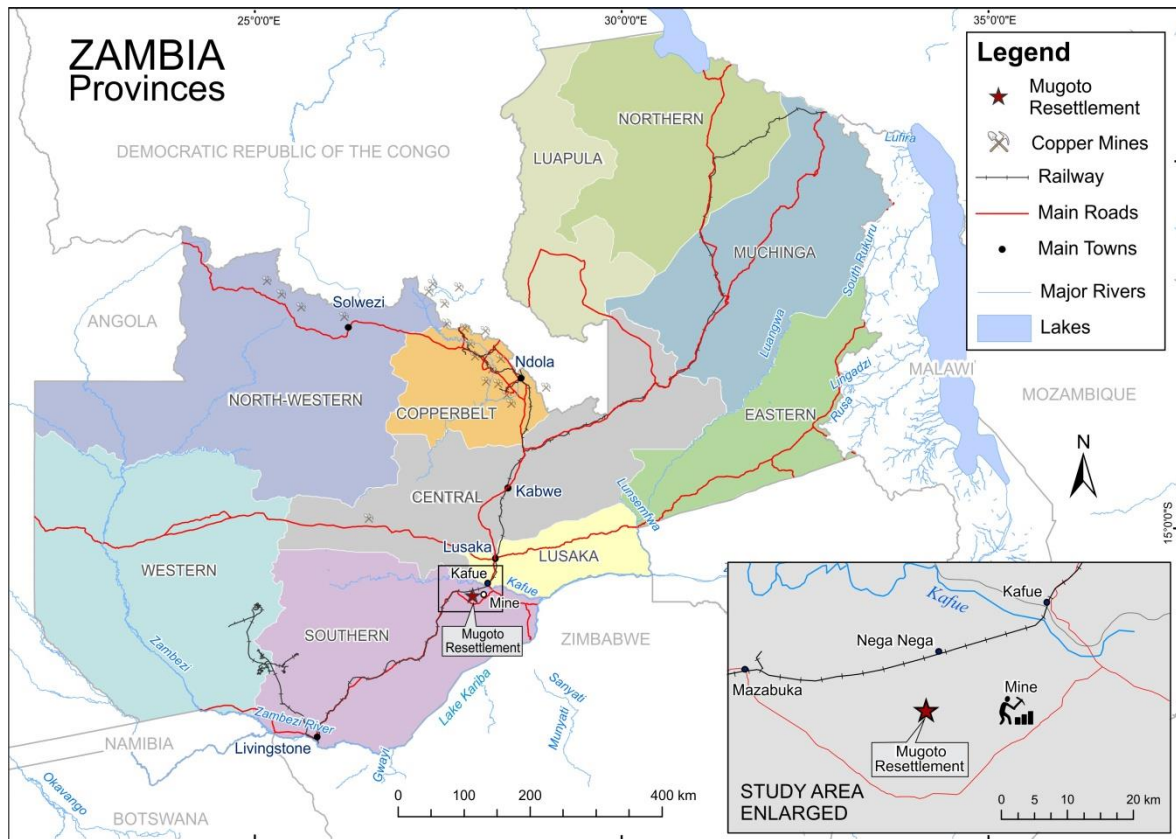
It is important to note that the qualitative research approach was the most relevant approach for this research because it gave me an opportunity to have a direct interaction with the respondents. Through direct interaction with people, it was quite easy for me to have discussions about their experiences regarding the contribution of the mine to the development of their community and how these development benefits are distributed between men and women. In the next section I will describe the research site where most of the interactions with respondents prevailed.

4.3 RESEARCH SITE DESCRIPTION

This research was conducted in the Mazabuka district of Southern Province in Zambia, where the Munali nickel mine is situated. In the immediate surrounds of the mine is the Mugoto community. The mine is situated approximately 80 km south-east of Lusaka and about 16 km from Kafue town, along the Great North Road (African Mining Consultants 2006). The mining plant is located about 2.5 km to the right of the Lusaka-Livingstone highway (a gateway to the south into Botswana and western Zimbabwe) and is approximately 20 km from the Nega-Nega railway siding on the Lusaka-Bulawayo railway line (African Mining Consultants 2006). The Kafue River is located about 20 km to the north of the project (African Mining Consultants 2006; Environmental Council of Zambia 2010).

The Munali nickel mining license and surface rights area covers about 2 224 hectares of land (African Mining Consultants 2006). This area covers part of the Mugoto settlement scheme (community) and the adjacent traditional land, with the inhabitants of the area being predominantly of the Tonga tribe, and mostly subsistence farmers whose livelihoods are largely dependent on agriculture (Environmental Council of Zambia 2010; Shalala 2013). It should be stated that the establishment of the mine led to displacement and resettlement of some people. Most of the people who were relocated as a result of the establishment of the mine have been moved approximately 15 km west of the mine. The area where the resettled residents have been relocated to is called *Mugoto Resettlement Action Plan area*, or simply *Resettlement area*, as it is generally referred to in this dissertation. Figure 1 below shows the location of the research area.

Figure 1: Location of the research area



Source: Map designed by Ingrid Booyesen – Senior Geographer, University of Pretoria.

4.3.1 Access to the research site and respondents

My main focus in this section is on explaining how access to the research site and respondents was obtained. It should be stated that access is very important to the success of research and there are many ways in which researchers may access the research area and their potential participants. In most cases, researchers employ a combination of methods (Liamputtong 2013: 19). To me, access to the research site and respondents was a cardinal point of concern, with issues such as the language barrier, obtaining permission from gatekeepers, and transport topping the list of predicted hindrances. Moreover, I was not certain how the research topic would be received by the relevant authorities and the local community. All these worries were lessened once I received institutional support from the University of Pretoria through an introductory letter (Appendix 5) and ethical clearance (Appendix 8), as well as written authority from the Ministry of Health in Zambia (Appendix 7). Written authority to conduct this research in the Mugoto

community was obtained from the Ministry of Health as instructed by the ethical clearance from the University of Zambia (Appendix 6).²

With the written authority from the Zambian Ministry of Health, it became easy to access individuals and institutions targeted for the research as respondents and sources of documentary data. Written authority from the Ministry of Health facilitated access to the relevant public institutions in the area and, in the process, I also obtained contact details for individuals and institutions to help me access respondents through snowball sampling.³ At this point, the use of snowball sampling instantly became an important technique in the research as it made access even easier than expected. For instance, the language barrier was an issue not to be ignored, thus, in order to find people who could speak the languages used in data collection, there was high reliance on snowball sampling.

With regard to accessing documentary data, Sarantakos (2013: 304) asserts that many informal channels such as the internet, formal channels by way of obtaining documents from the relevant authorities, and secondary channels like research reference databases could be used. However, it is important that researchers still obtain permission to get access to the data, even if only as a matter of courtesy, as this is ethically and in some cases legally necessary (Liamputtong 2013: 115). Thus, when conducting this research, I had to obtain written and verbal permission from the relevant authorities to use some documents, especially institutional documents, even though some documents would be easily accessed electronically through internet sources.

Getting permission to access the research site had the additional benefit of giving me access to respondents. At this point, I conceded to the argument that gaining access to a community does not automatically guarantee the success or smooth collection of data as there is need for the researcher to be trusted prior to gaining access to a particular group, and when dealing with the gatekeeper(s) (Dawson 2009; Dawson 2013; Liamputtong 2013). Even though access to the community in general was relatively easy, convincing some respondents to participate in the research was not always easy as they had their own concerns. For instance, many public officials targeted for the interviews refused to be interviewed, while others set up appointments on dates and at times when

² I explain why and how I obtained these documents in section 4.6 (Ethical considerations) as the letters were obtained mainly to meet ethical requirements.

³ I present details of how snowball sampling was utilised in this research in section 4.4.2.1 (Sampling), particularly section 4.4.2.1.1 (Sampling of residents).

they were not available. Furthermore, some married women would not participate unless their husbands were around to grant them permission. Thus, in the entire process of data collection, creating a very good rapport and gaining the trust of the respondents was fundamental to the success of gaining access to the research site and the respondents. In the next section I present the data collection methods I used after managing to access the research site and respondents.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

In this research I used two main data collection methods, namely documentary review and interviews. Consequently, the data generated was highly qualitative in nature. The combination of several methods of data collection is what Sarantakos (2013: 159) refers to as 'method triangulation.' I resolved to use method triangulation because of the benefits it offers. In analysing the benefits of triangulation, Lichterman (2002) asserts that it deepens the researcher's understanding of the setting under research as the method has the ability to yield detailed data as compared to the use of a single method. In addition, this procedure allows the researcher to view a particular point or issue in research from more than one perspective, hence enriching knowledge and its validity (Sarantakos 2013: 159).

In this research, I used triangulation to supplement each research method's deficiencies while capitalising on strengths. Nevertheless, the main method of primary data collection I used in this research was interviewing. Before collecting primary data, documentary review was made in order to get insights on the topic. I continued reviewing documents until the research report was finalised, as some documents were obtained while conducting interviews and I could refer to them during my dissertation write-up.

4.4.1 Documentary review

Documentary review basically entails studying of documents with a view to obtaining detailed understanding on a topic, and researchers study documents as much as, if not more than, they study people and they do so either in conjunction with or instead of studying people (May 2011; Sarantakos 2013: 303). It is important to note that there are diverse sources of documentary data which include written text, or the physically embodied texts, where the containment of the text is the primary purpose of the physical

medium (May 2011; Liamputtong 2013). Moreover, documentary data can be categorised as (1) primary, secondary, and tertiary documents; (2) public and private documents; and (3) solicited and unsolicited sources (May 2011).

The use of documentary review in this research was important because of its strengths as a method of data collection. In brief, the main strengths of documentary review as a method of data collection, as identified by May (2011), Straits and Singleton (2011), and Sarantakos (2013), include the following: Firstly, retrospective nature, which means that documentary methods enable researchers to study past events. Secondly, spontaneity emanating from the understanding that in most cases, documents are produced by writers without being requested to do so by researchers, which reduces researcher bias significantly. Thirdly, there is a high likelihood of high quality of information as dealing with first-hand original data allows the production of high quality findings. Fourthly, the possibility of re-testing, given that documents are easily accessible, makes replication highly possible. Finally, there is non-reactivity in that the method itself and the act of measurement does not affect the results. These characteristics made relevant the use of documentary review in this research. Therefore, documents helped me explore situations and provided insight into language dynamics, values, culture, events as well as development experiences of the community. The use of documentary review also facilitated understanding of historical events that may have shaped mineral resource-led development trends in the Mugoto community.

It should be acknowledged that documentary research has been received with a number of criticisms in social research. One of the issues raised is that of methodology. According to May (2011), documentary research can hardly be regarded as constituting a method, since to say that one will use documents is to say nothing about how one will use them. Another concern is that the quality of data gathered from documents is a controversial matter in qualitative methodology due to such issues as context, author intentions and credibility (May 2011; Liamputtong 2013: 115). Hence, despite the richness of the insights that may be available from documents, research reports based on these sources may be subject to misunderstanding (May 2011). In this research I took note of the stated weaknesses while making documentary review. Where possible and necessary, documents were compared to analyse the authenticity of the data provided. The data sources for documentary review included institutional consultancy reports, and

newspaper and magazine articles. In the following subsections I explain how I made use of institutional consultancy reports, and newspaper and magazine articles to gather data for this dissertation.

4.4.1.1 Institutional consultancy reports

Institutional consultancy reports used to gather data for this dissertation included documents from the *Zambia Environmental Management Agency* (formerly *Environmental Council of Zambia*) and the *African Mining Consultants*. These institutions were engaged in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), as well as the formulation of the Munali nickel mine's Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) and the Environmental and Social Management Plan (ESMP) prior to the commencement of the Munali nickel mining operations in the area (see African Mining Consultants 2006; Environmental Council of Zambia 2010). It is based on this background that I viewed these institutional reports as essential to obtaining insights about the research site and other information relevant to this research.

While understanding development-related historical events in the community before the mine was established was essential in this research, a significant shortcoming noted was that there seemed to be no documents holding information on the research area published prior to the year 2006. This makes the data collected through documentary review lack an in-depth revelation of historical events and experiences of the people in the area prior to the establishment of the nickel project. It is worth mentioning that these documents were obtained from the mining company, as other institutions claimed no rights to release any document about the mine without permission from mine authorities. Moreover, these documents were written for the mine. Therefore, one might reasonably question the neutrality of the information they contain.⁴

4.4.1.2 Newspaper and magazine articles

⁴ See Appendix 9 for a list of the documents used.

In search of media outputs, I considered newspaper and magazine articles from four media institutions for review. That is, three local newspapers (*The Post*, *Zambia Daily Mail*, and *Times of Zambia*) and a mining magazine (*Zambia Mining Magazine*) were considered for review. These local newspapers and this magazine cover news on mining and development in the country, among many other issues. Thus, I considered them valuable to answering the research questions.

The information I sought from the stated institutions included development-related news around the establishment of the Munali nickel mine. However, it came to light that the focus of the media institutions on the nickel project has generally been on the mine's operations and the relations between the mine and the people who have been displaced by the mine. Documents from these institutions lacked a critical depth in explaining the historical contexts leading to the current development situation in the area. Moreover, the issues discussed in the articles lacked analysis of the differences between men and women in relation to mineral resource-led development in the Mugoto community. The documents, thus, could not fully answer the questions this research seeks to answer, which necessitated the use interviews.

4.4.2 Interviews

In qualitative research, greater detail can only be obtained by holding direct conversations with people in the field and allowing them to articulate issues unencumbered by the background literature that may have been gathered by the researcher (Creswell 2012: 48). This is because conversation is a fundamental means of interaction among individuals in society, making communication of essential and specific knowledge about the social world by verbal messages possible and easy (Liamputtong 2013: 51). It is this aspect that made me regard interviews as one of the best methods of collecting qualitative data. Moreover, conversations in interviews enable researchers to gain insights into the biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes, perceptions and feelings of the respondents (May 2011: 131). These are the considerations that motivated me to use interviews in this research.

While interviews have a number of strengths, they also have weaknesses. According to May (2011), there is a contention that interviews rely on people's accounts of their actions as representing something beyond the interview situation, and several

possibilities arise from this. Firstly, accounts may simply be inaccurate for one reason or another. Secondly, while accounts may be a genuine reflection of a person's experiences, there might be circumstances or events which surrounded these experiences of which the person was not aware. In fact, people experience social reality in different ways and places, and at different times. Thirdly, there is an argument that a fuller understanding can be achieved only by witnessing the context of the event or circumstance to which people refer. Thus, the best way for researchers to examine these events or circumstances is to be there at the time. To address these weaknesses, certain questions were repeated, though usually phrased differently to capture the real meaning of what the respondents were saying. In addition, data collected from different interviews was compared to distinguish between community experiences and those that were unique to individuals.

To gather data, I used interview guides to guide the interviews.⁵ These consisted of broad, open-ended questions, enabling the respondents to bring out different issues on the research topic without diverting from it. I prepared interview guides to help me cover all the issues I was examining. However, in carrying out interviews it was very difficult to follow the interview guides as intended. As Liamputtong (2013: 63) notes, researchers do not always strictly follow interview guides but make up the questions during the interview without moving away from the topic. Thus, the structure of interviewing would differ from one respondent to another, depending on the way in which they articulated issues. Some respondents would make long narrations as if to cover the entire topic at once; others would answer briefly, thereby necessitating that I ask more questions to gather details.

It is worth mentioning that I used probes to seek clarification on some issues and enable respondents to explain their points further. During interviews, probing becomes very important to prompting participants to further discussion so that they facilitate clear understanding of the matter being examined (Liamputtong 2013: 57). Probes are basically questions or neutral statements that encourage the respondents to extend or amplify a partial, irrelevant or inaccurate response, as well as to stimulate and assist them to answer a question (Sarantakos 2013: 289). This should be done without affecting the direction of their thinking and without causing bias or distortion, which means that the researcher should think about obtaining clarification, explanation and understanding (Dawson 2009;

⁵ See Appendix 2 for the interview guides.

Sarantakos 2013). I used this technique when conducting interviews as it proved important in getting detailed and clear information.

In order to capture interviews in full, to pay close attention to what participants were saying and to follow up on the conversation, I recorded most of the interviews using a digital recorder, with permission from respondents. Moreover, it was impossible to write down everything as articulated by the respondents. Doing this meant asking respondents to be very slow when speaking, which would have been too time-consuming. In addition, it is also difficult to probe as well as clarify in the interview session, and at the same time try to write down the conversation (Liamputtong 2013: 65). Thus, recording was necessary. It should be stated that recording interviews is crucial for the detailed analysis that is required in qualitative research as this helps to ensure that participants' responses are captured in their own words (Liamputtong 2013: 64). The recordings I made were very important in data analysis as I would replay them to understand exactly what the respondents were saying. In the next section I explain how I selected respondents for this research.

4.4.2.1 Sampling

Sampling was critical in conducting interviews. In my sampling criteria, I considered that this research is concerned with in-depth understanding of the issues under examination. Hence, I relied heavily on individuals who I viewed as being able to provide rich accounts. This is arguably a reason why qualitative research work well with small numbers of individuals (Liamputtong 2013: 14). In this case, a sample is a portion or a subset of a larger group, called the population, which represents the universe to be sampled (Fink 1995; May 2011). The population of this research consisted of the local residents of the Mugoto community, and key informants.

In determining a sample size in qualitative research, it is wise to use a sample that is 'as large as necessary, and as small as possible' (Sarantakos 2013: 183). This is because qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases, selected purposefully (Patton 2002: 230), as the fundamental concern of this research is quality, not quantity (Liamputtong 2013: 19). Thus, in sampling, I was careful to ensure that I selected a small sample, but one that was large and relevant enough to enable me collect detailed data. I categorised respondents into two target groups, namely

community residents and key informants. In the next two sections, I present how I sampled the respondents in the two categories.

4.4.2.1.1 Sampling of residents

Sampling of residents was conducted based on, but not restricted to, the following selection criteria: Firstly, I selected those who had been resident in the community for a year or more before inception of the Munali nickel mine. This is because I viewed them as having a considerably detailed understanding of historical development trends in the Mugoto community. Secondly, only individuals at and above the age of 18 years were included in the sample. This is because persons of this age are adults, and therefore ethically qualified to be interviewed. Lastly, due to my inability to fluently speak the key local language (Tonga), the research interviews were conducted in English, Nyanja and to some extent Bemba, and, for the most part, only respondents who were conversant in these languages were considered. In some instances where interpretation was possible, interviews were conducted with respondents who could only speak Tonga fluently. I selected these languages because a reasonably large number of the residents are able to read, understand, and speak at least one of them.

With the stated sampling criteria, snowball sampling was the main sampling technique I used for interviews, with a minimal use of purposive sampling. Snowball sampling may be described as the selection of participants through referrals and networks from initial respondents to generate additional respondents (Gray et al. 2007; Dawson 2013; Babbie and Mouton 2014). It should be noted that this procedure also results in samples with questionable representativeness, thus it is used primarily for exploratory purposes, that is, when description or understanding, rather than generalisation, is the goal (Dawson 2013; Babbie and Mouton 2014). Additionally, snowball sampling is appropriate when the members of the population are difficult to locate due to the selection criteria, and when the population is small making it difficult for the researcher to identify its members (Dawson 2013; Sarantakos 2013; Babbie and Mouton 2014). In many cases where there are no sample frameworks, snowball sampling is the only way of securing a sample for a research (Sarantakos 2013: 179).

Drawn from the above understanding of how snowball sampling may be used, I used it to select residents because it was difficult, if not impossible, to generate a list of

all those fitting the selection criteria and I did not know anyone in the community. Hence, referrals were very important in locating respondents meeting the selection criteria. It should be mentioned that snowball sampling normally begins with one, a few individuals, or even a group of people, and then links are established based on the initial person's recommendations (Neuman 1994). The snowball in this research commenced based on the recommendations and contact details obtained from different institutions and individuals in the process of negotiating access to the research area.

Initially, I sought to have equal numbers of both men and women for interviews. However, reality on the ground made it extremely difficult for this objective to be met as some people, women mostly, were not comfortable being involved in interviews. Engaging some married women proved especially challenging as there were instances where they would only be able to participate if and when they were allowed to do so by their husbands. Many refused to be interviewed even with their husbands' permission. Therefore, a total number of fourteen (14) individual residents divided into nine (9) men and five (5) women were interviewed. In trying to ensure that the sampling conditions were met, deliberate inquiries were made as to the age of the respondents, how long they had been resident in the area, and the languages they could use to articulate issues. Figure 2 below shows the list of community residents interviewed.

Figure 2: Interviewed community residents

No.	Respondent ⁶	Sex	Date of Interview
1.	Mwamfuli	Male	06 March 2015
2.	Kashimba	Male	08 May 2015
3.	Kabangila	Male	09 May 2015
4.	Chishala	Male	09 May 2015
5.	Mwila	Male	09 May 2015
6.	Katanga	Female	10 May 2015
7.	Kabundafyela	Male	10 May 2015
8.	Zungu	Female	10 May 2015
9.	Kalubwa	Female	10 May 2015
10.	Mwense	Male	10 May 2015
11.	Mwamba	Male	10 May 2015
12.	Kabanga	Male	10 May 2015
13.	Malalaki	Female	22 May 2015
14.	Yape	Female	22 May 2015

4.4.2.1.2 Sampling of key informants

In selecting key informants, I used purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is basically a technique that a researcher applies to select relevant participants based on personal judgement regarding how important and detailed their knowledge may be about the topic under examination (Sarantakos 2013: 177-178). According to Patton (2002: 230), “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth.” In addition, Liamputtong (2013: 14) explains that information-rich cases are individuals, events or settings from which researchers can gain a detailed understanding of the research topic as these cases offer in-depth understanding and insights into the findings rather than the researcher making empirical generalisations. Moreover, sometimes it is just appropriate for a researcher to select a sample based on how relevant some individuals, or rather cases, are judged to be and their interest to the topic, as this adds to the success of the research (Dawson 2013; Babbie and Mouton 2014).

