

Integrating Gender, Health, Mining, and Governance in Zambia and Canada

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Increasingly, mining companies have begun to develop new projects in low- and middle-income countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Optimism for development potential is often initially high given assessment of the advantages for host countries. This assessment may change when the adverse costs of mining are experienced by proximate communities. Though long under-researched, studies have begun to demonstrate that women, in particular, experience an adverse bias in the distribution of mining risks even as they reap few of the benefits. These impacts have affected women's health and wellbeing. Framed in the language of gender equality and women's empowerment, recent global mining governance efforts have adopted the perspective that it is 'smart economics' to invest in women's economic empowerment. They do this work in hopes of reducing women's poverty – and to achieve more effective and efficient corporate development outcomes. Under this approach, too many women are being left behind.

This thesis employed a framework that integrated critical international political economy, the political economy of health, feminist theory, and intersectionality to explore political, economic, and social contexts—from global to local perspectives—that affected women's lived experiences in Solwezi, Zambia. Connections were made to the ways in which mining development and governance practices influenced women's health and wellbeing.

This research study centred on three broad objectives:

1. To understand how Zambia and Canada have grappled with the governance imperatives of gender equality and women's empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community.
2. To explain how various development actors positioned women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context, and to understand, given the various intersections which women hold, what impact this has had on women's opportunities and outcomes, health and wellbeing, and what this has meant to their conceptions of self as 'empowered' women.

3. To identify the experiences of female sex workers in Solwezi as a window into the experiences of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative.

The data for this study emerged from a multi-sited ethnographic research project set in Northwestern Province, Zambia and in Ontario, Canada, between June 2018, and June 2019. Individual and group interviews, focus groups, and observations were conducted in Zambia during an eight-month period between June and November, 2018 and April to June, 2019. The Canadian data were collected in March of 2019 and 2020. In total, I conducted 94 formal interviews and additional multiple formal and informal interviews with nine key informants. Interview participants included: mine workers, Zambian and Canadian NGO officers, business owners, health officials, Zambian and Canadian government representatives, mining company "Community Social Responsibility (CSR)" representatives from Canada and Zambia, municipal workers, traditional leaders, members of the Council of Elders, and women and men who live and work in Solwezi. I conducted three focus groups with teachers, 'village bankers' (a local microlending program), and 'marketeters' (women who sell goods at a local market). I attended the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada's annual convention in 2019 and 2020, and in 2019 I attended the Provincial Alternative Mining Convention for Northwestern Province and the Zambian Alternative Mining Convention in Lusaka, Zambia. The ethnographic nature of my work allowed me to spend extended time getting to know people and practices across Solwezi. In particular, I was able to observe the way mining development influenced political, economic, and social existences from global and local perspectives, and to witness the ways in which it may perpetuate experiences of privilege and oppression across multiple intersections that constitute women's experiences.

Findings from the research indicated that the solutions proposed by the mining sector have adhered to a neoliberal approach to women's empowerment that instrumentalized gender in a manner commonly employed by international financial institutions. Under these practices, women's social empowerment and gender equality has been conflated with women's economic empowerment – a means by which to move women into the market economy. Microloan has been theorized as a way for women to increase their economic position. As Zambia has attempted to overcome the impacts of structural adjustment policies

and indebtedness to financial institutions and foreign nations—political economic processes that weaken the local economy and state support of social and health resources—women have been left to themselves to seek the best opportunities they could to support themselves and their families. For some women who were educated, financially secure, and attached to strong social networks, these entrepreneurial endeavours may have proved lucrative. For those who did not have access to these supports, this led to selling vegetables at the local market for meagre returns, and for others it meant turning to sex work. Under this current development paradigm, women's experiences of social inequality manifested as impacts to their health and wellbeing, ranging from malnutrition, to mental health challenges, to violence, to HIV. These patterns of health and illness have mirrored patterns of privilege and marginalization, transmitted through the determinants of health. Despite all these challenges, all the women I met were fighting to make the most of their circumstances.

This research makes theoretical, methodological, and substantive contributions. The political economy of health approach demonstrates the uptake of the neoliberalization of feminism in the realm of mining development, and the limits of the entrepreneurial model. Methodologically, the adoption of the intersectionality offers insight into the way mining development and associated opportunities and barriers affect women differently, resulting in deepening social differentiation between sub-groups of women. Substantively, this study responds to the call for research that specifically focuses on the impacts of mining on women, and their experiences in relation to the mining industry. The findings offer insights into the limitations of the governance approach currently employed locally through mining corporate social responsibility initiatives by revealing the ways they leave many behind. Current company efforts to empower women have demonstrated the limits of the neoliberal governance approach as it fails to address the root causes of poverty and inequality. Instead, the aims of gender equality and women's empowerment have been co-opted under the current agenda. This agenda is resulting in deepening divisions between groups of women. Too many women have been left to fend for themselves under worsening conditions. The women in the mining town of Solwezi have consequently experienced challenges to their health status and wellbeing. Structural change is needed.

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List of Abbreviations

CCGHR – Canadian Coalition for Global Health Research

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

FIAP – Feminist International Assistance Policy

FQM – First Quantum Minerals Ltd.

GAC – Government of Canada

HIC – High-Income Country

HIV/AIDS – Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

IFI – International Financial Institutions

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IPE – International Political Economy

LMIC – Low- and Middle-Income Countries

MDG – Millenium Development Goals

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

PDAC – Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada

PEH – Political Economy of Health

SAP – Structural Adjustment Policies

“Mining companies [...] depend for their license to operate in Africa on the ideological hegemony of modernization, on the claim that they will promote growth with equity, development with justice, and sustainability with employment and the provision of a long-term alternative to the resources they deplete and the environmental chaos they create. The dominance of this account, and the seemingly unassailable hegemony of corporate power can be linked to the transition to neoliberalism beginning in the early 1970s.”

Ray Bush (2010, p. 238)
in *Zambia, Mining, and Neoliberalism*

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

Global demand for minerals has continued to rise, and with it new mining projects have driven the development agenda with the promise of wealth (Auty, 2002; Hilson, 2012; Nzeadibe et al., 2015). Increasingly, these endeavours have begun to move to new markets in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) in Latin America, Africa and Asia (ICMM, 2012). Though there is often initial positive assessment of the benefits for LMICs, the costs of mining have been widely felt. Fundamentally transforming landscapes, societies and culture, mining development has been implicated in community concerns over livelihood security, the distribution of benefits, social cohesion, human rights violations, health impacts, and environmental degradation (Bebbington, Hinojosa, Bebbington, Burneo, & Warnaars, 2008; Bradshaw, Linneker, & Overton, 2017; Gerritsen & MacIntyre, 1991; Hilson, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Kirsch, 2014; Mactaggart, McDermott, Tynan, & Whittaker, 2016; Negi, 2014; Nzeadibe et al., 2015; Zarsky & Stanley, 2013).

A region experiencing large-scale mining development will undergo many transformations. One of these has been a clear gender bias in the unequal distribution of risks and benefits experienced by women in the mining context (Gerritsen & MacIntyre, 1991; Gibson & Kemp, 2008; K. Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006; Moretti, 2006). These effects remain understudied (Jenkins, 2014). Women may be more exposed to toxic mine tailings that leach through the soil if they farm (Bech et al., 1997; Ngole-Jeme & Fantke, 2017). Alternatively, as regions de-agrarianize in the wake of mine developments, women's traditional roles within subsistence communities have been transformed. Women have been directed into marginalized forms of labour in the service sector (Bhanumathi, 2002; Kotsadam & Tolonen, 2016). Those who have found work in mining settings have often been paid less. Economic inequities may cause women to increase their dependence on men employed in the sector (Kotsadam & Tolonen, 2016; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2011, p. 8; K. Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006; Scheyvens & Lagisa, 1998).

The effect of mining development on gender dynamics has been profound. “Unequal power relations between men and women are reinforced and accentuated [...] establishing a ‘new social order’ in the areas of their operation” (Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2011, p. 8). Health and human rights effects experienced by women in mined regions include increasing economic inequality, social isolation, risk of physical and mental health impacts, and sexual violence (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Cane, Terbish, & Bymbasuren, 2014; Caxaj, Berman, Varcoe, Ray, & Restoulec, 2014; Chatiza et al., 2015; Jenkins, 2014; Mactaggart et al., 2016; Nightingale, Czyzewski, Tester, & Aaruaq, 2017; UNECA, 2011). Women’s social standing in the community has also been affected. In some communities women have found their ability to participate in decision-making diminished (Horowitz, 2017; Scheyvens & Lagisa, 1998). Though not all mining communities are so precarious, in many contexts the introduction of mining and money have transformed a community into a place “where money, alcohol and sex flow freely” (Jenkins, 2014, p. 335). In these places, women were more likely to be treated with suspicion, under the belief they go to mining regions to engage in sexual relationships with mine workers (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Negi, 2014; Werthmann, 2009). Women have faced a growing risk of sexual violence, exploitation, and harassment, as well as HIV and other infections (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2014; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2011). In some contexts, this social transformation has resulted in the further stigmatization of women while entrenching privilege experienced by men (Jenkins, 2014; Negi, 2014; Werthmann, 2009). For some women, these disadvantages have been exacerbated by their social and cultural positions (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Horowitz, 2017; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2011).

Too often, considerations of gender have been ignored in governance efforts. The “mining industry does not have a clear strategy for engaging gender, despite it being a central focus in development debates” (J. Keenan, Kemp, & Ramsay, 2016, p. 609). When gender was considered, women were often essentialized, depicted as fragile or vulnerable, rather than as capable workers (Eftimie, Heller, & Strongman, 2009). In research and policy this has meant women, and their diverse experiences and perspectives, have been largely neglected. Women are yet to be seen “as legitimate social, economic and political actors in this important economic space” (K. Lahiri-Dutt, 2012, p. 194).

Though slower to address gender challenges, the inequitable allocation of the risks,

impacts, and benefits widely associated with mining development have led to efforts to improve outcomes and mitigate impacts (B. Campbell, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Kemp, Owen, Gotzmann, & Bond, 2011; Seck, 2011). Following a legitimacy crisis in the 1990s, the mining sector began to acknowledge the disruptive nature of the industry. In response to changing environmental and social expectations, it has worked to transform industrial and policy practices by applying sustainable development perspectives to mining governance (Alam, Atapattu, Gonzalez, & Razzaque, 2015; Brundtland, 1987; B. Campbell, 2012; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Dashwood, 2012; Elbra, 2017; International Institute of Environment and Development, 2002; Porter, 2011). International organizations and private actors responded with mechanisms ranging from global standard setting (EITI, n.d.; Elbra, 2017; ICMM, 2012; IGF, 2013), to the creation of their own legal and policy frameworks to optimize socioeconomic benefits and strengthen environmental management (Equator Principles, 2016; IFC, 2012). In Africa, states endeavoured to design robust legal and fiscal frameworks (B. Campbell, 2012; Elbra, 2017; UNECA, 2011).

Framed in the language of gender equality and women's empowerment acquired from the Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women, many of the global governance reports have taken the position that it is smart economic practice to invest in women for their own economic empowerment – and for more effective and efficient development outcomes (Bergeron, 2003; Chant, 2012; Hickel, 2014; Power, 2020; Prügl, 2017; B. Roberts, 1996). In 2009, the World Bank began releasing reports on gender specifically as it related to mining development. The reports described the ways in which women could be better supported in the processes and opportunities that arise from industry development (Eftimie et al., 2009; IFC, 2018; Parks, Orozco, & Catalina, 2018; World Bank, 2015a; World Bank Group, 2013).

Over time, associated mining industry actors have also begun to increase their consideration of the experiences of women who reside in mining-impacted communities. They have released “best practice” documents that promote consideration of gender through the inclusion of women in community consultations and through government regulatory processes, such as the uptake of gender impact assessments (ICMM, 2020; IFC, 2017; IGF, 2021; PDAC, 2020). Mining companies have also begun to introduce an assemblage of

practices that consider the gendered impacts of mining under the umbrella of corporate social responsibility (CSR) (Butler, 2017; J. Keenan et al., 2016; Mahy, 2011a; Pimpa & Moore, 2018). The impacts and benefits of the policies and practices largely remain unknown. This multi-sited ethnographic research project set in Northwestern Province, Zambia and in Ontario, Canada enquires into these effects and associated experiences.

This research study centres on three broad objectives:

1. To understand how Zambia and Canada are grappling with the governance imperative of gender equality and women's empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community.
2. To explain how various development actors position women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context and to understand what impact this has on women's opportunities and outcomes, what this has meant for their health and wellbeing, and what this has meant to their conceptions of self as 'empowered' women, given the intersections at which they are variously positioned.
3. To identify the experiences of female sex workers in Solwezi as a window into the experiences of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative.

1.2 A Review of the Literature

1.2.1 The Cost of Mining

With the 'green' transition, global demand for minerals has been predicted to experience significant growth over the coming decades (World Bank Group, 2017). It is anticipated that this demand will drive new mining projects and the development agenda by promising wealth (Auty, 2002; Hilson, 2012; Nzeadibe et al., 2015). Though optimism for development potential is often initially high, the positive assessment dissipates as the costs of the project are experienced. Mining development is implicated in political, economic, environmental, social, and cultural degradation and disruption (Bebbington, Hinojosa, et al., 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2017; Gerritsen & MacIntyre, 1991; Hilson, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Kirsch, 2014; Mactaggart et al., 2016; Negi, 2014; Nzeadibe et al., 2015; Zarsky & Stanley, 2013). In mined communities, women often experience a gender bias in the distribution of these risks

(Gerritsen & MacIntyre, 1991; Gibson & Kemp, 2008; K. Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006; Moretti, 2006).

Governance efforts to improve outcomes have been undertaken; however, the inequitable allocation of the risks, impacts, and benefits associated with mining development make for a complex governance challenge (B. Campbell, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Kemp et al., 2011). These inequities exist across multiple scales – within the community, between the community and the state, between home state and host state, and between states and transnational corporations (Besada & Martin, 2015; B. Campbell, 2003). They are amplified in spaces where “governments face challenges in breaking from colonial patterns of resource management and governance, which largely deprived the vast majority of the population lasting benefits from these resources” (Mwitwa, German, Muimba-Kankolongo, & Puntodewo, 2012, p. 20). As a consequence, governance efforts have continued to face challenges in meeting their objectives.

1.2.2 Transformations in Global Governance Paradigms

Mining development’s social and environmental impacts and efforts to mitigate these effects have taken place within the context of a broader conversation of changing global governance paradigms within the broader political economy (Besada & Martin, 2015; B. Campbell, 2003). Beginning in the 1980s, market liberalization took hold of global economic activity. State power was supplanted and neoliberal practices of deregulation, reductions to government spending, market expansion and privatization were institutionalized, intensifying transnational economic activity (Banerjee, 2008; Besada & Martin, 2015; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Navarro, 2009; Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015). Simultaneously, associated policies were written that minimized the function of civil society organizations, opening up opportunities for corporate actors to exert control over development agendas (Blunt, 2014; Bodruzic, 2015; Dansereau, 2005). Vaunted by some as economic restructuring that would help countries overcome their debt burden (Williamson, 2009), others found that this “embrace of neoliberalism led states to denigrate their own capacities and potentialities, to restructure and cut themselves, to engineer their own ‘reform’ and downsizing” (Coumans, 2010; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Navarro, 2009; Peck, 2001, p. 446). Under

these new rules, corporate interests began operating in transnational contexts. Home state legal and legislative rights and responsibilities were muddled as borders were crossed – limiting the state’s ability to regulate economic activity (Coumans, 2010). Weakened by the vestiges of colonial rule and the effects of structural adjustment policies and associated austerity measures, host states, often LMICs, may lack regulatory and enforcement mechanisms, let alone the monitoring capacity needed to manage large scale investment (Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Hilson, 2012). Even if effective regulatory frameworks were to exist, countries may be reluctant to regulate in the public’s interest given an economic growth imperative (Alam et al., 2015; Coumans, 2012; K. Keenan, 2013).

1.2.3 Transforming Global Governance Paradigms in Mining Development

Within shifting governance spaces, LMICs ‘blessed’ with an abundance of resource wealth have faced further challenges still (Bebbington, Hinojosa, et al., 2008; Sagebien, Lindsay, Campbell, Cameron, & Smith, 2008). Pressure from the corporate interests, as well as banks and financial institutions, made and continue to make developing resources on their own terms a challenge for LMICs (Hilson, 2012). Instead countries have found themselves implementing “models of export-based growth and overhauling investment policies; effectively outsourcing control of activities and natural resources to foreign investors” (Hilson, 2012, p. 134). Fragile democracies have been hard pressed to negotiate a fair deal with corporate entities whose economic resources may outstrip their own. In 2012, Gavin Hilson noted, for instance, the tremendous disparity between Australian-headquartered BHP Billiton, which operated the Ok Tedi Mine in Papua New Guinea. “In 2010, BHP ranked 139 on the World’s Top 175 Economic Entities list with a US\$247 billion market value. By contrast, Papua New Guinea’s GDP in 2010 was less than US\$11 billion” (Hilson, 2012, p. 133). James Ferguson described how weak and corrupt states, such as Angola and Sudan, attracted record inflows of capital for extractive projects, despite oppressive conditions and war. He illustrated how the financial flow skipped over large parts of the African continent, leaving much of it disconnected from the global economy. Wealth alighted only in ‘mineral-rich enclaves’ (Ferguson, 2006, p. 41). Sagebien et al. have described how these conditions have resulted in “corruption, poor management and inappropriate use of resource rents,” with

autocratic governments partnering with self-regulating corporate entities (Sagebien et al., 2008, p. 76). Unequal distribution of wealth, and worsening health, social, and environmental indicators are generally the outcome for countries “cursed” with mineral resources (Auty, 2002; Bebbington, Hinojosa, et al., 2008; Sagebien et al., 2008).

Even in countries with more established democracies the challenge proved great. A governance gap between the impact of corporate economic activity and societal capacity to control adverse impacts from mining development was often the result (Banerjee, 2008; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Sagebien et al., 2008). Some corporations have found themselves occupying this gap, operating as a ““sort of de facto government”” (Hilson, 2012, p. 132) responsible for monitoring their own activities. This is not a role for which they are designed or suited (B. Campbell, 2012; Dashwood, 2012; B. Harvey, 2014; Hilson, 2012).

Operating in these spaces, corporations have come under increasing scrutiny. The role of business in society, in home and host countries, has been and continues to be interrogated. Industries, markets, and companies of all types have faced growing demands to legitimate their practice and expand their understanding of to whom it is they are accountable (Banerjee, 2008; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Porter, 2011). Following allegations of human rights and environmental abuses in the 1990s, the mining sector began to acknowledge the disruptive nature of the industry, and in response to changing environmental and social expectations made efforts to transform industrial and policy practices by applying sustainable development perspectives to mining governance (Alam et al., 2015; Brundtland, 1987; B. Campbell, 2012; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Dashwood, 2012; Elbra, 2017; International Institute of Environment and Development, 2002; Porter, 2011). States endeavoured to design robust legal and fiscal frameworks (B. Campbell, 2012; Elbra, 2017). International organizations and private actors responded with mechanisms ranging from global standard setting (Elbra, 2017), to the creation of their own legal and policy frameworks to optimize socioeconomic benefits and strengthen environmental management (IGF, 2013).

The United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development asked states, international organizations, and corporate actors associated with mining industries to investigate the broad social and environmental impacts of mineral extraction, and develop effective strategies for lands rehabilitation (Alam et al., 2015; IGF, 2013). In response, one of

the actions the mining industry took was to establish the Intergovernmental Forum on Mining, Minerals, Metals and Sustainable Development (IGF) (in which Canada has taken a leading role) to advance good governance practices and policies that support sustainable development. IGF worked to establish best practices for governing the sector, ranging from a legal and policy framework, to socioeconomic benefit optimization and environmental management (IGF, 2013).

In addition to non-governmental organizations like the IGF, international financial institutions recognized the need to address the potential adverse environmental and social consequences of extractive industry development in order to reduce financial risk. The extractive industries need to instantiate a “social license” to operate. The International Finance Corporation and Equator Principles Financial Institutions are increasingly requiring documentation of environmental, social, and health impacts and the establishment of dispute resolutions processes as part of their loan requirements (Dashwood, 2012; Equator Principles, 2016; Kemm, 2012). In response, a growing number of public and private, beyond compliance governance tools have been designed and implemented in an attempt to prevent and mitigate unwanted impacts of mining, ranging from government mandated impact assessments (ICMM, 2012), to the private sector’s adoption of concepts such as social license to operate (B. Harvey & Bice, 2014; Owen & Kemp, 2013; Prno & Slocombe, 2012) and corporate social responsibility (Raufflet, Cruz, & Bres, 2014; UNECA, 2011). Their aim was to prevent and mitigate unwanted impacts, improve benefits, and reduce conflicts (Byambaa, Wagler, & Janes, 2014; B. Harvey & Bice, 2014; ICMM, 2012; Prno & Slocombe, 2012; Raufflet et al., 2014; Snyder et al., 2012).

1.2.4 Corporate Social Responsibility

“No quantity of CSR can correct these deeply rooted and country-specific structural issues, which support externally imposed, disaggregated interventions that detract from deeper systemic issues and erode the potential for coherent inter-sectoral social and economic development objectives [...] implemented through public policies”

Bonnie Campbell (2012, p. 142)

While there has been no strict agreement as to what drove the emergence of CSR,

negative project outcomes escalated in the era of globalized corporate practice, and growing public awareness and dissatisfaction may have driven its spread (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013). Mining companies, wanting to be perceived as legitimate bodies that benefit society in a responsible manner, embraced the practice of CSR. This private governance tool has been used to extend social and environmental initiatives into mined communities, even engaging in the gendered impacts of mining (A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Dashwood, 2012; Grosser & Moon, 2017; J. Keenan et al., 2016). As a management idea, it has gained considerable global prominence with larger companies, and even smaller businesses, dedicating anything from specific projects to full departments to its ambitions (A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013).

There is no consensus on just what CSR is (McWilliams, Siegel, & Wright, 2006); however, its characterization generally has coalesced around six key themes (though few companies adopt them all):

1. CSR is a voluntary action intended go beyond compliance with legal and regulatory frameworks.
2. It attempts to internalize or manage externalities of company behaviour.
3. It holds a multiple stakeholder orientation.
4. It attempts to align its social and economic responsibilities, to the extent they do not conflict with company profitability.
5. It is grounded in a set of business practices and values.
6. It attempts to move beyond philanthropy, with the aim of mainstreaming CSR into normal business practice (A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013).

In the era of the modern corporation, private companies have not been only economic players, but social and political players, too – with the power to make decisions that have far-reaching consequences (A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013). Given the limits of states’ legal and regulatory frameworks and a lack of international oversight to enforce responsible behaviour, some have posited it is perhaps only the company itself, through CSR, which is positioned to improve conditions for some of the planet’s most marginalized citizens (A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Dashwood, 2012). The Government of Canada has demonstrated this case.

First written in 2011, *Canada's Doing Business the Canadian Way: A Strategy to Advance Corporate Social Responsibility in Canada's Extractive Sector Abroad*, is a CSR guideline. Aimed at promoting Canadian values and ethical practice among extractive companies and at supporting these companies to strengthen their CSR practices, the guidelines also aspires to improve benefits for host companies. If companies failed to abide by these guidelines, the Government indicates it would withdraw foreign market support (Government of Canada, 2014). There are gaps in the guidelines, however, particularly around human rights. The guidelines, which only reference gender once, do not require companies to engage in human rights due diligence. Further, they fail to address the need for judicial remedies for those who suffered from corporate-related human rights violations (Simons, 2015). The guidelines also demonstrate a reluctance on the part of Government to institute home state responsibility. They move Canada away from legally binding regulation and adjudication, and places the onus on private governance and corporations' voluntary commitments (Seck, 2011).

Placing social responsibility solely on the shoulders of corporations has also delivered questionable results. Despite international efforts to focus on private sector solutions (Elbra, 2017; ICMM, 2012), these 'workable frameworks' adopted by industry and banks as part of their CSR agendas have been criticized for being ineffective (Porter, 2011; Slack, 2012). For instance, Uwafiokun Idemudia's 2009 research into CSR efforts associated with an oil project in Nigeria found community members reported believing the company was contributing to community development. Though the company was successful in fostering more positive perceptions of the company and building their social license, the actual negative impacts of the extractive industries project remained unaddressed. Despite CSR programs, oil spills and gas flaring continued, and health and food security of the local community continued to suffer (Idemudia, 2009). Problems with CSR range from a lack of management expertise, to a focus on superficial changes that ignore deeper systemic issues (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005). Inadequate efforts to engage with project-affected stakeholders is an accusation heard regularly (Banerjee, 2008; Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Owen & Kemp, 2013). As a result, in many areas affected

communities continue to face adverse and unmitigated impacts (Bebbington, Bebbington, et al., 2008; Hilson, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Nash, 1993; Zarsky & Stanley, 2013).

1.2.5 Exploring Alternative Approaches

Given the many critiques have been levelled against it, it has been posited that the fundamental failure of the CSR approach lies in an unwillingness to challenge its core economic structures. Profit is still business' primary motivating pressure. Corporations embrace CSR to further corporate legitimacy and avert efforts insisting on radical change (Bebbington, Bebbington, et al., 2008; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013). CSR is used to consolidate corporate power (Banerjee, 2008). As a voluntary approach, CSR fails to address the root causes of the challenges associated with mining development – the recognition of rights, historical inequities, power imbalances, and social and environmental imperatives (Alam et al., 2015; B. Harvey, 2014; Newell, 2005; S. A. Wilson, 2015). Researchers have promoted alternative approaches to limit corporate power. These include proposing the creation of a new regulatory regime for LMICs, and new international development policy (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005), a universal charter to which corporations are held accountable (Banerjee, 2008), or formal, broadly adopted conditions for gaining financial support – from all institutions, not just the unmonitored practices required by the development banks (Kirsch, 2014). Regardless, researchers widely agree that the voice of the marginalized must be more meaningfully included in development decisions, they further recognize that simply having a voice does not equate having influence (Edelman & Haugerud, 2005; Ferguson, 1990; Kirsch, 2014; Owen & Kemp, 2013). The management of mining operations and associated impacts should not be a conversation for global capital managers alone (B. Harvey, 2014; Newell, 2005).

1.2.6 Global Governance and the Extractive Industries in Africa

Approximately 30 per cent of the world's mineral resources, much still unexplored, are thought to be located on the African continent (Prichard, 2009, p. 240). In the optimism of the independence movements of the 1960s and 70s, certain African nations sought to overcome their colonial past and looked to their mineral resources to fund development efforts. Yet in

this period production rates dropped dramatically. Prices collapsed discouraging investment and “mineral production fell from 31.5 per cent in 1970 to only ten per cent in 1987” (Besada & Martin, 2015, p. 265). Many economists and political scientists attributed the decline to high levels of risk due to state mismanagement, high levels of taxation and regulation, and concern around property rights (Besada & Martin, 2015). This common diagnosis conveniently ignored persistently low commodity prices and mine maintenance costs (Ferguson, 1999; Solomon, 2012) and the impacts of mandated neoliberalism with its practices of deregulation, reductions to government spending, market expansion, and privatization (Banerjee, 2008; Besada & Martin, 2015; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Navarro, 2009; Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015).

Despite the promise of this wealth, Africa’s experience with mining has not delivered on development hopes. Instead the continent has been subject to the vagaries of the minerals market, with its boom and the bust cycles, and to what Bonnie Campbell has named “the three generations of liberalization” of the mining sector (Besada & Martin, 2015; B. Campbell, 2009).

Campbell described the first generation of liberalization as the promotion of greater foreign investment. This was initially seen in the 1980s in Ghana when the International Monetary Fund exerted significant pressure on the state to amend its Investment Promotion Act (B. Campbell, 2009). The second generation emerged in the 1990s. Market liberalization and privatization continued, though there was a recognition of the need to mitigate the environmental and social impacts of mining. The limits, however, were non-binding, and governments were constrained in their capacity to enforce checks (B. Campbell, 2009). The third generation, in the late 1990s, saw a greater role for the state in facilitating and regulating mining development, however, by this stage local capacity had been greatly reduced. The state was unable to arrest the action of transnational mining corporations that continued to emphasize their ability to self-regulate (B. Campbell, 2009; Elbra, 2017).

These governance innovations had profound consequences for Africa. As these private governance initiatives emerged, there was a concomitant receding of state-led governance – instigated by international financial institutions under the auspices of structural adjustment policies, which required neoliberal reforms in exchange for debt relief (Elbra, 2017; Ferguson,

1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Fuchs, 2007). Under these conditions mining companies, possessing significant structural power, were able to negotiate taxation and royalty rates to their favour (Fuchs, 2007; Hilson, 2012). They employed their discursive power to depict themselves as better able to govern their industry than the state, infringing upon African nations' sovereignty (B. Campbell, 2012; Elbra, 2017).