Key informants included individuals chosen specifically for their knowledge on the research topic based on their social positions in the research area. That is, sampling was based on the important roles that individuals played in the area, or their knowledge

⁶ These are not the real names of the respondents.

about the area that was relevant to the topic. Key informants included institutional representatives and some local community members. In addition, research consultants who have conducted research in and on the area were also considered in the interest of having an analytical view of research experts. In this research, key informants consisted of a total number of (11) individuals, comprising (7) men and (4) women. Figure 3 below shows the list of key informants interviewed.

Figure 3: Interviewed key informants

No.	Respondent ⁷	Sex	Position	Date
1.	Kamalenge	Male	Mugoto Resettlement Scheme Chairperson	27 January 2015
2.	Kuyumba	Male	Mugoto Community Social Welfare Chairperson	06 March 2015
3.	Penso	Female	Mugoto Clinic Nurse	06 March 2015
4.	Safi	Female	Mugoto Clinic Nurse	06 March 2015
5.	Kandumba	Male	Mugoto Primary School Head-Teacher	06 March 2015
6.	Kawambwa	Male	Mazabuka Council Representative	13 March 2015
7.	Munkupa	Male	Munali Nickel Mine Representative	30 March 2015
8.	Kalembelo	Male	Resettlement Action Plan area Chairperson	31 March 2015
9.	Nakapekele	Female	Mugoto Community Health Worker	08 May 2015
10.	Dwina	Female	Mugoto Community Health Worker	21 May 2015
11.	Meleki	Male	Munali Nickel Mine Research Consultant	29 May 2015

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

⁷ These are not their real names.

Data analysis was a very important aspect of this research. According to Liamputtong (2013: 241), during data collection or once data has been collected, researchers need to organise the data in a more meaningful way and this is what may be referred to as data analysis. However, the method of induction is central to the analysis of qualitative data and concepts have to be developed deductively from the data (Ghosh 2011). Thus, researchers immerse themselves in their fieldwork (be it an interview, observation, or published text), and then, through reading and rereading the data, they make sense of it. Through immersion in the data the researchers attempt to understand what they have obtained (Liamputtong 2013: 241). I analysed both primary and secondary data both during and after data collection. This is because it is advised that qualitative data analysis should commence from the beginning of the research in order to understand themes as they emerge (Liamputtong 2013: 242). The final data analysis involved integration of data obtained from documentary review and interviews.

In analysing documentary data, descriptive analysis was the main technique I used. This technique is rather elementary and entails summarising data, identifying the main trends and presenting descriptions (Sarantakos 2013: 305). This meant reviewing documents to get explanations on issues relating to development in Mugoto community. In the process of reading documents, I identified themes through thematic analysis as this type of analysis breaks up stories into bites in order to fit them into coding categories (Liamputtong 2013: 251). The main themes I identified described the education, health, agriculture, and economic situation in the Mugoto community. This facilitated understanding of important issues around how the Munali nickel mine contributes to development in the Mugoto community and how these contributions are distributed between men and women.

Thematic analysis and deductive logic were used to review information produced through interviews. Using this method, researchers usually work through textual data to identify specific themes (clusters of linked categories that convey similar meanings) (Dawson 2013: 139). This type of analysis is highly inductive, that is, the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher (Dawson 2009; Ghosh 2011). During interviews, notes were made where necessary, and, where possible, audio recordings were usually done. These audio recordings were transcribed, as interviews need to be transcribed to enable proper data analysis. My main focus in analysis was to

trace responses that answered the research questions. These responses are what generated the main issues presented in the findings chapters (chapters Five, Six, and Seven). I must mention that while collecting data, analysing it, and writing up the dissertation, I considered all ethical requirements. In the next section I explain how I handled ethical issues.

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this research, I considered all ethical concerns that would arise. According to May (2011: 61), “[e]thics is concerned with the attempt to formulate codes and principles of moral behaviour.” Some ethical issues identified by Dawson (2009), May (2011), Dawson (2013), Liamputtong (2013), and Babbie and Mouton (2014) include voluntary participation, no harm to the participants, anonymity and confidentiality, deceiving subjects, and analysis and reporting. In this research I upheld and adhered to all these research ethics.

I obtained a conditional ethical clearance (Appendix 4) and an introductory letter (Appendix 5) from the University of Pretoria which I used to seek ethical clearance from the University of Zambia (Appendix 6) to conduct research in Zambia. The documents from the University of Pretoria and the ethical clearance from the University of Zambia were then used to obtain written authority (Appendix 7) from Zambia’s Ministry of Health to carry out research in Zambia as advised in the ethical clearance letter from the University of Zambia. It should be mentioned that getting written authority was a requirement for full ethical clearance (Appendix 8) by the University of Pretoria, and that it later proved important in gaining access to the research site. Thus, I only obtained full ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria to start data collection after getting written authority from Zambia’s Ministry of Health to conduct research in Zambia.

I sought respondents’ consent (verbal and written) before conducting the in-depth interviews. In this regard, my values and interests in the research were declared in order to gain the informed consent of the participants. I also explained to the participants the objectives and rationale behind the research. To ensure that they understood the explanations, I encouraged the respondents to ask questions where they needed clarification. I also requested that the respondents sign an informed-consent form

(Appendix 3), stating that they understood the aims and processes of the research as well as any consequences that may follow from its publication in the public domain.

Furthermore, I ensured that I guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity to the respondents. In order to ensure this, I use pseudonyms in this dissertation. In addition, the information gathered from the participants was and shall be treated with the utmost confidentiality and used mainly for the purpose for which this research was conducted. However, even with all these ethical considerations being upheld and adhered to, I still had some limitations in this research. I present the limitations in the next section.

4.7 LIMITATIONS IN THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Conducting this research came with some challenges. To start with, there were some hindrances to access the research site. Due to the poor public transport system in the area, it was exceedingly difficult to access some places. This made movement difficult, leading me to resort to the use of a car hire service which was very expensive. Some roads were very bad and are impassable during the rainy season. Therefore, in some instances, too much time was spent exploring the area and trying to discover how to access some parts of it. Moreover, as there are no guesthouses or hotels in this area, there was a need to travel from outside the area every time data collection was to be conducted, making the research expensive in terms of transport and time spent. This resulted in me spending more time in the field than planned and failing to access some parts of the community.

Another difficulty encountered was in trying to balance the number of men and women in sampling. Most married women shunned interviews on the basis that they could only do so if their husbands were around to give them permission. In situations where the husbands were around, some women would still refuse, even with permission from their husbands. In informal conversations, some people stated that women did not know much about the topic and were traditionally not allowed to provide information without permission. Moreover, they are busy with household chores. Thus, many of the interviews with women were conducted at places such as the health centre, which was outside their residential areas.

In addition, it became impossible to obtain detailed data about the Munali nickel mine and its operations from any source other than the mine itself. This is because all

identified possible sources, including government institutions, refused to be interviewed about the mine citing that they are not allowed to do so. The only institution allowed to provide information about the mine and its operations was the mine itself. Moreover, only one mine representative was interviewed as no other person was in a position to provide information, and only one interview was conducted as the representative was too busy for a follow-up interview. Obtaining data from only one source makes it difficult to verify the authenticity of the information provided during the interview. To verify the authenticity of the information provided by the mine representative, other data sources such as documents and key informant interviews were used. This helped in ensuring that the data was credible and reliable.

4.8 CONCLUSION

In this research, the most plausible research approach to be used was qualitative. It gave practicality to exploring and understanding the dynamics relating to the contributions of the Munali nickel mine to the development of the Mugoto community and how these contributions are distributed between men and women. It is possible that using a different methodological approach may have elicited variations in the findings. Therefore, this research's findings and conclusions may not be generalisable. Nevertheless, these findings and conclusions are highly reliable as triangulation of data collection and analysis methods was a crucial added technique. Triangulation was used to mitigate weaknesses that may be associated with the methods used in data collection and analysis. Thus, the findings I present in the following three chapters are credible and reliable.

Chapter Five:

The role of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community's development

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I explore the role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the Mugoto community as one of the research questions. The findings from this exploration show that the roles of mining companies in facilitating development in local communities in Zambia were outlined in the development agreements between the government and individual mining firms. The revocation of development agreements has left mines uncertain of the role they have in Zambia's development process. This uncertainty allows the mines to define their own role in the development process. In addition, the Munali nickel mine is experiencing challenges in operations which have further compromised its ability to carry significant responsibilities in the development process of the local community. Consequently, the mine has mainly made development contributions in areas where it is legally required to do so.

There are two main sections in this chapter. In the first section, I focus on understanding how the revocation of the development agreements has compromised the role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the Mugoto community. I bring out the view that while prioritising mining-based revenue collection may be beneficial to the state, this strategy is undermining mining-led development in Zambia, especially in mining communities. This is largely because, prior to the introduction of neoliberal political-economic policies in Zambia, mines played a significant role in financing development projects. To salvage mining-led development, upon implementation of neoliberal political-economic policies which led to privatisation of mines, development agreements were introduced. These gave mining companies responsibilities regarding Zambia's development process. The annulment of the development agreements has left the mines with no legal obligation to facilitate development, which has led to insignificant mining-led development in Zambia, especially in local mining communities.

In the second section, I explore the challenges in the Munali nickel mine's operations and how these have affected the mine's involvement in the development process of the Mugoto community. The mine has been experiencing challenges that have led to disruptions in operations. This situation has compromised the Munali nickel mine's income from mining operations. As such, even if the mine had a legal obligation to contribute to the development of the local community, one could not expect it to make significant development contributions.

5.2 REVOCATION OF DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENT

Development agreements were introduced in Zambia's mining sector upon the privatisation of state-owned mines in an attempt to give mines development responsibilities while operating in local communities (Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010). However, Lungu (2008a: 409) suggests that these agreements were aimed more at attracting FDI than facilitating mining-led development. This is because development agreements were seen to be favouring the interests of foreign investors over those of Zambians. Seeing that the development agreements did not benefit the Zambians as expected, they were annulled by the Levy Patrick Mwanawasa-led MMD government in 2008 and a new tax regime was introduced (Fraser 2010: 19; Bunda and Bunda 2016).

Despite the view that development agreements served the interests of foreign investors more than those of the local people, the situation in the Mugoto community suggests otherwise. The revocation of the development agreement between the Munali nickel mine and the Zambian government may be described as sublime concealed betrayal of mineral resource-led development in the Mugoto community. This is because the responsibilities of mines and government in the mining-led development process were outlined in the revoked development agreements (Werner 2016: 38). This implies that the responsibilities of the Munali mine in the development process of the local community were documented in the revoked development agreement between the Zambian government and the mine (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2016).⁸

⁸ Munkupa is the main respondent cited in this chapter as no one was in a position to give an interview on issues relating to the operations of the Munali nickel mine. As stated in Chapter Four, Section 4.7 (Limitations of the Research Methodology), Munkupa was the only available legally recognised person to release data on Munali nickel mine's operations.

The cancellation of development agreements was not unique to the Munali nickel mine; all the development agreements the Zambian government had with mines in the country were revoked (Fraser 2010; Banda and Bunda 2016). According to Lungu (2008) and Fraser (2010), the development agreements were designed to attract foreign investors while leaving Zambians with limited benefits. This may, arguably, have been the reason for the revocation. The state's position in revoking development agreements was that mines should be paying taxes rather than meeting local community development obligations stipulated in the development agreements (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015). However, Larmer (2010: 53) notes that:

“[H]istorical evidence strongly indicates that there is no inevitability that additional revenue earned by the mines will enable either economic diversification or rural development. Additional income flowing to the state can simply feed the growth of that state and its potential for patronage if there is no effective democratic accountability or control over those funds.”

Maybe the question to be asked is whether the revenue generated from the mines through taxes by the government is used for developing mining communities or the revocation of development agreements was a way of doing away with mining-led development in Zambia's mining communities. This may be partly answered by Larmer's (2010: 53) assertion that:

“It remains unclear whether Zambia's democracy has developed sufficiently to enable a popular debate over how mine revenue will be utilized that does not degenerate into ethnoregional conflict. What is clear, however, is that, historically at least, effective rural development tends to be sidelined in periods of mining profitability. Here is the irony: in periods of prosperity, diversification is rhetorically emphasised but not acted upon because the state's requirement for revenue is satisfied by income from the mining sector. In periods when mines are unprofitable, there is a greater urgency in attempts at diversification, but the means to achieve it are not available.”

Thus, there is no guarantee that revocation of development agreements in favour of revenue collection is good for the development of local mining communities like the Mugoto community. However, some of the development responsibilities of the mine outlined in the revoked development agreement which present a glimpse of pessimism for mining-led development in Mugoto community included the following five main aspects:

Firstly, the mine was expected to aid local business development.⁹ That is, the mine was supposed to encourage and assist establishment of businesses in Zambia, mainly in the Munali hills area (where the Munali nickel mine is located) and with particular emphasis on businesses fully or majority-owned by Zambian citizens. This is one of the mining-led development contributions to be expected in a mining community. This is because mining investments have the potential to activate formation and development of small-scale business firms to offer goods and services to the mine and the mining community (Hilson 2002; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010). To meet this obligation, the mine was to conduct annual reviews of the progress being made on the implementation of the local business development programme and make such variations to it as required by changing circumstances. Furthermore, the mine was supposed to nominate one or more persons who are experienced in setting up and managing small business enterprises to: assist Zambian citizens who have set up businesses to offer services to the Munali nickel project; assist in the implementation of the local business development programme and variations thereof; liaise with the appropriate officials from the Zambian government; complete and maintain a register; and provide advice and assistance in the development and implementation of long-term business enterprises which can continue after the approved programme of mining and metallurgical operations is completed. The mine was also supposed to report to the Zambian government annually on the implementation and results of the Local Business Development plan through submission of progress reports.

Secondly, adding to local business development, the mine was expected to provide further assistance to entrepreneurs.¹⁰ Where possible, the mine was expected to

⁹ Information contained in the Development Agreement (2006) between the Munali nickel mine (under *Albidon Limited*) and the Zambian government.

¹⁰ Information contained in the Development Agreement (2006) between the Munali nickel mine (under *Albidon Limited*) and the Zambian government

assist local entrepreneurs to overcome some factors that could limit the successful implementation of local business development programmes. Some of the factors identified included lack of access to capital, lack of working capital, and lack of recognition. It should be mentioned that mining projects are generally considered a source of financial capital introduction in many underdeveloped mining communities (Dougherty 2011: 4). In this regard, the Munali nickel mine was to provide assistance to entrepreneurs to have access to finances from leading institutions. It was also supposed to facilitate operation of entrepreneurs who lacked working capital but had the potential to provide competitive services to the mine. The mine was also required to help infant entrepreneurs gain recognition by providing them with opportunities to prove their potential.

Thirdly, the Munali nickel mine was expected to provide employment and training opportunities to qualified Zambians where necessary.¹¹ This is one of the most notable benefits from mining projects (Moodie 1994; Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Dougherty 2011). The mine acknowledged the Zambian government's desire to attract qualified Zambian citizens working overseas back to employment within the Zambian mining industry. To facilitate fulfilment of this desire, the mine was expected to make all reasonable efforts in its recruitment and employment of employees to make known the available opportunities to as many Zambians as possible. To bring to the attention of qualified Zambians the availability of positions of employment, the mine was to advertise the positions in international trade journals likely to have circulation among suitably qualified potential employees. In addition, training and development programmes and services for management and employees were to be designed and conducted in such a way so as to contribute to the goals and objectives of the Munali business plan.

Fourthly, it was expected of the Munali nickel mine that it provide medical services in the community, particularly to employees and their family members.¹² The mine was required to construct an on-site clinic and maintain it for the purpose of meeting the immediate health needs of employees, their dependents and members of the community in close proximity to the Munali nickel project site. Infrastructure

¹¹ Information contained in the Development Agreement (2006) between the Munali nickel mine (under *Albidon Limited*) and the Zambian government

¹² Information contained in the Development Agreement (2006) between the Munali nickel mine (under *Albidon Limited*) and the Zambian government

development to support health services is also considered one of the development contributions emerging from mining investments (Murombo 2013). The mine was also expected to undertake a roll-back malaria campaign and take reasonable measures to mitigate the effect of malaria in the surrounding areas in close proximity to the Munali nickel project site. Furthermore, the mine was expected to conduct regular HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns in order to sensitise employees, their dependents and members of the local community as to the dangers of HIV/AIDS and assist with the implementation of preventative measures.

Fifthly, the Munali nickel mine was supposed to provide social services in the community.¹³ The mine identified the absence of good standards of hygiene and regular water access and was to endeavour to support projects within the community that could improve the quality of life and local economy of the surrounding community through construction of wells and the sinking of boreholes. It also suggested that the surrounding community requires assistance in developing its own sustainable development of agricultural production and sponsor out-grower and fertiliser where feasible. The mine further recognised that social amenities have to be made available if highly skilled employees are to be retained within the company and to benefit the surrounding community. Thus, the mine was to evaluate on a case-by-case basis the need to support the various social structures to improve on social services provision in the local community.

Considering the contents of the annulled development agreement between the Munali nickel mine and the Zambian government, it can be argued that the Munali nickel mine would have made significant development contributions to the local community if the agreements had not been annulled. This is because the things (business development, financial capital provision, employment creation, and enhancement of health services provision) set out to be done by the mine are considered to be among the most significant development contributions of mining firms in local communities (see Moodie 1994; Hilson 2002; Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010; Dougherty 2011; Murombo 2013). Moreover, prior to the implementation of neoliberal political-economic policies that saw the privatisation of mines in Zambia, the mines under the

¹³ Information contained in the Development Agreement (2006) between the Munali nickel mine (under Albidon) and the Zambian government

ZCCM provided employment (permanent and pensionable as opposed to the current short-term employment), constructed schools and offered free education, built clinics and provided free health services, constructed roads, and provided accommodation and many other development-related benefits (see Ferguson 1999; Lungu 2008a; Fraser 2010; Spilsbury 2012). But, the implementation of neoliberal policies and the revocation of development agreements have deeply compromised mining-led development in Zambia.

Furthermore, the development agreement contained legally binding obligations which the mine was supposed to meet in facilitating development in the local community (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015). With the revocation of development agreements, it remains unclear what responsibilities mines have in the development process of local communities, which allows them to define their own responsibilities. This is the situation in which the Munali nickel mine and the Mugoto community find themselves. Explaining the implications of the revocation of the development agreement on the Munali nickel mine's responsibility to contribute to development in Mugoto community, Munkupa, a mine representative, stated that:

“The development agreement was the law governing how mines should actually come and start business in the country. This law has since been repealed. So, actually most of the things being done even now as a mine are things that are under the old law which has been repealed. So, it is just that the company is a good company which says okay you have repealed this law but there are certain things in the development agreement continued. The development agreement was in such a way that there were some concessions that instead of the mine paying a certain amount of tax, the tax would be reduced so that they could do some other social responsibility issues. Now that was scrapped meaning that the company was only under obligation to pay tax and not to do any development” (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015).

The narrative by Munkupa implies that the revocation of development agreements compromised the responsibilities of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the local community. This suggests that the mine is currently under no legal obligation to make contributions to the development of the area. Therefore, any efforts by the Munali

nickel mine in facilitating development in its surrounding community may be considered ‘works of good will’ and not a legal responsibility. This invites questions around what and how the local people stand to gain from the mine’s presence in the community.

In light of this, it can be concluded that the revocation of the development agreement has affected the outlined development contributions the mine was supposed to make in the local community. In my view, the revocation of development agreements in favour of income accumulation by the state has compromised the mineral resource-led development prospects of the local community. This is because, prior to the establishment of the Munali nickel mine, the state provided negligible development benefits in the area as the area has poor socioeconomic infrastructure and services (African Mining Consultants 2006; Environmental Council of Zambia 2010). Now that the mine is not under legal obligation to contribute to development, it is quite difficult to imagine how the Zambian government seeks to facilitate development in the Mugoto community. This situation has been worsened by the operational challenges of the mine. In the next section I explore how the operational situation of the Munali nickel mine has compromised its role in the development of the local community.

5.3 THE MUNALI NICKEL MINE’S OPERATIONAL SITUATION

The role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the Mugoto community has also been affected by financial and management challenges to its operations. These challenges have caused instability leading to the mine being closed and reopened at least twice despite it having been in operation for barely a decade (Zambia Mining Magazine 2014b; Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015). Thus, I argue that at the moment the mine is not productive enough to be a force in expediting development in its surrounding community. Also, I see insignificant development contributions by the mine reflecting the difficulties it is faced with in its operations.

A comprehensive understanding of the Munali nickel mine’s current operational situation requires a review of some historical experiences that may have shaped its operations. The Munali nickel project was opened in the year 2006 after a considerably long period of exploration to determine its viability. It should be noted that:

“The Munali nickel mine is a project that has evolved over quite a long period of time. The exploration works go as far back as the late 1960s. In the late 60s about 1969 exploration works were done by Anglo America. Also, the period between 1970 to the 90s they were done by different companies such as Apollo and other companies. Then, between 2002 and 2005 Albidon Zambia limited undertook detailed exploration works on Munali. The result of the detailed exploration works was a bankable feasibility study which was completed in 2006. Then we had the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) done in 2006 and there was also the signing of the development agreement with the Government of the Republic of Zambia and the other funding arrangements” (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015).

The information provided by Munkupa indicates that exploration works for the establishment of the Munali nickel mine took at least four decades before actual mining operations commenced. Having taken four decades to evaluate the feasibility of the mine, on one hand, it can be argued that all the important factors that required consideration before opening the mine were obviously analysed. On the other hand, explanations should be solicited regarding why in four decades mining companies were only making explorations without proceeding to mining operations.

However, the Munali nickel mine has experienced a number of challenges since its inception, including financing its operations. Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen (2006) have noted that mining is a highly capital-intensive activity. As such, it becomes difficult for a mine with financial challenges to be productive. In a bid to secure finances for the Munali nickel mine, it underwent a series of changes in ownership. Upon establishment, the mine was owned by *Albidon Limited* but ownership changes have taken place due to financial constraints among other concerns such as operation problems and plummeting prices of nickel during the global economic meltdown. Commenting on this, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) narrated that:

“In mid-2008 we delivered our first nickel concentrate and...continued producing until 2009 during the time of the global economic crunch. In March

2009 we suspended operations and the mine was placed under care and maintenance.”

From this narrative, the effects of the financial crisis appear to have been quite overwhelming for the mine and it resorted to suspending operations despite being only around three years into its operation.

This situation justified the suspension of operations at Munali nickel mine. During the period of suspended operations, shareholders started making adjustments with regard to its ownership. That is, some shareholders started selling their shares in the mine. According to Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015), “...later in the year [2009], Jinchuan a company from China became the major shareholder with 50.4%.” At this point there appears to have been a joint ownership between *Albidon Limited* and *Jinchuan*, with *Jinchuan* having majority shareholding. In the year 2010, the operations of the Munali nickel mine were normalised. However, operations were again disrupted when, in the following year (2011), the mine suspended its operations for the second time. In Munkupa’s (Interview, 30/03/2015) account;

“In 2010 we restarted the plant and began exporting around April of 2010. We continued to produce until we suspended operations late in 2011 [November], where because of some discretion on the management of the mine that were on-going, there was need for the mine to be restructured. The restructuring process made it difficult for us to continue producing. When we did this in 2011, the whole lot of 2012 was just suspended operations and we had kept our entire mine force because we were hoping that the mining would actually restart.... The entire year people were around being paid their salaries and everything until 2013 when we actually went into care and maintenance. It was quite a big cost to the company but the company had a lot of hope that everything would work out well.”

The challenges the mine has been facing were exacerbated by a slump in the price of nickel on the global market. It should be mentioned that mineral commodity prices are often volatile and the profitability of a mining firm depends much on price developments

(Ahrend 2005: 592). The market value and production of nickel at international market has a great influence in determining how the firms in extraction of nickel stand to gain from the commodity. This has been experienced by the Munali nickel mine as the:

“Operations at Zambia’s sole nickel mine situated in Southern Province were paralysed in 2011 due to plummeting base-metal prices on the global market. The global economic situation led Munali nickel mine which was then co-owned by Jinchuan and Albidon Limited of Australia, into financial crisis forcing its closure” (Zambia Mining Magazine 2014a).

There are two important issues with financial implications emerging from Munkupa’s narrative. The first is that of the need to restructure the mine which led to suspension of operations. The second is keeping the entire workforce based on hope that normal operations would resume as soon as possible. With regard to the restructuring of the mine, the period from 2011 to 2013 may be referred to as a key transitional period in terms of change of ownership. It is important to note that:

“During this same period when all these things were happening, there were discussions between *Albidon Limited* and potential investors to see who can propel the mine to greater heights.... In 2013, *Jinchuan* acquired 100% shares of *Albidon Limited*. The acquisition of 100% shares from *Albidon Limited* meant that...from 2013 to date [2015, *Jinchuan*] are the owners of the mine” (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015).

Despite *Jichuan* being the owners of the mine, they do not directly manage the day-to-day activities as they have contracted *Consolidated Nickel Mines*, which also has subcontracted *Mabiza Resources Limited*, a Zambian firm, to manage the mine. The “Consolidated Nickel Mines Ltd (CNM) is an operating subsidiary of Consolidated Mining and Investments Ltd (CMI)”¹⁴. As indicated by Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015):

¹⁴ Information on the Consolidated Nickel Mines website information <http://www.cnmplc.co.uk/> accessed on 29/11/2016 12:30AM

“In 2014, *Jinchuan* signed an agreement with *Consolidated Nickel Mines*. *Consolidated Nickel Mines* were tasked with the responsibility of managing the assets.... The owner is *Jinchaun* but the people doing the management are *Mabiza Resources Limited*. So, employees are *Mabiza Resources Limited* employees running the assets for *Jinchuan*.... *Mabiza Resources Limited* is a local subsidiary of *Consolidated Nickel Mines* which is in London.”

It is important to note in the narratives regarding the Munali nickel mine’s operational situation that as of 2014 the mine was unprofitable and lacked adequate financing to be productive. The operational problems faced by the mine affected its production capacity, with the result that income from the mining project was also affected. This situation even attracted interest from some TNCs to provide competition to the struggling nickel mine. According to the *Zambia Mining Magazine* (2014b: 38):

“‘Troubled’ Munali nickel mine in Mazabuka faces new challenges in its existence following renewed interests by other multinational companies to set up two new projects to sustain the country’s needs for the alloy. Munali nickel has since its inception faced a myriad of operational and financial problems to sustain its operations, experiencing more than two closures recorded since 2007, despite the government’s desire to keep it afloat.”

The effect of the challenges faced by the Munali nickel mine can be seen through the resultant closures in operations, normally referred to as ‘care and maintenance’.

“Care and maintenance is simply an activity which is made up of a team that has been given responsibility to ensure that the mine does not flood, that the equipment is well taken care of, that the equipment and the machinery are in a ready-to-operate state” (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015).

The activity is effected when the mine is not operating. These closures further suggest the mine’s unproductivity. This is because it may be inconceivable to have a

productive company subjected to a series of long closures instead of maximising on the benefits that emerge from its operations.

The situation has implications on the mine's commitment to contributing to development in the local community. Among the implications has been that the instability in the operations of the Munali nickel mine has led to the mine not meeting some of the development promises they have made. In explaining how the operational instability the mine is facing has affected its ability to fulfil its development promises for the resettled residents, Kalembelo (Interview, 31/03/2015) recounted that:

“When they shifted us, they were promising that they will put electricity that is why they put houses in a certain order. But, after shifting us they changed their minds. They are not giving us electricity and we do not know why. We have tried to talk to them and they are saying that we do not have money. Whatever you say they say we don't have money. Money is the problem. They don't have money that is what they are saying. They are saying the mine is not operating now where can we get money? You wait until the mine opens. That's what they are saying.”

The Munali nickel mine has also promised to help renovate Mugoto Basic School. However, these promises have not been fulfilled because the mine has inadequate financial capacity to carry out development projects in the local community. In this regard:

“They [mine management] had promised to upgrade the school, also to electrify the school, and at least to bring piped water here, and do some renovations at the school but that has not yet happened. They have promised that when the mine opens that will be their first agenda” (Kandumba, Interview, 06/03/2015).

Figure 4 below shows one of the dilapidated classroom blocks where renovations are expected at Mugoto Basic School.

Figure 4: A classroom-block awaiting renovation at Mugoto Basic School



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

In addition to unfulfilled promises, the Munali nickel mine's operational instability has also affected employment opportunities and affected income for the local people. Due to suspension of operations at the mine, there is no need for a large workforce as this will only be a waste of finances through wages for people who are not working. Therefore, some employees were laid off, especially part-time employees. Commenting on the need to have the mine in full operation so that it can offer employment opportunities to local people, Safi (Interview, 06/03/2015) stated that:

“They [local people] really want the mine to start operating again because they will be employed and at least they will find something to do. As at now the mine is on care and maintenance so it is not operating. The people who were employed there are no longer working. There are a few people who are still working.”

Given the above information on the mine's status as regards its operation, it is clear that the mine is currently unproductive. Moreover, the operational situation of the Munali

nickel mine signals challenges financially and in the general management of the nickel project. These concerns necessitated the changes in company ownership that have been experienced. But even with changes in management and ownership, the mine appears to be struggling as it is still placed under care and maintenance. Thus, in addition to the revocation of the development agreement, the operational situation of the mine has also affected its role in the development process of the community.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that there are two factors that have immensely affected the role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the local community. Firstly, revocation of the development agreement in favour of taxes by the state has compromised the involvement of the mine in the development of the Mugoto community. Secondly is that this has been exacerbated by the operational challenges that the mine is facing. The compromise in the responsibility of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the Mugoto community has challenged mining-led development in the area. This is because, inasmuch as the state is expected to play a facilitating role in the development process, there is no guarantee that the money obtained from the mine through taxes will be used in the community to facilitate development. Moreover, prior to the establishment of the mine in the area and after the revocation of the development agreements, there have been negligible development contributions from the state. Therefore, the decision by the Zambian government to revoke the development agreements to maximise mineral revenue collection under the pretext of benefiting the economy may be viewed as sublime concealment of local community development betrayal.

Moreover, the Munali nickel mine is struggling to remain productive as evidenced by the closures in operations and the resultant changes in ownership. This instability in the mine's operations has affected its income, leading to the mine not meeting the development promises that it has made. It is possible that the mine is using the operational challenges to mask its commitment to local community development. However, with the development agreements having been annulled, there is no guarantee that when the mine is fully operational and profitable it will be able to contribute significantly to the

development of the community. This is because, there is no legal obligation for the mine to contribute to development in the area, and its main concern is profit maximisation.

Chapter Six:

The Munali nickel mine's contribution to the development of the Mugoto community

6.1 INTRODUCTION

While I have demonstrated in Chapter Five that revocation of development agreements and the operational instability the Munali nickel mine is experiencing have created uncertainty to the mine regarding its role in the development of the Mugoto community, there are some development contributions the mine is making in the community. In this chapter, I focus on the ways in which the Munali nickel mine has contributed to development in the Mugoto community. The argument here is that, due to the uncertainty around the role of the Munali nickel mine in the development process of the Mugoto community, mining-led development in the community has been undermined.

The community under investigation has been divided into two parts due to the establishment of the Munali nickel mine. The first is the main community in the immediate surrounds of the mine, and the second is Mugoto resettlement area. The Mugoto resettlement community is where some people who were displaced as a result of the establishment of the mine were resettled to. However, it should be noted that most of the development contributions from the mine are in line with meeting the compensation agreements with residents who were displaced and resettled. Furthermore, the mine contributes to local community development mainly through complementing the Zambian government's initiatives. This leads me to conclude that there is negligible commitment to development contributions by the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community.

6.2 DEVELOPMENT SITUATION IN THE MUGOTO COMMUNITY

Development in the Mugoto community has revolved around agricultural activity. Most of the community residents have been engaging in subsistence farming and animal husbandry to facilitate development. According to the African Mining Consultants (2006:

20), “[t]he primary activity of the local economy is subsistence farming.” The predominant crops grown have included maize, sunflower, cotton, pumpkins, cowpeas and some vegetables. These are grown both for commercial and domestic consumption. Maize, specifically, has been grown as the main source of income and for livelihood purposes. As such, it can be argued that maize is the staple food in the community. The Zambian government, through its Food Reserve Agency, has been the main maize buyer. Sunflower and cotton are sold to private companies. As stated by the African Mining Consultants (2006: 20), “[c]otton is grown under the out-grower scheme administered by Dunavant Zambia.” Pumpkins and vegetables have been sold at nearby local markets such as Kafue market or the Turn Park junction market as the community has no properly established market. In addition, “[l]ivestock keeping is also important in the area. Cattle and goats are found in large numbers” (African Mining Consultants 2006: 21).

The Mugoto community has no access to electricity. Therefore, it is very difficult to establish manufacturing businesses, for example, which depends on the availability of electricity in the community. Moreover, the community has no tap water supply and people in the area depend on streams, dams, wells, and boreholes for water. In addition, the area lacks a proper road network. Thus, transport is one of the challenges people face in conducting development-related activities. Given these conditions, apart from agricultural-led development, it is very difficult to realise development led by other sectors in the community. The Mugoto community has a “network of tracks and foot/bicycle paths, which link fields to homesteads. There is no public transport”¹⁵ (African Mining Consultants 2006: 25). Figure 5 below shows a typical road in Mugoto resettlement community.

¹⁵ At the point of data collection there was no public transport. But, currently there are some cars operating as taxis.

Figure 5: A road in the Mugoto resettlement area



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

In terms of health care services, the community is serviced by three government rural health centres in the project area, namely Naluama, Nasenga and Mugoto. However, in the immediate surrounds of Mugoto community is:

“the Mugoto rural health centre that was constructed by Plan International in 1998 and has a catchment population of 4, 866 [as of 2006]” (African Mining Consultants 2006: 22).

The centre is run by two nurses, one health technician and untrained community health workers. Moreover, the health centre is usually poorly stocked with medication and health equipment. This is an indication that people are not receiving adequate health care. Due to its capacity, the health centre is limited in terms of health cases handled. This leaves community residents with no option but to seek medical attention from other health centres which are far away, the nearest being in Mazabuka, Kafue, Kafue gorge, and Lusaka. Figure 6 below shows the Mugoto health centre.

Figure 6: The Mugoto health centre



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

Regarding education, there are two main schools in the mine catchment area, namely Naluama School and Mugoto Basic School. According to the African Mining Consultants (2006: 23):

“Both schools are typified by lack of basic teaching resources, over-enrolments, low staffing levels and insufficient infrastructure to support the rapidly increasing school enrolment figures.”

The Mugoto Basic School is located within the Mugoto community. Hence, it is the nearest school for residents. However, the school is understaffed and quite rundown. Needless to say, in the Mugoto community:

“there is a high dropout rate at Grade 5-6 mainly due to early marriages, long distances travelled to school on foot and lack of money to pay school fees. The dropout rates tend to be higher for female children” (African Mining Consultants 2006: 24).

Figure 7 below shows the two blocks used for learning and administration at Mugoto Basic School.

Figure 7: Mugoto Basic School



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

From this situation, it is clear that the community lacks socioeconomic facilities and services that can facilitate significant development. This is despite the area being located near Lusaka, the capital city and economic hub of Zambia. The area remains dependent on subsistence farming as the main driver of economic growth and livelihood subsistence.

6.3 GENERAL VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT CONTRIBUTIONS

The relationship between mining and development that emerges from the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community is about advancing the agricultural sector, improvement in education and health services, capital accumulation and overall economic development. Escobar (1992: 24) refers to these as the elements of development under modernisation theory. The development contributions that the Munali nickel mine has made are in agriculture, health, education, and employment. Nevertheless, these

contributions are insignificant, leading some residents to suggest that the mine has done nothing in the community. For instance, Dwina literally stated that, “the mine has done nothing to us here” (Dwina, Interview, 8/05/2015). In addition:

“There is nothing that can be pointed at to say that this is what the mine has done.... There is no structure that can be pointed at that this is what they have done save posters” (Mwila, Interview, 9/05/2015).

The view that the Munali nickel mine has made negligible development contributions in the Mugoto community is shared by Katanga who stated that:

“The mine is right in front of me but I have not seen any change not even in my family or even in the villages around” (Katanga, Interview, 10/05/2015).

Despite, these sentiments emerging from community residents, there are some development contributions from the mine worth acknowledging. It should be mentioned that very few people appreciate the contributions the mine has made in the community. For instance, according to Kawambwa (Interview, 13/03/2015), the presence of the mine is good enough as the economic situation has improved as a result of its establishment. In the following sections I present the benefits resulting from the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community.

6.4 THE MINE’S CONTRIBUTION TO AGRICULTURE

The Mugoto community has been described as agrarian because development in the area hinges on agriculture (African Mining Consultants 2006; Environmental Council of Zambia 2010). It is envisaged that improving agriculture in the Mugoto community will ultimately yield significant economic benefits to the local people in the area (Munkupa Interview, 30/03/2015). In explaining how the Munali nickel mine is trying to achieve this, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) indicated that:

“To help them [local people] economically we also actually have organised agriculture seminars for them. I have organised, on two occasions or so, the

ministry of agriculture to come and teach the farmers how to grow crops looking at the weather pattern and what is happening now to give them education through the agriculture extension programme.”

From this narrative, it can be argued that the mine is trying to ensure agricultural development in the community through agricultural knowledge enhancement. It should be noted that from the modernisation perspective, agricultural modernisation an important achievement in the development process (Escobar 1992: 25). In a bid to facilitate agricultural development in the Mugoto community, the Munali nickel mine has made efforts in helping the local people acquire scientific agricultural knowledge. The programme to teach residents to use different farming techniques depending on the weather may help the residents improve their farm produce. This is because the community residents have relied on traditional knowledge which arguably provides limited options for agricultural development.

As pointed out by Munkupa, there have been contributions made by the Munali nickel mine to facilitate agricultural development in the Mugoto community. These contributions have, however, been predominantly a privilege of the resettled residents as many of the contributions are part of the compensation agreement. Detailing agriculture-related contributions from the mine, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) stated that:

“We gave each household four cattle, those that we relocated, that is. Then we also ploughed for them in the first year and we gave them seed and fertiliser.”

It should be mentioned that the households being referred to in Munkupa’s narrative are those of the resettled residents who have been relocated to the Mugoto resettlement area. This suggests that the resettled residents were empowered in terms of agriculture. The four cattle given to each household, and the seed and fertiliser, as well as the help in ploughing their land, can be argued to have provided an important base for agricultural development. Moreover, these are subsistence farmers who largely depend on their farm produce. Thus, it can further be argued that, this was a good way of ensuring that the

resettled residents continued and enhanced their agricultural activities which have been the pillar of their development.

Despite Munkupa asserting that the resettled residents have been empowered in terms of agriculture, the resettled residents see more challenges than opportunities in the resettlement area. It should be noted that, generally:

“People were not happy to go to the new area and some are deciding to go back to the place where they were staying. This is because during the rainy season there is water everywhere as the place is easily flooded. That is the main problem and the reason why people are not happy. You will find that even in the field there is plenty of water. And, if there is plenty of water in the field you cannot grow anything. But, they were promising that they will make field reengineering. But, up to now they have not done it. They are always saying that they will do it but they are not doing anything” (Kalembelo, Interview, 31/03/2015).

The implication of Kalembelo’s narrative is that the land given to the resettled residents is not suitable for agricultural activities, especially crop production. Kalembelo is not the only one who feels this way; other residents expressed similar sentiments. Zungu (Interview, 10/05/2015) stated that:

“When we entered the houses [in the Mugoto resettlement area] we were happy. But, when we went to the fields they were very bad and we did not know where to be farming. The land even had a lot of ditches.”

Kalubwa (Interview, 10/05/2015) also stated that the resettlement area poses many challenges to agricultural activities, arguing that “the place is not good for us farmers who depend on agriculture.” Similarly, Kabundafyela stated that the relocation to Mugoto resettlement area has affected his agricultural activities and ultimately his livelihood. In making this point, he argued that:

“Before the mine there is a difference in life when you compare it to here. I had a good life because I would do my farming well and harvest well” (Kabundafyela, Interview, 10/05/2015).

In Kabanga’s view, the nature of the land in the resettlement area has affected the quantity of the crop harvest. According to Kabundafyela (Interview, 10/05/2015), “our maize if it rains for three days our fields don’t survive and this brings us down.” Commenting on how crop yields have dropped in the resettlement area compared to their former settlement area yields, Kabanga (Interview, 10/05/2015) had the following to say:

“From the time we came here I can never point to any year when I was satisfied with farming. We are even buying maize here. There I used to have 50 bags and when I have not done well it would drop to 40 50-kg bags. But here when you have done well it is 20 bags.”

In addition to the challenges in crop production, Kalembelo suggests that livestock farming is also proving to be difficult as there is there is insufficient water for livestock to drink. Narrating the challenges the Mugoto resettlement area residents are facing in animal husbandry, Kalembelo (Interview, 31/03/2015) affirmed that:

“Even our animals, in winter season they do not have enough water. Let me just say they do not have water. We are using our boreholes to give animals water for drinking. There is a dam around but during winter season there is no water. That dam they [Munali nickel mine] made is not good for animals so we have to pump water for animals to drink and it is a big problem. Like now water is becoming yellowish from our pump. That is why people are complaining.”

Figure 8 below shows a dam that was made by the mine for the Mugoto resettlement area. This is where cattle drink water.

Figure 8: The Mugoto resettlement area dam



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

In addition to the low harvest and animal husbandry-associated problems in the resettlement area, Meleki suggested that the resettled are facing challenges in transporting their produce to nearby markets. This is largely because of the poor road network and transport system in the area (Meleki, Interview, 29/05/2015). Meleki also indicated that when planning for the resettlement, the mine did not include a market for the residents to sell and buy farm produce. Thus, the challenge is not only in producing but also accessing markets for the agricultural produce. To sum the views on agriculture in the resettlement area, Yape (Interview, 22/05/2015) argued that:

“There are no good things in the resettlement area. We have no market. Farming is dependent on the rain pattern. When it rains heavily it means you will not farm, when it rains a bit then you will farm.”