For states, this shift in power weakened their legal and legislative rights and responsibilities and limited their ability to regulate economic activity given a lack of financial resources, a dearth of technical expertise, and the loss of capacity needed to respond to constantly shifting regulatory tasks (Alam et al., 2015; Besada & Martin, 2015; Büthe & Mattli, 2011; B. Campbell, 2003, 2012; Coumans, 2010, 2012; K. Keenan, 2013). Companies used this deepening 'governance deficit' to entrench private governance regimes further still (Newell, 2001). Even as liberalized regulatory frameworks were described within the economic sector as an indication of sound reform (Williamson, 2009), they were critiqued as their benefits were not found to improve conditions and quality of life for the broader community. Rather, they were found to accrue capital in the hands of foreign companies and local elites (B. Campbell, 2009). Economic rents were often not directed toward the diversification of the national economy. Governments and corporations failed to invest in health, education and employment. Poverty levels remain unchanged (Besada & Martin, 2015).

The rise of private governance has not proven a panacea to the negative impacts of mining. The call by international financial institutions for stronger governance strategies led to the rise of voluntary initiatives, rather than enforceable standards. (Interestingly, this governance shift has its origins in the corporate social responsibility debates which called on corporations to demonstrate greater attention on human rights and environmental and social abuses (Seck, 2011).) As governance practices evolved, Hany Besada and Philip Martin suggest that a 'fourth generation' of mining codes and natural resource governance practice is now underway with a new emphasis on transparency and accountability from both the company and the state (Besada & Martin, 2015). Despite these action, countries remain beset by "poverty, inequality and poor development measures [suggesting...] that areas in which firms are interested in governing do not necessarily overlap with the development requirements

of populations or the needs of local populations” (Elbra, 2017, p. 215). The neoliberal macro-economic framework has made it difficult for states to address this misalignment.

States need to be involved in decisions about how mining wealth can improve the wellbeing of their citizens (B. Campbell, 2012; Elbra, 2017). The United Nations Economic Commission of Africa has called for a broader framework away from a singular focus on extraction to one that will integrate mineral policy with development policy, creating needed space for “public policies and an appropriate institutional environment” (B. Campbell, 2012, p. 143; UNECA, 2011). For this end is to be achieved public institutions must be strengthened (Auty, 2002; Hamann, Kapelus, Sonnenberg, Mackenzie, & Hollesen, 2005; Hilson, 2012), otherwise community concerns go unaddressed, resulting in ever deepening inequality (Bebbington, Hinojosa, et al., 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2017; Gerritsen & MacIntyre, 1991; Hilson, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Kirsch, 2014; Mactaggart et al., 2016; Negi, 2014; Nzeadibe et al., 2015; Zarsky & Stanley, 2013).

1.2.7 Global Governance and the Extractive Industries in Zambia



Figure 1 Map of Zambia
Research Site: Solwezi (circled in red)

Source: Furian (2014)

“Zambia illustrates how historical experiences can also shape expectations of a mining company’s CSR. Contemporary Zambian discussions of mining companies’ CSR activities draw unfavourable comparisons with the practices of the now defunct state-owned Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), which operated a “cradle to grave” corporate responsibility welfare policy. In the context of national policy of state provision of health and education, the ZCCM provided medical services, sanitation, schools, and social amenities to the communities living on the Copperbelt. This ended with the liquidation of the ZCCM and privatization of its mines. All the successor foreign-owned private mining firms have CSR programmes but nothing of the scope or scale of the ZCCM.”

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2011, p. 99

Mining has long been part of the Zambian economy, with evidence of artisanal mining efforts going back centuries before Cecil Rhodes’ British South Africa Company began mining in the region in the 1890s (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). With the development of the British South Africa Company and large-scale mining, Zambia became subject to the forces of global copper market (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017; Mususa, 2010b; Negi, 2014).

When Zambia declared independence in 1964, ending colonial rule, there was great hope that the copper industry would fund development of the nascent state. A victim of bad timing and questionable governance decisions, copper prices crashed soon after the industry was nationalized and the country quickly found its opportunities constrained by mounting debt (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). In the context of structural adjustment policies (SAP) that were enacted in the 1980s and 90s, Zambians experienced this crisis as a blow to their development expectations (Ferguson, 1999). The World Bank and International Monetary Fund instituted a privatization process, which led to deindustrialization, declining growth, worsening debt, and increasing poverty (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). National copper mines were sold cheaply to private investors to support debt repayments, yet many new owners were forced out because of persistently low commodity prices and mine maintenance costs at the turn of the millennium,

leaving mass unemployment and unpaid pensions and bills in their wake (Ferguson, 1999; Solomon, 2012). SAPs with their externally imposed austerity measures led to cuts in public spending that had a devastating effect on the poor. In addition to the thousands of lost jobs and growing poverty, the health impact was significant. Infant and under five mortality increased, as did stunting, with the increase of HIV rates reaching 20% among adults by the early 2000s (UNAIDS, 2000, p. 9).

The “resource curse theory” supposes that countries with greater mineral wealth have poorer development outcomes (Auty, 2002). In the wake of the broad-scale closures some wondered if this, “the biggest failure of privatisation in Africa thus far” was not a blessing in disguise (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 12). The closures had given Zambia the opportunity to develop without the disruptive influence extractive industries are known to have on fragile economies. Nonetheless, in 2004, when copper prices began to rebound, the development of the “New Copperbelt” in the country’s Northwestern Province was pursued with the same promise of jobs and development. Regrettably, the same entrenched patterns of inequitable distribution of benefits under existing market structures continued (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014). Limited in their ability to explore alternatives given immediate development challenges established under the SAPs, the Zambian state was desperate to attract new mining investment. Private, transnational corporations used this opportunity to negotiate favourable tax regimes. Where wealth was created it was removed from national and regional economies. Instead wealth attached itself to specific enclaves that included some of Zambia’s governing elite and foreign investors. Perverse economic mechanisms associated with the resource curse hypothesis continued to result in economic underperformance in Zambia. This led to increased unemployment in agriculture and manufacturing, increased inequality, employment volatility, and corruption associated with mining development (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; A. Fraser & Lungu, 2007; Gamu, Le Billon, & Spiegel, 2015). The impact of these inequalities was experienced at the local scale – manifesting in part as gender inequality (Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014).

In the early 2000s, development agreements were signed that locked in an effective tax rate of 0% (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 15). With a 0% tax rate and low royalty rates, in 2007 the Zambian government “collected only US\$142 million in royalties and corporation

taxes, equivalent to a mere 3% of US\$4.7 billion in copper and cobalt export revenue” (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 99). Foreign investors also benefitted from weakened institutions that were unable to regulate and monitor mining impacts, while some corporations developed special relationships with the state that led to “health and safety, labor, immigration, and environmental laws being ignored with impunity” (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 16). Though some jobs were created they were often precarious, as the governance efforts of the past twenty years had also succeeded in weakening unions (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). In a country with an unemployment rate of 80%, those lucky enough to find work supported many more, leaving the few unionized employees reluctant to address employment conditions (Engler, 2017).

By early 2008, the Zambian government was ready to attempt to renegotiate development agreements with mining companies even as these companies continued to hold significant structural power over the state (Fuchs, 2007). However, when threatened by the proposed actions to set tax rates to levels seen in other African countries, companies responded with legal action and the threat of divestment. State-proposed windfall taxes were quickly set aside and royalty rates were dropped to 3% (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 80). “In practice, however, all new mining companies paid royalties at a rate of only 0.6%” (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 67). A variable profit tax regime was later introduced, though much of the benefit from the newly negotiated rates wound up in the hands of foreign owned companies. The 2008 market drop also resulted in limited returns under newly negotiated terms (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010).

Late in the 2010s copper prices again rebounded (Mfula, 2018). However, Adam and Simpasa (2010) had deemed that even with the new rates, mining revenues would likely never fund the development objectives that Zambia seeks, leaving 57.5% of Zambians living on less than \$2/day (World Bank, 2015c). They expected revenue to remain well below the IMF’s 2008 anticipated returns of 2-4% of the GDP per annum, far below the rate at which “official aid flows to the central government, excluding debt relief, averag[ing] between 5% and 7% of GDP per annum” (Adam & Simpasa, 2010, p. 82). Concurrently, approximately \$3 billion a year has been reported lost due to tax evasion, mostly associated with actions taken by mining companies (Engler, 2017). Zambian debt to both Western international financial institutions and China has continued to rise during the past decade after international

financialization in 2012 (Chelwa, 2020). “Zambia’s external debt, currently estimated at 35% of its GDP, has soared: according to official figures it reached nearly \$10bn in 2018, up from \$1.9bn in 2011” (Servant, 2019). Despite a 2012 financialization, investments in public services have never recovered. The country has struggled to meet its repayment commitments and Zambia became the first African nation to default on its loans during the COVID-19 era (Chelwa, 2020). At the time of this writing, even though copper prices have rebounded stakes remain high in the ‘New Copperbelt,’ as Zambia negotiates new mining tax policies, responds to its debt crisis, and struggles through COVID-19 (Mining for Zambia, 2021a).

1.2.8 The ‘New Copperbelt’ – Northwestern Province

In Northwestern Province, two large Canadian-registered transnational mining companies began operations in three sites between 2004 and 2014, leading to rapid transformation of the entire region (Negi, 2014; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). This change has been particularly notable in Solwezi, the capital of Northwestern Province. It grew from a small administrative outpost of approximately 70,000 inhabitants in 2004 to 260,000 by 2015 (Preuss & Schmidt-Eisenlohr, 2016), reaching 300,000 by 2019 (personal communication, Central Statistics Office of Zambia, 2019). Those arriving had high expectations for employment and other opportunities at Kansanshi Mine. In 2020, approximately 18,000 workers were employed at the three mining sites as permanent or contract workers. Of these, approximately 8,500 permanent and contract workers were employed at First Quantum Mineral (FQM) Ltd.’s Kansanshi mine in Solwezi (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020b; Zambia Chamber of Mines, 2020). This story has been claimed by the ‘Africa Rising’ narrative of neoliberal capitalism, given the relatively high levels economic growth in the region since the early 2000s. Yet, citizens experience this promise of development to be “stalked by anxieties and apprehensions of chaos, disorder and potential ruination” (Negi, 2014, p. 999). Solwezi’s transformation has been accompanied by the rapid growth of inequality leading to a crisis of legitimacy for both the government and the company engaging in mining development (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017).

Operating in Zambia since 1994, First Quantum Minerals (FQM) has been subject to some controversy. In 2011 the company was accused of tax evasion by five NGOs: France's Sherpa, Zambia's Centre for Trade Policy and Development, Switzerland's Berne Collective, and Canada's l'Entraide Missionnaire and MiningWatch, for violating the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises (Keen, 2013; MiningWatch Canada, 2011). "First Quantum stands accused of cheating Zambia out of tens of millions of dollars in taxes" (Engler, 2017). In 2015, when FQM opened a new mine 150 km northwest of Solwezi town, under the name Kalumbila Minerals Ltd., concerns were raised about how the mine site was acquired and questions were asked about the displacement and resettlement of households located on what had been land controlled by customary chiefs (Chu, Young, Phiri, & Alliance, 2015).

Solwezi's Municipal Council regularly found itself at odds with FQM. Project benefits tended to accrue among foreign managers who were isolated from the town in their walled compound complete with golf course, swimming pool, and gymnasium, not far from the mine site (Negi, 2014). In an effort to improve community ties through its CSR initiatives, FQM committed to a number of community-oriented social and economic projects, ranging from housing projects, to schools, to health clinics, to supports for small enterprise development. But communities in Solwezi continued to express frustration with FQM, finding that their expectations for positive development were not met by the projects supported and advanced by the company (Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). When then-President Mwanawasa visited Solwezi in June 2007 he expressed his displeasure with the state of development in the region; there had been little provision for needed infrastructure, instead he witnessed a proliferation of "slum-like compounds" (Negi, 2014, p. 1007). He pledged a 'New Deal' for the region. After his death in 2008, the state abrogated its promises (Negi, 2014).

In Solwezi, deepening inequities were noted. Rita Kesselring documented the impact of unequal access to electricity across the region. Social stratification developed around access. Blackouts become common outside the mine and its associated housing developments, "entrench[ing] existing inequalities and produc[ing] new ones" (Kesselring, 2017, p. 94). Rohit Negi reported community members expressing concern and frustration around social breakdown, "as seen in the increased criminal activities, was manifest in the

influx of populations commonly defined as a threat to the social order and the proliferation of unpoliced sexualities” (Negi, 2014, p. 1009). Within these spaces women, particularly single women migrating to the region for work, have been problematized as an “insidious presence”, particularly in the context of familial stress and HIV/AIDS (Negi, 2014, p. 1011), an observation I also noted during preliminary fieldwork in 2017.

1.2.9 Global Governance and the Extractive Industries in Canada

Structural processes that entrenched inequities in countries like Zambia are not just established by and for transnational corporations – they are facilitated and enacted through partnerships with countries like Canada (Brown & Swiss, 2018; Butler, 2015; Engler, 2017; Nixon et al., 2018). Like Zambia, Canada is a mining nation, though profits differentially accrue in our high-income country. Canada reaps the benefits of hosting a corporate environment structured to sustain extractive industries. In 2019, half the world’s mining companies were registered in Canada (Natural Resources Canada, 2021a), with 47% of the world’s global mining companies listed on the Toronto stock exchanges (TSX Inc, 2021). Even as we host foreign and domestic mining projects worth \$85.6 billion on Canadian soil, in 2019, Canada’s international mining assets were worth \$177.8 billion (Natural Resources Canada, 2021a).

While foreign and domestic mining companies continue to mine within Canadian borders, and not without strife especially on Indigenous lands, governance practices, regulatory standards and social and technological infrastructure may differ from those in low- and middle-income countries (Cameron & Levitan, 2014; Hall, 2013; O’Faircheallaigh, 2007). Increasingly, extractive industry projects are shifting to new markets in LMICs (ICMM, 2012; Natural Resources Canada, 2021a).

Canada is subject to criticism for many of its overseas governance practices. Government-supported Canadian companies engaged in activities that led to the displacement of people, destruction of the environment, and direct and indirect impacts on health. The Government of Canada’s support of certain practices left the country accused of neocolonialism and resource theft (Butler, 2015; Engler, 2015, 2017; Nixon et al., 2018; Schrecker, Birn, & Aguilera, 2018). These practices included using funds allocated for

international development to rewrite host states' regulatory frameworks and create liberal investment conditions, withholding aid to promote privatization of the mining sector, and using development funds to subsidize Canadian companies' CSR commitments in an effort to improve their global reputation (Blackwood & Stewart, 2012; Engler, 2017; Simons, 2015). These practices continued even as the number of reports, campaigns, and lawsuits filed against Canadian companies grew (Blackwood & Stewart, 2012; Simons, 2015). Further, if Canadian companies were accused of violating human rights or environmental laws, there is "no international legal system to which aggrieved parties can turn for recourse" (Coumans, 2010, p. 33). An Oxford University review of Canadian law found "[t]he law of Canada regarding corporate social responsibility for acts committed by Canadian corporations extraterritorially is currently insufficient" (Coumans, 2010, p. 32).¹ Using a carrot and stick, mining executives and the Canadian government negotiated strategic relationships with host government officials in power. Simultaneously, companies adopted CSR to establish a social license to operate in communities undergoing mining development. In 2014, under the Harper government, Canada launched its second CSR policy just prior the launch of the new Extractive Sector Strategy in an effort to improve companies' global reputation. Critiques continued, especially regarding to companies' due diligence to human rights considerations (Butler, 2015; Seck, 2011; Simons, 2015; Tomlinson, 2001).

Oversight is much needed, as demonstrated in Canada's dealings with Zambia. In 2019, Zambia hosted five Canadian companies worth \$10 billion, 5.6% of Canada's international mining assets (Natural Resources Canada, 2021b). Canada has supported neoliberal reforms in Zambia since the 1980s, when Jacques Boussière, whose salary was paid by the Government of Canada, was installed as the first foreign governor of the Bank of Zambia and helped secure International Monetary Fund and World Bank directives to privatize the copper industry (Engler, 2017). This created the conditions that allowed companies like FQM to

¹ New precedence is being set with a case, *Angela Choc V. HudBay Minerals*, currently before the Ontario Superior Court of Justice. The plaintiffs seek remedy against human rights abuses performed by a HudBay subsidiary, the first time a case of this nature is being heard in Canada. The court found "the parent Canadian company owed a duty of care to the Maya-Q'eqchi' villagers affected by the actions of the security personnel of its subsidiary companies" (Amnesty International, 2017; Friedman, 2021).

negotiate royalty rates thought to be the lowest on the planet (Engler, 2017; A. Fraser & Lungu, 2007).

In 2013, Canada signed an investment agreement with Zambia. This agreement further entrenched private power over sector governance and supports structural barriers that limit options for the Zambian government to strengthen public governance mechanisms (Keen, 2013). It also creates a mechanism for “Canadian companies to pursue Zambia in international tribunal for lost profits” (Engler, 2017). Zambia is reported to lose around \$3 billion a year in tax evasion, (mostly to Mopani Mine, a company that until this year was jointly owned by Switzerland’s Glencore (73%), Canada’s FQM (17%), and Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (10%)). Canada has now established a mechanism that will allow our companies to sue the Zambian government over the threat of lost profit (Engler, 2017). This is in addition to companies’ capacity to lay off employees and cause wide-spread economic hardship (Engler, 2017).

Though long promised, the current government of Prime Minister Trudeau, first elected in 2015, has yet to revise and update Canada’s CSR policy, *Doing Business the Canadian Way* (Government of Canada, 2014). The government did create the office of the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Mining and Advisory Board to investigate international complaints against Canadian extractive companies (MiningWatch Canada, 2018). However, the position lacks independence from government and does not have the power to subpoena documents for evidence or to compel witnesses to testify, and it is unclear whether the Ombudsperson can instigate changes to Canada’s global mining practices (Friedman, 2019).

Outside of the mining sector, Canada’s relationship with Zambia is limited. Two-way trade was valued at only \$24.1M in 2018. In 2017/18 Canada provided only \$19.3 million in international assistance to Zambia, mostly through multi-lateral organizations and Canadian and international NGOs (Government of Canada, 2020a). Though Canadian academic and NGO partnerships exist, the Government of Canada has limited development presence in the country and downsized its embassy in 2013. With projects focused on child marriage now concluding following what was considered good uptake on the issue, efforts have turned to the Government of Canada’s only initiative in Zambia – supporting the Elsie Initiative for

Women in Peace Operations, which aims to increase women’s participation in the military and police service under the auspices of Canada’s feminist foreign policy position, the Feminist International Assistance Policy (Government of Canada, 2020b, 2020c).

Introduced in 2017, the Feminist International Assistance Policy aims to “eradicate poverty and build a more peaceful, more inclusive and more prosperous world” (Government of Canada, 2020b). The policy has been critiqued for promoting a neoliberalized version of feminism, given its support of private governance practices (Parisi, 2020). While little information about programmatic achievements seem to be available, the policy aims to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, with the goal that 95% of Canadian development assistance will integrate gender by 2022 (Government of Canada, 2020b). Under the policy, Canada has also committed \$300 million to the Equality Fund, supported by members of the philanthropic community, the private sector and not-for-profit and non-governmental organizations. The goal is to create a global platform to pool and leverage resources that fund projects aimed at closing gender gaps and eliminating barriers to gender equality (Government of Canada, 2020d).

In an interview, the Office of the High Commission of Canada in Zambia described how mining has moved from a prospective file to a reactive file. Though advocacy is still valued, for the most part it seems that the partnerships between the mining companies and the Zambian government are considered well established. In 2019, the Office of the High Commission made the decision to stop hosting their annual mining CSR workshop, turning the event over to Oxfam Zambia and Zambia’s Chamber of Mines. Given a \$1 billion planned expansion of First Quantum’s Kansanshi mine, perhaps Canadian involvement in Zambia will increase (Mining for Zambia, 2021b) and Zambia may see itself receive more development funding.

1.3 Research Context

This study is set largely in Solwezi, the administrative capital of Northwestern Province. For most of the past century the town was essentially a *boma*, an administrative outpost, in a province with a relatively stable population that relied mostly on agriculture and

hosted limited trade with other regions (Negi, 2014). When large-scale mining was introduced to the province in 2004, significant transformation ensued.

Where copper mining defined development of Copperbelt Province to the east, large-scale mining only began in Northwestern Province with the development of First Quantum Minerals Ltd.'s Kansanshi mine in 2004, just ten kilometers from Solwezi town centre. This opening was followed in quick succession by two other mines over the subsequent twelve years. Barrick Gold opened Lumwana in 2009, 90 km down the main road and First Quantum opened Sentinel mine in 2014, a further 60 km away. The presence of the three transnational, Canadian-registered, mining companies has rapidly altered the region (Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

Currently, approximately 18,000 workers are employed at the three mining sites as permanent or contract workers. Of the 18,000, approximately 8,500 permanent and contract workers are employed at the Kansanshi mine in Solwezi town (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020b; Zambia Chamber of Mines, 2020). Most are employed through subsidiaries. As of September 2021, Kansanshi directly employed 3,150, of which 10.2% are women (personal communication, Kansanshi Mine, 2021). These employment numbers, however, are proportionately far below the number employed during the height of Copperbelt Province's mining development, reflecting the influence of privatization and an increasing dependence on technology (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). In 1976 the number of employed workers reached 62,222 across the five largest mine sites. By 2001, this number had fallen to 19,145. New employees were generally offered fixed-term contracts without pensions and security, or were employed by sub-contracted companies (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 131). With the downturn in the commodities market in 2015, layoffs among mine workers further increased. Despite the reduction of employment opportunities, there continues to be significant migration to Northwestern Province, particularly by mine workers made redundant by the privatization of the mines in Copperbelt Province. The population of Solwezi continues to grow given limited opportunities across Zambia.

For those who succeed, Solwezi has become known as a town that offers development opportunity. Mining-associated industrial development can be seen along the main roadway. Further evidence of this development is visible with the 'Golf' estate, a

housing compound complete with golf course, that is home to largely expatriate mine workers, and Trident College, the internationally recognized high school where most mining officials (often ex pats) send their children (some are children from wealthy Zambian families who arrive by “flying school bus” from across the country). *Kabitaka*, a Kansanshi-built development, offers housing options to mine workers and other residents who can afford their rent-to-own prices. A growing middle class has also been building housing for themselves, and for rental income, near the town centre, close to the two new malls.

Mining development in the region has yielded jobs and economic opportunity for some but has also contributed to the rapid growth of inequality, in part driven by inflation caused by the presence of the mine. Many of those who cannot afford to live in the gentrifying downtown core have moved out to the ‘mushrooming’ housing developments on the outskirts, which generally lack access to water and sanitation infrastructure. Children may attend community schools with class sizes over sixty, given the rapid population influx. There are limited opportunities for formal work in Solwezi. For women, attention has turned to finding work through microloan and entrepreneurial endeavours. This avenue has been pursued even as these options produce limited results.

Along with the population influx, changes in social dynamics have been noted. Among the local people, Solwezi town has become known as “*Solwezi mabanga, kyalo kya mali*,” a Kaonde phrase meaning, “Solwezi is in the night, a place of money” (Mbewe, 2017). The phrase describes the activities of alcohol consumption and sex work that become more visible at night, when the bars open, and lights, music, and alcohol transform the town. Negi reported community members expressing concern and frustration around community breakdown (Negi, 2014). In these spaces, commercial sex workers have come to occupy a significant place in the social life of Solwezi, as they find work in an available economic niche.

1.3.1 Gendered Challenges to Health in Zambia

Women proximate to mine sites represent some of the most marginalized members of Zambian society and experience significant challenges to their health and wellbeing. Efforts to

seek remedy within the Zambia health systems expose limitations that range far beyond mine sites. Decades of international governance efforts, ranging from regulatory shifts to structural adjustment programs, have left and continue to leave their mark. While Canadians benefit from the wealth garnered from Zambian mines, the majority of Zambian citizens continue to live in poverty.

Zambia's 17.6 million citizens (World Population Review, 2018) face challenges that date back to colonial British rule. The British had focused on strengthening their economic position rather than investing in the Zambian economy; this early deficit made it difficult for Zambia to gain a footing in the market economy after independence (Macmillan, 1984). Economic diversification was a challenge, leaving Zambia too heavily dependent on copper (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010).

The structural adjustment programs and austerity measures of the 1980s and 90s left the country further impoverished – rural poverty and high unemployment rates were widespread (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). Infrastructure deficits were apparent from housing development (Negi, 2014) to power generation (Kesselring, 2017), and human development suffered as investments in education (Kelly, 1991) and health (World Health Organization, 2010-18) meant the country was unable to meet regional needs.

Demographic change has also proved a significant challenge. Much of the world has undergone a dramatic decline in total fertility rate, associated with accessible and quality education for girls and the growth of economic opportunities for women (Victora et al., 2016). Zambia's fertility rate has remained high. The population is projected to grow from 17 million to 81 million by the end of the century (PopulationPyramid.net, 2019). Total fertility rate has decreased among educated, higher income women to 3.0. However, women who have the fewest opportunities, are in the lowest income quintile, have less access to education, and are from rural communities, are more likely to marry young and give birth earlier, have a fertility rate of 6.7 children (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 80).

Malaria, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis remain significant health threats, leaving many children without family support; 10% of children below 18 are orphaned (one or both parents has died) (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 14). Under-5 mortality has been reduced, reflecting efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goal (Victora et al., 2016); however,

the prevalence of underweight children remains a threat (12% underweight, 35% stunted, 4% wasted) (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 177). Though maternal health has been improving, the maternal mortality rate of 252/100,000 is further evidence of striking inequality, as Zambia's maternal mortality ratio is close to what it was in the US in 1939 (Vermeiden & Stekelenburg, 2017).

Zambia has experienced high levels of economic growth in its gross domestic product over the past couple of years. This growth has not translated to improvements in the lived experience of most of its citizens. A Gini index of 0.69 (Government of Zambia, 2017), an average life expectancy of 64 years in 2019 (World Bank, 2021a), and the expected population growth spike (PopulationPyramid.net, 2019) further contextualize the challenges to health and wellbeing for the 57.5% of citizens living on less than \$2/day (World Bank, 2018).² Women, for whom gender may intersect with these and multiple additional dimensions of inequity, will find their efforts to improve health and wellbeing even more challenged (Theobald et al., 2017).

1.4 Dissertation Outline

This research study centred on three broad objectives that are presented as a collection of three manuscripts, each of which addresses one of the following objectives:

1. To understand how Zambia and Canada have grappled with the governance imperatives of gender equality and women's empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community.
2. To explain how various development actors positioned women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context, and to understand, given the various intersections which women hold, what impact this has had on women's opportunities and outcomes, health and wellbeing, and what this has meant to their conceptions of self as 'empowered' women.

² As a contrast, Canadians enjoyed an average life expectancy of 82 years in 2019 (Statistics Canada, 2020) and a median household income of \$62,900 in 2019 (Statistics Canada, 2021).

3. To identify the experiences of female sex workers in Solwezi as a window into the experiences of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative.

All three manuscripts form a conceptual whole, united by their topical and place-based focus and the use of ethnographic methodology employed throughout the course of the study. While all three papers have unique objectives, each subsequent paper moves to develop a more granular understanding of the ways women are caught up in a global governance efforts to address gender equality and women's empowerment. Chapter 2 of the thesis presents the theoretical approach that lays the foundation for the study and anchors the methods and analysis of the manuscripts. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the methodology, a description of the research design, and the methods employed in the study. A list of research questions is included in the appendix. Chapter 4 addresses the first research objective and explores how Zambia and Canada are grappling with the governance imperative of women's empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community. Global and local governance challenges are explored. Chapter 5 addresses the second objective by examining how various development actors position women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context. It aims to understand what impact this has on women's opportunities and outcomes, what this has meant for their health and wellbeing, and what this has meant to their conceptions of self as 'empowered' women, given the intersections at which they are variously positioned. Chapter 6 addresses the third objective and examines the experiences of female sex workers in Solwezi as a window into the experiences of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative. The final chapter, Chapter 7, summarises the main findings from the study and discusses broader implications of the political, economic, and social contexts of mining development and governance practices, from global and local perspectives, that determine the experiences and opportunities, health, and wellbeing of women from Solwezi, Zambia. The chapter includes the contributions and limitations of the research and concludes with directions for future research.

Chapter 2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

“Neoliberalism is a historical and socially constructed ideology that needs to be made visible, critically engaged, and shaken from the stranglehold of power it currently exercises over most of the commanding institutions of national and global life.”

(Giroux, 2008, p. 8)

In part, this thesis is an effort to understand the forces driving the political economy on a global scale, what these forces mean for the mining sector, and how women are implicated. With a focus on women living in Solwezi, Northwestern Province, Zambia, I consider how women are caught up in the crosscurrents of the political economy, how they are influenced by them, and how they navigate them. Sometimes this means playing the game by the rules set by others, sometimes it means subverting the rules, and sometimes re-writing them. These shifts occur globally and locally, though efforts may be complicated by the effects of the pervasive neoliberal order.

Multiple theoretical lenses and conceptual frameworks were explored and integrated in this effort to find deeper meaning in this work. With each new attempt at sense-making my interpretation shifted and evolved. I was perhaps most comfortable looking at these questions from a global health perspective and the language of the determinants of health, particularly the study of the political and social determinants of health (thinking of Michael Marmot and Geoffrey Rose (Marmot, 2005; Marmot, Rose, Shipley, & Hamilton, 1978), Dennis Raphael (Raphael, 2009), Vincente Navarro (Navarro, 2009), Ron Labonté (Labonté & Ruckert, 2019) and Alex Scott-Samuels and Katherine Smith (Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015)). Through this research, I came to enjoy the challenge of exploring the questions raised by this global health study from other perspectives and querying these interdisciplinary spaces. Using the framing of the political economy of health, I examined the spaces where political and social determinants overlap with feminist theory and international political economy in particular, considering the questions of governance that arise out of this inquiry. In this effort I have also been influenced by offerings from anthropology and development studies.

The literature review in the introduction offers a more linear reading of the political economy of mining, particularly as it pertains to Zambia and its integration to international political economy and global mining governance. In this section I integrate the reading into a broader conversation. First, I bring feminist theoretical influences into conversation with international political economy, centring particularly the neoliberalization of feminism. An intersectional theoretical framework is useful here. I consider it in the second section. In the third section, I introduce the political economy of health approach to explore conceptions of health and wellbeing, particularly the theory of embodiment, and the way in which the body can incorporate the conditions in which it exists, expressing them through both illness and health. I end by integrating these ideas, and exploring what, in particular, this means for women in mining communities.

2.2 The Influence of Feminist Theory

2.2.1 International Political Economy

Political economy is the study of how economic theories play out in the real world. Traditionally, global, or international political economy (IPE) has been a study focused on relationships between states and markets, recently often privileging the neoliberal perspective. Critical IPE arose in response, in an effort to situate the market and state as institutions that are socially embedded, recognizing that “this embeddedness reflects the tensions of capitalist relations” (Bedford & Rai, 2010, p. 4). These tensions reflect the challenges people experience as they attempt not only to survive, but to produce and reproduce; the challenges people experience as they engage with institutions; and the structures and hierarchies that result from these engagements. Yet, both approaches (IPE and critical IPE) overlap. Both understand states and markets to be actors. Both concern themselves with systemic challenges, rather than focusing on individual experience. Both elevate certain structural social relations, such as the privatization of property or the importance of human capital, while neglecting others, such as gender (Bedford & Rai, 2010). The following are two international political economy readings of global restructuring under a neoliberal paradigm beginning in the 1960s, to account for how they differ when a feminist lens is applied and to demonstrate new insights that appear when this lens is adopted.

2.2.2 A Reading of Neoliberal Global Restructuring

In the era of globalization buttressed by the neoliberal economic paradigm, IPE has been part of a process that led to the global integration of people, states, and markets. This process has been understood by some as a form of capitalist expansion that has “incorporated local and national economies into a global, unregulated market” (Guttal, 2007, p. 523). Globalization is an economic phenomenon. It is equally a political occurrence that relies on the state to offer a conducive environment in which the institutions of capitalism (that include international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the IMF, the World Bank, and other development banks, the World Trade Organization, and transnational corporations) are able to reconfigure said state to meet neoliberal economic objectives. These objectives include, among others: the devaluing of local currency to increase export competitiveness; the dissolving of workers’ and local producers’ protections; reduction of the public sector; increasing the mobility of capital and removing restrictions on foreign investment; the privatizing of state-owned industries and functions (Banerjee, 2008; Besada & Martin, 2015; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Eisenstein, 2015; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Guttal, 2007; D. Harvey, 2005; Navarro, 2009; Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015).

Shalmali Guttal argued that the development industry offered the greatest opportunity to spread globalization and neoliberalism under the auspices of modernization. Through it, the adoption of technology, knowledge, and science would propel ‘backward’ and ‘underdeveloped’, newly independent ‘former colonies’ into a level of development experienced by high-income countries (HICs) (Guttal, 2007). The industrialization and urbanization that so-called developing countries began to achieve was short-lived as the terms of trade began to favour HICs. Concurrently, the burden of external debt grew as low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) experienced steep economic decline (Eisenstein, 2015; Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Goldsbrough & Cheelo, 2007; Guttal, 2007; Sylvester, 1999). The Zambian experience, as discussed in the Literature Review section, echoed those of other once-emerging economies, leaving these countries with little

choice but to accede to the demands of lenders as mediated by the IFIs through structural adjustment policies.

Hester Eisenstein explored what it means for countries to move from state-led development to neoliberal “open door” development (Eisenstein, 2015). Though now considered heretical under a neoliberal paradigm, state-led development benefitted many European and North American nations in the 18th and 19th century, allowing for the creation of large-scale, capital-intensive industries that relied on state-directed trade, protective policies, and subsidies to thrive. The direction of development was set primarily by government, rather than private investors. When needed, foreign investment was allowed, but the state had the power to make decisions and direct this investment as it saw fit. Free trade was something only to be contemplated when the state was economically stable. She quoted American president and civil war general, Ulysses S. Grant, who condemned the British for attempting to sell free trade to his country, stating that “within 200 years, when America has gotten out of protection all that it can offer, it too, will adopt free trade” (Eisenstein, 2015, p. 137). She further noted that state-led development offered the opportunity to challenge structures of inequality, for instance through strong and enforceable policy prescriptions that challenge poverty by allowing for the redistribution of land and wealth, the building up of state-welfare provisions, worker protections, minimum wage requirements, occupational and environmental health considerations, etc.

Despite these insights, state-led development faced an onslaught of critique in the latter half of the 20th century. Globally, the 1960s and 70s were a time of crisis in the form of capital accumulation; many economies stagnated as unemployment and inflation swelled. A debate ensued between social democrats and central planners and those interested in liberating markets and corporate power. The latter group succeeded in promoting their interests by the 1970s (D. Harvey, 2005). (In Africa during the 1960s and 70s, newly independent states were briefly free to dictate their development trajectory and engage in the project of decolonization.) As debt grew in the 1980s and the capitalist world lurched toward neoliberalism, major HIC powers wishing to involve themselves further in the management of debt and to take a greater role in global development found their efforts converge with the signing of the ‘Washington Consensus.’ This document established a list of reforms that

aimed to deliver economic reform and growth. Even before this articulation, starting in the 1980s, the World Bank and the IMF were tasked with promoting this market ideology by attaching policy conditions known as structural adjustment policies (SAPs) that would be implemented in developing countries to access development loans and prevent loan default. SAPs effectively imposed a neoliberal, free-market regime – “open door” development – onto countries in Africa and across the Global South, challenging decolonizing efforts. Nancy Fraser referred to this form of development as neoliberalization “imposed at the gunpoint of debt” (N. Fraser, 2009, p. 107). David Harvey noted how the benefits of “revived capital accumulation were highly skewed under forced privatization. The country and its ruling elites, along with foreign investors, did extremely well in the early stages” (D. Harvey, 2005, pg. 16). (He went to state that “redistributive effects and increasing social inequality have in fact been such a persistent feature of neoliberalization as to be regarded as structural to the whole project” (D. Harvey, 2005, pg. 16).) With the Washington Consensus, neoliberalized capitalism became the dominant economic order worldwide.

In LMICs these efforts saw the weakening of government control over economic decision-making. Economists of the time maintained that this liberalization of the markets would lead to rapid economic growth, increasing revenues in LMICs (Guttal, 2007; D. Harvey, 2005). This would help them catch up to HICs, which were in turn undergoing their own version of market adjustment (Hickel, 2017). The neoliberal approach with its practices of deregulation, reductions to government spending, market expansion, and privatization were institutionalized, with the hope of intensifying transnational economic activity (Banerjee, 2008; Besada & Martin, 2015; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Navarro, 2009; Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015).

This did not happen. Perhaps this should not have come as a surprise; the neoliberal agenda runs counter to the lessons of the benefits of protectionism learned by the HICs in the 19th and early 20th century. Instead, total foreign debt increased as domestic production was replaced with imports, including of services, and countries lost their ability to dictate their own development directions. A system was put into place which, once having driven an economy into an economic depression, chooses to develop only those industries that generate export earnings under conditions that favour transnational corporations (Eisenstein, 2015;

Ferguson, 1999). Zambians experienced this outcome with the privatization of Zambia's mining sector, while other, once productive, systems withered. Simultaneously, Zambians experienced the neoliberal-induced hollowing of their social safety nets and experienced worsening poverty, inequality, and health outcomes (Ferguson, 1999; Mususa, 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2014; Tranberg-Hansen, 2004). (In recent years even several of the IFIs have admitted that the SAPs were a failed approach, though some would argue practices have changed little given the continuing attachment to the neoliberal macro-economic framework (Chant, 2012; Chant & Sweetman, 2012).)

2.2.3 Invoking Feminist Theory

Over the past century we have witnessed dramatic transformation of the global political economy and women have been deeply implicated in this change. Taken from this perspective the relevance of adopting a feminist lens in the study of IPE becomes clear. Feminist theory offers the opportunity to apply this lens – and as such extends the scope of the feminist lens – to the analysis of international political economy. Global and local effects are revealed as scholars consider the roles of both structure and agency in social relations (Bedford & Rai, 2010). Feminist theory provides space to challenge the orthodoxy of growth and accumulation of the reigning neoliberal economic model, by instead considering human need and the way in which these needs are met to achieve societal wellbeing – from a feminist perspective (Rai & Waylen, 2013). It is worth noting that despite revelations promoted by feminist studies, among the dominant political economy discourse the consideration of women, or gender more broadly, is still largely disregarded in analysis.

2.2.4 A Reading of Neoliberal Global Restructuring through the Lens of Feminist Theory

The global strategy of neoliberalization yielded the drastic reduction of health, education, and other social services spending, resulting in the privatization of these sectors. This refers not just in terms of the provisioning of food, housing, clothing, but the ways in which gender itself was subject to this realignment. During the 1980s, welfare governments experienced the effects of fiscal pressure – weakening social structures and impoverishing many. Though often disregarded as a category of concern or study, women (and children)

particularly felt this impact, given that the loss of services, including even water access, increase burdens that women experience (Eisenstein, 2015). Gender orders were reconfigured as were trade and investment agreements at this time. With the associated transformation of employment practices that led to precarity in the workplace, women faced even further challenges (Vosko, 2000).

2.2.5 Breadwinning and Labour Transformations – Hope vs. Reality

Prior to the neoliberalization of the capitalist system, the liberal regime of state-organized capitalism, and hierarchical societies more generally, relied on the separation of the public sector, the market, and the domestic sphere – each governed through the enactment of distinct rules, responsibilities, and hierarchies (Bakker, 2007; N. Fraser, 2009). Laws and regulations were established that reinforced a division of labour in which men participated in political and economic life. Domestic spaces were the purview of women and the associated caring work. The gender order was preserved through the provision of the family wage – intended to maintain the wellbeing of the family. The division of labour was considered natural, rather than constructs imposed by society. Men held the more prestigious position and women were considered subordinate as a result of their innate capabilities (Boserup, 2007). This neat distinction allocated the unpaid responsibilities of care and preservation of family life largely to women.

Neoliberalism remade societies and economies – limiting the redistribution of wealth, intensifying class formation, increasing inequality, and decreasing social cohesion (Coburn, 2004; Ferguson, 2006; D. Harvey, 2005; Navarro, 2009; Wengraf, 2018). By the 1970s, with the increasing embeddedness of the neoliberal mechanisms and crisis of “stagflation,” there was a significant move away from standard employment broadly toward an increase in temporary employment and economic insecurity modeled on the temporary agencies of the past (Vosko, 2000). Simultaneously, the family wage was collapsing. Breadwinning, which had been a driving force in male identity, was assailed as women began increasingly to participate in the labour force as neoliberalism undercut the state-led capitalist ideal of the sole breadwinner. Even so, the IMF and World Bank’s efficiency approach under the SAPs treated women’s contributions as free labour. Women were expected to buffer the effects of

the SAPs that had led to increased un- and under-employment among men and a reduced capacity in state-led social services. Not only were women meant to substitute for the failure of the state to provide health, education, and other social services, they were meant to seek new forms of work to help the family survive (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). In the move to centre the neoliberal tenet of efficiency, women in LMICs were placed under a triple workload. They were encouraged to produce for the market, while also contributing more for their family and community. The overall burden on women had been intensified, further taxing their wellbeing (Bakker, 2007; Barrett, 1995; Bhattacharya, 2017; Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Moser, 1989; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994).

As women's work lives were transformed, so was the relationship between the market and extra-market relations. Many families experienced declining incomes, and more household members, including women, were forced into the labour market (Çağatay & Özler, 1995). Though feminists have been critical of systems that saw women dependent on men for their economic security, the feminization of labour did not yield economic emancipation for women (Elson & Pearson, 1981; N. Fraser, 2009, 2017; Vosko, 2000). Rather, under this regime women found themselves in increasingly precarious employment positions.

Though feminists had been critical of the patriarchal system which saw women dependent on men for their economic security, there was also a recognition that the family wage was an important component of the social contract that preserved family wellbeing (for those who were lucky enough to earn it). By the 1980s, international trade and investment agreements, deregulation, and austerity measures began to affect HICs, and even more adversely LMICs given reductions to health and education budgets. Even as some women found opportunities for employment, good opportunities were limited given the neoliberal transformation of the labour market. The gender order was reconstituted as regulations and laws that enforced the division of labour changed as labour markets themselves were feminized and informalized. Wages declined, along with employment security, and living standards, and the number of hours of work to support a family increased dramatically (N. Fraser, 2009). As the state withdrew its involvement, a growth in informal economies was the result, along with the casualization of labour given the failure of a capitalist system to make use of growing surplus labour. In these spaces vast new communities sought work and

income generation outside formal markets in increasingly precarious situations. The scarcity of wage labour and other adversity led to increased exploitation of the precariat. Many more were left behind by these economic transitions (Mususa, 2010b; Thieme, 2018; Tranberg-Hansen, 2004; Wengraf, 2018).

Under the neoliberal conditions which required more specialized, gendered labour, women's striving for rights and equality were sacrificed in maquiladoras and Walmarts, as a new international division of labour appeared (N. Fraser, 2009). These efforts have been legitimized under the name of women's economic empowerment. What had been promised was women's empowerment, but this agenda was coopted by a drive for productivity and efficiency (Parpart, 2000). It was not meant to be this way.

2.2.6 A Global Focus on Women

In the wake of the women's movement of the 1960s and 70s, 1975 was declared the 'International Women's Year' by the United Nations and was followed by the 'UN Decade for Women' (1976-1985), emerging from the recognition of the issues preventing the advancement of women. These included a lack of political will, insufficient recognition of women's contributions, and inadequate involvement of men in contributing to the improvement of women's role in society. It had been hoped that the greater involvement of men in improving women's role would lead to the increase of decision-making power and would require a commitment to services such as adequate childcare and access to education and financial resources. These campaigns were accompanied by World Conferences for Women, whereby each conference adopted a plan of action meant to move countries forward in achieving steps to improve the status of women. The Decade themes were equality, development, and peace, with a focus on pay equity, gendered violence, land holding, and other human rights (B. Roberts, 1996). By turning the global focus on women, the Decade delivered significant outputs. This included policy advancement, such as the "Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women", which was ratified in 1981; the 'World Survey on the Role of Women in Development' to visibilize women in economic reports; and the creation of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, the

Commission on the Status of Women, and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (B. Roberts, 1996).

In the conferences that followed the Decade, aspirations for women were wide-ranging and transformational. Attention turned to the rights of women and girls, the advancement of the reproductive rights discourse, social development, and women's equality. A "Programme of Action" that promoted women's ownership and control of property and inheritance, child custody, and loss of nationality was written. There was a call in support of the creation of a UN institution for New International Economic Order that critiqued global inequality and tenets of neoliberalism that were entrenching disparity. Delegates from colonized countries rejected actions and rulings that favoured colonialism, apartheid, hegemonism, and Zionism. However, these efforts proved too controversial even at the time. Most were exchanged for policies and practices that better aligned with the neoliberal tenets of the Washington Consensus (Eisenstein, 2015).

The 1995 Beijing Conference arrived at a time when the process of neoliberalizing the gender equality agenda was already underway, though efforts to maintain the transformative potential of women's empowerment remained. The Beijing Conference marked twenty years of effort on the part of state and civil society actors to ensure that this precept was secured as a central element in the international development discourse (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009). "[E]mpowerment' and the meanings associated with it [...] - 'participation', 'power', 'equality', 'social justice - were resources [state and civil society actors] could draw upon for making change happen" (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009, p. 287).

What is meant by empowerment? Naila Kabeer outlined various conceptualizations of empowerment along a number of dimensions that include: the ability to address material inequality, which is connected to women's capacity to exercise control over their lives ('the power to'); the capacity to alter one's subjectivity and consciousness to overcome the ideological inculcation of power ('the power within'); and a recognition of the need to act together as women to challenge the injustices they face ('the power with') (Kabeer, 2012). More simply, Kabeer described empowerment as the ability for women to make choices (Kabeer, 2005). Empowerment implied the ability to shape and reform structures that attempt to exert control over women, which requires that women have voice, mobility, and a strong

public presence. She also noted that gender inequality intersects with other forms of inequality – race, income, ethnicity, location, etc. – which exacerbate injustice. Efforts striving to empower women must address these dimensions (Kabeer, 2012). Efficient economic output and improving market contributions are not mentioned in her definition.

In 2000, “Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment” was introduced as the third of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), with its one target being “to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and in all levels of education by 2015” (MDG Monitor, 2016). With the singular focus on education, the MDG was critiqued for being far too narrow, though the way in which women were able to participate in the labour market and increasing the proportion of women’s seats in parliament, were also highlighted as central to the ability of achieving the goal. Yet, as was argued by Kabeer, these policy shifts had the potential to initiate change only if they were accompanied by a genuine commitment to transformative change, while also creating the space and opportunity for women to participate, monitor, and hold policy-makers accountable for their actions. The achievement of this goal required the international community to provide the support women needed at the grassroots to ensure they had the necessary capacity to institute these changes (2005).

2.2.7 Smart Economics, Women’s ‘Economic’ Empowerment, and the (Further) Co-option of Feminism

Despite the inclusion of education and political involvement of the MDGs, the majority of the development actors had already begun to turn their focus to economic development – read for women as ‘economic empowerment.’ Few organizations maintained their missions and policies to reflect a broader concern for more the dynamic notions of human development and wellbeing first articulated in the ‘UN Decade for Women’ (Chant & Sweetman, 2012).

In the 1970, labour transformation was promised to be the route to women’s empowerment (Eisenstein, 2015; Elson & Pearson, 1981; Kabeer, 2012; Rai & Waylen, 2013), with the rise of a gendered lens in the field of economics (Boserup, 2007). This approach was increasingly emphasized. Feminist economists argued that past development

efforts had failed in part because they ignored women's contribution to wealth creation, through both their productive and unpaid, reproductive labour. Though it took twenty years, by the 1990s women were starting to be seen as essential to economic development (Eisenstein, 2015). The Beijing Conference was one of the first public fora to promote women's economic independence, which included a focus on employment and the ability access productive resources, opportunities, and services (Kabeer, 2012). This position was well-received, given "a wealth of micro-level evidence to suggest that not only does women's access to employment and education opportunities reduce the likelihood of household poverty but resources in women's hands have a range of positive outcomes for human capital and capabilities within the household" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 4) – if women have a genuine ability to participate in the process and are supported by appropriate policies (Kabeer, 2005). Even as these commitments were being made, neoliberal tenets were inserting their way into these processes, subverting the emancipatory power of labour for women. Instead women's labour was tied to the macroeconomic framework of the day that resulted in the conditions of precarity described in the previous section.

The World Bank was one of the major IFIs to have a role in this co-option. Though the World Bank was called to account for the humanitarian crises associated with the SAPs it was central to implementing. Rather than fundamentally reforming its economic policies it settled for an attempt to reintegrate social considerations. Under this new directive, gender and race were 'stirred' into its policies and programs to help resolve the 'imperfections' of its proposed market remedies (Bergeron, 2003). The Bank began to adopt the language of 'women's economic empowerment,' first articulated around the Beijing Conference in their report, *Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development*. The report stated that investments in women led to greater growth, more efficiency, reduced poverty, and more sustainable development by helping future generations (World Bank, 1994). The World Bank introduced 'smart economics,' stating that what is good for women is good for business (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; World Bank, 2006). The Bank believed the smart economics approach would support policies that would find ways of making markets work for women, while also creating space for women to compete in the markets locally (World Bank, 2006).

In the business environment, restructured via SAPs, a focus on entrepreneurship,

microloan, and small-scale, and often informal initiatives were celebrated by some as the ‘great hope’ for LMICs (Frese & Friedrich, 2002, p. v). These approaches were explicitly included as an employment strategy in some countries’ SAPs (McPherson, 1996). Particularly for women, the World Bank began to encourage entrepreneurship and microloan approaches. The approaches were described as a way for women to build their involvement in productive work, increase gender equality, and decrease poverty (IFC, 2017; World Bank, 2001, 2006). Female borrowing was further associated not only with “increased earning capacity and control of household assets by women, but with more autonomy and decision-making power within the home, and greater demand for formal health care for women” (World Bank, 2001, p. 148).

By 2019, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor reported that the rates of total entrepreneurial activity among women in sub-Saharan Africa were the highest in the world, at 21.8% (Elam et al., 2019). Entrepreneurism was even promoted in the extractives sector, with the expectation that addressing gender impacts of mining was good for both development and business (Eftimie et al., 2009). Opportunities to include women not only on the mine site, but also as important entrepreneurial contributors to the value chain were highlighted. Here too, efforts to support women’s small businesses were also outlined by the World Bank as important work for both governments and extractive industry companies. The approach has been widely adopted by various stakeholders across the extractive sector (IGF, 2021; Parks et al., 2018; PDAC, 2020; World Bank, 2015a), where it is seen as good development practice. Women are considered efficient workers who repay their loans and use their earning to support their families (Eftimie et al., 2009). Under the neoliberal smart economics agenda, women were “responsibilized” to pull their families out of poverty, with only privately delivered microloans and few, much weakened, public sector supports.

In this thesis I adopt Natascia Boeri’s framing of the ‘entrepreneurial subject’ “as a development industry discourse that emphasizes neoliberal ideals of self-sufficiency through the market” and ignores the absent state, weakened through restructuring processes (Boeri, 2018, p. 158). My usage of the term reflects my theoretical stance as well as highlights the nature of this study’s second objective to explain how various development actors have positioned women as productive workers with underexploited income-earning potential. This

potential exists within the realm of entrepreneurship. For women in LMICs, the focus largely rests on small business, supported by microlending endeavours. However, these entrepreneurial opportunities do not benefit all women equally, particularly women who have only been able to find employment in the informal market (Boeri, 2018). Success varies by the intersections women inhabit, especially given that these programs generally lack the structural supports needed to see entrepreneurship thrive.

2.2.8 Critiquing Smart Economics

The smart economics agenda marks a considerable shift from a transformational and nuanced approach to empowerment and gender equality that reflects women's specific context and circumstances first articulated in 'International Women's Year.' To achieve gender equality, attention must be paid not only to agential and relational issues, but also to structural inequality that has been locked in across finance and development institutions, governments, and society as a whole (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). The myopic focus on women's economic empowerment has proved a distraction from these aims.

Certain economists and political economists applied a feminist lens to the study of the relationship between the market and extra-market relations endorsed under the women's economic empowerment position. These researchers considered the way in which women's work and lives were being transformed through capitalism, the spread of globalization, and neoliberalism, and what this meant for global practices of exploitation and oppression (Bhattacharya, 2017; Boserup, 2007; Rai & Waylen, 2013). Global supply chains and the easing of trade with the institution of market-oriented economic policies have led to more jobs for women. Yet research showed, with the deregulation of labour markets, the fragmentation of the production process, and the establishment of new export zones with trade liberalization, the feminization of labour has been associated with the proliferation of low skill, low paying, informal, precarious, and often hazardous jobs. Further studies attempted to make visible the care work done by women in the unpaid economy, care for families and for communities (Bergeron, 2003; Butler, 2015; Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Elson & Pearson, 1981; Hickel, 2014; Rai & Waylen, 2013; True, 2012). These studies revealed how policy efforts, their failures – or the failure even to identify policy openings –

meant women's needs have gone unmet (N. Fraser, 2009; Rai & Waylen, 2013). They found that, instead of generating positive transformative change for women, neoliberalism became further entrenched, further increasing women's inequality and co-opting the feminist agenda.

The women's economic empowerment approach was also critiqued for the ways in which it crowded out more socially progressive approaches to rights and collective action (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009). It instead tends to economism, instrumentalizing empowerment by focusing on the role women and girls could play in furthering the capitalist project by "making women work for development, rather than making development work for their equality and empowerment" (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015, p. 398; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Keating, Rasmussen, & Rishi, 2010). The position neglects structural issues that allow discrimination and inequality to thrive, by failing to contend with violence against women and sexual and reproductive rights. It also forsakes the broader structural discussion of freedom and empowerment that would enable political change to support women in efforts to gain power and control over their lives, whereby they could begin to introduce political change to further their own objectives (Bergeron, 2003; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Keating et al., 2010).

Kabeer noted a further problem with this approach to women's economic empowerment. The organizations that implemented economic empowerment programs assumed that once women were able to access and exert some control over economic resources, they would be able to participate equally in the market economy, and benefit from its outputs. This perspective neglected the challenges women must negotiate as they attempted market participation. Many of these challenges are non-economic: unpaid care and domestic work; sexual harassment, discrimination, and a lack of mentors; cultural norms that limit access to certain jobs and stereotypes and prejudices that 'keep women in their place'; and a lack of self-confidence due to limited educational and market experience (Kabeer, 2012). Others observed that economic empowerment failed to differentiate women in terms of background and networks, education, and economic security, and the how these differences affect opportunities and outcomes (Keating et al., 2010). This approach was also critiqued for the way in which it required women to fit into an 'economic man' archetype. Women were expected to operate as rational actors, who will not reconfigure the market in

any way despite their gender difference (Prügl, 2015). This approach simultaneously essentialized women, creating the stereotype of the efficient, hardworking racialized woman, who acts more sensibly than men and willingly invests all her earnings in her family (K. Wilson, 2011). It further shored up heteronormative configurations of family, requiring a father and a mother to contribute to a household, thus stabilizing gender identities (Prügl, 2015).

Yet, a contradiction exists under the smart economics approach. Some research has documented how African men have been vilified by development institutions as lazy and prone to making irresponsible choices. These depictions were used to justify investment in women – while distracting from development institutions’ failure implement needed structural reforms (Eisenstein, 2015; N. Fraser, 2009; Oksala, 2013; Prügl, 2015; Whitehead, 2000).

Development institutions have long engaged in these types of discourse-shaping efforts. Images of the ‘lazy’ man were employed during in colonial era to justify and legitimize existing economic structures and development practices. They also served to hide men’s resistance to colonial labour regimes and imposed forms of rural development (Whitehead, 2000). These practices have continued, though some changes have occurred. Instead of depicting men as indolent, in 2011 Kalpana Wilson reported how development institutions were depicting women as industrious entrepreneurs. She described how this constructed image of women’s intensified labour practice is “rooted in a notion of ‘agency’ consistent with—and necessary for—neoliberal capitalism” (K. Wilson, 2011, p. 328). Just as in the colonial era, these images displayed essentialized, and racist, depictions of women that have been used to justify global economic inequality. Development institutions have continued to attempt to frame the discourse by depicting how the solution to poverty and gender inequality resides not in structural change, but in African women working harder (K. Wilson, 2011).