In light of this, it can be argued that the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community reflects the growing competition for land between mining and agriculture. This is because mining activities, as seen in the Mugoto community, are

displacing agricultural activities. This kind of displacement has been referred to as mining-induced displacement and resettlement (Downing 2002). While the mine is trying to empower the resettled residents with agriculture, the land in which they have been placed is not suitable for agricultural activities, especially for subsistence farmers. In relation to this, Downing (2002) opines that the consequences of mining-induced displacement and resettlement are usually creation of new poverty-linked vulnerabilities on the affected. Furthermore, Murombo (2013: 37) asserts that mining-induced displacement and resettlement cause social disruptions in local communities. This appears to be the case in Mugoto community. Additionally, the available development contributions have concentrated mainly on the resettled as a way of meeting resettlement compensation agreements. The question is whether these agricultural development contributions will continue once all the compensation agreements have been met. Moreover, it seems unlikely that these services will be extended to other community residents who have not been displaced by the establishment of the mine in the community.

6.5 THE MINE'S CONTRIBUTION TO HEALTH

The Munali nickel mine has also been making some contributions to the improvement of health in the Mugoto community. One of the contributions is the mine's engagement in programmes aimed at preventing and treating HIV/AIDS and malaria. Munkupa, the Munali nickel mine representative indicated that the mine's involvement in malaria prevention and sensitisation of the community on HIV/AIDS reflects its main contributions to social services provision. Explaining this, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) narrated that:

“The only programmes that you could say maybe directly benefit them are interventions we have done in terms of HIV/AIDS. This is because we have done sensitisation programmes in the community, HIV testing and counselling. And, we have also done indoor residual spraying [for malaria prevention]. So, those have directly affected everyone actually. Those have been identified essentially even from government, even from around here. Those are areas that the government has said these are areas of priority because they have the data. And, they have also given us the data and we have

been able to see from the data that these are areas where we need to intervene.”

In prevention of malaria, the mine is working with the Zambian government in carrying out a malaria role-back spraying programme. In explaining how the mine has contributed to the success of this programme, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) stated that:

“With malaria we have done a lot of programmes of residual spraying together with the district health office. The programme is literally run by the district malaria task force. So, these guys sit on the executive side of it.”

Confirming the existence of the malaria prevention programme, Penso (Interview, 06/03/2015), a nurse at Mugoto clinic said:

“There is a spraying programme going on. This is being done by the mine. The spraying is for malaria prevention and it started when the mine started operating. Even this year it has been there.”

While Penso stated that the programme is being done by the mine, Munkupa, the mine representative clearly explained that the mine only played a complementary role. In explaining this Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) recounted that:

“The mine provided transport which cost us about 15 000 US dollars. We transported the spray operators while the government was giving us chemicals and they were paying the spray operators. We just provided transport. We protected about 120 000 people. We believe that partnering and collaboration is the best way to go because it is sustainable. Each one is putting up something into the project or activity.”

According to the African Mining Consultants (2006: 22), “the Mazabuka District HIV/AIDS Task Force (DATF) is spearheading the fight against HIV/AIDS in the

District.” This suggests that the programme is not a mine initiative but one conducted by the Zambian government. The difference in the information given by Munkupa, the mine representative, and Penso, one of the nurses at Mugoto Clinic, suggests a gap in information flow between the two parties. However, this may be because the programme is being managed at district level and not at community level. What is clear from this is that the programme is not the mine’s initiative as they only come into the programme to provide assistance to the Ministry of Health. This should not, however, undermine the efforts of the mine in the malaria prevention programme.

In trying to help prevent the spread of HIV as well as helping those who are HIV positive, the mine and the government are making joint efforts. In this regard, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) explained that:

“What we have done with the guidance through the national policy framework, and this is what the government wants to be done, it has been identified as a risk and we provide intervention. What we have done is, we have trained peer educators from the community, more than 20, we have trained about 10 psychosocial counsellors from the community so that they help out in terms of the intervention. And, we have done sensitisation programmes, we have done counselling and testing around. And, if someone is found to be HIV positive we refer them to Mazabuka or Kafue so that they can do a Cluster Differentiation-4 (CD4) count. If that happens then we look at probably helping them in terms of nutrition programmes and in terms of jobs so that they can help themselves.”

This narrative by Munkupa regarding the contributions the mine is making in providing services aimed at preventing and treating HIV/AIDS is confirmed by Penso, a nurse at Mugoto clinic. In pointing out how the mine is contributing to the fight against HIV/AIDS, Penso (Interview, 6/03/2015) stated that:

“I can say the mine makes some contributions [to HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment] because we receive the ART [Anti-Retroviral Therapy] people...who come in conjunction with the mine.”

While the mine is making contributions to the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS, there are views that the establishment of the mine has contributed to the spread of the pandemic. For instance:

“The health problems that have been seen as coming from the mine are sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV. This is because when the miners came from wherever they were coming from, they found women here. Some were married and they did not come with their families so they started having sex with local women. And, when he goes back to the wife he doesn’t know whether the woman was behaving well or not. I think that is what is increasing the spread of HIV. If anything they just exchange women. You find that when one comes they start having a sexual affair with a certain woman and another one will come and start an affair with the same person. They do not even know the HIV status of the people they are involved with” (Penso, Interview, 06/03/2015).

This link between the establishment of the Munali nickel mine and the spread of HIV/AIDS has also been made by local community residents. According to Malalaki (Interview, 22/05/2015):

“When the mine came there has been a spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The people in the community are concerned with this outbreak.”

Malalaki and Penso’s narratives suggest promiscuity to have emerged or increased as a result of the establishment of the mine. However, Chishala brings in an important perspective on what may have led to the spread of HIV in connection with the establishment of the mine in the community. Chishala (Interview, 09/05/2015) argued that:

“In this community, this issue of HIV is very big and most of the people are infected. I think, the coming of the mine may have been a contributing factor.

But, the main reason for the spread is poverty. You know, someone who is desperate is prone to doing desperate things. Most women wanted to earn a living and they resorted to promiscuity. This involved both married and unmarried. For the married ones they were pushed into this behaviour because some people did not want to take good responsibility of their families. Hence their wives indulged in these activities to have food and other things for their families. Mostly men were irresponsible and misused resources with beer drinking being the main activity.”

The analytical perspective brought in by Chishala is important in understanding the connection between the mine and the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Mugoto community. The main point arising from Chishala’s narrative is that poverty among the local people, especially women, is what has been pushing them into prostitution as a way of earning income. In the process, this has led to increased spread of HIV/AIDS in the Mugoto community. In addition, the mine representative suggested that there is a link between the establishment of the Munali nickel mine and the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Mugoto community.

Commenting on the assertion that the mine is a major contributing factor to the spread of HIV/AIDS in the community, Munkupa stated that he was not sure of the impact the mine has had. The assertion is difficult to prove as it is not known who is infecting whom. However, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) narrated that:

“Coming from the mine, in our setup, the biggest risk that we have seen is that of HIV with regard to the mine because the people that are coming here are leaving their homes. Others who are coming to mine here are leaving their wives on the Copperbelt. So when they come for work here, they will have different women to service them. So, that is very risky. So, it increases the chances for transmission because it is not every day that you will have a condom on or it is not always that things will work out well, and that is a bit of a challenge. If people become domiciled here probably even their behaviour is going to change but where we have people coming for work but they are just in transit, this becomes a corridor. This is where the HIV passes

because our miners who come from different places they come with their own diseases. And, probably even our people have got their own diseases so they are actually just infecting each other.”

In support of his assertion that the establishment of the mine may have led to increased spread of HIV/AIDS, Munkupa cited the issue of many miners having impregnated local women. In his argument, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) stated that:

“And a lot of miners have impregnated a lot of children around the area. So, if there is a baby, probably it was live sex, so you may know that the risk was there. As to whether the transmission happened, that is also another question. But that creates its own challenges. So, the HIV/AIDS is quite a big problem.”

The above narratives by Munkupa are almost the same as those by Penso and Chishala. They are all suggesting that with the establishment of the mine, there was an influx of ‘immigrant’ mine workers, some of whom started having sexual relations with the local people as most of them were not married. Moreover, most of those who were married left their spouses in the towns they came from. In fact, there were a lot of concerns among the local people regarding the high levels of promiscuity in the area. According to Penso (Interview, 06/03/2015):

“Before the mine was opened, the women in the village at least had manners than when the mines came. Women would stay home in the old days but with the opening of the mines most women would leave their homes in the evening to meet with men from the mines when they are knocking off from work.”

However, it would be wrong to assert that the immigrant mine workers brought HIV into the community as it was there before the establishment of the mine. It is possible that some of these workers were, in fact, infected in the community. In this regard, Penso (Interview, 06/03/2015) asserted that:

“On HIV, it would be unfair to state that the people that came to work are the ones who came with HIV but some came with it and others found it but the main result was the spread.”

However, instead of blaming the establishment of the mine for the spread of HIV/AIDS, Nakapekele asserted that most of the local people’s main source of income in the community is agriculture. However, there are people whose main source of income is prostitution, which puts them at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. In making this point, Nakapekele (Interview, 08/05/2015) said:

“People are farmers but there are some people who do nothing and just engage in activities such as prostitution in order to earn income which is bringing HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.”

All this being said, coming up with a conclusion with regard to the extent to which the mine has contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS in the community is not this dissertation’s interest. Important to note is that, despite the controversies surrounding the spread of HIV in the community arising from the establishment of the mine, the mine is involved in combating this spread. Moreover, the situation in Mugoto is not unique, as it is argued that:

“Mining projects also create a number of public health risks such as migrant workers spreading sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS which adversely affect the health of local residents” (Pegg 2005: 378).

In addition to the services aimed at preventing and possibly eradicating malaria and HIV/AIDS spread in the community, the mine is building a clinic in the resettlement area where some of the displaced residents have been resettled. It should be stated that construction of health centres, especially to benefit the mine’s employees and their families, is one of the development contributions mining firms make in mining communities (Jenkins and Obara 2008; Murombo 2013). While the mine is making strides to contribute to improved access to health services provision in the resettlement area, at

the moment the residents still have to rely on Mugoto clinic which is quite distant from the resettlement area. Commenting on the efforts made by the mine to ensure the resettled access health services in the resettlement area, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) affirmed that:

“We have done five houses at the clinic so it is about to start running. Those are just waiting for power to be connected; otherwise the equipment has been bought. So the people will stop moving from the resettlement area to Mugoto clinic.”

The would-be clinic in the Mugoto resettlement area has already been named Munsangu clinic. According to Kalembelo (Interview, 31/03/2015), the plan is to use one of the houses as a clinic while waiting for the construction of the main structures. Figure 9 below shows some of the houses built at the clinic construction site.

Figure 9: Houses built at Munsangu clinic construction site



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

It must be mentioned that the five houses are the only structures at the clinic construction site. Figure 10 below shows the clinic construction site clinic where a sign post is the most visible sign of the existence of works for the construction of the Munsangu clinic.

Figure 10: Munsangu clinic construction site



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

The construction of the Munsangu clinic is among the compensation agreements between the Munali nickel mine and the community residents who have been relocated to Mugoto resettlement area. The mine agreeing to build a clinic in the resettlement area is an exciting contribution to health according to Safi. This is because it will reduce on the population going to Mugoto health centre to access health care services. In expressing this, Safi (Interview, 06/03/2015) stated that:

“I am very happy with the mine for the initiative of building a clinic at the resettlement site. This is because the population of the patients we are seeing most of them are coming from the same resettlement site where the new clinic is being built. So, at least once the clinic starts operating the population will

reduce even the workload will reduce as some patients will be going that side and some will be coming here.”

From the above narratives it can be argued that Munali nickel mine is helping the Zambian government to curb the Mugoto community’s main health concerns, specifically malaria and HIV/AIDS. For malaria, preventive measures as well as treatment services are currently in place. This is done by the malaria prevention task force in conjunction with the mine management. Houses in the community are sprayed to prevent malaria cases. However, HIV/AIDS is seemingly not easy to control as the establishment of the mine has brought in immigrant workers who are assumed to have led to an increased spread of HIV/AIDS in the area. In addition, although the Mugoto clinic is capable of providing certain health services for HIV-positive patients, it lacks the equipment necessary to conduct Cluster Differentiation-4 and viral load detection. As such, people still face the challenge of seeking advanced health care services from other health centres outside the community.

6.6 THE MINE’S CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

The Munali nickel mine has also made contributions to education in the Mugoto community. However, the contribution to the improvement of education is barely visible except for the school being constructed in the resettlement area. The construction of the school in the community is part of compensation for those who have been displaced and resettled by the mine. In this regard, Murombo (2013) highlights that mining companies engage in the construction of schools as a way of contributing to development in local communities. In commenting on the contribution of the mine to improvement of education provision in the area, Kandumba (Interview, 06/03/2015), the school head-teacher at Mugoto primary school, stated that the establishment of the Munali nickel mine has had negligible positive impact on education. Munkupa and Kandumba both acknowledge that the construction of a school in the resettlement area is the most significant contribution the mine has made to education in the community. Munali nickel mine is constructing a school to facilitate improved access to education services in Mugoto resettlement area. In explaining this contribution, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) narrated that:

“The impact on education as a result of relocation is there more especially on the positive side. Where we have taken them; that school is a good school. We have built ten houses for teachers but for the school to run to its full capacity we need more teachers, meaning we have to build more houses.”

Figures 11, 12 and 13 below show some finished buildings at the school construction site.

Figure 11: Classroom blocks at Munsangu School construction site



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

Figure 12: Wood and metal workshops block at Munsangu School building site



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

Figure 13: Teachers' houses at Munsangu School construction site



Source: Photographed by Author: Mwape Mungu

As evidenced by figures 11, 12 and 13, as well as Munkupa's narrative, the mine has made efforts in building structures to be used for the relocated to have easy access to education. This project is the most noticeable venture the mine has embarked on in the quest to facilitate improved provision of education for the resettled. Despite concentration being on how much money the mine has spent on the project, the mine is also exploring possible ways of ensuring that almost everyone in the community benefits from this project. For instance, with the available buildings:

“The school has the capacity to run from grade one up to grade twelve. And, the government is thinking of making it a comprehensive school to start from preschool to grade twelve” (Munkupa, Interview, 30/03/2015).

With the stated capacity, it can be argued that there will be less likelihood of pupils moving from one school to another to access high school education as is the case at the moment (Kandumba, Interview, 06/03/2015). The ultimate implication may be increased literacy levels in the community as many school-aged community residents will have easy access to education.

Moreover, the mine is not only focused on assisting young community residents have access to education, but also the elderly. This is because the community is labelled as having high illiteracy levels. In hinting on the plans to facilitate reduction of illiteracy in the community, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) explained that:

“Now, what we are going to do essentially is to encourage the ministry of education to have night school for the elderly people because we have got power [electricity]. So, we can teach them at night because the literacy level was identified to be a problem as it is very low. So, if people can become literate then that will become fine. So, that will be positive for them because here I don't think those ideas were there.”

Beyond the stated plans and efforts being made by the mine to improve access to education in the resettlement area, there are negligible, if any, contributions to education by the mine. What remains is hope that the school becomes operational as soon as possible

so that pupils stop walking long distances to access education. Commenting on the current challenges that come with accessing education, particularly in terms of long distances Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) said:

“Now, we have to transport the pupils from the relocation site to the nearby school which is Mugoto primary school. Now, that transporting of the children, it is a good thing because the children are moving, but every time you use mobile transport it is not the safest thing to do. And, sometimes the bus breaks down and when it breaks down, what happens? But the children have to go to school so you will find they have to walk long distance. Whereas here [at the mine surface area] they lived in a place which is maybe 500 m or 1 km from the road, they have been moved to a place which is 20 km away from the main road or actually 16 km for those who are near.”

The issue of distance to the nearest school is of huge concern to the resettlement area residents as it presents a potential barrier to education for their children. Despite transport being provided, there is concern as regards what will happen when the shuttle bus is withdrawn by the mine. The residents have been informed that at any point the mine may withdraw the transport facility. In expressing his fears, Kalembelo (Interview 31/03/2015) had the following to say:

“Now they are saying that if they can open a clinic and the school up to grade four, and the other grades will not be there, how are our children going to be walking from here to Mugoto for school? It is a long distance. So we had a meeting yesterday and people complained a lot. How can they remove the bus? How will our children be going to school? So they told us to go and see the person in charge not to remove the bus. The bus can be removed maybe after finishing the school and all grades are there, and the clinic. Those are the people’s complaints.”

From the above narratives, it can be argued that the only notable contribution the mine has made to improving access to education in the community is construction of a school

in the resettlement area. This is, however, one of the compensation agreements the mine has with the people that were displaced and relocated to the resettlement area as a result of the establishment of the mine in the community. According to Munkupa, the residents who were resettled requested the school and the mine agreed to construct it as requested. For the rest of the Mugoto community, there are negligible benefits from the mine with regard to education. It is only hoped that the mine will fulfil its promises of renovating Mugoto Basic School once it becomes operational and productive.

6.7 EMPLOYMENT CREATION BY THE MINE

Employment creation is another of the ways in which the local people have benefited from the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the local community. Employment creation is considered to be among the most notable development contributions mining firms make in local communities (see Moodie 1994; Hilson 2002; Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006; Mwambwa, Griffiths and Kahler 2010; Dougherty 2011). However, this benefit has often been disturbed by disruptions to the mine's operations and its resultant placement on 'care and maintenance'. When the mine is operating fully, some residents get employed by the mine, making employment opportunities among the benefits the local people have from the mine. In this regard, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) stated that:

“When the mine is running, as a mine we have a policy. In our recruitment policy, it enshrines that all semiskilled and unskilled labour will come from within this community. The skilled one is what we will get from Mazabuka, or from Lusaka. But general work is solely for these people here as a way of empowering them.”

To some local people, this is the only way they see the community benefiting from the establishment of the mine in the area. According to Kashimba (Interview, 08/05/2015):

“The mine has not contributed anything to our social life in this part of the area and I don't even regard the mine in my family development. The mine

has been importing workers so there is no change in my life. For those that are working, yes, life has changed, but not us who are not in any contact with the mine.”

Inasmuch as employment is available to local community residents, not all job opportunities are available to them. The local people are offered employment that does not require ‘trained skills’ (Chishala, Interview, 09/05/2015). This is because they do not have the skills needed for other jobs in the mine. This indicates that the local people are employed as ‘casual workers’ or general workers as they do not possess the skills required to be in management-related positions.¹⁶ In light of this, Mwamba (Interview, 10/05/2015) said:

“Only those who have careers would work there and benefit from the mines. But those with no training, I don’t think they can benefit. There are some here in the community who were working in the mine. Some were employed as cleaners. Some of the people who were working in the mine were coming from other towns while some were from here. Those in high posts were coming from the Copperbelt and other towns because they had skills.”

The prevalence of informal work that guarantees negligible if any access to regular, contracted employment and regular working hours, among other conditions of employment, has been deepened by neoliberalism (Gideon 2006: 1276). In a neoliberal order, profit maximisation is highly prioritised, particularly in the private sector. As such, business entities such as the Munali nickel mine will ensure that they cut costs as much as possible to realise profit. One of the measures put in place to meet this objective is reducing on wage bills.

From employment opportunities, the main reward is increased income through the wages obtained by employees. As such, it can be argued that the employment opportunities emerging from the mine improve money circulation in the community. This

¹⁶ The term ‘casual worker’ is used to refer to employees who do not possess formal-training skills and have been employed to handle jobs that mainly just require physical labour and not technical knowhow. These people are usually employed for a short period of time (ranging from a few hours to six months) and their employment conditions have no benefits apart from the wages they get while working.

has spill-over effects which lead to increased development prospects. According to Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015):

“When the mine is up and running there is no problem but now when it is not running there is no money in circulation.”

From this statement by Munkupa, it can be asserted that when there is enough money in circulation people’s economic wellbeing is improved in the community. However, some respondents noted that the job opportunities given to the local people were limited. That is, most opportunities have been accessed by people from outside the Mugoto community. In other words, “the mine has been importing workers” (Kashiba, Interview, 8/05/2015). According to Kabangila (Interview, 9/05/2015):

“When we saw the mine being established we were happy as we expected to be employed, but they employed people from different areas.”

In addition to most employment opportunities being given to non-local community residents, the local people complained of being given short-term jobs while most long-term jobs are given to non-local community residents. In relation to this, Mwense (Interview, 10/05/2015) said that:

“When we talk about employment, we are given short-term jobs for three to six months while the long-term employment is given to people outside the community.”

Explaining the reason the local people were considered for this kind of employment, Chishala (Interview, 09/05/2015) stated that:

“I think the main reason why the local people were shunned was specifically due to lack of trades. So they picked people from other places who had qualifications.”

From Chishala's views, it can be argued that a lack of adequate skills required for management positions or other superior jobs is what has been disadvantaging the local people in accessing certain types of jobs. Despite understanding the cause of disparities in accessing certain jobs in the mine, some of the local people felt that the recruitment process was flawed. For instance, Mwila (Interview, 09/05/2015) explained that:

“It leaves much to be desired as some people were employed without skills but trained by the mine. This was mainly in terms of job on training and they were given reference letters. There was massive segregation”

In addition, Chishala was of the view that this situation was not the intended plan of the owners of the company. In this regard, Chishala (Interview, 09/05/2015) asserted that:

“It is like the initiators of the mine wanted the local people to benefit but the people on the ground had their own plans. That is, the original proprietors, Albidon mine from Australia, wanted the local people to benefit but management felt otherwise.”

It is important to note that very few community residents have benefited from the employment opportunities in the mine. This situation is not unique to the Munali nickel mine as, in general, mining projects generate few employment opportunities for the low-skilled, who are the majority in mineral resource-dependent economies (Goldstein, Pinaud and Reisen 2006). Moreover, mining is a capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive sector (Pegg 2005: 380).

Despite the complaints of uneven distribution of employment opportunities, Munkupa suggests that the employment opportunities have economic benefits which have trickle-down effects in the community. According to Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015):

“Generally, the mine has made a great deal contribution to the socioeconomic wellbeing of the local community. The people's lives are not the same. People

that did not originally have money, today at least they have something. When they worked, others have helped their families. Others have gone to school.”

In this regard, Chishala has also acknowledged that the presence of the mine has enhanced the business prospects in the community. This improvement has been linked with the employment opportunities that emerge from the mine. In justifying this, Chishala (Interview, 09/05/2015) stated that:

“When the mine was operating, at least there was improvement in terms of businesses. People were even supplying some goods such as foodstuffs like chickens and goats to the mine. Even those who had built some houses started making some money through rentals. This is because some of the people who were working in the mine were staying in the community near the mine.”

Adding to Munkupa and Chishala’s views, Mwamfuli noted that the employment opportunities in the mine have led to increased sources of income. This income is being used to improve the material conditions of people in the community. In making this argument, Mwamfuli (Interview, 06/03/2015) argued that:

“Due to the opening of the mine, people’s lives have changed. Some people have even built better houses than they had before the coming of the mine. They have also bought some furniture and also some animals. Others have even bought some vehicles.... The mine was also providing them [employees] allowances and the wage from which they managed to build better houses.”

What is emerging from this section is that employment has been one of the major economy-enhancing benefits the Mugoto residents have seen from the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community. Nevertheless, the employment opportunities available are limited. The mine is expected to create 200 jobs and these personnel are to be distributed across several departments within the operation as follows:

mining 110, milling 65, administration 25, miscellaneous 10.¹⁷ Despite the assertions that these employment opportunities have not been fairly distributed among the residents, even those who have not been employed by the mine are benefiting somehow. For instance, having noted the expansion in business as a result of the establishment of the mine in the community, it is clear that the business owners are benefiting even without being employed by the mine.

6.8 CONCLUSION

From the presentation and discussion of findings in this chapter, it can be argued that the contribution of the Munali nickel mine to the development of the Mugoto community is generally not significant. Many of the contributions the mine has made are in line with the compensation agreements it has with the local people who have been displaced and resettled by the mine. This is mainly due to the understanding that the mine has no legal responsibility to contribute to the development of the local community. The notable contributions have been agricultural extension services, employment creation, construction of a school and a clinic in the resettlement area, malaria and HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programmes, and agricultural support, particularly to the resettled residents.

Agriculture has been identified in this chapter as one of the most important sectors driving the community's development. This is because the community is mainly agrarian. Hence, it can be argued that contributions in this sector are likely to benefit a lot of people in the community. However, the mine has been concentrating on those whom it has displaced in order to meet compensation agreements it has with them. Nonetheless, the efforts made by the mine have not yielded much as the resettlement area is not suitable for subsistence farming.

The mine has been helping reduce, and possibly curbing the prevalence of malaria and HIV/AIDS in the area. In these programmes, the mine plays a complementary role as they are not initiatives of the mine but the state's. The commitment is quite central to facilitating improvement of the health of the community residents. For the local people to remain productive, they need to be in good health, failing which the quest to

¹⁷ Information contained in the Development Agreement (2006) between the Munali nickel mine (under Albidon) and the Zambian government

productively develop will most likely be futile. Thus, the mine should be commended for its commitment to this cause. However, in terms of general social services provision in the area, the mine is not doing anything significant. This is because of the perception that it is the responsibility of the government to ensure that social services are provided in the community and the country at large.

It is worth noting that employment creation is one of the important development contributions emerging from the mine. Employment implies an increase in income for the employed, improved business returns for businessmen in the area, and more money in circulation in the community. For those who have been employed, access to better basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing, health care and other basic necessities has become easier than before. This is because residents can afford these goods and services using their wages. Even in a situation where cash is not readily available, getting things on credit within the community is easier as there is a higher assurance that the credit will be settled. For those with high school certificates, of whom there are very few, this may be viewed as an opportunity to raise money for tertiary education. In the process, people's lives are being gradually transformed from chronic poverty to relative poverty.

However, due to low levels of education in the community, the only job opportunities for them exist in casual and low-ranked jobs requiring manual work such as security, cleaning services, and other jobs of that nature. Moreover, mining is a relatively new activity in the area. Thus, the local people lack the essential skills that may be required in the industry, with the result that job security is not guaranteed. If anything, the employment opportunities that have been available for them are short contract jobs lasting for less than a year. In addition, subcontracting has characterised the management and operations of the Munali nickel mine. This has made it increasingly difficult for people to have permanent and pensionable jobs. The combination of these factors has necessitated low wages.

For those who are employed, the main challenge has been the inconsistencies in the operations of the mine. This is mainly because the mine has been placed on care and maintenance and suspension of operations for long periods on at least two occasions, with the closures lasting not less than a year. This has meant disruption to income flows and circulation of money in the community. The end result has been instability in economic development in the area. For those who have abandoned their previous income generating

activities, returning to these activities is a challenge. For businessmen whose businesses have been built around the cash flow from the mine workers, their business has gone down. Thus, hope lies in the mine reopening as soon as possible, else diversification may be the only practical option.

To the general community, the main challenge that has been brought by the establishment of the mine in the area is associated with displacement of residents. The mine required a large portion of land for its operations. Thus, some people have had their land, which they used for agricultural activities, taken away from them. This has led to resettlement and displacement. However, it is also arguable that the resettlement scheme has created some opportunities, especially for the resettled. For instance the construction of a school and a clinic in the resettlement area is a benefit emerging from the compensation agreement. Thus, the mine has created both development challenges and opportunities in the area.

Chapter Seven:

Distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women

7.1 INTRODUCTION

“Ever since the discovery of extensive copper reserves in the late 1920s, the same challenge continues to confront Zambia: how to convert this natural wealth into an equitably distributed and sustainable flow of resources to the citizens of the country” (Adam and Simpasa 2010: 59).

In line with the above quote, the purpose of this chapter is to explore the gendered issues surrounding the distribution of the Munali nickel mine’s development contributions to the Mugoto community. Specifically, I focus on how the development benefits are distributed between men and women. The argument presented in this chapter is that gender relations in the community have produced and reproduced inequalities in the distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women. Men are benefiting more than women as they find themselves in an advantaged position. The situation has been perpetrated and perpetuated by the view that the mining sector is macho, which makes men better placed to benefit from mining-related activities than women. This implies that traditional gender roles have influence on the distribution of mining-led development benefits in the community.

In making the above argument, much attention is placed on exploring the link between gender role expectations and the influence they have on people’s access to mining-led development benefits in the Mugoto community. This is because these expectations have largely influenced the way in which both men and women benefit from the development opportunities emerging from the Munali nickel mine. These expectations are discussed in relation to the historical traditional expositions that viewed men and women to be differently suited for specific responsibilities, both at household and community levels. In addition, I demonstrate how these traditional expositions have undermined how women benefit from mining-led development benefits compared to

men. However, it should be stated that these traditions are created and never static, though changes are slow.

The argument in this chapter unfolds as I present and discuss how the mining-led development benefits presented in Chapter Six are distributed between men and women in the Mugoto community. That is, I present and discuss the gender dynamics that exist in terms of access to agriculture, health, education and employment as development benefits arising from the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community.

7.2 DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL BENEFITS

With agriculture noted as the most important driver of development in the community, the mine has given considerable attention to agriculture-related activities to empower the local people. The distribution of these benefits between men and women is an important aspect to explore as men and women have different roles to play in the agricultural sector in the community. As noted by Boserup (1970), the agricultural sector is marred by highly gendered disparities, both in the roles men and women play and in terms of access to the benefits in this sector. However, Munkupa, the Munali nickel mine's representative, asserts that there are no gender disparities in the way people access agriculture-related mining-led development benefits in the Mugoto community. In explaining this, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) cited the mine's efforts to empower the local people with knowledge on modern agricultural practices through agricultural extension services. He stated that:

“in these activities...there is no difference between men and women because we invite the households, and in the household the man and the woman usually comes, so it is a family thing that has been done.”

Munkupa may be right to assume that men and women have the same benefits from these activities as they are all in attendance. However, men and women usually assume different roles in agricultural activities in the Mugoto community. According to Kamalenge (Interview 27/01/2015), farming and petty trading have been the daily activities of the residents, with males and females playing different though interlinked roles. Moreover, men as household heads, have more control over agricultural produce in

relation to women and the other household members (Kamalenge, Interview, 27/01/2015). In this regard, Moser (1993: 15) argues that “women and men have different positions within the household and different control over resources.” Thus, despite Munkupa claiming that the agricultural training or extension services being made by the mine are benefiting both men and women equally, there is need to consider the ultimate benefits emerging from the knowledge gained. This is what may give a clear picture of who really is benefiting and how they are doing so.

The agricultural knowledge empowerment the mine confers on the local people is aimed at improving agricultural produce. Therefore, how both men and women control the use of the agricultural produce is important as this significantly reflects how they benefit from their participation in agricultural activities. In the Mugoto community, Kamalenge mentions that men were traditionally owners of the family property, that is, including agriculture-related property such as land and livestock. Thus, even decision making on the allocation of funds obtained from family property has generally been a prerogative of male household heads. This view is carried in Kamalenge’s (Interview, 27/01/2015) revelation that:

“Males were and are more dominant over females. As a result, farm produce, though cultivated by the entire family, is regarded as being the property of males. This is the same to other assets such as animals. Males controlled the products from farm produce.”

Thus, considering the information provided by Kamalenge, though the mine provided training for both men and women in households, as indicated by Munkupa, it is important to consider how the benefits of the knowledge gained are distributed. In this case, it can be argued that men are the major beneficiaries of the agricultural extension services as they control the use of the agricultural produce in their households. That is, the difference between men and women in accessing agricultural benefits is embedded in ownership and control of the agricultural produce. This is as a result of historical traditions that have given men control over family property as household heads. What this implies is that historical traditions have influence on how men and women have access to certain things at the household level.

The differences in the control which men and women have on agricultural produce also have implications on income from agricultural activities. For instance, Penso indicated that, while men are responsible for handling lucrative transactions such as those involving supplying maize to Zambia's Food Reserve Agency, after harvesting, women have generally been selling vegetables, pumpkins, mushroom and a few other farm produce items on a very small scale. These have been sold at nearby local markets and the money earned is usually taken home to their husbands for allocation and keeping. In this regard, Penso (Interview, 06/03/2015) narrated that:

“The main source of income for women usually is just selling tomatoes and other vegetables. Like this season, when the maize is ready, and the pumpkins, they will take them to Turnpike twice a week, that is Monday and Friday market. That is what women do.”

The above narrative highlights the existence of separation of roles between men and women in agricultural activities. However, this is not unique to the Mugoto community as Satyavathi, Bharadwaj and Brahmanand (2010: 443) have also noted that while both men and women participate in agricultural activities, “operations that involve less physical labour and more drudgery, such as weeding, are left to women.”

The separation of responsibilities in agricultural activities between men and women in the Mugoto community is also seen in women's limited involvement in animal husbandry. According to Kuyumba, men are the ones with the responsibility of keeping livestock and they handle businesses related to livestock. Thus, it can be argued that men tend to have an extra advantage in terms of agriculture-related sources of income. As stated by Kuyumba (Interview, 06/03/2015):

“We also keep animals like cattle and goats. As at now, I do not have animals such as cattle but I have goats. These animals are sold when it is necessary. Women are not involved in this business of animals. Ladies do not rear cattle, it is only men.”

Kalembelo also restated that animal husbandry is a responsibility of men and not women. In his explanation, Kalembelo (Interview, 31/03/2015) argued that:

“In herding cattle, the children are mostly involved. These are boys and not girls. It is myself (father) and my children, the boys and not girls. For the girls, their duty is to cook, sweep, collecting firewood and everything in the house. And for the boys it is just looking after the animals and, during the rainy season, they are ploughing. And the girls go and plant.”

From Kalembelo, Kuyumba and Penso’s narratives, it is evident that there is division of roles between men and women in the Mugoto community with relation to agricultural activities. The gendered division of roles has historically and traditionally been created through households where men, as household heads, have determined the roles which men and women should play in different activities. This is passed on from one generation to another with little or no alteration. As such, mining-led development contributions aimed at enhancing agricultural activities in Mugoto ultimately benefit men more than women. This is despite the mine aiming at empowering both men and women. Nevertheless, there is need to appreciate that there are some female household heads, like Kalubwa, who tend to have the same ownership and control rights as male household heads over agricultural produce. However, even with these rights, Kalubwa having lost her husband and with her male children living far from her, she complained about how hard it is to handle some of the agricultural activities considered male-dominated. For instance, herding cattle and handling transactions related to selling maize to the Zambia Food Reserve Agency have been challenging to her (Kalubwa, 10/05/2015).

With consideration to Chapter Six, Kuyumba narrated that the people who have been resettled to the Mugoto resettlement area were empowered with cattle and farm land. In this case, it can be argued that men benefited more from this empowerment than women because, with reference to Kalembelo’s assertion, men are the owners of cattle in the community. In addition, as noted in Chapter Six, Munkupa stated that the mine also helped the Mugoto resettlement area residents in growing maize by supplying fertiliser and seed, and by ploughing their fields. Similarly, it can be affirmed that men were the major beneficiaries of this support because the money earned from maize sales was

handled and managed by men as heads of households except in female headed households. Thus, in the distribution of the agriculture-related mining benefits, men benefit more than women. This is why the Women and Development (WAD) theory pronounces women's agency in the development process in order to facilitate their improved access to development opportunities (Singh 2007).

7.3 DISTRIBUTION OF HEALTH BENEFITS

The distribution of health-related benefits emerging from the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community are gendered even though the distribution of health services between men and women in the community appears to be gender neutral. Access to health services in the Mugoto community is the same for both men and women. As stated by Safi (Interview, 06/03/2015), "women and men access the services we provide equally." This view has also been highlighted by Penso (Interview, 06/03/2015), who asserted that:

"Both males and females have equal access to health services in the area and at the clinic [Mugoto health centre]. There are no complaints that any gender is not getting access to health services compared to the other gender."

Adding to these views by the health workers, Mwamfuli stated that "males and females have the same opportunities in health" (Mwamfuli, Interview, 06/03/2015). This suggests that even the contributions of the mine to the improvement of health service provision in the community are distributed evenly between men and women.

However, Penso noted that the resettlement of some residents has brought more challenges to women than men in accessing health services at Mugoto health centre. This is mainly with regard to travelling from the resettlement area to the Mugoto health centre. Inasmuch as the mine has provided transport for the resettled residents, when the bus is not working or in cases of emergencies, people find it very difficult to access health care services. Penso cited the case of pregnant women in pointing out some of the challenges that women in the resettlement area are faced with. According to Penso (Interview, 06/03/2015):

“When they [women] are maybe about to give birth, they have to look for their own transport if the bus is down. If they have no money then the woman would just deliver at home. And you will find there are those who are special mothers, that is the HIV-positive mothers. They will just deliver there and the people who are taking care of them during labour do not have experience. They will just help her deliver and leave the baby lying there.”

By implication, pregnant women living in the Mugoto resettlement area have their access to health services limited due to the distance from the resettlement area to the health centre. In addition, Munkupa and Kamalenge have also noted that the resettlement scheme resulting from the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community has hindered the resettled people’s access to health services. Citing some gendered health services access implications of the resettlement scheme, Kamalenge (Interview, 27/01/2015) stated that:

“Females look after children and need maternity facilities which were very difficult to access due to distance. Even though the mine provided a free bus to shuttle settlers to the school [Mugoto Basic School] and clinic [Mugoto health centre] in Mugoto, this was inadequate to say the least.”

The narrative shows that long-distance travel seems to affect men and women differently as they have different roles and responsibilities in the households as well as in communities. This aspect was noted by Moser (1989), who asserts that men and women seem to have different interests and needs depending on prevailing social and economic contexts. This is accompanied by the view that “men and women play different roles in society” (Moser 1993: 3). It is such differences which have perpetrated disparities in the roles and responsibilities of men and women. This suggests that even in health-related activities, men and women have different experiences, as pointed out. That is why the transport challenges in accessing health services in the community affect women more than men, as women are generally caregivers in households. However, despite the different experiences which men and women may have, particularly with regard to distance and transport to the health centre, this section suggests that the health-related

contributions that the mine is making in the community are evenly distributed between men and women.

The other health issue that may be linked to the development contributions that the Munali nickel mine is making in the Mugoto community is that of promiscuity, which arguably has increased the spread of HIV/AIDS in the community. Migrant workers have been associated with spread of HIV/AIDS in the community because some of them started having sexual relations with the local people, as most of them were not married. This led to increased levels of promiscuity in the area, with women being blamed for it. For instance, in Penso's (Interview, 06/03/2015) view:

“Before the mine was opened, the women in the village at least had manners than when the mines came. Women would stay home in the old days, but with the opening of the mines most women would leave their homes in the evening to meet with men from the mines when they are knocking off from work, and we would find them on the way.”

Two gender-related issues emerge from this view. Firstly, by implication, women's involvement in sexual relations with men is being viewed as inappropriate. The second issue is that women are being viewed as belonging to the home and should be confined there. These points can be traced to the view that a woman being involved in a sexual relationship means that woman has bad manners. But it is worth noting that these women were having sexual relations with men and not with other women. As such, if promiscuity should be deemed bad and a contributor to the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Mugoto community, men should also be blamed for this as they are also involved in the sexual activity. Moreover, as noted in Chapter Six, the wages obtained from the Munali nickel mine are what men are using to lure women into promiscuity. Thus, the whole process is largely initiated by men, which makes it especially unfair to cast the blame on women alone.

7.4 DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION BENEFITS

The situation in education is not so different from that of health benefits distribution between men and women. It can be argued that there is no inequality between

men and women as no one has been denied access based on gender. This is the widely held view among the Mugoto community residents. In expressing this view, Kalembelo (Interview 31/03/2015) said, “when it comes to access to education, there are no differences between girls and boys.”

However, the information provided by Kandumba suggests that men and women have benefited quite differently in the overall education despite there being no segregation in the availability of education services in the Mugoto community. In making this argument, Kandumba (Interview, 06/03/2015) explained that:

“The opportunities are equal for both girls and boys but what I have discovered is that there are more boys who are interested in education than girls. I don’t know, maybe it is because of tradition, probably. You see, in African tradition it was said that [for] the girl child the best office is in the kitchen. That is why people favoured much to have a boy educated than girls. But it is changing slowly.”

From Kandumba’s views it is clear that traditional values have influence on people’s access to education based on gender. The narrative suggests that boys are more likely to realise optimum benefits from education as compared to girls, as girls are expected to take up their place in the kitchen as homemakers. This means that the efforts made by the mine to contribute to education improvement in the community are likely to benefit men more than women, because it is assumed that men are more likely to be educated than women, as suggested by Kandumba. Nevertheless, Kandumba’s assertion that this situation is slowly changing suggests that the traditional values that considered males to be better suited for formal education while females be trained for homemaking are fading away.

Kandumba’s observation regarding girls’ likelihood of being educated has also been noted by Mwamfuli, who also suggests that girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys. This is despite Mwamfuli also observing that the education system has no gender-based segregation in terms of access to education in the community. As detailed by Mwamfuli (Interview, 06/03/2015):

“The school [Mugoto Basic School] has no gender-based differences as regards access to education, although some girls usually drop out of school due to pregnancy. Otherwise, they have [the] same opportunities. The school does not demand that they stop school when they are pregnant but they just lose interest and they do not want to go back to school.”

Adding to Mwamfuli’s view, Kandumba has also observed that the establishment of the mine in the community has negatively impacted on girls’ education as school-going girls are engaging in sexual affairs with the mine workers, especially migrant workers. In making this argument, Kandumba (Interview, 06/03/2015) said;

“Actually, what I have discovered is that most girls could not complete grade nine because those people came with a lot of money. And, because of the money, girls would go to those men who work in the mine. So, instead of having a positive impact, it had a negative impact.”

The implication is that the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community carries negative effects on girls’ education because mine workers are using their wages to entice school-going girls into sexual relationships, with some of these relationships resulting in pregnancies and marriages, which in turn causes the girls to drop out of school. In other words, the benefits the mine workers are getting in the form of wages are rendering girls vulnerable to early pregnancies, marriages and dropping out of school.

Given the evidence in this whole section on education, it can be argued that the distribution of education services between men and women in the community may appear even, yet men tend to benefit more than women. This is because of the historical and traditional predispositions that tend to view men as better suited for education than women. These predispositions have been influencing girls to drop out of school and settle for marriage. Moreover, the presence of the mine in the community renders girls susceptible to early pregnancies and marriages as the mineworkers tend to use their wages to have sexual relationships with school girls. Thus, the construction of a school or any

other efforts to improve education in the community are more likely to benefit males than females.

7.5 DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

As noted in the previous chapter, employment is one of the most notable development benefits emerging from the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community. However, this is an aspect in which gender concerns are particularly evident. This is because men appear to benefit more than women from the available employment opportunities. The prevalence of this situation can be explained mainly by existence of traditional gender roles which recognise men as breadwinners while women play domestic and reproductive roles (Namatovu and Espinosa 2011: 69). This tends to create distinctions in the kinds of jobs men and women can do.