Despite these critiques, the women’s economic empowerment agenda has continued to thrive. Its success is in part because of support from IFIs and those who benefit from their policy imperatives and in part because of the cultural shift that had been occurring throughout the 1960s and 70s. As a cultural movement, Nancy Fraser found that feminism

thrived during the shift to neoliberalism. Feminism became a phenomenon of mass social appeal by extending its emancipatory promise to engage with injustices and structural barriers that women experience within the family and the workplace by considering private matters such as sexuality, housework, reproduction, and violence against women. This era also witnessed the rise of intersectional feminist theoretical frameworks, extending critical race theory to expand conceptions of the oppression women experience at the intersections of other dimensions of their identity (N. Fraser, 2009). Fraser contended that these emancipatory movements were enfolded, ironically, into the domain of a flexible, neoliberal capitalism that displayed itself as ‘liberal-individualist and gender-egalitarian.’ Women’s struggle for economic empowerment was endowed with ethical meaning – to see women considered the equals of men in every sphere – particularly in the sphere of production (N. Fraser, 2017). To be part of this working world meant emancipation for all,

“at one end, the female cadres of the professional middle classes, determined to crack the glass ceiling; at the other end, the female temps, part-timers, low-wage service employees, domestics, sex workers, migrants, EPZ [export processing zone] workers and microcredit borrowers, seeking not only income and material security, but also dignity, self-betterment and liberation from traditional authority. At both ends, the dream of women’s emancipation is harnessed to the engine of capitalist accumulation” (N. Fraser, 2009, p. 110).

This engine led to deepening inequality through structural transformations beginning in the 1960s with the introduction of the neoliberal macro-economic framework. ‘Gender’ and the issue of women’s empowerment was adopted to distract from the on-going challenges caused by the neoliberal order and SAPs, when what was needed was support for state-led, economic development for all (Eisenstein, 2015).

2.2.9 The Neoliberalization of Feminism

The influence of neoliberalism reaches beyond the scope of the political economy and the frameworks of governance. It has become a “project of governing and persuasion intent on producing new forms of subjectivity and particular modes of conduct. [...] It reaches from the soul of the citizen-subject to educational policy to practices of empire” (Giroux, 2008, p.

1). The project of neoliberalism has reformed the political sphere by introducing the concepts of deregulation, privatization, and structural adjustment policies, among others. It is an economic project associated with the centring of value on private enterprise and marketization and increasing suspicion of the state. It reaches further still. It is a project capable of transmuting the realm of social and cultural formation. The border between the social and the economic is blurred and even disappears in institutional and social practices, as individuals' relationships to themselves and to others are being shaped by the pervasive presence of neoliberalism. In these spaces it has applied private market forces to public governance, simultaneously inserting itself into the most intimate of spaces – the private realm of the self (N. Fraser, 2009; Giroux, 2008; Oksala, 2013; Prügl, 2015).

This relationship brings to bear Michel Foucault's interpretation of neoliberalism "as a specific, rationally reflected and coordinated way of governing" – neoliberal governmentality (Oksala, 2013, p. 36). This approach is capable of producing forms of subjectivity – for instance, subjects willing to act as entrepreneurs across all areas of their lives. These subjects can then be manoeuvred by self-interest into making rational choices based on certain forms of economic understanding, once their interest in competition is nurtured and enhanced (Foucault, Davidson, & Burchell, 2008). But individuals cannot live in the "cold" mechanism of competition alone. This social model requires "warm" social and cultural values, so that individuals are not disaffected by their environment.

"The individual's life must be lodged, not within the framework of a big enterprise such as the firm or [...] the state, but within the framework of a multiplicity of diverse enterprises connected up to and entangled with each other [...] And finally, the individual's life itself—with relationships to his private property, for example, with his family, household, insurance, and retirement—must make him into a sort of permanent and multiple enterprise" (Foucault et al., 2008, p. 241).

All arenas of private life are subject to the influence of enterprise and given meaning through the market – from mother-child relationships to marriage to birth rate (Foucault et al., 2008).

Among others, Elizabeth Prügl has offered a critique of neoliberalism that highlights the ways in which it has co-opted one of these arenas – that of feminism – by integrating it into neoliberal ideology, and entwining it into the rationalities and mechanisms of neoliberal

governmentality (Prügl, 2015). This incursion of neoliberalism began in the 1960s and 70s with the feminist critique of state-organized capitalism. Fraser outlined how the feminist movement was subsequently fractured, with some segments finding cause with this new form of capitalism. Hester Eisenstein articulated the way in which the ‘elite seduced feminism,’ appropriating the labour movement through the women’s economic empowerment discourse (Eisenstein, 2015). This occurred even as the new economic framework of neoliberalism “celebrates “diversity”, meritocracy, and “emancipation” while dismantling social protections. [...] The result is not only to abandon defenseless populations to capital’s predations, but also to redefine emancipation in market terms” (N. Fraser, 2017, p. 33). Adrienne Roberts offered insight into transnational spread of neoliberalism through ‘transnational business feminism’ following the 2008/09 financial crisis, which proposed that women’s involvement was the solution to the extreme masculinity that had, in part, catalysed the crisis. She highlighted how transnational business feminism was grounded in a particular form of ‘Western liberal feminism’ that employs empowerment as a method of embedding market principles (A. Roberts, 2012). Adopted by states, UN agencies, NGOs, IFIs, and corporations, the business case for gender equality was solidified as an accepted way of increasing profitability and competitiveness, aligning with the World Bank’s approach to ‘smart economics’ as the best way to eliminate poverty in LMICs (A. Roberts, 2015). Not only did the market succeed in incorporating market principles into women’s policy, it succeeded in privileging feminist priorities that resonate with the market (Prügl, 2015).

Prügl described the three main pathways by which feminism has been neoliberalized: “(a) the co-optation of feminism into neoliberal economic projects, (b) the integration of feminism into neoliberal ideology, and (c) the interweaving of feminist ideas into rationalities and technologies of neoliberal governmentality” (2015, p. 617). She outlined how neoliberalized feminism draws on a rational means of governing by employing the technologies of individual freedom, choice, and empowerment – and a discourse that centres the idea of Foucault’s individuals as ‘entrepreneurs of the self’ (Foucault et al., 2008). These entrepreneurs rationally calculate the costs and benefits of each of their choices, in order to maximize returns. They also require individuals to self-monitor to ensure they are acting in line with market requirements. Prügl has found that feminist politics is subverted under this

discourse as women are ‘responsibilized,’ requiring women to reform themselves in pursuit of gender equality as it is interpreted through the lens of neoliberal ideology (2015). Equality is not to be sought through structural transformation or movement organizing, but through ‘women’s economic empowerment’ and self-responsibilization, through individual goals and entrepreneurial efforts. Responsibilized individuals are then required to raise themselves and their families out of poverty as state supports are starved of support under neoliberal regimes (Keating et al., 2010; Prügl, 2015, 2017).

By employing public-private partnerships, Prügl and True have examined the ways in which private corporations have used these partnerships as a technology to extend private forms of governance under the ostensible framing of gender equality and women’s empowerment (Prügl & True, 2014). Under the cover of feminist ideas, neoliberal rationalities were introduced, making gender a productive agent in the quest for profit and growth. Simultaneously, neoliberalized feminism became a governing force circulated through networks, using expert knowledge to further entrench its position (Prügl & True, 2014).

Particularly relevant to the mining sector, feminism has become a governing force. This practice of employing feminism is often observed in the way corporations employ their CSR-associated programs to empower women within a neoliberal governance framework (PDAC, 2020; Prügl, 2015; World Bank, 2015a). Paula Butler examined a public-private partnership that employed the neoliberalization of feminism to promote Canadian company mining activity through Canadian government-supported CSR initiative. The project partnered the Canadian registered, transnational mining company, IAMGOLD, with the Government of Burkina Faso and was largely funded through the Government of Canada’s Sustainable Economic Growth Strategy, for \$5.7 million. IAMGOLD contributed \$1 million. The NGO, Plan Canada, contributed \$0.9 million (Butler, 2017, p. 151). The public-private partnership delivered a basic education and vocational training program with a strong gender component. Though many of the 10,000 youth trained through the program received additional education and went on to find jobs, the benefit was limited. At the time of reporting only eight of the 10,000 were making more than minimum wage. Butler critiqued the project, finding there was no focus on training participants in artisanal mining. Though

considered dangerous due to a lack of regulation, it would offer the opportunity for both men and women to make at least double the minimum wage (Bush, 2009; Gamu et al., 2015). Nor was there emphasis on developing within-country metal processing capacity, also considered to be an important income generating opportunity. Butler posited that perhaps this was the case as both occupations were thought to challenge the dominance of large-scale transnational mining regimes and their associated supply chains. Rather, especially for girls, programs emphasized poorly paid work in the service sector work. Butler reported that though these efforts improved Canadian companies' reputations, there was little value for program recipients, especially when it came to benefiting from their country's resource wealth (Butler, 2017).

In other LMICs, mining companies have been using private governance initiatives to implement other forms of women's economic empowerment programs. Instead of the government-supported development programming seen in Burkina Faso, some mining companies are using their CSR offices to promote female entrepreneurship. Researchers have critiqued this practice for adhering to an approach that instrumentalizes gender in an effort to entrench a neoliberal agenda under the guise of development (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Oksala, 2013; Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2015, 2017). This neoliberalization of feminism is being implemented using the language of 'smart economics,' and under the notion that "empowering women and girls through increased opportunities in the labor force and access to credit, land, political representation, etc., will help reduce poverty" (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Parisi, 2020, p. 164; Prügl, 2015; World Bank, 2006). Through these approaches, feminist ideas become integrated into neoliberal rationales and logics, and gender equality becomes a necessary feature for good economic growth (Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2015, 2017; World Bank, 2006, 2011). Though "neoliberalised feminism may provide arguments for gender equality and the empowerment of women, [...] it retains ideological commitments to rationalism, heteronormativity, and genderless economic structures" (Prügl, 2015, p. 619). Through "responsibilization," neoliberalized feminism weakens support for social movements that would challenge the structural nature of inequality.

2.3 Intersectionality

“Neoliberalism cannot be abstracted from race and gender relations, or other cultural aspects of the body politic. Its legitimating discourse, social relations, and ideology are saturated with race, with gender, with sex, with religion, with ethnicity, and nationality.”

Lisa Duggan (2012, p. 16)

Not only is neoliberalism altering the political economy, as the quotation from Lisa Duggan notes, but it is also transforming social dynamics and is deeply implicated in race and gender relations. As Foucault found, it is even working at the very level of the self, transforming the ways in which we see ourselves and thereby participate in our social, cultural, and political economic worlds (Foucault et al., 2008). As we are caught up in these shifts it is easy to ignore its influence, or at least fail to consider how it might be shaping the co-constitutive experiences of privilege or oppression. As a privileged White feminist, I run the risk of glossing over class privilege and racism to focus on gender, perhaps because, as bell hooks attests, privileged feminists do not deeply comprehend the interrelatedness of gender, race, and class (hooks, 2000). As such, I explicitly involve intersectionality in this work, in an effort to adopt a more nuanced appreciation of our multiple, intermeshed identities.

Intersectionality, first described by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, is a paradigm that considers the co-constitutive experiences of privilege and oppression by centring the identities of race, class, and gender (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1989). Lisa Bowleg (2012) described intersectionality as a theoretical framework or perspective. It operates more as an analytical framework or paradigm, rather than a theory with core elements that can be operationalized and empirically tested. Regardless, this framework has much to offer both theory and methodology (Bowleg, 2012). Intersectionality was developed in an effort to distinguish from ‘the women’s experience’ and ‘the Black experience,’ a Black woman’s distinct form of subordination that had been systematically erased from feminist and anti-racist theory and analysis (Crenshaw, 1989).

Intersectionality has expanded over time to encapsulate how multiple social identities are intermeshed, in the “overlapping and conflicting dynamics of race, gender, class,

sexuality, nation, and other inequalities” (Cho et al., 2013, p. 788). Consideration of these dynamics allows for a more nuanced understanding of women’s social location experienced as a product of a particular history, within specific social, cultural, economic, and political contexts (Anzaldúa, 1987; Hill Collins, 2002; hooks, 2000; McNally, 2017; Yuval-Davis, 2015). It challenges past efforts that described “the ‘Third World Women’ as “singular, monolithic subjects” (Mohanty, 1988, p. 61). This includes, for instance, considerations from scholars and activists who are African and of the African diaspora, who challenge the ways White North American and European scholars and activists have defined race, class, colonialism, gender, etc., by identifying how these efforts have multiplied forms of oppression, limiting understandings of the complex, socially-whole women occupying these spaces (Oyěwùmí, 1997). Within these spaces, intersectionality has also pushed for a greater recognition of the way individual level, intertwined social identities interact with social inequalities at the structural level (Bowleg, 2012). Thurka Sangaramoorthy and Adia Benton (2021) described how people living at multiple intersections have been marginalized in their relations with institutional power, and how this dynamic affected their health outcomes. They described how researchers have employed intersectionality to identify inequities that exist within our systems and structures by examining how intersecting experiences of inequality become entangled in systems of oppression and privilege that exist across various levels, from the interpersonal to the institutional (Sangaramoorthy & Benton, 2021). They find that it is only once these differences have been recognized that appropriate health interventions and social action can be implemented to meet individuals’ specific needs as experienced within their specific context.

2.3.1 Exercising Power – Structure and Representation

Efforts from African and Black diasporic academics and activists have raised inconsistencies in the scholarship, highlighting the different ways Black women’s experiences have been structured and then represented, creating social relations invoked across domains of power. The American scholar, Patricia Hill Collins, used intersectionality to reveal how oppression acts conjointly to produce injustice, while her ‘matrix of domination’ explores the organization of these intersecting oppressions experienced. She

examined how they accumulate and interact across “structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power” reappearing in multiple forms of oppression (2002, p. 18). Her theorizing on power revealed how hegemonic practices are countering efforts of resistance in order to maintain racist, sexist, class-based, heteronormative, etc. ideologies. She explored the ways in which hegemonic domains continuously recreate images to support the matrices of domination to shut out the threat posed by Black feminists seeking justice and threatening existing hierarchies. Hill Collins described how other oppressed groups have been drawn into these efforts to control Black feminists in the pursuit of justice, and how they have become pitted against one against the other. Though some institutions have implemented certain changes in an effort to include Black women, they are often superficial (Bergeron, 2003). Simultaneously, she described efforts under way, supported by other marginalized groups, to keep Black women away from power (Hill Collins, 2002).

Hill Collins described how attempts to disempower women often vary by context, as dominations can be differently structured. Nigerian scholar Molaria Ogundipe-Leslie has inquired into what has still gone ‘unheard.’ She offers the description of African women who metaphorically carry ‘six mountains on their backs’ (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994). “The first mountain represents oppression from outside (colonialism and neocolonialism), the second is from traditional structures, feudal, slave-based, communal, etc., the third is her backwardness (neocolonialism?), the fourth is man, the fifth is her color, her race, and the sixth is herself” (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994, p. 27). Hill Collins found that women of African descent share a “legacy of African cultures, a history of racial oppressions organized via slavery, colonialism, and imperialism, and an emerging global racism that, assisted by modern technology, moves across national borders with dizzying speed” (Hill Collins, 2002, p. 232). Yet, her work also identified points of common experience that exist across transnational contexts. She quotes Angela Miles, a Canadian scholar, who describes,

“that what we call “development issues” in the “third world,” such as housing, education, health, child care, and poverty, are called “social issues” in the “first world.” These are not qualitatively different phenomena as “development” definitions imply, but shared political issues that constitute a potential basis for common political

struggle. Global feminisms are the result of this common struggle grounded in diverse local realities” (Hill Collins, 2002, p. 240).

Miles speaks of endeavours aimed at justifying existing practices even as they fractured transnational links developed to build a common political cause between women everywhere. This distinction is highlighted by the Nigerian social scientist, Olbisi Aina’s discussion of images employed to disempower the African woman. Women have been depicted as being “too far gone to be worthy of aid or as passive recipients of government handouts. Significantly, the one area of agency allowed Black women lies in their sexuality and reproductive capacities—if African women are in fact “breeding too many children,” then it is perfectly acceptable for Western nation-states to refuse to “pick up the tab”” (in Hill Collins, 2002, p. 241). These depictions serve a political purpose, manipulating the way we see each other in a hegemonic display of power, while entrenching forms of oppression often first instigated by high income countries and IFIs employing structural adjustment policies.

These hegemonic practices continue to be used in neoliberal development efforts, “through which racial and gender domination are utterly interwoven with capitalist exploitation” (McNally, 2017, p. 111). As described earlier, these efforts have in part created the trope of the ‘lazy African man’ (Whitehead, 2000), and the simultaneously created stereotype of the efficient, hardworking African woman, who willingly sacrifices all for her family – and just ‘incidentally’ further entrenches economic liberalization (K. Wilson, 2011). Divisions have also been sown to suit other ends. White feminism as practiced in high income countries has historically stressed gender oppression, depicting men and women in opposition. This form of feminism has insufficiently recognized that gender oppression exists in a complex interaction with racial and colonial experience, and is exacerbated by the role of class, culture, religion, and other ideological frameworks (Bhattacharya, 2017; Mohanty, 1988). Post-colonial feminist theorists remind us that the ways in which Western feminists represent – or misrepresent – men and women in countries working to decolonize has the potential to upend this work and reinforce oppression. Women suffer “at the hands of Western feminists from the colonizer countries who misrepresent their colonized counterparts by imposing silence on their racial, cultural, social, and political specificities, and in so doing, act as potential oppressors of their ‘sisters’” (Tyagi, 2014, p. 45). These

hegemonic depictions can also be used by other colonial oppressors, as Paula Butler identified in her examination of Canadian-registered mining companies. The image that Canadian-registered mining companies, and Canadians in general, often choose to adopt is that of the “altruistic and idealistic ‘global citizen,’” engaged in the practice of rational capitalism and associated development endeavours in “ungovernable lands” (Butler, 2015, p. 18).

2.3.2 Employing Intersectionality to Understand Inequality

Despite these challenges, Pumla Dineo Gqola identifies spaces within which ‘Blackwomen’ with a feminist consciousness are reshaping the world, creating new meanings and are “redefining the terms of our participation in all discourse” (Gqola, 2001, p. 15). This is an active process as oppression is a lived experience and requires a response. Theory emerges within these spaces of practice. Intersectionality – as both a theoretical framework and a methodology – is one way of redefining who participates in the discourse, who is able to be heard. It moves beyond a monolithic conception of subjects and explores the ways in which various aspects of social and other identities exist in dynamic relationship with each other. It does this by drawing attention to power and social processes at the local and global level, with the aim of illuminating and then transforming the way in which axes of power and structural inequality may create particular vulnerabilities at these intersections (Crenshaw, 1989; Hankivsky, 2012).

Nira Yuval-Davis described intersectionality as a useful theoretical framework and methodology in the study of social inequality. She has maintained that intersectional analysis should be applied to all people, not just the marginalized, to avoid the risk of exceptionalism and of “reifying and essentialising social boundaries.” As critical race and ethnicity studies point out, not only black people are racially constructed, and feminists do remind men they too have a gender” (Yuval-Davis, 2015, p. 93). In our situated ways of seeing the world we construct different interpretations and meanings. Recognizing the matrices of power, intersectionality allows for a dialogue that is rooted in one’s experiences, perspective, and sense of belonging, which includes an awareness of one’s normative value system, while also being empathetic to the positions of others (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2015). These ‘transversal

dialogues' require a 'both/and' form of thinking, that allows us to recognize the varying amounts of privilege and oppression we each hold in historically created systems (Hill Collins, 2002). Chandra Mohanty warned that a failure to engage in these dialogues may create essentialized categories, such as 'women', which can "assume an ahistorical, universal unity among women based on a generalized notion of their subordination" (Mohanty, 1988, p. 72). The practice may also reinforce divisions between groups that limit the ability combat oppression.

To better understand social inequality, Yuval-Davis (2015) adopted an analysis of 'situated' intersectionality that extends the orientation of intersectionality in ways that I have found useful. The situated approach leaves open the possibility that one may experience both privilege and oppression at the same time. Beyond extending the analysis to all people, not just those experiencing oppression, it explores the ways in which multiple axes of social power were comprised according to particular situated social positionings, identifications, values, and social divisions, as they occur within a specific space and time for a particular group of people. It explores inequalities of social division (e.g., race, gender, class, etc.) within and across categories in different locations and attempts to explicate meaning, given social and historical contexts. Yuval-Davis found that this analysis also worked to keep categories mutable, in part by incorporating non-conformist perspectives. It helps researchers avoid homogenizing or reifying groupings and assigning meanings and interpretations that may not be held by all members of a social category.

I was also drawn to Yuval-Davis' approach because of its attention to the domains that produce inequality – an extension of social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. I have attempted to include this approach in my ethnographic work, which is called to attend to the effects of global political economy at the level where I conducted my fieldwork (Marcus & Fischer, 1999). The domains approach asks for consideration of inequalities as they exist across borders, from the local to the global, as they determine availability of resources accessible to certain groups. It also considers the production, reproduction, and distribution of social, cultural, economic, and political resources, and asks who has access to them. The approach further asks us to consider social position and access to social capital, as notions of belonging including sexism, racism, nationalism, etc., determine how one is able to

participate in social realms. Finally, the approach of situated intersectionality asks us to consider the creation and entrenchment of social inequalities within and between familial and informal communities and networks (Yuval-Davis, 2015).

Being attentive to geographical, social, and temporal context is a challenge (Anthias, 2013; Bose, 2012; Choo & Ferree, 2010), Yuval-Davis has noted that, if ignored, fragmented identity politics may result (Yuval-Davis, 2017). Hae Yeon Choo and Myra Marx Ferree (2010) suggested meeting this challenge by identifying the local and unique historical alignments of inequalities, and using processes that recognize how complex social relations interact within complex social systems. Rafit Mahbub (2021) met this challenge in her work on the differential experiences of newcomer, educated Bangladeshi women in the British labour market. Situated intersectionality allowed her to consider the ways in which categories of social divisions resulted in differing and unequal boundaries and opportunities for women given the recognition of their social capital. In Mahbub's work, this meant examining the ways in which the British labour market determined women's value and mobility given the type of education they had achieved and the networks to which they had access. (My methodological approach to this work is examined in the next chapter.)

2.3.3 Intersectionality and Health

Intersecting factors influence health and wellbeing. Intersectional analysis holds the promise of advancing a more complex understanding of how co-constitutive identities can yield inequality across contexts, generating distinct health outcomes (Bauer, 2014; Hankivsky, 2012; Kapilashrami & Hankivsky, 2018). Kapilashrami and Hankivsky (2018) have examined how social location is immutably intermeshed with the political economy and in social and cultural processes, interacting with multifaceted power structures, like colonialism, racism, and sexism, affecting the way certain groups are able to access – or not – the supports they need to address health needs and support wellbeing. These processes demonstrate how “population patterns of good and bad health mirror population distributions of deprivation and privilege,” as the enduring effect of these societal conditions come to be embodied in individuals' lives, transmitted by the social, cultural, economic, and political determinants of health (Krieger, 2001, p. 668).

The approach also indicates that health interventions must move away from siloed strategies, and must consider all determinants if they are to be sustainable (Kapilashrami & Hankivsky, 2018). “It is only by understanding the contradictions inherent in location within various structures that effective political action and challenges can be devised” (Mohanty, 1988, p. 74) – and that better health and wellbeing can be achieved. Women, indeed everyone, must be understood in the complexity of their experiences, at the various intersections they occupy (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989) – and by the ways they resist, challenge, and subvert the structures that oppress them.

2.4 The Political Economy of Health

The political economy of health (PEH) approach connects and builds on these ideas considered in intersectionality and health studies. It understands health and wellbeing to be a function of the political, economic, social, and cultural contexts in which health and illness are experienced. The approach also considers the way in which particular social structures (including political and economic decision-making, institutional capacity, experiences of belonging/alienation – racism, sexism, classism, ableism, etc.) interact with particular social and behavioural practices and experiences and biological states to lead to health or illness (Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2009).

PEH reveals that “death and poor health are not randomly distributed” (Navarro, 2009, p. 5). As reported in Marmot et al.’s Whitehall studies, health outcomes follow a class gradient (Marmot et al., 1978). Navarro (2009) described how these outcomes are mirrored across the vast health and development divides that exist within and across nation-states. Similar patterns exist in race, gender, class, and geographic inequalities. He, and others, have delineated the ways a wave of political and economic structural shifts have affected distribution of wealth and power, systematically benefitting some and adversely affecting others (Doyal & Pennell, 1979; Edelman & Haugerud, 2005; Escobar, 2011; Ferguson, 1990; Navarro, 2009; Ottersen et al., 2014). Akin to Hill Collins’s ‘matrix of domination’ (2002), health inequities are driven by social, political and economic systems that prioritize economic growth and wealth for some, while leaving too many behind.

2.4.1 Embodiment

Because PEH considers both the distal political, economic, and social context as well as proximate biomedical and behavioural determinants, it is considered to have strong explanatory capacity in ascertaining the causes of health and illness (Birn et al., 2009). One of the key mechanisms by which PEH achieves its explanatory power is through Nancy Krieger's notion of embodiment (Krieger, 2001). It is "through a complex interplay of powers and through an array of social institutions" (Maharaj, 1995, p. 52) that the forces of political economy come to determine health and wellbeing (Doyal & Pennell, 1979; Krieger, 2001). Through the political, economic, environmental and social determinants of health, Krieger revealed how we "literally incorporate, biologically, the world around us" (Krieger, 2001, p. 668). Expanding on Krieger's work by looking at cultural difference, Carolyn Pedwell described how embodiment involves "complex processes of social, cultural and psychic differentiation proceeding through bodily channels and [considers] how power shapes bodies in particularly enduring ways" (2010, p. 48). These processes transmit structural patterns of discrimination and experiences of internalized oppression through stress responses that can be deeply disruptive to one's health status, even as they often remain unconsidered (Krieger, 2012; Marmot et al., 1978). Embodiment is focused on the guiding question of 'who and what drives current and changing patterns of social inequalities in health?' It finds that health outcomes are transmitted through the lines of power, reflecting the scarcity and abundance we see in the world, depicting the impacts of global governance practices that neglect considerations of equity. Research that integrates embodiment must consider current and historical forms of subjugation, as it occurs at the structural level and individual level. It must also reckon with the ways in which most current research practices fail to consider intersectional forms of oppression.

Despite the explanatory power of PEH, it has long been sidelined by policy makers as too ambitious given its radical commitment to equity (Bambra, Fox, & Scott-Samuel, 2005), and because of the internalization of discourses and health traditions that conceive of health as individualized and depoliticized (Brassolotto, Raphael, & Baldeo, 2014). The long reach of neoliberal ideology and the influence of its proponents have done much to shift the discourse to more individualized and technology-focused understandings of health and health

solutions. In its 1993 World Development Report, the World Bank adopted an approach to health that attributed global improvements in health to scientific and technological gains and access to health care, failing to recognize that social conditions and the redistribution of wealth and economic and political power were also critical contributors to this achievement (World Bank, 1993). This practice has continued under the influence of neoliberalism that has encouraged the adoption of responsibilization and supported the privatization of health care and other services, increasing inequality (Navarro, 2009). Again, in LMICs, the influence of SAPs on health and social services must be mentioned, as spending cuts and privatization have resulted in reduced access to, and poorer quality of, these services (Ferguson, 1999; Goldsbrough & Cheelo, 2007; Labonté et al., 2007; Ottersen et al., 2014). As articulated by Krieger, “At issue are priorities of capital accumulation and their enforcement by the state, so that the few can stay rich (or become richer) while the many are poor” (2001, p. 670). Though some have promoted partnership solutions with the private sector to stem these growing inequalities, Bridget O’Laughlin found that collaborations with corporate institutions were unlikely to yield salutary results. This is the case given corporate complicity in structural patterns of investment that have increased the insecurity of jobs, income, and land-based livelihoods, as they simultaneously contaminate the air, water, and soil through their industrial endeavours, and profit from the ever-increasing costs of drugs, treatments, and the privatization of public services (2016).³ The need for political solutions that attend to the structural causes of health inequity, not just technical solutions to biological variance, have finally been recognized as part of the Lancet–University of Oslo Commission on Global Governance for Health (Ottersen et al., 2014). Implementing these recommendations forever remains the challenge, given their incompatibility with the existing macroeconomic framework.

³ Sustainable Development Goal 17 “Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development” is eliciting concern because of its focus on market mechanisms. Indeed, the same critiques have emerged for all the goals because of their attachment to the neoliberal agenda that fails to address equity and power relations in their approach (Kumi, Arhin, & Yeboah, 2014).

2.5 Theorizing Gender, Health, Mining, and Governance

The theoretical approaches articulated in this section—international political economy, feminist theory and the neoliberalization of feminism, intersectionality, and the political economy of health—all combine to produce an integrated model that attempts to demonstrate the ways in which mining development and governance come to influence the health and wellbeing of women in the mining community of Solwezi, Zambia. Figure 2 below, adapted from Birn, Pillay, and Holtz (2009, p. 138), provides a visual depiction of this explanatory model. (This model includes references to environmental impacts from mining, which, though beyond the scope of this project, are important considerations. Political ecology is one dimension of PEH that considers power in relation to access to essential resources.⁴)

⁴ Political ecology first emerged in the 1970s, growing out of political economy's exploration of uneven power dynamics, modernization, and global capitalism. The new paradigm is used to examine the way in which these forces have restructured and subverted human interaction with the physical environment (Walker, 2005). Blaikie and Brookfield define political ecology as a framework that: "combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy. Together this encompasses the constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, within classes and groups, and within society itself" (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987, p. 17). This theory expands political economy's concern with the influences that preclude the disadvantaged of society from accessing capital to a perspective by incorporating the role environmental conditions play in determining the health of the most vulnerable (Armstrong, 2004; Robbins). These concerns are certainly relevant to the consideration of the effects of mineral resource extraction on well-being.

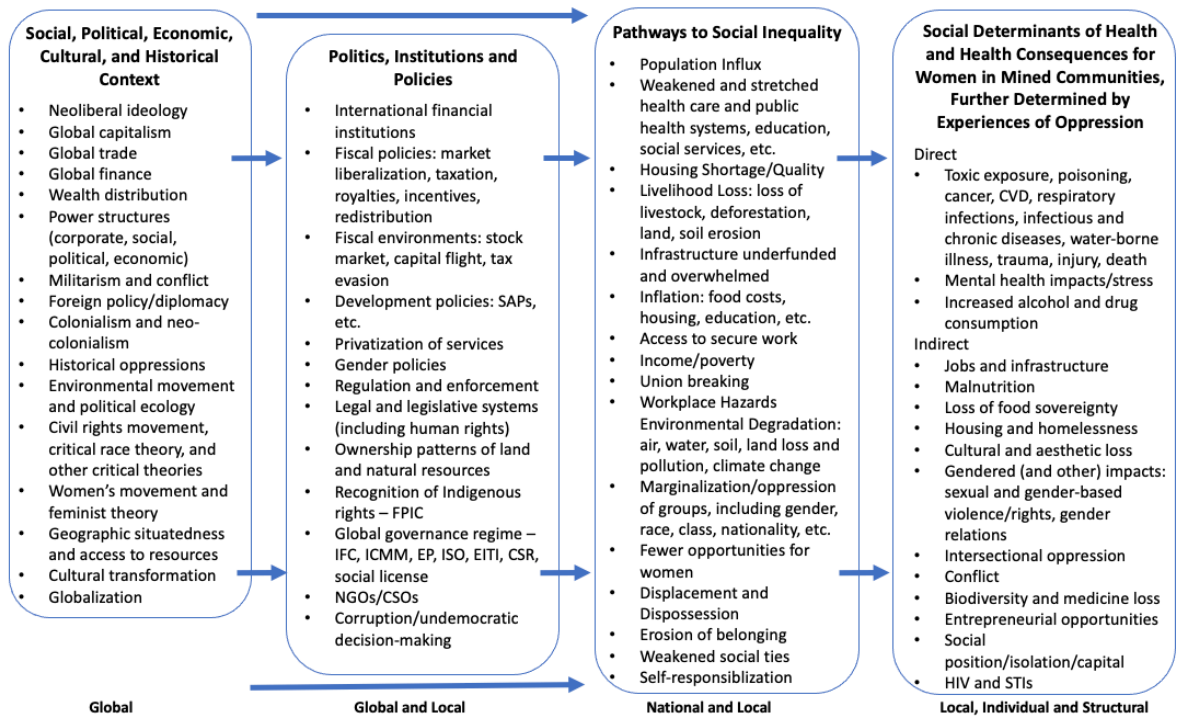


Figure 2 The Political Economy of Global Health Framework Featuring the Influence of Large-Scale Mining Development

Adapted from: Birn, Pillay, and Holtz (2009, p. 138)

As is demonstrated in PEH approach, the broader political economy interacts with historical processes and cultural transformations, shaping politics, policies, and institutions globally and in particular geographic locations. These contextual and political factors directly and indirectly come to impact experiences of social inequality, which under the tenets of global neoliberal capitalism, privilege the few and exclude the many. Through the political, economic, cultural, and environmental determinants of health, experiences of health and illness are manifest, exacerbated by one's social position and experiences of belonging. In this particular study, it is the experience of gender that is most closely examined, though the lessons from intersectionality serve to remind us of the co-constitutive experiences of oppression that also shape one's experiences of inequality. One's political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental context, as well as biomedical and behavioural determinants are incorporated into the body, determining experiences of health and illness.

It is important this work takes a nuanced approach when theorizing women's complex experiences. This requires that I work to recognize the diversity of women's situations, experiences, and perspectives, while considering the effects of ethnicity, class, age, and urban or rural location on their experience. The experiences of women living in mined spaces are often "marked by ambivalence and contradiction" (Li, 2008, p. 98). Lahiri-Dutt and others have emphasized that women be seen as more than victims; they are active agents who organize and respond to mining-related issues in their communities (Horowitz, 2017; K. Lahiri-Dutt, 2012). This research study attempts to reveal how women's positions in their communities evolve in response to relationships with external actors. Gender relations shift, alter, and are altered by engagements with the mining industry (Reed & Christie, 2009). Within mining communities, women may both be actors for resistance and members of a local context in which "the cultures and practices [may still] uphold gender inequalities and other forms of domination" (K. Lahiri-Dutt, 2012, p. 203). In this project, I examine how power operates across multiple scales – be they global forces in the form of transnational mining corporations, Canadian and Zambian governmental structures, or local influences in Canada and Zambia – and consider what this means for the women of Solwezi. I examine women's descriptions of their health and wellbeing as a way of understanding whether "a population is benefitting from a set of social arrangements" (Marmot, 2005, p. 1103). In Solwezi it would seem too many are not.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, women, in particular, experience added burdens in the distribution of mining risks. They reap few of the benefits even as their health and wellbeing is often negatively affected. Global mining governance efforts have begun to turn their attention to women in mined communities, but too many are still being left behind. This research project set in Northwestern Province, Zambia and in Ontario, Canada enquires into these effects and associated experiences. Connections are made to the ways in which mining development and governance practices come to influence women's health and wellbeing.

To restate the purpose of the research, this study centres on three broad objectives:

1. To understand how Zambia and Canada have grappled with the governance imperatives of gender equality and women's empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community.
2. To explain how various development actors positioned women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context, and to understand, given the various intersections which women hold, what impact this has had on women's opportunities and outcomes, health and wellbeing, and what this has meant to their conceptions of self as 'empowered' women.
3. To identify the experiences of female sex workers in Solwezi as a window into the experiences of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative.

The overall research design was ethnographic and qualitative in nature. I carried out ethnographic fieldwork in multiple sites in which, as I explain below, I drew on multiple, diverse sources and activities, especially interviews, for data. Management and interpretation of the data adhered to key tenets of qualitative data analysis, including recognition of the importance of my own subjectivity as a factor in my understanding.

3.2 Research Setting

The multi-sited ethnographic research for this project was carried out in Zambia and Canada. The majority of the data collected in Zambia were gathered in Solwezi, the capital of

Northwestern Province, Zambia. I gathered observational data and conducted interviews in other towns around Northwestern Province, including Kasempa, Mutanda, Jifumpa, Mwinilunga, Lumwana, Kalumbila, and Kisasa, and did the same in Copperbelt Province in Kitwe and Ndola, and in the nation's capital, Lusaka. I visited Mongu, in Western Province, and Livingstone, in Southern Province, with the Zambezi Ecohealth Partnership on their routine visits.

Data from Canada were collected in Toronto, the capital of Ontario, which hosts a significant number of transnational mining companies' headquarters on Bay Street, and also hosts the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada convention, which I attended in 2019 and 2020. I also conducted interviews with the Government of Canada's Global Affairs Canada in Ottawa, where I also met with a representative from the Office of the High Commission of Zambia in Canada, and with two Canadian NGOs that have operations in Zambia.

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Overview

“In anthropology, or anyway social anthropology, what the practitioners do is ethnography. And it is in understanding ethnography, or more exactly *what doing ethnography is*, that a start can be made towards grasping what anthropological analysis amounts to as a form of knowledge. This, it must immediately be said, is not a matter of methods. From one point of view, that of the textbook, doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on. But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures, that define the enterprise. What defines it is a kind of intellectual effort that is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, ‘thick description.’”

Clifford Geertz (1973, p. 6)

Through this research, I have begun to grasp what ‘anthropological analysis’ is, and what ‘ethnography’ is, and perhaps most importantly, I have begun to learn to embrace the

unexpected in ethnographic fieldwork. While I had read several ethnographies and ethnographic-informed literature in the lead up to my fieldwork I underestimated the importance of flexibility in the process. I learned quickly. Because of a collapse of my research partnership with the Provincial Health Office my research focus shifted. This shift was further exacerbated by a change in my community liaisons/research assistants. Many of the initial aims of my proposal were no longer relevant. Yet, there I was, this new direction was exciting, and there was so much to learn. How this impacted my fieldwork and data collection is described below.

I first travelled to Zambia in the spring of 2017 on a research incentive award from the University of Waterloo (UW). I had been part of a team that had applied for a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Insight Development Grant that had not quite made it to the funding approval line. As we were quite close, UW gave us an exploratory research award to develop the grant further. As someone who was interested in the impacts of mining, I knew I wanted to work in Solwezi. Intensive mining had only begun in 2004, and the region was still adapting to the presence of large-scale mining. I also knew I wanted to conduct an ethnographic study that would give me the time I needed to get to know Solwezi residents, to understand better the way they were experiencing this development that was transforming their region. Thanks to connections through the Zambezi Ecohealth Partnership, I was able to spend a few days in Copperbelt Province, where I witnessed what almost a century of intensive mining can do to a region, and in Solwezi, where I met people interested in the topic of mining impacts. In Solwezi, I forged a strong partnership with the Provincial Health Office and established close contacts who introduced me to many others around town. These connections went on to be important contributors to this research study. I also benefitted from a connection made through a previous student who had worked in Copperbelt Province. She introduced me to the former head of UNFPA Zambia, who then introduced me to a number of important contacts and opened the door for me with FQM in both Canada and Zambia.

After the 2017 visit, we resubmitted the Insight Development Grant on the next funding cycle, this time with a stronger focus on women's experiences. This choice seemed prudent in the wake of Canada adopting its new feminist foreign policy position – and the

gap in the literature. We were successful. I returned to Zambia in June 2018, eager to begin the project. At this point I came to learn of a significant change in the Provincial Health Office in recent weeks. Both of my close contacts had been reassigned. The new officials were broadly supportive of the study, but they were not interested in participating in a research partnership. I found myself using the three months it took to receive ethics approval from the University of Zambia to seek out new, informal, partners in Solwezi, who were willing to work with me and support the study. This process led to a lot of preliminary interviews and ‘deep hanging out’ that helped me get to know Solwezi and Northwestern Province much better than I might have otherwise. It also made me grateful that I had chosen to conduct an ethnographic study as I had the time and opportunity to make the most of these experiences. I got to be curious about Solwezi, rather than feeling rushed to make the most of what might otherwise have been a stressful circumstance due to funding and time limits.

I met my first community liaison, Mrs. Gladys Banda, through a Zambian classmate who had worked in Solwezi. I learned a great deal from Gladys, who is a nurse, Bemba, originally from Copperbelt, and a Catholic. She had more of an outsider’s view of Solwezi. Fortunately for Gladys, if not for me, her contract with an NGO was extended and would require long bouts of fieldwork that made it impossible for her to continue on the research project. At this point, Gladys introduced me to Mrs. Peggy Lenge. Peggy is Lunda and Kaonde and has lived in Solwezi for most of her life. This meant she is very well-connected and part of the local Kaonde culture.⁵ Peggy is Protestant. She had worked in the NGO sector but was now mostly making her living through farming and entrepreneurial endeavours. Given her affiliations, I came to see a different side of Solwezi. With the change to my research partnership and to my community liaison, my research objectives began to shift.

By the time I received ethics approval from the University of Zambia and had begun to work with Peggy it was already late August. This left me with only about two and a half months to collect data, given the six-month limit on visas. Peggy and I made the most of the time that we had. She arranged a number of interviews and set up three focus groups with

⁵ Northwestern Province is predominantly a Kaonde, Lunda, and Luvale speaking province – all considered sister tongues and cultures. Bemba is the language spoken in Copperbelt Province. There have been tensions over the years between Northwestern and Copperbelt that range from the political to the developmental to the cultural.

teachers, village bankers, and marketeers. With her support, my understanding of Solwezi grew dramatically. As new conversations occurred, observations began to make sense. The more time I spent in Solwezi, the more I grew in confidence as I attempted to figure out things on my own that I would then later discuss with Peggy and other key informants. For instance, I spent several days trying to get a map of Solwezi. This experience led me to develop a sense of municipal bureaucracy and resulted in two interviews with a city manager.

Ethnography and my time in the field allowed for me to be curious, to follow new insights and see new lines of inquiry develop. For instance, though I had not intended to focus on the role of female sex workers, after a couple of months I came to see the importance of understanding their involvement in the social life of Solwezi. Early interviews often entailed much discussion of their role and the space they occupy in this mining town, and the ethnographic approach gave me the freedom and time to explore this new direction. However, I was never sure how to enter into this world. I only was able to gain access because I was able to attend the Zambian National Health Research Conference in Lusaka near the end of my fieldwork in 2018. There I met researchers working with women in sex work in Solwezi. They in turn introduced me to their contact in Solwezi who agreed to work with me, though we were unable to set up a meeting before I had to leave Zambia.

I returned to Canada in late November, knowing there was still more I needed to learn. Fortunately, I was in a position to be able to return to Zambia the following spring. In the meantime, I attended the 2019 Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada Convention (PDAC) (which I also attended in 2020). The convention is the largest mining industry gathering in the world and is a culture unto itself. It offered a very different perspective into the mining industry – that of the sanitized view of Toronto’s financial district, home of many of the world’s largest mining company headquarters. The depiction of the industry was very different from the dusty reality of Solwezi, though the industry’s swagger held firm across both sites. During the time between visits to Zambia, I was also able to meet with representatives from Global Affairs Canada, to learn about how they characterize their work on the mining industry and the space women occupy in these conversations. Having the opportunity to spend time with community, company, and government, across both countries, again grew my perspective.

While I was in Canada, I began preliminary analysis of my findings. When I returned to Zambia in April 2019, the analysis and newly acquired more global perspective, honed through further literature review, helped expand my understanding and focus my attention. This time, in my interviews with Peggy, and in those I conducted on my own, I had a better sense of the gaps in my understanding I wanted to fill. I had also timed my trip so I was able to attend both the Provincial and National Alternative Mining Indabas.⁶ These experiences offered an important counterpoint to my attendance at the PDAC conventions.

I also came to learn that my return visit was considered important by members of the Solwezi community I had gotten to know. Many of them, who I had first met in 2017, talked about helicopter researchers and how my return visits and my extended timeframe helped convince them that I was serious and someone to be trusted. This made the final three months of data collection not only useful, but important. With each return visit I was able to experience life in Solwezi with a greater sense of understanding. This also contributed to my decision to pursue a SSHRC Connections grant (to examine ways of strengthening Zambia's impact assessment laws to better recognize equity considerations) as a way to try to give back to the community in some small way for what they had shared with me.

By the time I left Zambia at the end of June 2019, I felt like I had a much better understanding of the way in which the mining sector functioned, and what this meant for the lives, livelihood, health, and wellbeing of women in Solwezi. That said, there is still more to learn, and I am sure there are still errors in interpretation that I have made.

I also plan to return to Solwezi once we are able to travel to share back my findings at a community event and in an accessible community report. This report will also be shared with contacts in Lusaka, with FQM, and with officials from the Government of Canada.

3.3.2 Specifics

Throughout this ethnographic study I collected data from formal and informal interviews, focus groups, review of primary and secondary sources (e.g., government reports, news in the media), and what anthropologists refer to as “participant observation.” This data

⁶ Indaba is a Xhosa and Zulu term for a large conference. The word has been adopted across sub-Saharan Africa.

yielded detailed, comprehensive, and contextualized accounts of women's lived experiences in the mined community of Solwezi.

For formal, scheduled interviews in the study, for each group (e.g., women in Solwezi who were not sex workers, others who were, representatives of mining companies, etc.) I prepared basic but flexible, guides with a set of questions to structure our conversation. (See the Appendix for an example of the basic interview and focus group guide.) Informal interviews and spontaneous conversations were informed by my study questions and areas of interest or uncertainty that emerged along the way. Participants were identified initially through Peggy's and my networks and then through snowball sampling. Interviews varied by participant and area of expertise, and interview guides were updated to reflect new learnings.

Over the course of my 28 interviews and three focus groups, I had the opportunity to speak to speak with women with varied daily lived experiences. I spoke to doctors, NGO workers, nurses, sex workers, a hotel manager, teachers, administrators, trade school trainees, and entrepreneurs with diverse experiences. Typically, interviews lasted one and a half to two hours. (I shortened the focus group for the teachers (one hour) and the interviews for the three women (thirty minutes) attending Solwezi Trade School to accommodate their break time.) Focus groups or group interviews ran around two and a half hours.

I worked with these women to understand how their lives were altered by living near a large-scale mine. Discussion topics included: women's perceptions of changes in Solwezi associated with the mine; their lived experiences in Solwezi; their understanding of and experience with the 'women's empowerment' narrative that had become much discussed in the region; their work lives and the way social and economic supports and opportunities affected them; the barriers they faced that limited their access to these supports and opportunities; and how opportunities and barriers may have affected their health and wellbeing, and that of others they know who live in Solwezi. Depending on women's roles and situations, I also asked specific questions, e.g., about the trades training program, about teaching young students, about experiences specific to sex workers, etc.

During formal interviews, I went through the consent process in either English or Kaonde (with Peggy) and consent forms were signed. Interviews and focus groups were conducted in English, though occasionally respondents (13) would respond in Kaonde.

Responses were translated *in situ* by Peggy. Depending on the type of respondents being interviewed and their comfort with the process, a digital audio recording was made of the interview (16) or focus group (3). I took comprehensive fieldnotes during the interviews and focus groups.

At the end of the interviews and focus groups respondents who were participating in a personal, not professional, capacity were given K100 (~\$5USD) for their time. This was increased to K300 (~\$15USD) for sex workers, after consultation with the relevant key informant.

After the interview I would review the conversation with Peggy and would review my fieldnotes. I would also document the experiences in my reflexive journal, in an effort to attain “thick description” (Geertz, 1973). Where possible I would engage in member checking (though this was something I was only able to do for ten of the interviews). For the other interviews I would review the findings with relevant key informants (endeavouring to maintain confidentiality).

Observation was also a critical component of the data collection process. Over the course of the study, I had the opportunity to spend time with respondents in various settings. For example, I was able to visit the homes of some of the women from the village banking group. I spent time at the marketplace where the marketeers work. I visited three Solwezi night clubs over two nights to understand better the environment in which sex workers initiate contact with clients, in addition to general observations about the spaces sex workers occupy in Solwezi.

As mentioned previously, I attended the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada’s annual convention in 2019 and 2020. The convention is an international industry event that brings together major stakeholders and aspiring junior companies in the mining sector in a networking and knowledge sharing event. In 2019, I attended the Provincial Alternative Mining Indaba for Northwestern Province and the Zambian Alternative Mining Indaba in Lusaka, Zambia. Mining company and government representatives attended these events; however, the *indabas* remain more focused on community concerns related to mining development.

As the majority of my time was spent in Solwezi, home to First Quantum Mineral Ltd.’s Kansanshi Mine, I spent a good deal of time in and around their CSR office, the Kansanshi Foundation. I participated in the Kansanshi mine tour with a group of school children. I also visited First Quantum’s Kalumbila Mine and Barrick Gold’s Lumwana Mine town sites and surrounding communities. I accompanied a team on a health visit to a rural community. I also spent significant time embedded with Caritas, a Catholic NGO, that offered me the opportunity to visit communities outside Solwezi that were experiencing mining development.

I recorded observations from these and other events, and experiences of daily living, in my fieldnotes and in my reflexive journal. I analyzed relevant sections along with the rest of the data to formulate the ‘structures of signification’ (Geertz, 1973, p. 9).

Document analysis was also important to my understanding of the broader political economic context. I reviewed a number of documents from Canada and Zambia, ranging from national laws and policies, to NGO health reports, to mining press releases, to newspaper articles. Relevant information was referenced and recorded in my fieldnotes, though I also returned to the original text. I took a great many pages of fieldnotes and those became a core piece of my data. My fieldnotes consisted of two types, basic recording of “what, when, who, how” details of an encounter or event, and reflexive, interpretive notes that sometimes veered on being a personal journal and sometimes interpretive exercises to capture my thinking and plans (my reflexive journal).

3.4 Participants

I conducted 103 individual and group interviews, including nine key informants, with whom I met with at least four times (See Table 1 for details).

Table 1 Research Interviewees (Including Key Informants)

Global Affairs Canada Development Division	4
Trade Division	2
Office of the High Commission of Zambia	1
Office of the High Commission of Canada	1
Officials from the Government of the Republic of Zambia Ministry of Gender	1

Ministry of Health	5
Zambian Environmental Management Agency	4
First Quantum Minerals Ltd.	10
Kansanshi Foundation (CSR)	1
Head Office in Canada	
Canadian NGOs Active in Zambia	2
Zambian NGOs in Solwezi (Women-Focused Programming)	13
Provincial Health Officers	4
District Health Officers	
Solwezi	2
Kasempa	2
Kalumbila	1
Solwezi Health Services	
Solwezi Youth Corner	1
One Stop Centre	1
City Manager	1
The Council of Elders	5
Traditional Leaders	2
Police Officers	1
Mine Workers	4
Men Living in Solwezi	7
Women Living in Solwezi	28

I also conducted numerous informal interviews over the course of the study, to get to know Solwezi and to build trust in the community. This data was recorded as fieldnotes and in my reflexive journal. Some of these interviews fell outside of the scope of the project but contributed important foundational information to my understanding. At times, after reviewing my notes, I knew I needed to speak further with certain individuals from these exchanges. In these cases, I contacted them and asked to conduct formal interviews with them. Fortunately, they were all willing to participate.

I also conducted three focus groups with marketeers (12), teachers (14), and a village banking group (8).

3.5 Trustworthy Research

How do we ensure that an ethnographic research study, such as this one, is of high quality? Ethnographic methods include obtaining diverse, often subjective, data in structured and unstructured approaches. In ethnographic research processes, anticipated means and

objectives for the study may be upended along the way. Ethnographic products (ethnographies) rely on wider reaching interpretation, deeper contextualization, and “thicker” description than positivist scientific research. As many qualitative researchers have asserted, use of the conventional scientific frameworks for assessing “reliability” and “validity” are not suitable to evaluate ethnographic and other qualitative research (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Many qualitative researchers, recognizing that their research data and methods are not directly commensurable with those of quantitative positivist research, have adopted an alternative vocabulary for assessing and defending the quality of their work (Erlandson et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). They emphasize “trustworthiness,” or focus on constituent concepts of trustworthiness, such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. I explain below what these terms refer to and how their use helps establish that research was carried out appropriately, and the findings can be believed. Then I discuss how I applied them in my research.

Credibility refers to compatibility between the realities constructed by the researcher and those of research participants or communities. Credibility can be achieved through prolonged engagement in the field, giving the researcher time to understand the daily patterns of life and how they are understood by those who experience them. Establishing credibility also requires persistent observation, so the researcher develops the ability to understand events and relationships in a social context, and triangulation, collecting data about events and relationships from different perspectives and sources. For example, Erlandson et al. describe the importance of collecting associated materials, video, photos, documents, etc. to provide a more holistic understanding of the research context. Finally, they encourage peer debriefing, engaging with professionals and expert insiders who have some understanding of the context, and member-checking, ensuring that the data can be verified by the participants, to help assure that the research is credible (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Transferability considers the extent to which findings can be applied to other contexts, or other participants (Erlandson et al., 1993). It poses a challenge to qualitative research, whose purpose in many studies is to describe a construction of reality within a particular context in as much detail as possible, given that these constructions shift over time.

While Erlandson et al. maintain that no true generalization is possible, similar phenomena can exist in different contexts. Good qualitative research describes the research context in considerable detail, employing “thick description,” to ensure that researchers in other contexts can allow for judgements about transferability. Purposive sampling is also recommended, to ensure that researchers gain the maximum range of information about the context.

Erlandson et al. discuss dependability in qualitative research as a practice that helps track transformation in the data, given that replicability of qualitative research is challenged not only by error but by shifts in participants’ perceptions of their reality over time (Erlandson et al., 1993). To enhance a study’s dependability, researchers can make their research processes available through an ‘audit trail’ so that transformations in participants’ reports or the researcher’s understandings may be tracked.

Finally, confirmability is a methodological construct that refers to researcher bias. Given the assertion that the ‘truth’ is subjective, all research is subject to the contamination of researcher bias. Erlandson et al. assert that confirmability may be tracked through a confirmability audit. This audit allows an outside reviewer to trace interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations back to their sources to establish if they are supported by the research program (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Janice Morse (2015) added negative case analysis to the list of strategies to ensure credibility (or validity). This strategy allows for comparison and the possibility to disconfirm the norm, or commonly occurring patterns in the data. Rather than being thrown out as outlier data, these cases are examined closely to reveal important differences in the data and to build a more complex understanding of the experience being studied (Morse, 2015). Morse also recognized that not all these methods have to be applied all the time in order for rigor or trustworthiness to be achieved (2015).

To help achieve trustworthiness of my research processes, findings, and interpretations, I employed most of the strategies recommended by Erlandson et al.: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, thick description, and Morse’s negative case analysis. I employed some of these strategies better than others. My descriptions would have been thicker if I were not trying to be concise in my

writing. I collected a great deal of data of diverse types, and the quality of the pieces of data varied. I believe my process reached the “good enough” threshold and hope that review of my audit trail bolsters that conclusion. I was able to member-check a few of my interviews. I also checked my data (usually a verbal summary) with my nine key informants. Interestingly, Morse did not recommend member-checking, which she described as giving participants the opportunity to disagree with the researcher’s analysis. She asserted that the researcher’s “background in theory and research methods must outrank the participant as a judge of the analysis” (Morse, 2015, p. 1216). This seems particularly relevant for Chapters 4 and 5 where I focus more on conveying a situation, whereas in Chapter 6 I focus more on conveying participant experiences. I hope the strategies I did employ help convey the experiences of those who participated in this work as ‘truthfully’ as possible.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis of a large corpus of diverse data ranging from the content of structured interviews with different groups of people, about different topics, to reflective fieldnotes, is challenging. The analysis of data for each of the research questions required focused use of segments of the whole data set, but the larger set was essential for description and understanding. Qualitative data analysis in ethnographic methods entails structured, sequenced processes along with other forms of deep immersion in the data. Below I share the processes I employed.

I began the initial analysis of the data (at the time, my fieldnotes in Solwezi) after completing four formal interviews and three focus groups. This analysis consisted of reading my fieldnotes, listening to the audio recordings, sitting and thinking, and talking to Peggy and key informants about the patterns that I saw emerging. Though my focus had shifted, my initial analysis was still informed by my literature review. I was still thinking about the role of women’s empowerment and gender equality, CSR and governance (gaps) in service provision, and women’s health experiences. New areas emerged around women’s experiences with work and how these experiences were affecting opportunities for themselves and their families, and around the deepening of inequality in Solwezi.

During the initial analysis I compiled an initial set of themes that I reviewed with my supervisor on his field visit in October, and with Peggy and other key informants in October and November 2018. I incorporated their feedback into my analysis and continued to return to the data. The interviews and focus groups I was conducting had come to centre much more on women's experiences in the labour market, rather than on women's health experiences. This was an area that was quite new to me and required me to return to the literature and approach the data from a new angle.

I continued with the preliminary analysis while in Canada between November 2018 and March 2019, expanding and deepening my understanding of the themes emerging from the data. These themes sent me to the literature where I sought to build my understanding of the forces that affect women's experiences in the labour market in LMICs. This reading then sent me back to my fieldnotes and reflexive journal in an iterative process. I tried not to let the literature dictate too much of my analysis at that stage, as I wanted to maintain a balance between inductive and deductive approaches. I was concerned about researcher bias and seeing what I wanted to see (Erlandson et al., 1993; Morse, 2015). Yet, this immersion in a new area of theory did open my eyes during my time at the PDAC conference in 2019 and in my interviews with representatives from Global Affairs Canada, where I observed how much of the focus centered around women finding work on the mines. (This process no doubt helps strengthen companies' social license.)