In the Mugoto community, the Munali nickel mine has created employment opportunities for both men and women. But, Munkupa noted that mining is generally considered a male-dominated sector, though women are slowly penetrating the field. The inequality between the number of women and men employed by the mine has also been noted by Kuyumba. In stating this, Kuyumba (Interview, 06/03/2015) asserted that, “in the overall employment, the number of men employed is higher than the number of ladies.”

Furthermore, Munkupa also suggests that there is segregation in terms of what kinds of jobs men and women can do on the mine due to the view that men are suited for certain jobs and women for others. In explaining this, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) stated that:

“Women are only about 10% because mining is like that. The nature of the work is where you need a lot of hard labour because it is manual work and it is only men who are there. If you get a woman she will be doing survey.”

The above information suggests that there are certain activities that are suited for a particular gender. Particularly, suggesting that only men are suited to do hard labour or manual work is an indirect portrayal of women as weak. This aspect is also pointed out by Moodie (1994), who shows how men have been favoured in obtaining employment in

the mining sector because they are considered more powerful than women. That is, men are considered better suited for the manual labour required in mining.

Additionally, Munkupa asserted that there are very few women with the necessary skills to be employed in the mine. Explaining this situation, Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015) recounted that:

“Probably also it is only now that we have female geologists and female engineers. So, it also has to do with the training or the people that have been available to apply. It has been predominantly a male-dominated industry. So, you find even people that do courses are men. It is only now we hear of female geologists. So, because of that, we do not get too many women here in the mine.”

This situation highlights the understanding that organisations create “gendered hierarchies of power...among their staff” (Connell 2005: 374). This is because, if men are the ones considered to hold the skills needed in the mining sector, it would be illogical for women, considered lacking the skills, to be at the apex of authority in the sector. Moreover, the career selection bias Munkupa notes is as a result of the historical perceptions that considered mining a masculine sector. Thus, women have been uncomfortable pursuing mining-related careers. This places women at the bottom of authority in the mining sector.

In addition, Munkupa suggests that there are some employment regulations that contributed to this situation as women were not permitted to work underground, a situation which is slowly changing. According to Munkupa (Interview, 30/03/2015):

“The Mining Act actually in its form does not allow women to work underground, but not knowing whether that law has been revised. But previously it has been like that. Women were not allowed to work underground. But over the years, I think they have started working underground because last year we had dump truck operators who were women who have gone underground. We had assistant surveyors who have

gone underground also. And that is one lady as a dump truck operator and another lady as assistant surveyor, so you have two or three.”

From the above narratives, it can be argued that the differences in the kinds of jobs men and women do creates a gendered wage gap as women are relegated to low-paying jobs. According to Mwamfuli (Interview, 06/03/2015):

“Most of the jobs were being taken by men as very few women were employed compared to the men. This is because the work which was being done was mainly for men. The work that was being done was mainly construction work. Women were just mainly cleaners and very few were involved in hard work.”

The differences in the kinds of work women and men can be involved in is deeply rooted in traditional values and beliefs, which tend to assign responsibilities to people based on gender role expectations. In this regard, Moore (1994: 10) suggests that women are linked with the domestic sphere while men are associated with the public sphere of social life. As such, women tend to be viewed as suited for jobs that are domestic in nature. However, despite noting the inequalities in the distribution of employment opportunities between men and women, the mine has not done anything to address this situation. According to Munkupa, there is no gender policy in the mine and no affirmative action designed to balance the number of men and women having access to employment.

The gender issues emerging from the employment opportunities created by Munali nickel mine reflect the view that organisations are gendered, among other aspects. Key to this dissertation is the gendered division of labour that has been created as a result of the mining sector being historically considered macho, thereby benefiting men more than women. It is quite clear from this section that men have been the major beneficiaries of the employment opportunities that have been created by the Munali nickel mine in the Mugoto community. Thus, it can be argued that the employment benefits emerging from the mine have not been evenly distributed between men and women. In addition, most people in the community do not view mining as a feminine activity. Most of the women working at the mine are in support services such as cleaning and office assistance, with

others working as security guards. Those women who are involved in the principal business of the mine are only involved as surveyors and dump truck operators. But these women involved in the core operations of the mine are not local community residents as there are no local community members with the skills necessary for these jobs.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that the development opportunities emerging from mining tend to benefit men more than women. This is because of the gender relations in the community which tend to favour men more than women. Gender role expectations in the Mugoto community have arguably been influential in determining how mining-led development benefits are distributed between men and women. It is worth mentioning that both men and women have historically been involved in activities aimed at facilitating development at individual, household, and communal levels. However, gendered division of labour is strongly entrenched in the kinds of roles men and women are expected to perform. Historically, women have focused on household and communal work while men concentrate on paid work. This may be explained by the widely held understanding that men are supposed to be family breadwinners while women are better placed as care givers, both at household and community levels. Thus, women have been more involved in ensuring access to social services at household level.

Moreover, the mining sector has historically been considered a male-dominated arena. As such, it tends to benefit men more than women. Particularly in employment, the job opportunities created by the mine have not evenly benefited men and women. Disparities exist between men and women as regards access to job opportunities in the mine. The conclusion that emerges from this situation is that more men than women have been employed by the mine. This is justified by the view that mining has historically been viewed a macho venture, with women being latecomers and mainly dominating the support services such as cleaning and office assistance services.

Being predominantly an agrarian community, agricultural activities have been at the centre of economic development in the Mugoto community, with responsibilities being typically allocated according to gender, even though this has been changing since the mine was established. In crop farming, especially during land-tillage, both males and females would participate. During planting, weeding, and harvesting, mostly women and

children would be involved while men tend to be passive participants. However, after harvesting, it is mainly men who would be involved in selling farm produce such as maize, cotton and sunflower. Men would be the ones registered as suppliers to the Food Reserve Agency and they would be custodians of the money that comes from the sold produce. This control and ownership structure tends to give men more economic power than women. All these disparities are justified through traditional and cultural practices, indicating that historical practices have allocated gender roles to males and females. Thus, gender roles and inequalities can be traced to traditional and cultural structures of the society.

Chapter Eight:

Conclusion

8.1 RESEARCH FOCUS REITERATION

This dissertation is an exploration of the relationship between mining and local community development. The main objective has been to provide an understanding of the contributions of mining to local community development and the distribution dynamics that emerge between men and women. Specific objectives include: exploring the economic development contributions made by mining; finding out the contributions of mining to social services provision; and, investigating how the development contributions are distributed between men and women. Drawn from these objectives, the question I have pursued is: how does the Munali nickel mine contribute to the development of the local community (Mugoto community) and how are these contributions distributed between men and women? In order to answer this question, the following questions had to be answered: what is the role of the mining company in the development process of the area; in what ways has the mine contributed to development in the area; and, how are these development contributions accessed by men and women? I present the conclusions drawn from this research in the subsequent sections.

8.2 MINING-LED DEVELOPMENT IN NEOLIBERAL ZAMBIA

Prior to the implementation of neoliberal policies in Zambia, mines were owned by the state and managed by the ZCCM, a state conglomerate. After implementing the IMF and World Bank-sponsored neoliberal policies, the mines were privatised between the late 1990s and 2000. Privatisation was one of the neoliberal policies which have, to date, left the mines in private hands. The privatisation of mines had implications on mining-led development in Zambia, especially in mining communities. This is because, prior to privatisation, nationalised mines played an important role in financing development, particularly in mining communities. The mines financed provision of social services and development projects such as road construction and infrastructure development. But this responsibility which the mines held has been restructured due to

the implementation of neoliberal policies. This is because mines are now under private ownership.

Since the early stages of privatisation between the late 1990s and 2000, and up to 2008, the state signed development agreements with private mines. But these development agreements did not seem to be benefiting Zambia much. This is because they were designed and negotiated to attract foreign investments. Unsatisfactory gains from mines during the development agreements regime prompted the President Mwanawasa-led MMD government to revoke the development agreements. In place of these development agreements, Zambia introduced a new tax regime for the mining sector which was aimed at enabling Zambia to realise significant benefits from mineral resource exploitation. The revocation of development agreements was in favour of revenue collection through mineral royalties and taxes. While the MMD government might have broadened their revenue collection base from mines by introducing taxes in place of development agreements, this decision further undermined the contribution of mines to development, particularly in mining communities.

In exploring the intersection between mining and development in neoliberal Zambia's mining communities, I focused on the Munali nickel mine located in Mazabuka District of Southern Province in Zambia. The Munali nickel mine has a unique history. It was established in 2006, that is, approximately five years after completion of the process of privatization of mines in Zambia, meaning that it does not share in the history of nationalisation of mines in Zambia. It was established in the era of development agreements when mines in Zambia were privately owned. Therefore, the mine provides a platform for exploring the contribution of mines to the development of local communities during the period of development agreements. But just two years into its operations, in 2008, development agreements were annulled introducing a new tax regime which required the mine to pay taxes instead of following development agreements.

Drawn from this background, I have identified three points of attention in exploring how mining and development intersect in Zambia's local communities, taking the case of Munali nickel mine. Firstly, I have delved into the role of mines in the development of local communities, because it is only after understanding this role that I can be in a good position to understand why mines in Zambia operate the way they do in relation to development of local communities. This leads me to the second point of focus:

how mines contribute to development in mining communities. Once the responsibility the mines are supposed to have in the development process of local communities is known, it makes sense to establish how they are meeting their role by analysing the development contributions they have made. Moreover, my reasoning is that the significance of the development contributions made by mines can only be determined upon knowing the actual contributions they are making.

Finally, I explored the distribution of development benefits emerging from mines. How development benefits are distributed among community members is an important aspect as some people may be disadvantaged in accessing these benefits. My main area of concentration in this regard is the distribution of development benefits from mines among women and men. This is because the mining sector has historically been dominated by men. Hence, development benefits from this sector are likely to benefit men more than women.

8.3 INTERSECTION OF MINING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE MUGOTO COMMUNITY

Development in the Mugoto community has revolved around agricultural activities. However, the establishment of the Munali nickel mine in the community created an additional sector to propel development as it was envisioned that the mine would create new development opportunities. On inception, the mine indeed had a role in facilitating development in the community. This role was enshrined in the development agreement between the Munali nickel mine and the Zambian government. But this role was compromised by the revocation of the development agreement by the government in favour of ensuring optimal revenue from the mine. Furthermore, the mine started experiencing operational challenges and as such it was not sufficiently productive to be a strong force in expediting development in the community.

In light of this, I have argued that the revocation of development agreements and the mine's operational instabilities are the two main factors that have significantly compromised development contributions from the mine. While these two factors have created uncertainty in the role of the mine and compromised its contribution to the local community's development, this has not resulted in the mine completely abandoning its contributions to development in the community. There are a number of development

contributions the Munali nickel mine is making in the Mugoto community. However, some of these contributions are mainly meeting the compensation agreements between the mine and the resettled residents while others are a supplement of government efforts.

Agricultural extension services are among the development contributions that the Munali nickel mine has been making in the Mugoto community. The mine has been organising workshops on farming practices that would help the local people maximise their produce. In addition, as there are some community residents who have been displaced and resettled by the mine, these people are being provided with agricultural extension services. Among the things provided have been four cattle per household, seed and fertiliser in the first farming season when they were resettled. In addition, a tractor was provided to help with cultivation of crops. From this, it can be argued that the agricultural extension services provided by the mine have been targeted mostly at the resettled residents. Despite the help the resettled residents are receiving, they have a challenge in farming as the land is easily flooded during the rainy season which affects their yield. Moreover, after harvesting, they have to look for transport to take their farm produce to the nearest market which is over 15 km from Mugoto community. This is further complicated by lack of public transport and bad road network.

The Munali nickel mine has also been making efforts in contributing to health improvement in the Mugoto community. It should be mentioned that the community has a high prevalence of malaria and HIV/AIDS cases. As such, in the development agreement between the Munali nickel mine and the Zambian government the mine was given a responsibility to contribute towards reducing and possibly eradicating these health concerns. At the moment the mine is working with the Mazabuka district malaria prevention task force to combat malaria through a residual spraying programme. In a similar manner, the mine is working in conjunction with the Mugoto health centre to provide HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment services. These are the main health contributions that can be viewed to be benefiting the majority of the community.

In addition, the mine is constructing a clinic in the resettlement area. This is one of the compensation agreements between the mine and the resettled residents. But, for the moment, the resettled residents face a challenge in accessing health services as this clinic is not yet completed. The mine has only constructed houses at the clinic construction site and they are planning on using one of the houses to start providing health care services to

the people in the resettlement area. This is because residents currently have to travel approximately 15 km to access health care services. The long distance to health centres makes it difficult for residents to regularly access medical services. Gaining access to health care services is especially difficult in emergency situations as there is no proper transport system in the area. Whereas residents travelled 1 km to 3 km to reach the health care centre prior to resettlement, they now have to travel about 15 km and more. Thus, they rely on the bus provided by the mine, which has a schedule to follow and is never available from 17:00 to 06:00 - hrs. In case of an emergency, the patients and the family members have to organise private transport, which is difficult, especially at night.

The Munali nickel mine has also made contributions in education. However, these have been in the resettlement area as this is part of the compensation agreements between the mine and the resettled residents. The construction of the school is almost complete but at the moment pupils have to travel long distances to access education. The nearest school to the resettlement area is Mugoto Basic School, which is approximately 10 km away. Pupils rely on the bus provided by the mine to get to school. When the bus is not operating, pupils have to walk to school, with some opting not to go to school. Apart from the school which is under construction, the mine has not made any other contributions to education in the Mugoto community. But they have made promises to assist in renovating Mugoto Basic School as soon as the mine is in full operation and productive.

Among the most notable contributions of the Munali nickel mine in the community has been employment creation. The mine employs people to facilitate its operations, especially when it is fully operational. The creation of employment in the community has implied increased income for the employed, improved business returns for businessmen in the area, and generally more money in circulation in the community. What this means is that, for those who have been employed, access to better basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing, health care, and suchlike becomes easier than before. While purchasing and accessing these goods and services, these workers have been putting money in circulation which has benefited businessmen and other people in the community. Consequently, the created employment opportunities have become a good foundation for economic development in the community.

However, due to low levels of education in the community, the only job opportunities for local people are in low-ranked jobs requiring manual work. For instance,

most people are employed as security guards, cleaners and casual workers, among many other jobs of that nature. These jobs are low-paying compared to those given to people with mining expertise. As mining is a new activity in the area, the local people lack the essential knowledge and skills required to earn them employment in the industry. The implication is that the local people have been accessing low-waged employed. Therefore, the money in circulation coming from mine employment may not be considered sufficient to be the main driver of economic development in the community. In addition, these employment opportunities are limited. As such, the agricultural sector remains the main source of income and the key driver of economic development for the majority of the community.

While employment can be touted as one of the contributions to development, it has been compromised by instability in the operations of the mine. On at least two occasions, the mine has been placed on care and maintenance for long periods lasting not less than a year. This has meant limited income flows and circulation of money in the community. The result has been instability in economic development for those who may have depended on wages from the mine in the area. For those who have abandoned their previous income generating activities, getting back to those activities has been a challenge. And for businessmen whose businesses have been built around the cash flow from the mine workers, their business has gone down. Thus, many people who have been benefiting from the operation of the mine have been hoping for the mine to be reopened as soon as possible.

In light of the above, it must be stated that the establishment of the Munali nickel mine has brought both challenges and opportunities in the development process of the Mugoto community. Among the development contributions I have presented are the provision of agricultural extension services, health and education, as well as the creation of employment. These are important contributions as they are likely to expedite development in the community. However, in providing these development benefits, the main focus for the mine has been the resettlement area. Moreover, most of the contributions are aimed at meeting the compensation agreements between the mine and the resettled residents. This is because the revocation of the development agreement between the mine and the Zambian government implied that the mine had no legal responsibility to facilitate development in the community. In addition, the operational

instability of the mine has rendered the mine financially incapable of facilitating development in the community. This is another reason for the mine's focus on meeting the compensation agreements it has with the resettled residents as opposed to facilitating development for the entire community.

While there are these development contributions from the mine, there are challenges as well. The biggest challenge has to do with the land grab that has come with the establishment of the mine. Some community residents have been displaced from the land which has been the source of their livelihood, as the community is agrarian. In the process, some have been shifted to Mugoto resettlement area. But the land in the resettlement area is not suitable for subsistence farmers' use as it is very difficult to manage. This has compromised the yields, hence posing a threat to their development prospects as they rely on agriculture. The situation is indicative of competition for land between mining and agriculture.

It can be conclusively argued that there are insignificant development contributions from the Munali nickel mine in the local community. This is because, in the absence of contributions aimed at meeting compensation agreements with the resettled residents, there remains only the mine's complementary services in the campaign against malaria and HIV/AIDS in the community. When compared to how nationalised mines financed development in local communities, it can be argued that the implementation of neoliberal policies that saw privatisation of state-owned mines has led to undermining of mineral resource-led development in mining communities. While the introduction of development agreements may have salvaged mining-led local community development, this has been compromised by the revocation of the development agreements to prioritise optimal revenue collection.

8.4 GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN MINING AND DEVELOPMENT

In the Mugoto community, gender role expectations have largely influenced how men and women access development contributions from the Munali nickel mine. These expectations have been shaped by traditional beliefs and values which have created and

deepened gendered division of responsibilities in the community. The result of this has been uneven access to mining-led development benefits emerging from the Munali nickel mine. Thus, the main argument emerging from this situation is that gender relations in the community have produced and reproduced inequalities in the distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women. Men are benefiting more than women as they find themselves in an advantaged position.

Among the notable development contributions emerging from the Munali nickel mine is agriculture. The distribution of agricultural benefits between men and women has displayed some gendered differences in terms of ultimate benefit. The biggest difference revolves around issues of ownership and control. This is because men and women have different ownership rights to agricultural property. While things such as land and livestock are seen as family property, men have more control and ownership rights over these. Men decide how these agricultural possessions are used in the family. In case of any monetary proceeds from agriculture-related transactions, men are the ones who are responsible for decision-making on how that money will be used. Therefore, although the mine has put in place measures to empower some families in agriculture, the main beneficiaries of these efforts have generally been men. This is because they are the ones who have more control and ownership rights over the empowerment.

The distribution of health services between men and women appears to be gender-neutral. Both men and women have equal access to health services. However, those who have been resettled to Mugoto resettlement area have been disadvantaged in terms of access to health services. This is because they have been moved far from the Mugoto health centre and have to travel a long distance in order to access health services. In trying to lessen the transportation problems of the resettled, the Munali nickel mine has provided a shuttle bus which has specific hours of operation. Thus, should residents need to access health services during a time when the bus is unavailable, they must secure their own transport. In many cases they have to walk. In this regard, women have suffered more as they are the ones who have the caretaking responsibility. This is even worse for pregnant women who may end up giving birth at home due to lack of transport to access the Mugoto health centre.

The distribution of education benefits in the Mugoto community has no gender inequalities. This is despite females dropping out of school more than males. However, it

should be mentioned that at the moment there are negligible education benefits arising from the Munali nickel mine. The mine has constructed a school in the Mugoto resettlement area but this school is not yet in use. This is the only visible contribution the Munali nickel mine has made to education in the Mugoto community. As such, there is nothing that may be discussed as regards gendered access to education benefits from the Munali nickel mine.

Access to employment opportunities in the Munali nickel mine has serious gender inequalities. Job opportunities are mostly available to men rather than women. As such, men comprise approximately 90% of the employees while women make up the remaining 10%. This is largely because certain job opportunities are considered specifically suited for men and others for women. With the mine being considered macho, men's job opportunities are more numerous than those for women. If anything, women have been relegated to support services such as cleaning, cooking, health care services, and other responsibilities in this category. However, the jobs directly linked with the core business of the Munali nickel mine are mainly open to men. This is because many of these jobs are quite physical and men have been viewed as strong enough to provide the physicality required. Viewed in terms of income generation from employment opportunities, the disparities existing between men and women in accessing job opportunities imply gender inequalities in income. Most of the jobs in which women have been employed have low wages compared to those considered to be suited for men. As such, even though both men and women may be employed by the Munali nickel mine, men will have better wages than women because of job differences.

In light of this gendered exploration, it can be concluded that there are gender inequalities in accessing development benefits emerging from the Munali nickel mine. Some of the inequalities have direct links with the mine while others have been as a result of the community's traditional beliefs and values which tend to separate responsibilities based on gender. With these gender disparities emerging from the mine, the argument is that some of the benefits, especially those that are employment-related, are best suited for men as they are better placed to provide the services needed for the mine to be productive. This has been perpetrated and perpetuated by historical views that have considered mining a macho venture. Hence, women are considered unsuited for mining. This has been exacerbated by the community's traditional values that have considered men as

breadwinners. As such, men are expected to be frontrunners in securing employment. However, this is slowly changing as people are realising that women can also perform tasks that are considered suited for men. Without drifting away from gendered traditional values, attaining equal distribution of mining-led development benefits between men and women remains improbable.