Ever more conscious of the gaps in my knowledge about the Zambian experience, I was eager to return to expand my understanding. When back in Zambia in 2019, for the sake of consistency I kept my semi-structured interview guide from 2018, however, my follow-up questions tended to focus more on women's income-generating activities.

Back in UW, I hired a Canadian transcription expert recommended by researchers in the School of Public Health Sciences to transcribe the recorded interviews and focus groups. I entered the transcripts, fieldnotes, and relevant reflexive journal entries into NVivo 12. I used NVivo to code the data used in Chapter 4. I struggled to visualize the data using this tool, however, and switched to hand coding the data for Chapters 5 and 6. I did continue to use NVivo to organize the data and keep track of which data were used for which manuscript.

I began the next stage of my data analysis by re-reading the transcripts and listening to the audio. I developed a summary of each interview to record overall impressions of the interview and emerging themes. Saldaña refers to this process as a ‘holistic’ coding method that is useful to identify vignettes and bounded experiences (Saldaña, 2015). I developed initial themes to identify recurrent as well as significant standalone experiences. I began to see three different manuscripts emerging from the data. I discussed the initial themes and my ideas for the manuscripts with my advisor. He approved the direction I had charted.

3.6.1 Coding Data

Though I did not use grounded theory in this analysis, my strategy was informed by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin’s terminology of open and axial coding (Heath & Cowley, 2004; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As I had many thousands of pages of data, I did not code every line of data. Instead I let an initial list of codes, now modified with a review of the literature, guide me. I focused my attention on women’s empowerment, gender equality, gender relations, work, inequality, income insecurity, health and wellbeing, governance, and the changing nature of Solwezi. The spectre of the mine was a constant throughout the interviews; CSR emerged as an important area of focus.

During my initial coding efforts, when I came upon these codes in the data, I engaged in a modified approach to open coding. I generated discrete units of data with the aim of describing, naming, and classifying a phenomenon of interest. I gave the codes one word or short phrase descriptive labels (Saldaña, 2015). Having already conducted a thorough review of the interviews as a whole, rather than adopt the line-by-line open coding of the whole interview, the approach proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1998), I opted for the compromise practice recommended by Margarete Sandelowski (1995). To avoid “word overload” (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 373), I looked at short segments of the data, 50-100 words at a time. This directed approach allowed me to understand more quickly the data and to focus my analysis.

At this stage many of the codes I had first identified began to deepen. E.g., women’s health developed sub-codes of HIV, sexual and gender-based violence (economic, mental, physical), access to care, malnutrition, poverty, mental health, etc.; women’s employment

developed sub-themes of the role of marriage, village banking, access to markets, women’s autonomy over decision-making, sex work, women working on the mines, changing perceptions of women who work, etc. Concurrently, some areas of inquiry dropped off to support my focus, e.g., experiences outside Solwezi, witchcraft, the needs of youth, environmental impacts (air, water, soil), etc. (These are certainly important areas of study, but I had to limit my analysis.) Throughout the process I wrote memos to capture ideas and emerging insights, which included me beginning to notice differences between different groups of women.

Once the data were ‘open’ coded, I moved to second level, or ‘axial’ coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998) described this process as a reduction and clustering of categories. I examined my ‘open’ codes and drew connections between them. I began to create categories and linkages between the data. As I drew comparisons between categories, I kept returning to the raw data, to ensure that the data were not taken out of context. (See Table 2 for an example of ‘axial’ codes and associated quotations and fieldnote descriptions.)

Table 2 Example of ‘Axial’ Codes Applied to the Data Included in Chapter 5

Code	Code Description	Quotation or Fieldnote Description
Men and Money	Participants describe the effect money has on men in Solwezi, when they have it, and how their behaviour changes when they do not.	<p>“If you don’t have money, you are humble. With money comes power and you can spend that money on other women. When men get paid, they spend on other women – not on his family.” - Village Banker</p> <p>“As men make money, they start to feel higher and can start to mistreat women.” - Police Officer</p> <p>Men who work for mines still struggle to afford all the costs of Solwezi. - Mine workers</p>
Needing Empowerment	Participants describe their various experiences with the concept of ‘empowerment.’ Not all use the same word	<p>Women need more than village banking. We need to increase market access. We need to change patriarchal aspects of the culture, bring dignity while recognizing biological differences. - NGO Worker</p>

	<p>to describe it (e.g., gender may be substituted). Some see this as a women's issue, others see it for everyone. Some see it as an economic issue, others conceive of it more broadly.</p>	<p>“Empowerment is not really making a difference. We work very hard, but money is too hard to find nowadays. Some areas women are empowered but not in our case. It's not seen, not even today.” - Marketeers</p> <p>“We're seeing women sweeping the roads rather than sweeping at home. Some have jobs as marketeers. They are empowered. 50-50. Women don't complain so management likes them, don't ask for a raise. Also because women are less likely to have education to be able to ask for a raise. Education makes a difference in amount of money claimed. Previously, women only at home cooking for the husband.” - Man Living in Solwezi</p>
Entrepreneurism	<p>Participants describe understanding of entrepreneurism and how it is being introduced to Solwezi. They consider who benefits and who is left behind by business innovation.</p>	<p>“Solwezi is buzzing. It's the place to be. If you are an entrepreneur “people are willing to give you a loan or you can finance. Opportunity is tied to the mine. FQM, Barrick, Rio Tinto.” - Woman Living in Solwezi</p> <p>“Education is key to change. Need to teach children to find solutions for themselves, to be self-dependent. I mentor young men to be money magnets. They mentor their families.” - Local Chief</p> <p>“For those that are hardworking we have seen that their income has improved in their small business [because of the mine].” - Council of Elders</p>

At the next stage of analysis I began to look at more subtle and inferred processes at work in the data, which entailed connecting and integrating the axial codes around emerging themes. Patterns that emerged as descriptive codes were slowly replaced with more abstract

groupings as I refined my understanding and framing of the codes (Heath & Cowley, 2004; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In a recursive process, at this stage I found myself returning frequently to the literature, after which I would return to the raw data, and then again to the emerging categories, patterns, and processes (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012). I ended up describing these categories as ‘themes,’ in line with Boyatzis’ thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). After all, I had not conducted a grounded theory study, which seeks to let novel theories emerge from the data. Rather, I borrowed elements of their analytical approach, but was much more guided in my analysis by the theories I described in Chapter 2 than grounded theory would accept. I felt it prudent to move away from the language of grounded theory and more to that of thematic analysis.

For example, my themes for Chapter 6 are:

- Varying conceptions of empowerment;
- The limits of the empowerment rhetoric;
- The spread of the entrepreneurial agenda;
- The limits of ‘gender’ (women’s empowerment narrative);
- The limits of education;
- Limited economic opportunities for women;
- Political economic structures that limit opportunities for women (literature, supporting documents, and interviews);
- Mining-induced changes in Solwezi;
- The commodification of men;
- Turning to sex work;
- Power relations and inter-relationships between mine workers, the women they married, girlfriends, and sex workers;
- Sex workers’ experiences with stigma;
- Experiencing shame;
- Health impacts and HIV/STIs;
- Experiences with sexual and gender-based violence;
- Poverty remains high;

- Rape as a taboo subject;
- Divorce, legal costs and other barriers;
- Just trying to make money to survive;
- Sex worker strategies to secure payment;
- Internal migration – moving for work;
- Supporting each other.

A recursive process allowed for a flow between an inductive and deductive approach to coding (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012). In this way, I was interpreting the data and its emerging themes within the context of existing theories. I was responding to ideas and insights amassed from my review of the literature, while also responding to variation and divergent experiences from in the field (Boyatzis, 1998). I returned to the raw data often to ensure that the themes and descriptions emerging from the data reflected the experiences of local individuals and communities in their cultural context (Perry, 2013; Spradley & McCurdy, 1995). I also often returned to Mohanty's advice, to be reminded that "women are constituted as women through the complex interaction between class, culture, religion and other ideological institutions and frameworks" (Mohanty, 1988, p. 72). This consideration was particularly important as I entered this work as a White, Canadian-born settler woman who must reflexively consider what I am missing and misinterpreting, given my onto-epistemological position.

When I struggled with the data, I discussed it with my committee and colleagues (either here in Canada or in Zambia), who assisted with the interpretation. This practice was especially important when it came to understanding women's responsibilities to her family and the much referenced concept of men as the 'head of the household.' I was challenged to understand the way gender equality is conceived in different contexts. I am grateful to my colleagues for helping me gain a clearer understanding around these and other cultural distinctions and worldviews.

3.6.2 Situated Intersectionality as Methodology

The invoking of theory in this analysis was particularly important when it came to my adoption of situated intersectionality, which has application both as a theoretical framework and as a methodology (Anthias, 2013; Bowleg, 2012; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2013, 2015). (See Chapter 2.) Yuval-Davis offered insight into the methodological practice of situated intersectionality by expanding on Leslie McCall's (2005) work on inter- and intra-categorical complexity. Inter-categorical complexity "begins with the observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups, as imperfect and ever changing as they are, and takes those relationships as the center of analysis" (McCall, 2005, p. 1785). Her approach examined inequality between groups and considered how these experiences change across categories of gender, race, class, etc. She described how inter-categorical researchers may face challenges as they consider scale and coherence, and disparity versus similarity across social groups. McCall describes how this work can become increasingly complicated as analytical categories are added. Each of these categories must be investigated across the multiple groups that constitute each category. The size and complexity of these projects can become too great to contain in a journal article. Compromises must often be made in the presentation of the material, even as I try to avoid homogenizing and simplifying the presentation of the data (McCall, 2005).

McCall described how an intra-categorical complexity approach is used to examine the distributions of inequalities (e.g., gender, race, class, etc.) in different locations, often with a focus on neglected points of intersection. She examined the meanings and experiences of these categories within particular social and historical contexts. Categories were brought into conversation with each other to elucidate "diversity, variation, and heterogeneity" revealing the complexity of lived experience (McCall, 2005, p. 1782).

Though situated intersectionality, Yuval-Davis called for inter-categorical comparative analysis to supplement intra-categorical comparative analysis (Yuval-Davis, 2015). In so doing, she found research would examine experiences across categories, as mediated by social power, and would also consider how these facets are experienced – or not – by those with various "experiential and identificatory perspectives of where they belong and [... diverse] normative value systems (Yuval-Davis, 2013, p. 5). She recognized that

situated intersectionality therefore “might create complex, multi-layered methodologies which would require cooperation of researchers with similar mind but in different locations” (Yuval-Davis, 2013, p. 16). I was not able to engage situated intersectionality fully in this project, though I attempted to apply aspects of it across this study.

For analysis, I returned to the summaries of each interview and focus group (and the raw data when necessary). Relevant groups were brought into conversation with each other, by comparing and contrasting the patterns that characterize individual’s or group’s experiences to see better the points of convergence and divergence between them. I also reflected on the interviews, focus groups, and observations within their social and historical contexts to the best of my ability.

Chapter 4 adopts an inter-categorical approach by looking at differences between groups from transnational mining companies to local communities in Solwezi, Zambia. Chapter 5 does the same, but at the local level, by inquiring into the experiences of two different groups of women living in Solwezi. Both chapters work to depict inequality as it exists between social groups and along multiple, sometimes conflicting dimensions. Chapter 6 employs intra-categorical complexity by focusing on one particular social group, sex workers, who live at the intersection of multiple categories. The methodological perspective reveals the diversity and complexity inherent in their lived experiences. Employing this analysis, I attempted to contextualize further these chapters by engaging with the broader social and historical context in the analysis. While no single paper accomplishes Yuval-Davis’ aim of situated intersectionality, the thesis is an attempt to integrate this framework into the data analysis.

3.7 Reflection on Ethnography

Spradley and McCurdy described ethnography as “the process of discovering and describing another culture” (1995, p. 14). Clifford Geertz (1973) adopted a semiotic approach, defining ethnography as an effort in deciphering the webs of significance one attaches to experience, giving insight into how we make sense of the world in which we live. An ethnographer “confronts grand realities” of human experience but in homelier settings that better enable their interpretation (Geertz, 1973, p. 21). More than a craft that requires the

establishing of rapport, observing behaviour, conversing, taking fieldnotes – ‘deep hanging out’, ethnography is engagement in the imaginative and emotional art of fieldwork (Wolcott, 1995). This is an intellectual effort in “thick description” (of producing well-described data situated in a well-described context) that reveals a “stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures” (Geertz, 1973, p. 6). By uncovering conceptual structures and creating systems of analysis it becomes possible to eventually depict and capture the role of culture in human life (Geertz, 1973), to explore cultural difference and to use this knowledge to explore our own ways of being (Marcus & Fischer, 1999).

Marcus and Fischer described how anthropological writings “are moving toward an unprecedentedly acute political and historical sensibility that is transforming the way cultural diversity is portrayed” as global processes erase the notion of self-contained cultures (Marcus & Fischer, 1999, p. 16). As such, ethnography, long devoted to capturing the historic contexts of the people participating in the research study, also must also record the “workings of impersonal international political and economic systems on the local level where fieldwork usually takes place” (Marcus & Fischer, 1999, p. 39). This study aims to grapple with the governance imperatives of gender equality and women’s empowerment. In so doing I delve into the evolving and transformative role neoliberalism and its free-market system continue to play in the daily lives of women living in Solwezi, Zambia. Neoliberalism is recognized as an ideology, one which is experienced within a particular social, cultural, political, and economic moment. The hope is to better understand the inhabited realities of the researched sites and the ‘webs of significance’ women attach to their livelihood experiences, to give insight into how sense is made of the world in which we live (Geertz, 1973).

3.8 Ethics in Ethnographic Research

This research study received ethics approval from the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics in June of 2018 (ORE File #: 23093) and from the University of Zambia Biomedical Research Ethics Committee in August of 2018 (Ref: 006-07-18). It was also approved by Zambia’s National Health Research Authority. Ethical approval from research

ethics boards are an important component of the research process, but it does not guarantee ethical research practice in the field.

Ethnography is inherently a method that, largely through conversing, engages in “guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses” (Geertz, 1973, p. 20). Becker describes ethnographic research as “designed in the doing” (Sanders, 2013; Becker in Wolcott, 1995, p. 219). It is a process highly dependent on “insight, intuition, imagination, luck – yes, even serendipity” (Wolcott, 1995, pg. 162) that recognizes that “you are not quite getting it right” (Geertz, 1973, p. 29). Ethical practice in ethnography is not something that can always be prescribed by an academic institution that is as intent on monitoring legal responsibility as it is in ensuring that research respondents are well protected – or that the interpretation of their stories and knowledge has been conducted in the most ‘truthful’ way possible. Ethnographers in the field are largely bound by their own ethical standards (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012).

A further important consideration in ethical research is that of equity. The Canadian Coalition of Global Health Research (CCGHR) created the Principles for Global Health Research framework to assist researchers in our efforts to engage with equity-centred practices for global health research (CCGHR, 2015; Plamondon & Bisung, 2019). The framework assists researchers in identifying challenges posed in this field and how equity enters into these considerations, by wrestling with the ways in which the six principles of authentic partnering, inclusion, shared benefits, commitment to the future, responsiveness to causes of inequities, and humility inform our work. As a student, the Principles remind me to engage with greater confidence with the messiness of what it means to centre equity in this research study. As I reflect on the Principles, I am reminded of my responsibility to act to address inequalities. In my work, this means grappling with global structural determinants, in addition to reflecting on local changes that may make a difference through my own small efforts to confront the systemic production of inequity (Forman, 2016). This includes spaces within academia that shape boundaries and hierarchies in knowledge production – including funding, timing, and meaning-making that benefits certain parties over others across global settings (Dilger, Huschke, & Mattes, 2015).

In line with the requirements of the two academic institutions, and with recommendations from LeCompte and Schensul (2012), I endeavoured to meet the ethical responsibilities of the ethnographic researcher that begin with research design and continue through the dissemination of data. This involved being cognizant of the power dynamics inherent in the research/respondent relationship. This is also done through member-checking and problem-solving collaborative efforts, and by co-constructing interpretation with participants. It was not always possible for me to speak again to interview and focus group participants. When it was not possible, I had nine key informants with whom I was in frequent contact, who assisted with this process of credibility checking (Erlandson et al., 1993; Morse, 2015).

Ethical practice continues through data collection, by continuously reminding participants that I am collecting data, especially when boundaries between the professional and personal are obscure. I felt the potential for a breach in particular when I would join Peggy, my community liaison and research assistant, in her prayer group meetings. I found these meetings to be a wonderful way to meet and learn from women in the community. Some of these women I knew through interviews and focus groups, as well. After meeting them so frequently, at times it felt as though the professional and personal boundary was breached. Interestingly, I think my visible outsider status as a White woman served as a reminder of my researcher status, yet I struggled to find a line whereby I could convey to these women that I was a researcher engaged in study, while also a person who enjoyed knowing them on a personal level. Consequently, some of the conversations we had made it into my reflexive journal, but they were not included in the data analysis.

Attending to power is also important in interviews and focus groups where I would try to make participants feel as comfortable as possible. I faced an ethical quandary in that Peggy would often join me in interviews, to assist with translation and interpretation (cultural, social, linguistic, political, economic, etc.). She would also often personally know the research respondents. The consent process became very important, so the respondent would know that not only was I going to do my very best to maintain confidentiality, but so was Peggy. That said, there were moments when I wondered if I might have received different feedback if Peggy had not been present. Solwezi is a small town (at least in the way

information travels through strong community networks and family connections), stigma is real, reputation is important, and word gets around one's community. For example, I only had respondents share their HIV status with me when I was alone. As in all aspects of research, who is present in an interview or focus group will affect what is shared.

Confidentiality poses a further problem in this study. As with the situation with Peggy, I do my best to protect participant's anonymity, however it is never guaranteed. The same challenges Peggy and I faced in my interviews with women and men from the community also exist in interviews with people in professional communities. One only needs to look up Solwezi to learn that FQM is the mining company operating in the town. Tracking down CSR representatives would therefore not be too challenging. The same is true of NGO, health, and police representatives. As such, I made certain judgements about which data I would include in my analysis and how it would be represented, to assist in maintaining confidentiality to the extent possible.

Working with Peggy certainly opened up some ethical quandaries, but I believe working with her was not only a better choice for the study, but it was also the more ethical choice. Because of her participation I was in a much better position to provide a more 'truthful' interpretation of the stories and knowledge that were being shared with me.

I faced other ethical dilemmas in the form of reciprocity. Being a researcher from an HIC and from a country benefitting from Zambia's mineral wealth, who had the capacity to remunerate community members who participated in the study outside of their professional capacity, I paid respondents an honorarium for their time. I believe this was always the ethical choice. As described in Chapter 6, I was also aware from my interviews with sex-working women that honorariums are one of the few avenues outside sex work they have to earn an income. They described how they would participate in research studies, attend workshops for HIV/AIDS groups, and volunteer as community outreach workers for these same organizations for honorariums. It is similar to the situation I observed with women volunteering for certain local health organizations. People in Solwezi and beyond are sharing their stories, their blood, their time, in ways that benefit the HIC research/academic/NGO machine with no real consideration for the time and talents of those living in the midst of

these struggles of poverty, HIV, oppression, etc. (J. T. Crane, 2013). We cannot ignore the coercive element of this unequal exchange.

Every day of my research study led to new ethical issues. I am not sure I managed them all as well as I could have, but to the extent possible within the messiness of global health research, I tried to adhere to ethical practice. That said, at the end of the day, I will conclude this study having learned and gained so much more than I will give back. The balance of the scale is always in the favour of the White, (becoming) educated, Canadian woman. As attentive as we are to inequity that it also exists in research relationships is just one more flaw in the academic system.

3.9 Positionality

As a public health researcher who has long been interested in the political determinants of health, my methodological approach to this study is influenced by my curiosity about the political, economic, social, and cultural factors that determine health and wellbeing. Through this research, I focus on women's experiences, attempting to draw connections between the political economic forces driving mining development and their influence on women's changing position in society. I do this in an attempt to understand how social structures operate and affect women's experiences through an array of power dynamics and across social institutions. I aim to understand how these factors determine women's health and wellbeing (Connell, 1987; Doyal & Pennell, 1979; Krieger, 2001).

The methodological approach adopted in this research study is Nira Yuval-Davis' and Floya Anthias' (Anthias, 2013; Yuval-Davis, 2013, 2015, 2017) situated intersectionality, which has been inspired by generations of scholars, including hooks, Hill Collins, Crenshaw, Anzaldúa, Marx, Engels, Hegel, etc. Situated intersectionality attempts to explain the way political arrangements come to determine the production of knowledge by exploring the experiences of those on the margins. This is done to critique the dominant conceptual framework that in itself sets out to silence the voices of the marginalized. It is distinguished from other intersectional theoretical frameworks by the way it applies intersectional analysis "to all people and not just to marginalised and racialised women, with whom the rise of intersectionality theory is historically linked" (Yuval-Davis, 2015, p. 93). Yuval-Davis holds

to this perspective because of the way we all construct different interpretations and meanings given our particular social, political, cultural, historical, etc. context. Situated intersectionality recognizes these dimensions of power but allows for dialogue in which we speak from our own experience and perspective, cognizant of our sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2015). These ‘transversal dialogues’ require us to think not only of ourselves, but to recognize the privilege and oppression we experience in historically created systems. The dialogues aim to create a common epistemology of practice that extends across borders and boundaries to achieve an emancipatory perspective based on shared values (Hill Collins, 2002; hooks, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 2015). I aspired to embody these aims by adopting the situated intersectionality theoretical framework in this work.

In doing this research, it is also important to remember that ethnography is a performance (Castañeda, 2006). Who I am is a part of this work. What I came to know is a product of my situated intersectional theoretical perspective. This perspective affected who I was in the field, how I behaved, and how the people I met responded to me. Simultaneously, the people who chose to participate in this research had their own agendas, interests, and motives that brought them into relationship with me. “The sites of fieldwork are locations for the production of knowledge and sites of ethnographic reporting [...] formulated in the place where change is to be initiated” (Castañeda, 2006, p. 89). In the end, however, it is through me that this knowledge is shared.

I have long been concerned about the effects of extractive industry development, having grown up alongside the developing oil/tar sands sector in Alberta. Though commercial production from the site dates back to the 1960s, production began to increase significantly around the year 2000, bringing with it a boom time for the province. Even in my sheltered Edmonton neighbourhood, it left a mark. Environmental impacts were reasonably obvious (though still ignored (Lawrynuik, 2019)). Social, cultural, and health changes were harder to categorize and understand. Many of my family and friends found economic opportunities in Northern Alberta. They benefitted, but the evidence of growing inequality in the province was everywhere. I witnessed gaps in services and cost increases that arose with the population influx to the region, the rise of sexually transmitted infections, and the

escalation in violence – often against women. While some of these issues have been attended to, the underlying structural drivers that privilege some groups over others remain neglected.

If these were the impacts of extractive industry development in a high-income country like Canada, I wanted to understand the effects in low- and middle-income countries that had been starved of the institutional capacity through the legacy of colonialism and neoliberal economic policy. As a White settler from (the country known as) Canada, where so many of these large-scale mining companies are registered, I felt a need to understand what these developments, which fund so much of our Canadian way of life, mean for the countries from which these metals are extracted. As a woman, I wanted to understand what impact these developments have on women.

Yet my ethnic, racial, and cultural identity is problematic. In Zambia, I am a cultural other and represent a colonial history and ongoing dynamic in the form of resource-colonialism. My privilege is a constant (Nixon, 2019). I know there were things that went unsaid because of the colour of my skin. I missed and misinterpreted many exchanges because of my cultural otherness. My gender, as a White woman, makes me more likely to draw gender distinctions, where perhaps they should not be drawn. Though I attempted to address these constraints through my methodological practice, they should be considered in the reading of this dissertation.

Chapter 4 Women, Mining, and Governance under ‘Smart Economics’: A Multi-sited Ethnography from Zambia and Canadian

4.1 Abstract

Research has begun to demonstrate that women, in particular, experience an adverse bias in the distribution of mining risks and reap few of the benefits. In response, governing bodies in the mining sector have introduced guiding documents that support greater inclusion of women on mining sites or in businesses that support the mining supply chain. It is ‘smart economic’ practice to invest in women. However, these solutions have been critiqued for adhering to a neoliberal approach that instrumentalizes gender in an effort to entrench a growth agenda under the guise of development. This study seeks to understand whether governance approaches to women’s empowerment in mining communities are evolving in response to these critiques. The relationship between two countries bound together through mining development, Zambia and Canada, is examined. Their relationship is situated within the political economic context of global mining governance. It is also considered in the local experience in Northwestern Province, Zambia, home of three large-scale, Canadian-registered copper mining developments. This multi-sited ethnographic study, informed by feminist theory, explores how these two mining nations are grappling with the governance imperative of women’s empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community. As stakeholders engage with mining and gender work, it appears they are also participating in work that is neoliberalizing feminism. Stakeholders tend to construct women as economic subjects to be brought into markets through their entrepreneurial endeavours. Yet, economic opportunities are not manifesting equally in Zambia. Under the current framework, women generally report that they have not benefitted from the development of the mine. Instead inequality is deepening, and women – and men – are being left behind.

(The goal is to submit this paper to Extractive Industries and Society.)

4.2 Introduction

Increasingly, mining companies are looking to develop new projects in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) in Latin America, Africa and Asia (ICMM, 2012). Optimism for the projects is often initially high in host countries. The adverse costs of mining are, however, soon widely experienced by affected communities. Though long under-researched (Jenkins, 2014), studies have begun to demonstrate that women, in particular, face an adverse bias in the distribution of mining risks and reap few of the benefits (Gerritsen & MacIntyre, 1991; Gibson & Kemp, 2008; K. Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006; Moretti, 2006).

Health and human rights impacts experienced by women in mined regions include increasing poverty and economic inequality, social isolation, increased risk of physical and mental health impacts, and sexual violence (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Cane et al., 2014; Caxaj et al., 2014; Chatiza et al., 2015; Jenkins, 2014; Mactaggart et al., 2016; Nightingale et al., 2017; UNECA, 2011). Women's social standing in the community is affected and they may find their ability to participate in decision-making diminished (Horowitz, 2017; Scheyvens & Lagisa, 1998). In these spaces, women face a growing risk of sexual violence, exploitation, and harassment, as well as HIV and other infections (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2014; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2011). Social transformation in mined regions can result in deepening inequality for women, while entrenching privilege experienced by men who find work in the mining sector (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2014; Nakray & Kafukanya, 2019; Negi, 2014; Suliman, 2019; Werthmann, 2009).

4.2.1 Governance Shifts

Though slower to address gender challenges, the inequitable allocation of the risks, impacts, and benefits widely associated with mining development have led to efforts to improve outcomes and mitigate impacts (B. Campbell, 2012; Hodge, 2014; Kemp et al., 2011; Seck, 2011). Following a legitimacy crisis in the 1990s, the mining sector began to acknowledge the disruptive nature of the industry, and in response to changing environmental and social expectations has worked to transform industrial and policy practices by applying sustainable development perspectives to mining governance (Alam et al., 2015; Brundtland, 1987; B. Campbell, 2012; A. Crane, Matten, D., Spence, L., 2013; Dashwood, 2012; Elbra,

2017; International Institute of Environment and Development, 2002; Porter, 2011). In Africa, states endeavoured to design robust legal and fiscal frameworks (B. Campbell, 2012; Elbra, 2017; UNECA, 2011). International organizations and private actors responded with mechanisms ranging from global standard setting (EITI, n.d.; Elbra, 2017; ICMM, 2012; IGF, 2013), to the creation of their own legal and policy frameworks to optimize socioeconomic benefits and strengthen environmental management (Equator Principles, 2016; IFC, 2012).

In the wake of the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the World Bank issued a number of policies and reports outlining how and why women should be better included in global development (World Bank, 1994, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2015b). Framed in the language of gender equality and women's empowerment acquired from the Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women, many of the reports have taken the position that it is smart economic practice to invest in women for their own economic empowerment – and for more effective and efficient development outcomes (Bergeron, 2003; Chant, 2012; Hickel, 2014; Power, 2020; Prügl, 2017; B. Roberts, 1996). In 2009, the Bank also began releasing reports on gender specifically as it relates to mining development. The reports describe the ways in which women could be better supported in the processes and opportunities that arise from industry development (Eftimie et al., 2009; IFC, 2018; Parks et al., 2018; World Bank, 2015a; World Bank Group, 2013). They argue that a “well-managed and forward-looking process of planning and development, one that accounts for the differential between men's and women's opportunities and seeks to decrease risks and share benefits, could contribute significantly to the sustainable development of affected communities” (Parks et al., 2018, p. 2). One focus in these various documents is the need to increase women's access to science, technology, engineering, and mathematics training and increasing opportunities for women to work on mining sites and to participate in the mining supply chain. Another emphasis has been on providing supports for women in mined communities to assist them in undertaking entrepreneurial activities to support themselves and their families (Eftimie et al., 2009; Parks et al., 2018; World Bank, 2015a).

Associated mining industry actors have also begun to increase their consideration of the experiences of women who reside in mining-impacted communities. They have released

“best practice” documents that promote consideration of gender through the inclusion of women in community consultations and through government regulatory processes, such as the uptake of gender impact assessments (ICMM, 2020; IFC, 2017; IGF, 2021; PDAC, 2020). Mining companies have also begun to introduce an assemblage of practices that consider the gendered impacts of mining under the umbrella of corporate social responsibility (CSR) (Butler, 2017; J. Keenan et al., 2016; Mahy, 2011a; Pimpa & Moore, 2018).

4.2.2 Appropriateness of Practices?

The mining sector’s increased attention to the needs of women and focus on improving women’s access to the benefits of mining have been viewed as welcome shifts, particularly given the extractive sector’s reputation for hyper-masculinized worksites and ‘corporate machismo’ (Bradshaw et al., 2017; C. Campbell, 1997; K. Lahiri-Dutt, 2012). There is recognition of the need to increase women’s participation in the mining workforce, but women’s ability to benefit from these opportunities may be limited by their social identities, including income, education, and networks (K. Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006). The same is true for efforts grounded in the economic empowerment of women (K. Lahiri-Dutt & Mahy, 2010). The barriers that prevent participation are often ignored or minimized in these governance approaches, and certain groups of women, such as commercial sex workers, are neglected in the documents altogether (K. Lahiri-Dutt & Mahy, 2010). Outside of gender, there is limited attention to the multiple intersections at which women participate in mined spaces, be they race, nation, sexual identity, ability, or other (Mahy, 2011a). Rather, the reports tend to treat women as a homogenized group in which women may be exemplified as good and willing workers: “not only do women typically have high repayment rates, but profits accrued to women often contribute directly to the well-being of the family” (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 12). This essentializing language can lead to practices that exclude men, simultaneously entrenching the stereotype of the efficient, hardworking African woman that has long troubled the development field (K. Wilson, 2011). Research has revealed how development institutions have employed the image of women as industrious entrepreneurs (Whitehead, 2000; K. Wilson, 2011). Just as in the colonial era, these constructed images of women’s intensified labour practice display essentialized, and racist, depictions of women

that have been used to justify global economic inequality. Development institutions have used them in a continued attempt to frame the discourse by depicting how the solution to poverty and gender inequality resides not in structural change, but in African women working harder (K. Wilson, 2011).

The solutions proposed by the mining sector have also been criticized for adhering to a neoliberal approach that instrumentalizes gender in an effort to entrench a growth agenda under the guise of development (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Oksala, 2013; Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2015, 2017). This neoliberalization of feminism is being implemented using the language of ‘smart economics,’ under the notion “that empowering women and girls through increased opportunities in the labor force and access to credit, land, political representation, etc., will help reduce poverty” (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Parisi, 2020, p. 164; Prügl, 2015; World Bank, 2006). Through this approach, feminist ideas may be integrated into neoliberal rationales and logics. Gender equality becomes a necessary feature for good economic growth, even as women’s ability to attain market citizenship is considered necessary to achieve equality (Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2015, 2017; World Bank, 2006, 2011). Feminism has been incorporated in the ways companies employ their CSR-associate programs to empower women (PDAC, 2020; Prügl, 2015; Prügl & True, 2014; World Bank, 2015a).

Given the limitations that have hindered empowerment efforts, in this study I explore whether governance approaches to women’s empowerment in mining communities are evolving in response to these critiques. Are programs and interventions meeting the material needs of women in mined communities? Is the neoliberalization of feminism pervading the conceptual and discursive aspects of social interactions and structures in mined spaces? Using multi-sited ethnography, I investigate the relationship between two countries that are bound together through mining development: Zambia and Canada. I situate their relationship within the political economy of global mining governance, while considering the local experiences of women in Northwestern Province, Zambia, home of three large-scale, Canadian-registered copper mining developments. This ethnographic study explores how these two mining nations are grappling with the governance imperative of women’s empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community.

4.3 Zambia and Canada's Relationship Built on Mining

4.3.1 Mining in Zambia

Mining has always been at the centre of the Zambian economy and development efforts rise and fall with fluctuations in global copper prices (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017; Mususa, 2010b; Negi, 2014). When independence was declared in 1964, ending the long colonial rule, there was great hope that the copper industry would fund development of the nascent state. A victim of bad timing, copper prices crashed not long after the industry was nationalized and the country soon found its opportunities constrained with debt mounting (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). In the context of the structural adjustment policies that were enacted in the 1980s and 90s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund instituted a privatization process (Ferguson, 1999). Mining companies used this opportunity to negotiate favourable tax regimes, and where wealth was created it was largely removed from national and regional economies, instead attaching to specific enclaves and deepening inequality across the region (Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014). The structural adjustment policies and associated austerity measures led to a steep decline in public spending, devastating state capacity. In addition to thousands of lost jobs and growing poverty, adverse health impacts were significant. Women and children particularly experienced these impacts, given losses in health care, education, and other services (Eisenstein, 2015; Goldsbrough & Cheelo, 2007; Moser, 1989).

When world copper prices began to recover in 2004, international mining companies undertook exploration and development of newly identified copper deposits in Northwestern Province, the 'new Copperbelt.' Limited in their ability to explore economic development alternatives given immediate financial challenges, the Zambian state was eager to support these new mining investments. There were hopes attached to the projects with their promise of jobs and infrastructure. There were also expressions of concern from those who feared that entrenched patterns of inequitable distribution of benefits would be reinforced by the neoliberal approach to growth (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Negi, 2014). In 2020, mining contributed 10% to the GDP and constituted 73% of exports (EITI, 2021).

In Northwestern Province, two large-scale, Canadian-registered, transnational mining companies began operations between 2004 and 2014 across three sites. This led to the rapid transformation of the entire district (Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). This change has been particularly notable in Solwezi, the capital of Northwestern Province, and host to the first mine built, Kansanshi Mine, owned and operated by First Quantum Minerals Ltd. (FQM). With the development of this mine and the two others within close proximity, Solwezi grew from an administrative outpost of approximately 70,000 inhabitants in 2004 to a reported 303,000 residents in 2019 (personal communication, Zambia Statistics Agency, 2019). Those arriving had high expectations for employment and other opportunities at Kansanshi Mine. In 2020, approximately 18,000 workers were employed at the three mining sites as permanent or contract workers. Of these, approximately 8,500 permanent and contract workers were employed at the Kansanshi mine in Solwezi town (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020b; Zambia Chamber of Mines, 2020). While most are employed through subsidiaries, as of September 2021, Kansanshi directly employed 3,150, of which 10.2% were women (personal communication, Kansanshi Mine, 2021).

The development of these mines has been claimed as an ‘Africa Rising’ success story of neoliberal capitalism, given the relatively high levels of economic growth in Zambia since the early 2000s. Yet this transformation has contributed to the rapid growth of inequality in Solwezi (Kesselring, 2017). Within this mined community, women, especially single women migrating to the region for work, have been problematized as an “insidious presence”, particularly in the context of familial stress and HIV/AIDS (Negi, 2014, p. 1011). In the face of unmet expectations, and to achieve social license by improving community ties, FQM committed to several CSR initiatives in Solwezi, ranging from farming and small enterprise development supports, to school and health clinic expansions, with a number of projects focusing on women. Despite CSR programs, Solwezi continues to experience growing inequality (Kesselring, 2018; O’Callaghan, 2019). Nearly 60% of the population lives on less than \$2/day (World Bank, 2021b) and 88% of the population lives on less than \$5.50 a day (Trading Economics, 2020). Women are more likely to experience poverty.

4.3.2 Mining and Canada

Canada is also a mining nation, with the sector contributing 5% to the nominal GDP in 2019 (Mining Association of Canada, 2021). Currently, Zambia hosts five Canadian companies worth \$10 billion, which is 5.6% of Canada's international mining assets (Natural Resources Canada, 2021b). Canada's mining assets in Zambia are behind only those of the United States (\$36.1 billion), Chile (\$18.5 billion), and Brazil (\$11.1 billion), for global holdings (Natural Resources Canada, 2021b). Beyond the strength of the extractive industries connection, the Government of Canada's relationship with the Government of the Republic of Zambia is limited on both the development and the trade front. Two-way trade was valued at only \$24.1M in 2018. In 2017/18 Canada provided only \$19.3 million in international assistance to Zambia, mostly through multi-lateral organizations and Canadian and international NGOs (Government of Canada, 2020a).

As a high-income country, Canada's relationship to the extractive sector differs from that of Zambia. Inherent to Canada's mining governance regime, it hosts a corporate environment structured to sustain, rather than surveil and regulate, extractive industries (Brown, 2019; B. Campbell, 2003, 2008; Dougherty, 2013; Elbra, 2012; Engler, 2017; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). Increasingly, extractive industry projects are shifting to new mining sites in LMICs (ICMM, 2012; Natural Resources Canada, 2021a). Canada supports these developments by offering a home to extractive companies where it provides "favourable tax regimes, including tax credits and subsidized equity financing, [...while] Canada's lax securities laws create an environment of lenient corporate governance" (Dougherty, 2013; Schrecker et al., 2018, p. 139). Transnational mining companies registered in Canada have been supported by foreign policy and foreign aid practices that have aimed to promote the mining sector. The Government of Canada has been accused at times of using practices that led to resource theft and the entrenchment of neoliberal and neocolonial relationships within LMICs, rather than supporting more equitable development opportunities (Blackwood & Stewart, 2012; Blunt, 2014; Bodruzic, 2015; Brown, 2016, 2019; Brown & Swiss, 2018; Butler, 2015, 2017; Engler, 2015; Government of Canada, 2018).

Focusing on Canada's investment dynamic, Schrecker, Birn, and Aguilera (2018) argue that companies registered in Canada and other high-income countries have an ethical

and legal responsibility to ensure the good conduct of their subsidiaries and affiliates in the realm of global extraction and global governance. This consideration extends to women's health and well-being, as women's health and wellbeing is affected by extractive industry development. Opportunity to support such initiatives would seem to be supported by the Government of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP), which applies a feminist approach to Canadian foreign policy.

“Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy recognizes that supporting gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls is the best way to build a more peaceful, more inclusive and more prosperous world. [...It will] help protect and promote the human rights of all vulnerable and marginalized groups and increase their participation in equal decision-making. This will help women and girls achieve more equitable access to and control over the resources they need to secure ongoing economic and social equality” (Government of Canada, 2020b).

FIAP highlights the need to reconceive how structural inequalities and unequal power relations determine women's participation in development. It also places a strong emphasis on the role of the private sector to do the actual gender and development work and the role of entrepreneurship in creating opportunities for women.

“Canada recognizes the fundamental role that the private sector plays when it comes to driving economic growth through trade and investment. An important source of expertise, the private sector also has a great deal to offer to countries and companies that are seeking new and more sustainable ways of doing business.

For its part, Canada will support developing countries in their efforts to create stable regulatory systems that can attract investment and help businesses to thrive. [...]

Canada supports women and girls to ensure they develop their skills, accede to decision-making positions and fully take part in the economic growth of their communities, including by supporting technical and vocational training and entrepreneurship.” (Government of Canada, 2020b).

The document outlines how gender inequality is a significant barrier to economic growth and poverty alleviation while referencing how CSR is an appropriate tool to accomplish these goals (Government of Canada, 2020b; Parisi, 2020).

4.4 Methods

The data for this study emerged from a multi-sited ethnographic research project set in Northwestern Province, Zambia and in Ontario, Canada between June 2018, and June 2019. To gather this data, I conducted group and individual interviews with 81 people in Zambia and Canada.

These interviews included representatives from:

- Global Affairs Canada (GAC) – trade division (2) and development division (4),
- The Office of the High Commission of Canada in Zambia (1),
- The Office of the High Commission of Zambia in Canada (1),
- Officials from the Government of the Republic of Zambia’s Ministry of Gender (1), Ministry of Health (5), and the Zambian Environmental Management Agency (ZEMA) (4),
- A Canadian mining company active in Zambia (7),
- NGOs in Canada (2) and Zambia (9) that run women-focused programming in Zambia,
- Solwezi’s Council of Elders (5), and
- Women (31) and men (9) from Solwezi.

In interviews with representatives I inquired into the ways in which their offices approached gender equality and women’s empowerment and the programs that were put in place to address these priorities. (Though NGOs are their own distinct presence, in my analysis I included their perspectives with the community they define themselves as representing.) Adopting an intersectional theoretical framework and methodological perspective (Bowleg, 2012; Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2015), I employed an inter-categorical (McCall, 2005) approach to intersectional analysis that contrasted government (both Zambian and Canadian), company, and community perceptions and

priorities across their social contexts. Recognizing that inequality already exists between these social groups, this juxtaposition was useful as I considered the experiences of company and government next to the experiences of women living in Northwestern Province, Zambia. Each of these groups responded differently to the challenge of addressing women's experiences in mined communities based on their geographic, political economic, social, and cultural orientations, responsibilities, and priorities.

To do this ethnographic work, I attended the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) Convention in Toronto, Canada in 2019 and 2020 and the Northwestern Province and Zambian Alternative Mining Indabas in 2019, as an observer.⁷ I spent eight months in Zambia between June and November, 2018, and April and June 2019, where I observed the ways in which the programs were discussed and implemented in the capital, Lusaka, and in Northwestern Province. The majority of my time was spent in Solwezi, the capital of Northwestern Province, and home to FQM's Kansanshi Mine. I also visited FQM's Kalumbila Mine and Barrick Gold's Lumwana Mine, and surrounding communities.

All interviews were documented using comprehensive fieldnotes and, depending on the formality of the interview and respondents' comfort, some interviews were digitally recorded for transcription. I engaged in member-checking for my interviews and observations were possible, otherwise I discussed key findings with key informants when in Zambia. I reviewed the interviews and observations conducted in Canada with research team members. Interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and reflexive journal entries were entered into NVivo 12. I coded the data using the 'holistic' method to identify vignettes and bounded experiences (Saldaña, 2015). I coded the data to identify recurrent as well as significant standalone experiences. I then revised codes into themes to assess comparability and transferability across participant data, and between government, company, and community responses (Saldaña, 2015). The process relied on 'recursivity', a practice that flows between an inductive and deductive approach to coding (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012). I was therefore able to respond to variation and divergence across these experiences. I repeatedly returned the raw data to

⁷ Indaba is a Xhosa and Zulu term for a large conference. The term is now used across sub-Saharan Africa.

ensure that the themes and descriptions that emerged from the data reflected participants various cultural contexts (Perry, 2013; Spradley & McCurdy, 1995).

4.5 Findings

With the privatization of the sector, mining governance in Zambia has been transformed. The stakeholders, home and host governments, company, and community, continue to play a role in governing the sector. Yet, authority has shifted from government to company, and to financial institutions. The Canadian government, however, maintains a vested interest in seeing its registered companies succeed, as does the Zambian government, which receives tax income and royalties from these same companies. Through this transition, the role of private governance and corporate social responsibility have changed. Gender equality and women's empowerment have become a feature of these efforts, which is also reflected in the development practices of the Canadian and Zambian governments.

The following sections seek to understand how some representatives from Canadian and Zambian ministries and Canadian-registered mining companies see the integration of gender equality into their work. I also consider how the gender equality discourse is being expressed at mining conventions. Finally, I compare and contrast these descriptions with the experiences of community members from Solwezi, a mined community in Zambia.

4.5.1 Governments, Governance, and Gender

4.5.1.1 Global Affairs Canada

The Government of Canada introduced the Feminist International Assistance Policy in 2017. I was curious to learn how this new form of feminist foreign policy was affecting development and trade practices in Canada's relationship with Zambia, which is so concentrated in the mining sector. Global Affairs Canada (GAC) is the department within the Government of Canada that leads Canada's international development and humanitarian assistance programs, encourages Canadian international trade, and manages Canada's diplomatic and consular relations. Concerns about women are thus a core element to GAC's work, but how did this focus relate to Zambia?

In a brightly lit conference room, within the glass and white building that houses GAC in Ottawa, I enquired into the ways FIAP was shaping the work conducted under the natural resource file within the Economic Development Bureau. I was told the work was just beginning and there was much to do. Recognizing the gap between policy and practice, according to representatives with whom I spoke, the trade division “collaborates with companies to strengthen the environment for responsible business conduct.” With the integration of FIAP into their work, greater attention was meant to be placed on implementing an “inclusive trade agenda.” Under FIAP, the trade division aimed to foster the participation of certain groups that may traditionally be less involved in economic development. This requires “full consider[ation of] gender equality during trade negotiations” (Government of Canada, 2020b). The goal of this effort, as described by the trade representative, was to encourage “more involvement of women in business,” “more entrepreneurial involvement,” and “to extend the benefit of trade to all segments of society.” When I enquired into GAC’s CSR policies, which helped direct the practices of Canadian-registered corporations, including mining companies, I was told that Canada had not updated its CSR policies to reflect FIAP. The existing strategy, which included only one mention of women (Government of Canada, 2014), was meant to undergo consultations and “updated in 2019”. (As of 2021, the policy remains changed.)

Though they also worked to promote gender equality, the development division representatives were clear on their distinctive focus. The trade division “focuses on growing Canadian companies.” Guided by FIAP, the development division worked to “promote human rights and fight poverty” with a focus on health and education, “not to sell Canadian goods.” Development officers described a number of priorities that were specifically relevant to resource governance. These priorities included supporting transformative change in LMICs by promoting equality and women’s economic empowerment; ensuring that women were meaningfully included in consultations; increasing access to and use of natural resources by women; promoting women’s involvement in decision-making; preventing and addressing sexual and gender-based violence in the extractive industries sector; and doing more to protect women human rights defenders. The representatives find that women are not currently benefitting from resource development. GAC’s work aims to shift the balance

through the implementation of feminist approaches to ensure that everyone in the community can benefit.

Development representatives asserted that much of the work that Canada is undertaking to implement the FIAP in the extractive sector aims at exerting influence at the level of global mining governance. They were working with the organizations that set the norms and practices meant to be adopted by transnational mining companies. These global governance organizations included: the International Council on Mining and Metals, the United Nations Forum on Business and Human Rights, the World Bank Group's International Finance Corporation, the World Bank Trust Funds, and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. Despite Canada's efforts at these many tables, gender, feminism, and women's empowerment were still described as contentious concepts. While encouraged in certain spaces, there was not yet broadscale acceptance of the need to consider issues of gender within extractive industries development. It is "still a challenge to have these conversations and to do this work. You mention the word 'gender' and there are many obstacles that pop up. There are even more when you mention 'feminist.'"

Efforts continue to advance this normative shift. Canada is "known for gender," and for promoting the goal of women having a place among decision-makers and equal opportunity to benefit from natural resource development. Given its policy position through FIAP, the Government of Canada has been explicit in its "goal of poverty eradication and on the empowerment of women and girls and promotion of gender equality as the most effective approach to achieving this goal" (Government of Canada, 2020b). Given FIAP's uptake in the natural resource files, the Government of Canada believes that there is opportunity for women through the development of this sector, if it is done in a way that reflects the priorities of women's empowerment and gender equality.

The influence of FIAP has been broadly recognized across the development and trade divisions and has been heard in the realm of global governance. It has not, however, yielded much effect in Zambia, particularly with regard to the development division's goal of reducing poverty among women. Perhaps this reflects the way the sites of power and decision making have come to be so far removed from the realities of mined communities, for instance those of Solwezi, Zambia. In 2012, the Government of Canada decided to limit

Canada's diplomatic and consular relations in Zambia. Given austerity imperatives, Canada downsized its High Commission. Development programs and program officers were concurrently reduced. Following what was considered good uptake on the issue, Canada recently concluded a development project focused on child marriage. As of 2021, Canada had only one initiative in Zambia – supporting the Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations. This initiative aims to increase women's participation in the military and police service (Government of Canada, 2020c).

I heard the same story in Zambia when I visited the Office of the High Commission of Canada. Despite the strong presence of Canadian-registered mining companies in Zambia, the Office has been much reduced in stature over the years. When I first visited the High Commission in 2017, it had its own building. By 2019, it occupied just a few rooms within the British High Commission. (The relocation occurred following the move of consular duties to Tanzania.) One of only two Canadian representatives working in the Office described how mining had been moved from a prospective file to a reactive file. While advocacy on the part of Canadian-registered mining companies was still valued, for the most part the partnerships between the mining companies and the Zambian government were considered well established. As a further example of the Office's diminished role the extractive sector, in 2019, the Office made the decision to stop hosting their annual mining CSR workshop. The event was turned over to Oxfam Zambia and Zambia's Chamber of Mines. With the reduction of Canada's diplomatic presence in Zambia came a reduction in its development presence.

The patterns I observed that characterize Canadian responses differs from that of Zambia with regard to expectations related to mining and development. According to a representative in the busy Office of the High Commission of Zambia in Ottawa, Canada, the Government of Zambia remains attentive to the need for Zambian communities to receive benefit from hosting Canadian mining companies. Former Zambian President, Edgar Lungu, publicly called on Canada to do more to support women affected by mining development. Given a \$1 billion planned expansion of FQM's Kansanshi mine, perhaps Canadian involvement will increase (Mining for Zambia, 2021b).

4.5.1.2 The Government of Zambia: The Ministries of Gender and Health, and the Zambian Environmental Management Agency

Zambia's National Gender Policy outlines the importance of increasing women's participation in the labour market:

“The participation of women in the area of Commerce, Trade and Industry has greatly improved in the recent past. This is partly due to the Liberalisation Strategy which has contributed to a significant number of women involved in commercial activities such as mining, manufacturing and processing which were previously male-dominated” (Government of Zambia, 2014, p. 17).

This has been accomplished, in part, through the promotion of:

“Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), of which more than 50 percent are women. Although MSMEs are considered to be key players in the advancement of the economy, the women in this subsector face the following challenges: lack of entrepreneurship development; innovation and technological capacity; operating premises; access to market opportunities; appropriate technology, machinery, business financing solutions and financial inclusion of women” (Government of Zambia, 2014, p. 17).

Another area of opportunity for women outlined in the policy is in mining:

“The Ministry shall ensure the participation of women and men in mining. The Ministry shall ensure that mining companies provide equal opportunity for employment in the mining industry to both women and men” (Government of Zambia, 2014, p. 36).

Gender and mining has become a topic of significant interest for Zambia's Ministry of Gender. How has the Ministry been addressing the agenda item?

Described as a “coordinating ministry,” the Ministry of Gender lacks the capacity and funding to work independently to implement policy and projects. Instead, it must work with other ministries to accomplish its programming objectives. I interviewed a representative from the Ministry of Gender in one Zambia's lavish hotels built to meet the needs of both the mining sector and international development organizations. The representative described how his ministry is working with the Ministry of Mines to understand the challenges women in

mining face. Employment was considered to be one of the areas where improvements were needed. I was told only 14% of the positions in large-scale mining sector are held by women, with the majority working in administrative posts. (This exceeds the 10.2% of women employed by Kansanshi mine in 2021.) Inspired by work in Latin America, the two ministries plan to introduce a gender seal certification program. Companies would receive the seal by “transforming their communication strategies to ensure they are gender sensitive, by updating their human resources policies around gender sensitivity, and by putting in place policies that create a workplace that is friendly to women.” There was hope that companies would comply if it was a requirement in order to compete for government contracts. To accomplish this end, not only was there work to be done with the companies, but the representative also acknowledged there was much to do. Unions and other groups had to be brought on board. Beyond that, there is a broad need to move the culture to achieve “acceptance for women’s participation in the economy.” There is still resistance among men. The Ministry of Gender has been working with men to achieve these normative shifts in the mining sector, and with the work of women’s empowerment more broadly. It is important to have men involved in these efforts, the representative noted, otherwise women will continue to remain marginalized in these spaces.

Within the Ministry of Gender most of the focus remained on generating women’s employment opportunities on the mine site. Both the Ministry of Health and the Zambian Environmental Management Agency, however, expressed concern for women’s health and wellbeing in mined areas. They were concerned that women were more likely to experience the burdens associated with mining development, while receiving few of the benefits. Zambia has articulated many of these inequities in its 2015 Gender Equity and Equality Bill (Government of Zambia, 2015), but most associated policies have yet to be implemented. The Ministry of Gender continues to work on this agenda but remains limited by its coordinating status. The Ministry of Health and ZEMA have had little opportunity to engage in this work to date. The representative for the Minister for Gender remains optimistic, stating “we leverage our mandate to engage various players. So far, so good.” He also recognized, “however, it can be difficult to change certain behaviours.” As observed in Canada, the sites of power and decision making were concentrated in the Zambian capital,

Lusaka, far from the frontline where women were daily experiencing the realities of what it means to live in a mined community.

4.5.2 Company-Related Interactions

4.5.2.1 Mining Companies

In Solwezi, home to FQM’s Kansanshi Mine, the impact of the mine was very much evident. The air was filled with dust when I arrived as many of the mine’s dust mitigation machines were down. The dust was exacerbated by the dry season heat. One could only escape at some of the local hotels, built to serve the mining sector, and in the malls that were popping up around Solwezi to serve mine employees and Solwezi’s middle class. The malls were convenient, expensive, and reported by community members to be putting local markets out of business.

The priority of FQM⁸ and other mines was to “extract minerals as efficiently and quickly as possible.” However, FQM representatives also noted that if there are mining-related conflicts in communities and social license is not achieved, they cannot do this work. In an effort to support the community and to help address the community disruption many in Solwezi felt was being exacerbated by the mine, FQM established a CSR division, the Kansanshi Foundation. Representatives reported that establishing the office was not just a pragmatic business decision. They were also moved to help address the poverty they observed in the region. Over the subsequent years, the Foundation has conducted a number of activities across many sectors including, health, education, and agriculture. On the gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment front, the Foundation partnered with local NGOs to support women experiencing sexual and gender-based violence and helped fund a violence-against women shelter.⁹ They organized girls’ empowerment programs and programs with boys that aimed to reduce teen pregnancies, early marriage, and the spread of

⁸ While I had the opportunity to visit Lumwana and Kalumbila mine, the interviews and observations reported here are mostly from my meetings with First Quantum Minerals Ltd. and with representatives from their CSR initiative, the Kansanshi Foundation, in Solwezi.

⁹ I learned that Barrick Gold was in the process of developing a wide-reaching program with Care Canada and Care Zambia, to address gender-based violence, however, the program was cancelled when the head of their CSR division was changed.

HIV and STIs. To improve women's economic outcomes, they ran a women-only mining trades training program, graduating 76,¹⁰ and recently opened a jewellery apprentice and workshop project (Mining for Zambia, 2020).

After years of engaging in CSR activities, it was only when they started centering women in their programming that the Foundation thought it was beginning to see a positive change. Their projects “are not solving poverty,” they said, but by investing in women, who in turn invest in their families, they believed social and economic outcomes in affected communities were improving.

What drove the Foundation to invest in women? A CSR representative described how the focus came about in the wake of a failed agriculture program. Men had been given chickens to raise, so the eggs could be sold at market. The Foundation representative reported that the profits were often not making it back to families, rather the chickens were disappearing.

“Every single livelihood project we have tried has failed. Previously every livelihood project involved men, until we looked into it and discovered every Friday afternoon five chickens were stolen. When we started doing projects with women the chickens weren't stolen. The men were selling the chickens for beer.”

The representative went on to describe that it was only through village banking that they began to see real improvements for women and their families.¹¹

Village banking is low-investment, microloan program that simply involves the provision of lock boxes and a train-the-trainer model. Trainees are taught share allocation and interest rate setting to support women with the goal of helping women develop microenterprises. Participants use their own money to buy shares in the bank. Potential business developers (bank members) approach the bank with a business proposal and the bank then decides if they will invest. The successful applicant uses the money to grow the business and then returns the loan in the set timeframe (usually within three months), having paid the set amount of interest (anywhere from 5% to 100%). At the end of the year, the interest payments are tallied and paid out as dividends to shareholders. (If an applicant

¹⁰ The program was cancelled after two years.

¹¹ Though it is starting to change, raising chickens is an activity mostly considered to be women's work.

cannot repay the loan, she is charged a penalty. Eventually, the applicant may be taken to court.) Kansanshi Foundation reported the banks have come to involve 60,725 Solwezi residents, 96.3% of whom are women, and women are required to hold leadership positions in the banks. The banks have brought in a reported collective income of over \$1 million USD.