REFERENCES

- Acker, J. 1990. Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: a Theory of Gendered Organisations. *Gender and Society*, 4(2):139-158.
- Adam, S.C. and Simpasa, M.A. 2010. The Economics of the Copper Price Boom in Zambia. In Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer (eds.) *Zambia, Mining, and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- African Mining Consultants. 2006. Albidon (Zambia) Limited Environmental Impact Assessment: The Munali Underground Nickel Mining Project.
- Ahrend, R. 2005. Can Russia Break the “Resource Curse”? *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 46(8): 584-609.
- Andreasson, S. 2005. Orientalism and African Development Studies: the ‘Reductive Repetition’ Motif in Theories of African Underdevelopment. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(6): 971-986.
- Anyu, J.N. and Ifedi, J.P.A. 2008. China’s Ventures in Africa: Patterns, Prospects, and Implications for Africa’s Development. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 19(4): 91-110.
- Babbie, E. and Mouton, J. 2014. *The Practice of Social Research*. South African edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Banda, W. and Bunda, B. 2016. Economic Appraisal of Zambia’s Mineral Taxation Regimes. *American Scientific Research Journal for Engineering, Technology, and Sciences*, 18(1): 279-296.
- Barma, N.H., Kaiser, K., Le, T.M. and Viñuela, L. 2012. *Rents To Riches? The Political Economy of Natural Resource–Led Development*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Bigwood, C. 1991. Renaturalizing the Body (With the Help of Merleau-Ponty). *Hypatia*, 6(3): 54-73.
- Boschini, A.D., Pettersson, J. and Roine, J. 2007. Resource Curse or Not: A Question of Appropriability. *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 109(3): 593-617.
- Bradley, H. 2007. *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Bray, Z. 2008. Ethnographic Approaches. In D. Della Porta and M. Keating (eds.) (2008) *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brenner, N. and Theodore, N.K. 2002. Cities and the Geographies of “Actually Existing Neoliberalism.” *Antipode*.
- Briassoulis, H. 2001. Sustainable Development and its Indicators: Through a (Planner’s) Glass Darkly. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 44(3): 409-427.
- Bush, R. 2008. Scrambling to the Bottom? Mining, Resources & Underdevelopment. *Review of African Political Economy*, 35(117): 361-366.
- Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, Inc.
- Calás, B.M., Smircich, L. and Bourne, A.K. 2009. Extending the Boundaries: Reframing “Entrepreneurship as Social Change” Through Feminist Perspectives. *Academy of Management Review*, 34(3): 552-569.
- Canterbury, D.C. 2003. Community Development through Community Non-Wage Benefits in Guyana’s Mineral Sector. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 24(2).
- Carmody, P. 2012. Zambia, Mining and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt. *Review of African Political Economy*, 39(132): 391-392.
- Carmody, P., Hampwaye, G. and Sakala, E. 2012. Globalization and the Rise of the State? Chinese Geogovernance in Zambia. *New Political Economy*, 17(2): 209-229.
- Cernea, M.M. 2000. Risks, Safeguards, and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement. In M. M. Cernea & C. McDowell (eds.) *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Chant, S. 1998. *Households, Gender and Rural–Urban Migration: Reflections on Linkages and Considerations for Policy*. London: London University Press.
- Condon, M. 2012. China in Africa: What the Policy of Nonintervention Adds to the Western Development Dilemma. *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*, Volume XXVII.

- Connell, R.W. 1987. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cornwall, A. 2003. Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development. *World Development*, 31(8): 1325-1342.
- Cornwall, A. 2007. Revisiting the 'Gender Agenda'. *Institute for Development Studies Bulletin*, 38(2): 69-78.
- Craig, J. 2000. Evaluating Privatization in Zambia: A Tale of Two Processes. *Review of African Political Economy*, 27(85): 357-366.
- Craig, J. 2002. Twilight on the Zambian Copperbelt? *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92): 364-368.
- Creswell, J.W. 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J.W. 2009. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J.W. 2012. *Qualitative Research Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. Third edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Dansereau, S. 2005. Win-Win or New Imperialism? Public-Private Partnerships in Africa Mining. *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(103): 47-62.
- Dawson, C. 2009. *Introduction to Research Methods: A Practical Guide for anyone undertaking a Research Project*. Fourth edition. Oxford: How To Books Ltd.
- Dawson, C. 2013. *Advanced Research Methods: A Practical Guide for Social Research Projects*. London: How To Books Ltd.
- De Beauvoir, S. 1949. *The second sex*. Translated and edited by Parshley, H.M. 1953. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.
- Dobado, R. and Marrero, G.A. 2006. Mining-led growth in Bourbon Mexico, the role of the state, and the economic cost of independence. Working Papers on Latin America Series No. 06/07-1 David Rockefeller Centre for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.
- Dougherty, M.L. 2011. A Policy Framework for New Mineral Economies: Lessons From Botswana Research Series: C1-2011-2. Published October 2011, Institute for Environmental Diplomacy and Security.

- Downing, E.T. 2002. Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement. No. 58 Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development project of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).
- Dreschler, B. 2001. Small-scale Mining and Sustainable Development within the SADC Region. August 2001, No. 84. Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development project of the International Institute of Environment and Development.
- Environmental Council of Zambia. 2010. Albidon Zambia Limited Munali Mine Environmental and Social Management Plan (ESMP): Kaizen Consulting International.
- Escobar, A. 1992. Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements. *Social Text*, 31(32): 20-56.
- Escobar, A. 1995. *Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Escobar, A. 1999. The Invention of Development. *Current History*, 98(631): 382-386.
- Evans, A. 2014a. History Lessons for Gender Equality from the Zambian Copperbelt, 1900–1990. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 2014.
- Evans, A. 2014b. Women Can Do What Men Can Do: The Causes and Consequences of Growing Flexibility in Gender Divisions of Labour in Kitwe, Zambia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40(5): 981-998.
- Ferguson, J. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ferguson, J. 2006. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ferguson, J. 2009. The Uses of Neoliberalism. *Antipode*, 41(S1): 166-184.
- Fink, A. 1995. *How to Sample in Surveys*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Frangie, S. 2011. Post-Development, Developmental State and Genealogy: Condemned to Develop? *Third World Quarterly*, 32(7): 1183-1198.
- Fraser, A. 2010. Introduction: Boom and Bust on the Zambian Copperbelt. In Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer (eds.) *Zambia, Mining, and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Gadzala, W.A. 2010. From Formal- to Informal-Sector Employment: Examining the Chinese Presence in Zambia. *Review of African Political Economy*, 37(123): 41-59.
- Ghosh, B.N. 2011. Scientific Method and Social Research. Fourth revised and enlarged edition. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Gideon, J. 2006. Accessing Economic and Social Rights under Neoliberalism: Gender and Rights in Chile. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(7): 1269-1283.
- Gill, B. and Reilly, J. 2007. The Tenuous Hold of China Inc. in Africa. *The Washington Quarterly*, 30(3): 37-52.
- Goldstein, A., Pinaud, N. and Reisen, H. 2006. The Rise of China and India: What's in it for Africa? OECD Policy Insights No. 19 May 2006. www.oecd.org/dev/insights
- Gray, P.S., Williamson, J.B., Karp, D.A. and Dalphin, J.R. 2007. *The Research Imagination: An Introduction into Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, D. and Griffith, M. 2002. Globalisation and its Discontents. *International Affairs*, 78(1): 49-68.
- Harvey, D. 2004. Spaces of Neoliberalisation: Towards a theory of uneven Geographical Development. Hettner-lecture, Department of Geography, University of Heidelberg.
- Harvey, D. 2005. A Brief History of Neoliberalism. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hilson, G. 2002. An Overview of Land Use Conflicts in Mining Communities. *Land Use Policy*, 19: 65-66.
- Hilson, G.M. 2004. Structural Adjustment in Ghana: Assessing the Impacts of Mining-Sector Reform. *Africa Today*, 51(2): 53-77.
- Huntington, P.S. 1971. The Change to Change: Modernisation, Development, and Politics. *Comparative Politics*, 3(3): 283-322.
- Iimi, A. 2007. Escaping from the Resource Curse: Evidence from Botswana and the Rest of the World. *IMF Staff Papers*, 54(4): 663-699.
- Ingraham, C. 1994. The Heterosexual Imaginary: Feminist Sociology and Theories of Gender. *Sociological Theory*, 12(2): 203-219.

- Jenkins, H. and Obara, L. 2008. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in the mining industry – the risk of community dependency. Queen's University Belfast. <http://www.crrconference.org> Downloaded: 05 July 2015.
- Kambole, M.S. 2003. Managing the Water Quality of the Kafue River. *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, 28: 1105–1109.
- Kandiyoti, D. 1988. Bargaining with Patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, 2(3): 274–290.
- Karl, T.L. 1997. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kay, C. and Gwynne, R.N. 2002. Relevance of Structuralist and Dependency Theories in the Neoliberal Period: A Latin American Perspective. *Journal of Development Studies*, 16(1): 49-69.
- Kimmel, M.S. 2004. *The Gendered Society*. Second edition. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kimmel, M.S. 2008. *The Gendered Society*. Third edition. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kopiński, D. and Polus, A. 2011. Sino-Zambian Relations: ‘An All-Weather Friendship’ Weathering the Storm. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 29(2): 181-192.
- Kragelund, P. 2009. Knocking on a Wide-open Door: Chinese Investments in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 36(122): 479–497.
- Kragelund, P. 2014. ‘Donors Go Home’: Non-traditional State Actors and the Creation of Development Space in Zambia. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(1): 145-162.
- Lahiri-Dutt, K. 2011. Introduction: Gendering the Masculine Field of Mining for Sustainable Community Livelihoods. In Lahiri-Dutt, K (ed.) *Gendering the Field Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*. Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 6. Canberra: The Australian National University E Press.
- Larmer, M. 2005. Reaction & Resistance to Neo-liberalism in Zambia. *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(103): 29-45.
- Larmer, M. 2010. Historical Perspectives on Zambia’s Mining Booms and Busts. In Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer (eds.) *Zambia, Mining, and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Larner, W. 2000. Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, 63: 5-25.
- Latifovic, R et al. 2004. Assessing land cover change resulting from mining development. *International Journal of Applied Earth Observation and Geoinformation*, 7: 29-48.
- Lee, C.K. 2009. Raw Encounters: Chinese Managers, African Workers and the Politics of Casualization in Africa's Chinese Enclaves. *The China Quarterly*, 199: 647-666.
- Lewis Jr., S.R. 1984. Development Problems of the Mineral-Rich Countries. In Moshe Syrquin, Lance Taylor, and Larry E. Westphal, (eds.) *Economic Structure and Performance*. New York: Academic Press.
- Leys, C. 1996. *The Rise & Fall of Development Theory*. Indiana University Press.
- Liamputtong, P. 2013. *Qualitative Research Methods*, Fourth edition. Oxford University Press, South Melbourne.
- Licheterman, P. 2002. Seeing Structure Happen: Theory-driven Participant Observation. In B. Klandermans & S. Staggenborg (eds.) *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lorber, J. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Lungu, J. 2008a. Copper Mining Agreements in Zambia: Renegotiation or Law Reform? *Review of African Political Economy*, 35(117): 403-415.
- Lungu, J. 2008b. Socio-economic Change and Natural Resource Exploitation: A Case Study of the Zambian Copper Mining Industry. *Development Southern Africa*, 25(5): 543-560.
- May, T. 2011. *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Fourth edition. Maidenhead / New York: McGraw Hill and Open University Press.
- McCulloch, N., Baulch, B. and Cherel-Robson, M. 2001. Poverty, Inequality and Growth in Zambia during the 1990s. World Institute for Economic Development Research (WIDER). Discussion Paper No. 2001/123.
- McDowell, L. 1999. *Gender Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McMahon, G. and Moreira, S. 2014. The Contribution of the Mining Sector to Socioeconomic and Human Development. Extractive Industries for

- Development Series #30. World Bank: Oil, Gas, and Mining Unit Working Paper 87298.
- Mehlum, H., Moene, K. and Torvik, R. 2006. Institutions and the Resource Curse. *The Economic Journal*, 116(50): 1-20.
- Mohan, G. 1997. Developing Differences: Post-Structuralism and Political Economy in Contemporary Development Studies. *Review of African Political Economy*, 24(73): 311-328.
- Mohan, G. and Power, M. 2009. Africa, China and the 'new' economic geography of development. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30(1): 24-28.
- Moodie, T.D. with Ndatshe. 1994. *Going for Gold: Men, Mines and Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Moore, L.H. 1994. *A Passion for Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Moser, O.N.C. 1989. Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs. *World Development*, 17(11): 1799-1825.
- Moser, O.N.C. 1993. *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London / New York: Routledge.
- Munali Nickel Project Development Agreement. 2006. Agreement between the government of the Republic of Zambia and Albidon Zambia Limited.
- Murombo, T. 2013. Regulating Mining in South Africa and Zimbabwe: Communities, the Environment and Perpetual Exploitation. *Law, Environment and Development Journal*, 9(1): 31.
- Mususa, P. 2010a. 'Getting by': Life on the Copperbelt after the Privatization of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 36(2): 380-394.
- Mususa, P. 2010b. *Contesting Illegality: Women in the Informal Copper Business*. In Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer (eds.) *Zambia, Mining, and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mwambwa, S., Griffiths, A. and Kahler, A. 2010. A FOOL'S PARADISE? Zambia's mining tax regime CTPD Policy Briefing Paper No. 1 November 2010. Centre for Trade Policy and Development.

- Nakayama S.M.M., Ikenaka, Y., Hamada, K., Muzandu, K., Choongo, K., Teraoka, H., Mizuno, N. and Ishizuka, M. 2011. Metal and metalloid contamination in roadside soil and wild rats around a Pb-Zn mine in Kabwe, Zambia. *Environmental Pollution*, 159: 175-181
- Namatovu, R. and Espinosa, C. 2011. Engendering the Global Financial and Economic Crisis: Unveiling the Links between Formal and Informal Sectors in the Mining Regions in Zambia and Assessing the Gender Implications. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(20).
- Nederveen Pieterse, J. 2010. *Development Theory*. Second edition. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Negi, R. 2008. Beyond the “Chinese Scramble”: The Political Economy of Anti-China Sentiment in Zambia. *African Geographical Review*, 27(1): 41-63.
- Negi, R. 2011. The Micropolitics of Mining and Development in Zambia: Insights from the Northwestern Province. *African Studies Quarterly*, 12(2): 27-44.
- Neuman, W.L. 1994. *Social Research Methods: Quantitative Approaches*. Second edition. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Nicholson, L. 1994. Interpreting Gender. *Signs*, 20(1): 79-105.
- Omar, M.S. 2012. Rethinking Development from a Postcolonial Perspective. *Journal of Conflictology*, 3(1): 42-49.
- Onis, Z. and Senses, F. 2005. Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus. *Development and Change*, 36(2): 263-290.
- Oxfam. 2009. Women, communities and mining: The gender impacts of mining and the role of gender impact assessment. www.oxfam.org.au/explore/mining
- Oyewumi, O. 2005. Visualising the Body: Western theories and African subjects. In O. Oyewumi (ed.) *African Gender Studies: A Reader*. Palgrave: MacMillan.
- Patton, M. 2002. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Third edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Payne, A. and Phillips, N. 2010. *Development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Peck, J. 2010. *Constructions of the Neoliberal Reason*. Oxford University Press.
- Peck, J. and Tickell, A. 2007. Conceptualizing Neoliberalism, Thinking Thatcherism. In H. Leitner, J. Peck & E. Sheppard (eds.) *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*. New York: The Guilford Press.

- Pegg, S. 2003. *Poverty Reduction or Poverty Exacerbation?* World Bank Group Support for Extractive Industries in Africa. A report sponsored by Oxfam America, Friends of the Earth-US, Environmental Defence, Catholic Relief Services and the Bank Information.
- Pegg, S. 2005. Mining and Poverty Reduction: Transforming Rhetoric into Reality. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 14(2006): 376-387.
- Peil, M. with Mitchell, P.K. and Rimmer, D. 1982. *Social Science Research Methods: An African Handbook*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Potter, B.R., Binns, T., Elliot, A.J. and Smith, D. 2008. *Geographies of Development: An Introduction to Development Studies*. Third edition. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Rapley, J. 2007. *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*. Third edition. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Rathgeber, E.M. 1990. WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 24(4): 489-502.
- Riddel, J.B. 1992. Things Fall Apart Again: Structural Adjustment Programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 30(1): 53-68.
- Rist, G. 2008. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. Third edition. New York: Zed Books.
- Rolfe, R.J. and Woodward, D.P. 2004. Attracting Foreign Investment Through Privatization. *Journal of African Business*, 5(1): 5-27.
- Ross, M. 2001. Extractive Sectors and the Poor. In V. Weitzner (ed.) *Cutting-Edge Policies on Indigenous Peoples and Mining: Key Lessons for the World Summit and Beyond*, Ottawa: North-South Institute. Washington, DC: Oxfam American.
- Rostow, W.W. 1959. The Stages of Economic Growth. *The Economic History Review*, 2(1): 1-16.
- Rostow, W.W. 1960. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sarantakos, S. 2013. *Social Research*. Fourth edition. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Satyavathi, C.T, Bharadwaj, Ch and Brahmanand, P.S. 2010. Role of Farm Women in Agriculture: Lessons Learned. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 14(3): 441-449.

- Scott, J.W. 1999. Gender as a Useful Category of Historical Analysis. In R.G. Parker & P. Aggleton (eds) *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader*. Part of series Social Aspects of AIDS. London: UCL Press. Chapter 5: 57-75.
- Sen, A. 1993. Capability and Well-being. In M.C. Nussbaum (ed.) *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shafer, D.M. 1994. *Winners and Losers: How Sectors Shape the Developmental Prospects of States*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Shalala, P. 2013. The Impact of Multi-National Mining Investment on Food Security in Zambia. *The Zambian Analyst, News and Analysis on Governance and Politics*, Wednesday, October 16, 2013. Retrieved on 27 August 2014 from <http://paulshalala.blogspot.com/2013/10/the-impact-of-multi-national-mining.html>
- Sharp, J., Briggs, J., Yacoub, H. and Hamed, N. 2003. *Doing Gender and Development: Understanding Empowerment and Local Gender Relations*. Royal Geographical Society (with The Institute of British Geographers) 2003.
- Simutanyi, N. 2008. Copper Mining in Zambia: The Developmental Legacy of Privatization. ISS Paper 165 – July 2008.
- Singh, S. 2007. Deconstructing ‘Gender and Development’ for ‘Identities of Women’. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16: 100-109.
- Smith, T. 1979. The Underdevelopment of Development Literature: The Case of Dependency Theory. *World Politics*, 31(2): 247-288.
- Sovacool, B.K. 2010. The Political Economy of Oil and Gas in Southeast Asia: Heading towards the Natural Resource Curse? *Pacific Review*, 23(2): 225-259.
- Spilsbury, L. 2012. Can Michael Sata Tame the Dragon and Channel Chinese Investment towards Development for Zambians? *Journal of Politics & International Studies*, 8: 238-278.
- Standing, A. and Hilson, G. 2013. Distributing mining wealth to communities in Ghana: Addressing problems of elite capture and political corruption. U4 Issue May 2013 No 5 www.U4.no
- Straits, B.C and Singleton jr., R.A. 2011. *Social Research: Approaches and Fundamentals*. International fifth edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Tipps, C.D. 1973. Modernisation Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 15(2): 199-226.
- Todaro, M. 2000. *Economic Development*, New York: Addison-Wesley Longman.
- Tripathy, J. 2010. How Gendered is Gender and Development? Culture, Masculinity, and Gender Difference. *Development in Practice*, 20(1): 113-121.
- Udry, J.R. 2000. Biological Limits of Gender Construction. *American Sociological Review*, 65(3): 443-457.
- Unger, K.R. and Crawford, M. 1993. Commentary: Sex and Gender: The Troubled Relationship between Terms and Concepts. *Psychological Science*, 4(2): 122-124.
- Van Alstine, J. and Afionis, S. 2012. The Challenge of Resource-Led Development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt'. Sustainability Research Institute (SRI), School of Earth and Environment, The University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT.
- Walby, S. 1996. Key Concepts in Feminist Theory. *FREIA Paper 33*.
- Wallerstein, I. 1974. Dependence in an Interdependent World: The Limited Possibilities of Transformation within the Capitalist World Economy. *African Studies Review*, 17(1): 1-26.
- Weitzner, V. 2002. Cutting Edge Policies on Indigenous Peoples and Mining: Key Lessons for the World Summit and Beyond, Ottawa: Canada, North-South Institute.
- Welzel, C., Inglehart, R. and Klingemann, H. 2003. The Theory of Human Development: A Cross-cultural Analysis. *European Journal of Political Research*, 42: 341-379.
- Werner, K. 2016. Zambia: Governance and Natural Resources. *Revue Gouvernance*, 13(2): 32-52.
- Wharton, S.A. 2012. *The sociology of gender: An introduction to theory and research*. Second edition. UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Whiteman, G. and Mamen, K. 2002. Meaningful Consultation and Participation in the Mining Sector? A Review of the Consultation and Participation of Indigenous Peoples within the International Mining Sector. ISBN 1-896770-46-0 www.nsi-ins.ca

- Zambia Mining Magazine. 2014a. Jinchuan Group Resources Buys off Munali Nickel Mine in Zambia. January 17, 2014. <http://www.miningnewszambia.com/jinchuan-group-resources-buys-off-munali-nickel-mine-in-zambia/> accessed on 29/11/2016 13:56 p.m.
- Zambia Mining Magazine. 2014b. Can Zambia Rescue its Nickel ambitions? Volume 9 Issue 56 May/June 2014.
- Zhao, S. 2014. A Neo-Colonialist Predator or Development Partner? China's Engagement and Rebalance in Africa. *Journal of Contemporary China*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: List of Interviewees

Pseudonym	Date of Interview
1. Kamalenge	27 January 2015
2. Kuyumba	06 March 2015
3. Penso	06 March 2015
4. Safi	06 March 2015
5. Kandumba	06 March 2015
6. Mwamfuli	06 March 2015
7. Kawambwa	13 March 2015
8. Munkupa	30 March 2015
9. Kalembelo	31 March 2015
10. Nakapekele	08 May 2015
11. Kashimba	08 May 2015
12. Kabangila	09 May 2015
13. Chishala	09 May 2015
14. Mwila	09 May 2015
15. Katanga	10 May 2015
16. Kabundafyela	10 May 2015
17. Zungu	10 May 2015
18. Kalubwa	10 May 2015
19. Mwense	10 May 2015
20. Mwamba	10 May 2015
21. Kabanga	10 May 2015
22. Dwina	21 May 2015
23. Malalaki	22 May 2015
24. Yape	22 May 2015
25. Meleki	29 May 2015

APPENDIX 2: Interview Schedules

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ONE – RESIDENTS

1. Background Information

- How old are you?
- Are you married?
- Do you have children?
- How many are you in your family (household)?
- How long have you been living in the area?

2. Historical context

- How would you describe life before the opening of the mine?
- What were your daily activities?
- Did males and females have the same activities?
- If not, why and how did these differ?
- How were the conditions of education?
- Did males and females have equal access to schools?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- How were health services?
- Did males and females have equal access to health services?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- What were your sources of income?
- Did males and females have the same sources of income?
- If not, why and how were the sources different?
- Who had more and better sources?

3. The contribution of the mines to the socio-economic wellbeing of the local people

- Have you seen any change brought by the mine in the area?
- Have people's lives changed as a result of the mine?
- Do males and females experience the same life changes?
- Has your life changed because of the mine?

4. Economic opportunities brought by mining investments on the local people

- Have you seen any benefits that the mine has brought in the area?

- If there are benefits, what kind of benefits?
- Do males and females have these benefits in the same way?
- If not, how and why do they differ?
- Who have more benefits?

5. Economic challenges brought by mining investments on the local people

- Have you seen any problems that the mine has brought in the area?
- If there are problems, what kind of problems?
- Do males and females have these problems in the same way?
- If not, how and why do they differ?
- Who have more problems?

6. Implications of mining on welfare

- Have you seen changes in government help from the time the mines starting operating?
- If so, what kind of changes?
- Are these changes because of the mine?
- Do males and females have the same help?
- If not, why and how does this help differ?
- Who receives more help?

7. Implications of mining investments on education

- Does the mine make any contributions to education?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in education services?
- If so, what kind of changes?

8. Implications of mining investments on health

- Does the mine make any contributions to health (clinics/hospitals)?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in health services provision?

- If so, what kind of changes?

9. Implications of displacement and resettlement

- How has been life after being shifted by the mine?
- Have you had any problems?
- If so, what kind of problems?
- Do males and females have same problems because of the shifting?
- If not, how do these problems differ?
- How do you solve these problems?
- Has shifting brought any benefits?
- If so, what kind of benefits?
- Do males and females have same benefits?
- If not, how do these benefits differ?

End of interview... Thank you very much for your participation...!!!

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TWO – KEY INFORMANTS (RESEARCH CONSULTANTS)

1. Historical context

- Tell me about the past socio-economic situation of the area before opening the mine
- How would you describe life before the opening of the mine?
- What were the daily activities of the residents?
- Did males and females have the same activities?
- If not, why and how did these differ?
- How were the conditions of education?
- Did males and females have equal access to schools?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- How were health services?
- Did males and females have equal access to health services?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- What were people's sources of income?
- Did males and females have the same sources of income?
- If not, why and how were the sources different?
- Who had more and better sources and why?

2. The contribution of the mines to the socio-economic wellbeing of the local people
 - Has the mine brought any socio-economic change brought in the area?
 - Have people's lives changed as a result of the mine?
 - Do males and females experience the same life changes?
 - Have people's lives changed because of the mine?
 - If so, how has it changed?
3. Economic opportunities brought by mining investments on the local people
 - Has the mine created economic opportunities in the area?
 - If there are opportunities, what kind?
 - Do males and females access these opportunities in the same way?
 - If not, how and why do they differ?
 - Who have more opportunities and why?
4. Economic challenges brought by mining investments on the local people
 - Are there any economic challenges that the mine has brought in the area?
 - If there are challenges, what kind of challenges?
 - Do males and females experience these challenges in the same way?
 - If not, how and why do they differ?
 - Who have more challenges and why?
5. Implications of mining on welfare
 - Does the mine provide welfare services in the area?
 - If so, what kind of welfare?
 - Do males and females have the same welfare services?
 - If not, why and how do these services differ?
 - Who receive more welfare services and why?
6. Implications of mining investments on education
 - Does the mine make any contributions to education?
 - If so, what kind of contributions?
 - Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
 - If not, why and do the benefits differ?
 - Who benefit more from these contributions?
 - Have these contributions brought any changes in education services?
 - If so, what kind of changes?
7. Implications of mining investments on health

- Does the mine make any contributions to health (clinics/hospitals)?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in health services provision?
- If so, what kind of changes?

8. Displacement and resettlement process

- How would you describe the resettlement process?
- Who were the main actors in the resettlement process and why?
- Were the affected involved in planning the resettlement process?
- If so, how were they involved? If not, why not?
- Did the affected volunteer to resettle?
- What were the considerations for resettlement?
- Was people's socio-economic development a factor in the resettlement process?
- If so, how was this considered? If not, why?

9. Implications of displacement and resettlement

- How would you describe life for the affected after displacement and resettlement?
- Have they experienced any challenges as a result of resettlement?
- If so, what kind of challenges?
- Do males and females experience the same challenges?
- If not, how do these challenges differ?
- Who experience more challenges?
- How do they solve these challenges?
- Has resettlement brought any benefits?
- If so, what kind of benefits?
- Do males and females have same benefits?
- If not, how do these benefits differ and why?
- Who have more benefits?

End of interview... Thank you very much for your participation...!!!

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TWO – KEY INFORMANTS (MINE REPRESENTATIVES)

1. Historical context

- Tell me about the past socio-economic situation of the area before opening the mine
- How would you describe life before the opening of the mine?
- What were the daily activities of the residents?
- Did males and females have the same activities?
- If not, why and how did these differ?
- How were the conditions of education?
- Did males and females have equal access to schools?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- How were health services?
- Did males and females have equal access to health services?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- What were people's sources of income?
- Did males and females have the same sources of income?
- If not, why and how were the sources different?
- Who had more and better sources and why?

2. The contribution of the mines to the socio-economic wellbeing of the local people

- Has the mine brought any socio-economic change brought in the area?
- Have people's lives changed as a result of the mine?
- Do males and females experience the same life changes?
- Have people's lives changed because of the mine?
- If so, how has it changed?

3. Economic opportunities brought by mining investments on the local people

- Has the mine created any economic opportunities in the area?
- If there are opportunities, what kind?
- Do males and females access these opportunities in the same way?
- If not, how and why do they differ?
- Who have more opportunities and why?

4. Economic challenges brought by mining investments on the local people

- Are there any economic challenges that the mine has brought in the area?
- If there are challenges, what kind of challenges?
- Do males and females experience these challenges in the same way?
- If not, how and why do they differ?
- Who have more challenges and why?

5. Implications of mining on welfare

- Does the mine provide welfare services in the area?
- If so, what kind of welfare?
- Do males and females have the same welfare services?
- If not, why and how do these services differ?
- Who receive more welfare services and why?

6. Implications of mining investments on education

- Does the mine make any contributions to education?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in education services?
- If so, what kind of changes?

7. Implications of mining investments on health

- Does the mine make any contributions to health (clinics/hospitals)?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in health services provision?
- If so, what kind of changes?

8. Displacement and resettlement process

- How would you describe the resettlement process?
- Who were the main actors in the resettlement process and why?
- Were the affected involved in planning the resettlement process?
- If so, how were they involved? If not, why not?
- Did the affected volunteer to resettle?

- What were the considerations for resettlement?
- Was people's socio-economic development a factor in the resettlement process?
- If so, how was this considered? If not, why?

9. Implications of displacement and resettlement

- How would you describe life for the affected after displacement and resettlement?
- Have they experienced any challenges as a result of resettlement?
- If so, what kind of challenges?
- Do males and females experience the same challenges?
- If not, how do these challenges differ?
- Who experience more challenges?
- How do they solve these challenges?
- Has resettlement brought any benefits?
- If so, what kind of benefits?
- Do males and females have same benefits?
- If not, how do these benefits differ and why?
- Who have more benefits?

End of interview... Thank you very much for your participation...!!!

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – KEY INFORMANTS HEALTH ADMINISTRATORS

1. Historical context

- Tell me about the health situation of the area before opening the mine
- How would you describe health life before the opening of the mine?
- How were health services?
- Did males and females have equal access to health services?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access and why?

2. Implications of mining investments on health

- How would you describe the health status of the community currently?
- Does the mine make any contributions to health (clinics/hospitals)?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?

- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in health services provision?
- If so, what kind of changes?
- Are there any health problems as a result of mining?
- If so, what kind of problems and why?
- Do males and females experience these challenges in the same way?
- If not, why and how do these differ?
- Who experiences more challenges and why?
- Have there been any measures put to prevent and solve these problems?
- If so, what kind of measures?
- If not, why?

End of interview... Thank you very much for your participation...!!!

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FIVE – KEY INFORMANTS (EDUCATION ADMINISTRATORS)

1. Historical context

- Tell me about the past education situation of the area before opening the mine
- How would you describe education life in the past?
- How were the conditions of education?
- Did males and females have equal access to schools?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access and why?

2. Implications of mining investments on education

- Has education provision changed in any way with the establishment of the mine?
- Does the mine make any contributions to education?
- If so, what kind of contributions?
- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in education services?
- If so, how and what kind of changes?
- Are there any education challenges caused by the mines?

- If so, what kind of challenges?
- Do males and females experience these challenges in the same way?
- If not, why and how do they differ?
- Who experience more challenges and why?
- Are there any measures put to prevent and solve these problems?
- If so, what measures are there?
- If not, why not?

End of interview... Thank you very much for your participation...!!!

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE SIX – KEY INFORMANTS (LOCAL COMMITTEES’ REPRESENTATIVES)

1. Historical context

- Tell me about the past socio-economic situation of the area before opening the mine
- How would you describe life before the opening of the mine?
- What were the daily activities of the residents?
- Did males and females have the same activities?
- If not, why and how did these differ?
- How were the conditions of education?
- Did males and females have equal access to schools?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- How were health services?
- Did males and females have equal access to health services?
- If not, why was this case?
- Who had more access?
- What were people’s sources of income?
- Did males and females have the same sources of income?
- If not, why and how were the sources different?
- Who had more and better sources and why?

2. The contribution of the mines to the socio-economic wellbeing of the local people

- Has the mine brought any socio-economic change brought in the area?
- Have people’s lives changed as a result of the mine?
- Do males and females experience the same life changes?
- Have people’s lives changed because of the mine?

- If so, how has it changed?
3. Economic opportunities brought by mining investments on the local people
 - Has the mine created economic opportunities in the area?
 - If there are opportunities, what kind?
 - Do males and females access these opportunities in the same way?
 - If not, how and why do they differ?
 - Who have more opportunities and why?
 4. Economic challenges brought by mining investments on the local people
 - Are there any economic challenges that the mine has brought in the area?
 - If there are challenges, what kind of challenges?
 - Do males and females experience these challenges in the same way?
 - If not, how and why do they differ?
 - Who have more challenges and why?
 5. Implications of mining on welfare
 - Does government provide welfare services in the area?
 - If so, what kind of welfare?
 - Has this changed from the time the mine was established?
 - If so, what kind of change has been there?
 - Are these changes because of the mine?
 - Do males and females have the same welfare services?
 - If not, why and how do these services differ?
 - Who receive more welfare services and why?
 6. Implications of mining investments on education
 - Does the mine make any contributions to education?
 - If so, what kind of contributions?
 - Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
 - If not, why and do the benefits differ?
 - Who benefit more from these contributions?
 - Have these contributions brought any changes in education services?
 - If so, what kind of changes?
 7. Implications of mining investments on health
 - Does the mine make any contributions to health (clinics/hospitals)?
 - If so, what kind of contributions?

- Do females and males benefit equally from these contributions?
- If not, why and do the benefits differ?
- Who benefit more from these contributions?
- Have these contributions brought any changes in health services provision?
- If so, what kind of changes?

8. Displacement and resettlement process

- How would you describe the resettlement process?
- Who were the main actors in the resettlement process and why?
- Were the affected involved in planning the resettlement process?
- If so, how were they involved? If not, why not?
- Did the affected volunteer to resettle?
- What were the considerations for resettlement?
- Was people's socio-economic development a factor in the resettlement process?
- If so, how was this considered? If not, why?

9. Implications of displacement and resettlement

- How would you describe life for the affected after displacement and resettlement?
- Have they experienced any challenges as a result of resettlement?
- If so, what kind of challenges?
- Do males and females experience the same challenges?
- If not, how do these challenges differ?
- Who experience more challenges?
- How do they solve these challenges?
- Has resettlement brought any benefits?
- If so, what kind of benefits?
- Do males and females have same benefits?
- If not, how do these benefits differ and why?
- Who have more benefits?

End of interview... Thank you very much for your participation...!!!

APPENDIX 3: Informed Consent Letter

Informed Consent Form

Consent Form for Participation of Human Subjects in Research

Project Tentative Title: How does Mining Contribute to the Socio-economic Development of Local Communities: A Case Study of Gender and Development in Munali, Mazabuka, Zambia.

Researcher: Mwape Mungu (Mr.)

Supervisor: Debby Bonnin (Prof.)

Description:

This study is a requirement for obtaining a Masters degree in Gender studies at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. The main objective of the study is to provide a understanding of the contribution of the mines to the socio-economic development of the local people. In addition, the study also seeks to explore the challenges and opportunities brought by mining investments as regards economic wellbeing of the local people. The study will also consider understanding how the establishment of the mine in the area affects the provision of education, health and government help. With the mining causing displacement and resettlement the study will also explore the life changes of the people who have been shifted in the area. The study will also understand how these issues affect men and women.

I am pleased to let you know that participation in the study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Your participation will not lead to any direct benefits but will contribute to knowledge on the topic. Some of the issues might be difficult for to discuss. In this regard, you are free to skip the issues and only discuss what you are comfortable with. In case you feel you need time to think through certain issues, you are free to let me know. In this case, a later date may be set for the interview. The interview will be audio recorded in order to accurately record your views on the topic. However, if for any reason you feel you do not want the interview to be audio recorded, you are free to let me know. In this case, I will record the interview in written form.

I would like to assure you that all your details as well responses during the interview will be kept confidential and present no risk or harm to you or your family. The information will only be used for this study and may be used for my future research. Nobody other than the researcher and supervisor will be allowed to discuss them. While the results will be published, no names or addresses will be revealed. The information will be kept under lock and key and stored securely.

I would like to let you know the recordings will be transcribed and the research findings will be analysed and written as an academic research report (Dissertation) which may be used for future research. The dissertation will be submitted to the Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria for examination purposes. If you would like access to it, I will make it available.

If you have any questions or concerns as regards the study, kindly contact me on Cell: +27(0)604042306, Email: mungumwape@yahoo.com or contact my supervisor Prof. Debby Bonnin on Tel: +27(0)124202624, Email: Debby.Bonnin@up.ac.za Head of Department, Sociology Department, University of Pretoria, Hatfield, South Africa.

I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter. If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

Yours Sincerely,

Mwape Mungu (Mr.).

DECLARATION

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in this research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded.

.....

Signature of participant

.....

Date

.....

Name of Participant

APPENDIX 4: Conditional Ethical Clearance from the University of Pretoria



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

3 November 2014

Dear Prof Bonnin

Project: How does mining contribute to the socio-economic development of local communities: a case study of gender and development in Munali, Mazabuka, Zambia
Researcher: M Mungu
Supervisor: Prof D Bonnin
Department: Sociology
Reference: 14451876

Thank you for the application that was submitted electronically for ethical consideration.

I am pleased inform you that the above application was **approved** by the **Research Ethics Committee** on 30 October 2014, pending permission from the following:

- Written permission is outstanding from the Zambian authorities to conduct the research as well as analyse private documentation.

Please note that data collection may not commence prior to the proof of written permission and final approval by this Committee. To facilitate the administrative process, please respond to Ms Tracey Andrew at tracey.andrew@up.ac.za or Room HB 7-27, at your earliest possible convenience.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'KH' followed by a flourish.

Prof. Karen Harris
Acting Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: karen.harris@up.ac.za

Research Ethics Committee Members: Dr L Blokland; Prof M-H Coetzee; Dr JEH Grobler; Prof KL Harris (Acting Chair); Ms H Klopper; Dr C Panebianco-Warrens; Dr C Puttergill; Prof GM Spies; Dr Y Spies; Prof E Taljard; Dr P Wood

Appendix 5: Introductory Letter



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Departement Sosiologie/Department of Sociology
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe/Faculty of Humanities

29 October 2014

To whom it may concern

This letter serves to confirm that Mr Mwape Mungu student number 14451876 is a full time student currently doing his Masters in Gender Studies with the Department of Sociology in 2014.

Prof Debby Bonnin
Professor of Sociology
Human Sciences Building, 19 – 14.1
University of Pretoria
PRETORIA 0002
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 420-2624
debby.bonnin@up.ac.za

Geesteswetenskappe/Humanities 19-14
Universiteit van Pretoria/University of Pretoria
PRETORIA 0002
Republiek van Suid-Afrika/Republic of South Africa

Tel: Number : +27 12 420-2330
Fax: Number : +27 12 420-2873
www.up.ac.za

APPENDIX 6: Ethical Clearance from the University of Zambia



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES
Telephone: 260-211-280258/293937 P O BOX 32379
Telefax: 260-211-280258/293937 LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
E-mail: drgs@unza.zm
IRB 00006464
IORG: 000376

24th November 2014

Mr. Mwape Mungu
Gender Studies Department
University of Zambia
LUSAKA

Dear Mr. Mungu

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL OF STUDY

Reference is made to your application for ethical approval for your study entitled "*How does mining contribute to the socio-economic development of local communities: A case study of Gender and Development in Munali, Mazabuka*".

As your research does not contain any ethical concerns, you are hereby given an exemption from full ethical clearance to proceed with your research.

ACTION:	APPROVED
DECISION DATE:	20th November 2014
EXPIRATION DATE:	19th November 2015

Please note that you must also obtain written authority from the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health before conducting your research. The address for Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, Ndeke House, P O Box 30205, Lusaka: Tel+260-211-253040/5 Fax: +260-211-253344.

Finally, please also note that you are expected to submit to the Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies a Progress Report and a copy of the full report on completion of the project.



Dr. Augustus Kapungwe
CHAIRPERSON, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Cc Director, Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Assistant Director, Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Assistant Registrar (Research), Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies

APPENDIX 7: Written Permission from Ministry of Health, Zambia

All Correspondence should be addressed to the
Permanent Secretary
Telephone: +260 211 253040/5
Fax: +260 211 253344

In reply please quote:
MH/101/17/6
No.....


REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
MINISTRY OF HEALTH

NDEKE HOUSE
P. O. BOX 30205
LUSAKA

28th November, 2014

Mwape Mungu
The University of Zambia
Gender Studies Department
P.O. Box 32379
LUSAKA.

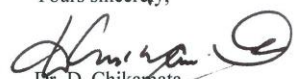
Dear Mr. Mungu,

Re: Request for Authority to Conduct Research

The Ministry of Health is in receipt of your request for authority to conduct a “**How does Mining Contribute to the Socio-economic Development of Local Communities: A Case Study of Gender and Development in Munali, Mazabuka, Zambia.**”. I wish to inform you that following submission of your request to my Ministry, our review of the same and in view of the ethical clearance, my Ministry has granted you authority to carry out the above mentioned exercise on condition that:

1. The relevant Provincial and District Directors of Health where the study is being conducted are fully appraised;
2. Progress updates are provided to MoH quarterly from the date of commencement of the study;
3. The final study report is cleared by the MoH before any publication or dissemination within or outside the country;
4. After clearance for publication or dissemination by the MoH, the final study report is shared with all relevant Provincial and District Directors of Health where the study was being conducted, and all key respondents.

Yours sincerely,


Dr. D. Chikamata
Permanent Secretary
MINISTRY OF HEALTH
Cc: District Medical Officer

APPENDIX 8: Ethical Clearance from the University of Pretoria



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

21 January 2015

Dear Prof Bonnin

Project: How does mining contribute to the socio-economic development of local communities: a case study of gender and development in Munali, Mazabuka, Zambia
Researcher: M Mungu
Supervisor: Prof D Bonnin
Department: Sociology
Reference number: 14451876 (2014-00001-GW-HS)

Thank you for the response to the Committee's correspondence of 11 November 2014.

I have pleasure in informing you that the Research Ethics Committee formally **approved** the above study at an *ad hoc* meeting held on 20 January 2015. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should your actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

The Committee requests you to convey this approval to the researcher.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'KH'.

Prof. Karen Harris
Acting Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: karen.harris@up.ac.za

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof KL Harris(Acting Chair); Dr L Blokland; Prof M-H Coetzee; Dr JEH Grobler; Prof B Hogmeyer; Ms H Klopper; Dr C Panebianco-Warrens; Dr C Puttergill; Prof GM Spies; Dr Y Spies; Prof E Taljard; Dr P Wood