Interestingly, FQM representatives in Canada and Zambia all reported that though they were engaging in gender-informed CSR programming efforts, it was not because they were required to do so by governing bodies. They were doing this because it made sense given their experience. It should be noted, the Kansanshi Foundation had strong relationships with the Swedish government and the United Nations Population Fund, both of which emphasized women's empowerment and gender equality. Further, FQM's other mine, Kalumbila, had received financing through the World Bank's International Financial Corporation and was subject to their reporting requirements that are attentive to gender considerations (IFC, 2009). These relationships likely exerted some effect on the Kansanshi Foundation's programming decisions. At the head offices in Canada, however, there had been no communication from Global Affairs Canada about the new Feminist International Assistance Policy, though the policy lists action through CSR as a mechanism for introducing private governance gender initiatives. Further, while the company sees the merit of their gender-focused CSR programs, a representative expressed some skepticism over what they see as the sector-wide superficial adoption of "gender as a buzzword *du jour*" in programming.

4.5.2.2 Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada Convention

Attending mining conferences offered insight into how gender and women's empowerment are being considered in both Canada and Zambia. The Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) is a culture unto itself – it is the place to be seen to be considered a player in the powerful world of the corporate mining elite. It is also a place where governments hoping to attract mining investment are actively represented, sponsoring special events and pavilions. Both the Canadian Prime Minister and leader of the opposition gave addresses at the opening ceremonies. The convention is held annually in

downtown Toronto, Canada. In 2019, Canada was home to half the world's mining companies (Natural Resources Canada, 2021a), with 47% of the world's global mining companies listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSX Inc, 2021).

At both the 2019 and 2020 PDAC conventions, women were featured prominently in promotional material around the venue, even if they were less of a presence at the event itself. When I asked mining company representatives at the convention's trade show about their CSR gender-based programming, no one had heard of FIAP and the conversation largely focused on women's employment on the mines. This was the case even if I initiated the conversation by asking about the impacts women experienced from mining development. However, PDAC, as an organization, has begun to address gender equality and women's empowerment in its programming. Following dialogues on women and mining in 2016 and 2017, gender diversity was adopted as a key priority in their five-year strategic plan. In 2018, PDAC formed a Diversity and Inclusion Working Group, with the aim of becoming an issue leader. In 2019, I attended the two sessions specifically focused on gender. One featured Gender and Inclusive Workplaces, and a second, Gender Diversity and Inclusion in the Community. In 2020, PDAC offered one gender-focused workshop, Unpacking the 'How To' in Gender Diversity and Inclusion. The session introduced PDAC's Gender Diversity and Inclusion: A Guide for Explorers manual. Half of the manual is devoted to inclusive workplaces and half to inclusion in the community setting (PDAC, 2020).

The breadth of subject matter covered across these three sessions was quite broad. They included a brief mention of normative shifts observed through new approaches to community engagement and a call to look beyond individual change with a need to think about structures and systems to redistribute power (a point raised by an international NGO panelist). For the most part, however, discussion centred on the need to increase gender diversity in workplaces. This focus was notable as it was placed in the context that 25% of the mining workforce would soon be retiring (CBC, 2013). When community impact was considered, discussion focused mostly on women in business. Attention was given to women's participation in the supply chain and entrepreneurial opportunities in mined communities.

There were three gender-focused sessions held at the 2019 and 2020 conferences. Each session was attended by approximately 100 people. This was a fraction of the 25,000 plus who attend the convention each year.

4.5.3 Community Expectations and Experiences

4.5.3.1 Zambia – Provincial/National Alternative Mining Indabas

The Northwestern Province Alternative Mining Indaba and national Zambian Alternative Mining Indaba were considerably different events. Where PDAC is a convention organized by the industry to support and promote the mining sector,¹² the alternative *indabas* held in Zambia are a place for community members and NGOs to gather to address mining-related challenges. This change in objective was mirrored by the gathering's ambience. The atmosphere at PDAC felt frenetic, as discussions raged about the potential for mining development. The national Zambian indaba felt fraught, as discussions focused on the negative impacts of mining. There were, however, instances where participants seemed to sense their collective power and possibility, as they resisted the “so far, so good” narrative often promoted by the government with regard to mining development. At the *indaba*, conversations centred on challenges that needed to be addressed, rather than money that needed to be made.

Held at the kind of Lusaka hotel that hosts mine workers, rather than mine executives, there was little corporate or government presence at the event. The Zambian president was nowhere to be found. The Minister of Mines, who attended only for a few minutes, commented on how surprised he was to see so many people in attendance. (Several hundred people coming from mined communities around the country attended each day. Many paid their own considerable transportation costs to be there.) FQM was the only mining company to send representatives to the event.

At previous provincial and national indabas, there had been much acrimony between the mining companies and the community, especially when the mines were first being built. In recent years, however, mining representatives from FQM reported a greater appreciation

¹² A large-scale mining *indaba*, equivalent to PDAC, is held annually in Cape Town, South Africa.

for their efforts to provide community development initiatives. This was apparent at the *indabas*, where attendees reported their anger was turning toward a national government that was not addressing their concerns or implementing the policies that would improve conditions in their towns. Yet, for many in the community a gulf between policy and practice in responsible business conduct remained. Their concerns included the absence of material development for mined regions, ranging from personal income and a lack of access to jobs and programs to benefit locals, to the dearth of infrastructure investments in roads and health clinics, etc.

When it came to gender discussions at the national *indaba*, attendees identified full and equal participation of women in the industry as a continuing priority. One *indaba* session was devoted to gender and mining specifically: Gender and Human Rights Protection in Mining: Legal Framework vs. Current Practices, at which gender-related concerns were discussed. After an NGO presented a report about the impacts of a mining development on women, civil society organizations and community members expressed their frustrations with mining companies. Issues specifically relevant to women included their vulnerability to land dispossession and unequal compensation when compared to men. Women spoke to the role of illiteracy and the challenges they faced in acquiring education. Consequently, women experienced greater difficulty accessing jobs on mining site. When they did find work, they faced challenges ranging from protective clothing being oversized, to discrimination on the worksite. Broader concerns with mining ranged from air pollution, to difficulties with mine-required agriculture resettlement programs, to a lack of benefit sharing between the community and the company.

The “so far, so good” sentiment vocalized in my interview with the Ministry of Gender representative was challenged by participants at the session. They told a Ministry of Gender representative speaking at the session (the only government representative to speak on a panel during the *indaba*) that employment was one area in need of consideration. They also expressed their frustration, noting that the negative impacts of mining that women experienced in community were an area to which the Ministry of Gender was not attending. Participants also expressed frustration that no other ministries had sent representatives to the session, or to the *indaba* more generally.

Resolutions from the national *indaba* included a call for the full and equal participation of women in the extractive sector through gender mainstreaming; the delivery of gender responsive public services, corporate governance, and the elimination of existing barriers to their work; the implementation of legislation on women's right to land; and the adoption of the Women's Mining Charter that respects, protects and promotes women's rights and would see them integrated into the mineral sector legislative provisions. The need to sensitize women to their rights and to involve them in decision-making was also highlighted.

The Northwestern Province Alternative Mining Indaba was a different experience once again. The NGOs organizing the event found they did not have the funds to cover the cost of the gathering. Concerned they would have to cancel, they approached FQM for support. The company ended up hosting the event at their Solwezi property, the Kansanshi Hotel, where they host visiting dignitaries and executives. On the outskirts of Solwezi the lush grounds made for a considerably different atmosphere than the humbler setting of the national *indaba*. This setting also meant that mining company representatives were given a platform on which to speak. The first morning of the event featured CSR representatives from both FQM mines, and a representative from Barrick Gold.¹³

After many years of effort by local, gender-focused NGOs, gender concerns were finally included on the agenda at the 2018 Northwestern Province Alternative Mining Indaba for the first time. When I attended in 2019, the topic was again included. As at the national *indaba*, equal access to education was highlighted as a key issue, with supporters stating that it was good for development and for business and would allow women to compete more fairly in the workforce. The need to challenge normative beliefs that prevent women's participation in education and employment were recognized, with a call for women's empowerment to be defined and prioritized. This was recognized as a priority for communities that host mines, so that women would be recognized as equals and their voices would be included in decision-making about mining development that directly affected their lives. Calls arose to ensure that women were prioritized in CSR project funding. Further

¹³ Very different from FQM, Barrick Gold avoids the spotlight. Their CSR representatives made a few comments and left shortly after they spoke, while FQM leads attended both days.

resolutions from the *indaba* included an appeal for the implementation of existing laws and policies; greater involvement of women, youth, and people with disabilities in mining and other programs and projects from inception; and for women to have greater involvement in program ownership. Improving communication of opportunities, introducing gender sensitivity training, and establishing and monitoring benchmarks for women's employment standards were also listed. *Indaba* participants called for the mine to employ a certain percentage of women. They discussed that "parliament is supposed to have 30%. [...the] same percentage should be ascribed to the mines – 30%".

At the Women and Gender breakout sessions during which these priorities were being identified, it was often men who were leading the conversations. After some conversation, at the breakout session I attended, it was decided that women should play a more prominent role. I, a White visiting researcher, was tasked with taking notes because I had a laptop. Women spoke quite freely during the session. At a concurrent breakout session, I was told it was older men who dominated the conversation, both as leaders and as speakers. A senior man took charge and assigned a young woman to the notetaking role. The younger men seemed uncomfortable with the dynamic. Though remaining deferential to his elder, one young man spoke up and asked that women be heard. It would seem certain norms are beginning to shift.

4.5.3.2 Women's Experiences: Conversations with Women, Men, and Women-Focused NGOs

These previous interviews and events were juxtaposed by what I observed and heard during my time in Solwezi. Far from the mine-owned hotel, these conversations often took place in cinderblock offices and homes, of which the owners were rightfully proud. Seated on locally built couches, constructed by their neighbours and purchased from the myriad roadside stands, I had conversations with NGO representatives and women and men from Solwezi. In some instances I was not invited into people's homes and offices, rather they preferred to come to me. The ability to purchase a cinderblock home was available only a small percentage of Solwezi's 303,000 residents.

How were women and men describing the changes they were observing with the arrival of large-scale mining, and how had these changes affected gender dynamics? Were the mine's CSR programs meeting community needs?

NGOs focused on gender-based violence generally described positive partnerships with the mine's Kansanshi Foundation, with the Foundation supporting youth empowerment programs and the local women's shelter. The mine also helped support the volunteer-run One Stop Centre, where women could report their experiences with violence in a safe location. Volunteers—trained social workers—noted they would like to be paid for their time and wished the services were more widely available. Currently, the Kansanshi Foundation covers volunteers' travel costs for their nine to five Monday-Friday shifts. Volunteers chose to walk to the Centre and kept their travel money to help meet household needs. They also reported worrying about clients who required supports outside their hours of operation and had nowhere to turn.

Despite the call for more education for women and girls, NGOs focused on literacy reported that while the mine supported some adult literacy programs in Solwezi, in rural regions women's literacy and empowerment more broadly remained an unmet challenge. Women outside Solwezi received little programming assistance generally.

There was some discussion among participants that the mine cannot and should not do everything – including claiming program successes that may not be theirs to claim. Many of the women I met who were involved in village banking projects took umbrage with the way in which Kansanshi Foundation would “hijack” their efforts, claiming credit for the village banking initiative and other programs. “It's like [Kansanshi] is telling people that they have introduced village banking. Really it was us (laughter). We were the first people” (Solwezi woman involved in village banking). A group of village bankers reported that that they were introduced to village banking by USAID and World Vision, not the mine, though the Kansanshi Foundation takes credit for their efforts. (The Kansanshi Foundation was the only organization promoting the village banking program at the time of this study.)

Regardless of who initiated the program, many women involved in village banking reported experiencing greater levels of empowerment and gender equality in their homes.

They recognized that they were being treated more equally by their husbands and were included in conversations about budgets and household decision-making.

“It used to be women would sit at home and wait for their husband to return, now we are seeing women doing more work to bring food to the table. Through village banking, we can borrow money, start a business – small or big. More women are going more to school, leading to more equality in the home. Husband and wife are able to help each other. They work out a monthly budget together” (Woman living in Solwezi, group interview participant).

Though there was opportunity for some, there was also concern expressed about who was ‘being empowered’ by these programs.

“Women’s empowerment depends on upbringing and access to education and exposure and location and work-type exposure. Empowerment is a remote idea in rural areas. In cities things are changing. I am seeing women travel more for education and work. This never would have been accepted previously” (Woman living in Solwezi, interview participant).

In Solwezi, whereas some women benefited from village banks and other projects, the benefit often seemed limited. Growing businesses into a remunerative and sustainable enterprise was rare, NGO representatives reported. Some of the women who were not benefitting from the programs discussed how notions of empowerment were “only for the educated.” (See Chapters 5 and 6 for more detail.)

Many of the women I met reported frustration with the Kansanshi Foundation, given its failure to consult with the community about what programming was needed. An NGO officer found the CSR program representatives to adopt at times a ‘we know best’ approach that they deemed to be “patriarchal.” When it came to gender, she reported, it seems they “don’t want women to know anything but just to do what they are being told.” “The duplication of programs,” and “a piecemeal delivery” of services, were other concerns various NGO workers reported about the mines’ CSR programs.

When asked what sorts of services NGOs, and men and women would like to see, the list was long. They called for supports for health services and education, and for the elderly

and the orphans, as they saw poverty deepening and inequality growing in Solwezi. There was a call to provide support for entrepreneurs to help them grow their businesses, perhaps by providing small loans to overcome barriers to entry. Both women and men also called for the involvement of men in economic development programs because both are important contributors to the community and to their families. I heard frequent calls for Kansanshi Foundation to establish a community trust, in line with the program offered by Barrick Gold at Lumwana Mine. Barrick Gold contributes a certain amount to the Lumwana community trust on an annual basis. A community board that includes local traditional leaders, among others, decides in which projects to invest. A dairy and a women's literacy program were two outputs that were much admired, as was the idea of residents having a say over program decision-making. The need for economic expansion and diversification was a common theme in these interviews.

Directed toward the government, many Solwezi residents and NGOs called for a revenue sharing law that would require a certain percentage of the tax income collected by the national government to be allocated to the communities which host mines. Calls for the government, not just the mine, to increase their investment in Northwestern Province were frequently heard.

Many residents living in Solwezi were concerned that though they lived with the impacts of the mine, which they experienced everyday with overcrowded classrooms and health clinics, poor air quality, mine-induced price inflation, and growing inequality, unless they worked for the mine, they experienced few of its benefits. For women, the challenges could be even greater as inequality increased across the region. Though girls' education rates are increasing, families who are less well-off were more likely to pull their daughters from school and see them married earlier. Girls and women may become involved in commercial sex work. The profession is highly active in Solwezi, with women coming from across the country on mining paydays. For them, sex work is one of the few ways they can support their families.

Women in Solwezi generally reported they had not benefitted from the development of the mine. "Things are worse now." Even men lucky enough to find secure jobs on the mine site reported how they were unable to keep up with the cost of living in Solwezi, given

mine-induced inflation and the need to support under-employed family members. Women realized they faced many challenges in Solwezi, but that did not result in calls for further ‘women’s economic empowerment programs.’ Rather their concern was attentive to community needs more broadly. As Austrian et al. found in their 2020 study in Solwezi, when men (and boys) are not included in social interventions community norms do not shift. Social, economic, and other outcomes only begin to improve when the whole household is supported in programming efforts (Austrian et al., 2020). There were however some changes noted with regard to gender equality. Though not a change often attributed directly to the mine but rather to schools, empowerment programs, and the changing attitudes of parents, children across Solwezi are being raised to participate in household chores more equally. The gap between girls’ and boys’ education rate is declining.

4.6 Discussion

The clean white floors of the Global Affairs Canada offices and the dusty streets of Solwezi are not only geographically distinct, but they are also subject to social, political economic, and cultural divides. Decisions about the challenges women face in mining communities may be made in Bay Street offices at mining headquarters in Toronto or at World Bank offices in Washington D.C. These sites and organizations are far removed from the experiences of women – and men, in Solwezi, and other mined communities in low- and middle-income countries. Even were programming decisions to be made at the local level, decision makers, such as those with the Kansanshi Foundation, may not consult with the community about what interventions might be best.

These decision makers, aware to some degree of the development challenges people in mined communities experience, have assumed that the programs they endorse are beneficial. If their CSR programs do not succeed, the solution is to find another way to redistribute the wealth potential they believe to be inherent in ‘sustainable mining.’ CSR efforts should change their focus from men and chicken sales to women and village banking. (Alternatively, Solwezi residents, the majority of whom live on less than \$2/day, were told by a CSR representative at the provincial *indaba* they could buy shares in FQM.) With regard to gender inequality, decision makers continue to propose solutions to inequality that lie in

increasing women's participation on the mining workforce, and among the entrepreneurial opportunities that support the mining supply chain (Eftimie et al., 2009; World Bank, 2015b). There is little attention given to the limitations of the solutions they propose, such as who is able to benefit from these programs and who is not. Decision makers do not see the problem residing in the global governance systems and structures that mining companies and the World Bank helped create and entrench (Bergeron, 2003). Rather, it seems they see the problem residing with program participants.

Regardless, private governance solutions would not meet development needs. The CSR program officers, well-intentioned though they may be, are working for mining companies that have a primary objective of removing as many minerals and metals from Zambia as efficiently as possible. They are not there to assist lower- and middle-income countries in achieving their development objectives. Mining companies' private governance initiatives are no substitute for structural supports provided by secure and well financed governments with a clear development vision for their country.

Though CSR programs may be attempting to fill a governance gap in systems still hobbled by the effects of SAPs, the CSR officers I met were not responding to the development needs identified by Solwezi residents. While gender equality and women's empowerment were considered important issues by the community, residents were not calling for programs that addressed 'women's economic empowerment.' They were calling for programs that would broadly benefit the needs of all the community. Regardless, gender equality and women's empowerment are often the focus of CSR programs promoted by host and home governments, as well as companies. Through these programs, empowerment and gender equality are being employed as tools to help entrench a neoliberal economic agenda, which supports extractive projects for transnational companies from high-income countries.

4.6.1 Subjectifying Women as Neoliberal Aspirationally Self-Sufficient and Responsible Individuals

Though it was not considered a priority in Solwezi, evidence of governance efforts to consider and address gender equality and women's empowerment in mined spaces are becoming increasingly visible in government, company, and community spheres. Women's

‘economic’ empowerment was considered in public documents, while it was also a much discussed topic, as I witnessed during my fieldwork. Zambian and Canadian governments, Canadian-registered transnational mining companies, and even certain NGOs are centring women in their programming and governance efforts. Yet, as these stakeholders engage with mining and gender work, it appears the work they are doing is ‘neoliberalizing feminism’ (Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2015, 2017). The programs and policies the stakeholders introduce and implement have a tendency to construct women as economic subjects to be brought into markets through their entrepreneurial endeavours to do alone the work of alleviating poverty without needed structural supports (Boeri, 2018).

There is some divergence from this neoliberal logic. Many programs in support of women have emerged in Solwezi that include addressing sexual and gender-based violence and illiteracy. These programs are considered important, but addressing poverty appears to be the driving motivation for government, company CSR foundations, and NGOs – as it is the priority of residents of Solwezi. Consequently, women’s economic empowerment has been emphasized in the programmatic efforts of active government, company, and NGOs. In mined communities, this is promoted through CSR programs that encourage women to participate in mining and in entrepreneurship. This is seen in Solwezi in the trade school initiative and in village banking where women are encouraged to engage in microenterprise to support their families.

The efforts underway at the local and national levels mirror global gender and extractive industries governance frameworks, particularly those established by the World Bank. The approach being promoted in the extractive industries aligns with the World Bank’s ‘smart economics’ efforts (Bergeron, 2003; Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Eftimie et al., 2009; Parks et al., 2018; Prügl, 2017; World Bank, 2006). The World Bank has conceived that marketization would provide women with jobs and improved income earning capability (Bergeron, 2003), with the “belief that women’s business success is enough to overcome all other barriers to equality” (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015, p. 406). In the extractive industries, this approach is supplemented with finding women employment in the sector.

There is a gap between supply and demand on the mine sites – too many people and not enough work. This gap led to the promotion of women’s entrepreneurial activity in

association with the mining supply chain (Eftimie et al., 2009; World Bank, 2015b). Through their CSR programs, the Kansanshi Foundation has made some effort to address this need, as have NGOs and the government, through the women's economic empowerment initiative of village banking. As Elisabeth Prügl, and others, have demonstrated, these entrepreneurial endeavours are governance approaches that promote the ideological incorporation of gender identity, as mediated by the principles of gender equality and women's empowerment, into the "technologies for the governance of the self" (2015, p. 619). Central to this practice are the "notions of individual freedom, choice, and empowerment" (Prügl, 2015, p. 620). Women, shaped as entrepreneurial subjects, are 'empowered' and 'responsibilized' to act in ways that support market imperatives (Boeri, 2018; Eisenstein, 2015; Oksala, 2013). Under this development discourse, women are celebrated as active and self-sufficient agents, the neoliberal ideal, even as attention is turned away from the state, weakened through restructuring processes and unable to support this development endeavour (Boeri, 2018).

4.6.2 Neoliberalism – Failing to Alleviate Poverty and Inequality

The development discourse has accentuated the importance of achieving women's economic empowerment through the programmatic efforts of active governments, companies, and NGOs. It has also emphasized gender equality, a means by which women may become more equal contributors to the family income. In mined communities, this effort has been promoted through CSR programs that encourage women to participate in mining and in entrepreneurship. The World Bank purported these development frameworks would work to alleviate poverty and achieve more equal opportunity for women through the sustainable development of the mining sector (Eftimie et al., 2009; IFC, 2018; Parks et al., 2018; World Bank, 2015a; World Bank Group, 2013). However, these programs and interventions are failing to meet the material needs of women – and men in Solwezi, let alone achieving the goal of gender equality.

In part these programs are failing because they do not account for the fact that many countries where mines are being developed face a significant labour surplus. Currently, approximately 18,000 workers are employed at the three mining sites as permanent or contract workers (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020b; Zambia Chamber of Mines, 2020).

These employment numbers, however, are proportionately far below the number employed during the height of Copperbelt Province's mining development, reflecting the influence of privatization and an increasing dependence on technology (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). In 1976 the number of employed workers reached 62,222 across the five largest mine sites. By 2001, this number was reduced to 19,145. Incoming employees were generally offered fixed-term contracts without pensions and security, or were employed by sub-contracted companies (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 131). Though the development of the new mine sites in Northwestern Province initially led to increased opportunity, most positions have been long filled. Further, the downturn in the commodities market in 2015 led to layoffs among mine workers. Despite the reduction of employment opportunities, there continues to be significant migration to Northwestern Province, particularly by mine workers made redundant by the privatization of the mines in Copperbelt Province. Over 240,000 people have moved to Solwezi in hope of finding work since Kansanshi opened in 2004, quadrupling the size of the city.

To find a job on the mine site, women are required to compete with skilled men. In Solwezi, FQM offered a trades skills training program specifically to women (though the program was cancelled after only two years in operation). At Kansanshi mine women hold only 10% of the jobs on site, where they are mostly relegated to work in clerical or food services. This is far below the 30% rate called for at the Provincial Alternative Mining Indaba.

Jobs in associated industries have increased around the region. For women this generally means work in the service sector as hotel cleaning staff or as restaurant cooks. These jobs demand long hours and are poorly paid. Even with these opportunities competition is fierce as labour supply outstrips demand. This finding is supported in the literature. In a multi-country study using survey data for 800,000 individuals from mine sites across Africa, Kotsadam and Tolonen discovered that women's employment declined by 8% as opportunities shifted from agriculture to those available in the service sector (Kotsadam & Tolonen, 2016, p. 325).

In Solwezi, emphasis has turned to microloan programs and entrepreneurship. The Kansanshi Foundation claims there are now more than 60,000 female entrepreneurs in the

city – the village bankers. Yet, entrepreneurship has not benefitted all village bankers equally. As is supported in the literature, opportunities are not equal, particularly for women whose only form of income earning potential is through the informal market (Boeri, 2018). Success varies by the intersections women inhabit, especially given that these programs lack the structural supports needed to see entrepreneurship thrive. Further, by emphasizing women’s economic empowerment as the solution to poverty, women are being made responsible for pulling themselves and their families out of their dire circumstance. Meanwhile, the structural drivers of poverty and inequality are ignored (Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014).

4.6.3 Employing the Technologies of Governance

Despite these failures, globally, development institutions, ranging from the World Bank to mining company CSR offices, continue to propose development solutions grounded in market feminism. These solutions ignore the need for structural change. “The Bank is comfortable framing women’s economic experiences in a particular way because of the solution it has to offer” (Bergeron, 2003, p. 410) and these solutions continue to be adopted widely. The programs proposed by the mine not only align with the Bank, but they also align with the language and technologies of governance advocated by GAC in FIAP, which endorses CSR as a development tool, and at PDAC in their exploration guides. Even the recommendations emerging from the *indabas* urge for greater investment in women’s entrepreneurial projects and increased gender inclusion on the mine site. These key stakeholders are increasingly recognizing mine CSR officers as experts on gender and development, even as their approach is one that endorses a neoliberal economic framework (Eisenstein, 2015; Prügl, 2015; A. Roberts, 2015).

These technologies of governance promoted through feminist neoliberalization build on practices introduced through the World Bank’s structural adjustment policies that exacerbated global inequality. In this iteration of neoliberalism, gender is instrumentalized in support of the existing neoliberal structures that sustain the economic practices, like extractivism, of high-income countries like Canada, and limit the development opportunities of LMICs like Zambia. Further, this neoliberalization of feminism limits the transformational potential of policies like FIAP, and gender equality and women’s empowerment more

broadly (Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2017). These entrepreneurial projects serve two purposes. First, they distract attention from structural drivers of poverty, such as tax avoidance, weakened regulatory frameworks, and unfair investment conditions that limit countries' earning capacity and limit government ability to invest in public goods, such as education, health care, and the implementation of transformative gender-based programming, that if addressed may actually help alleviate poverty (Hickel, 2014). Second, they secure an economic ecosystem that is committed to the expansion of foreign capital in LMICs, even as this approach entrenches global and local inequality (Eisenstein, 2015).

4.6.4 The Perpetuation of Colonial Practices Through the Neoliberalization of Feminism

Beyond its explicitly economic dimensions, the neoliberalization of feminism has been critiqued for the way it perpetuates a colonial view of women and women's empowerment. Whitehead and Wilson reported how, in their reports, development organizations and colonial governments would construct essentialized versions of women as hardworking economic subjects worthy of development support. Men were often depicted as lazy and untrustworthy (Whitehead, 2000; K. Wilson, 2011). These depictions deepened colonial conceptions by the World Bank and others of the 'monolithic Third World Woman' (Bergeron, 2003; Butler, 2015; Mohanty, 1988, p. 61). They also served the purpose of limiting these organizations' ability to perceive Zambian women as whole individuals who are the product of complex historical, political, economic, social, and cultural experiences. They simultaneously limit conceptions of Zambian men. This approach, adopted by development organizations, governments, and corporations' CSR programs, exacerbates gender divisions between men and women, and prioritizes gender over race, and other factors (Oyěwùmí, 1997; Tyagi, 2014). Wilson described how this strategy harkens back to Victorian discourses of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, by isolating good 'industrious' women and mothers, from 'lazy,' 'drunken' men (Tyagi, 2014; K. Wilson, 2011). This strategy also obscures the relations of oppression and exploitation inherent in the neoliberal development model, even as it celebrates women's agency (K. Wilson, 2011). In Solwezi, these tropes were invoked by the Kansanshi Foundation as a justification for certain programming decisions that centred women. Men were more likely to 'spend their money

drinking,' while women were more likely to 'support their families.' This neo-colonial practice is also contributing to the perpetuation of the neoliberal ideology, even as it too serves to shift attention away from the material supports once the concern of government.

Though there are certainly negative aspects of Solwezi's story of women's empowerment and mining, so bound to the neoliberal global governance paradigm, there are also moments of indeterminant encounters that create opportunities for more transformative change. Some women report experiencing better conditions in their homes and opportunities in their work. Some Solwezi residents see their children being raised to be more equal participants in the home – sharing equally the responsibility of household chores. Some women are more likely to report experiences of violence. These encounters are being reported by women – and men alike. Prügl attributes these shifts to the emergence of empowered and autonomous agents, activated by the forces that have also neoliberalized feminism (2015, 2017). In Zambia, it appears this transformation is emerging at the grassroots, as reported by NGOs and the Council of Elders, and may also be galvanized by the work of the mines. Even as these forces promote a neoliberalized version of feminism, they may also be, perhaps unwittingly, unsettling social forces and creating opportunities to form new solidarities between women – and perhaps with men.

Chapter 5 Those Who Are Left Behind: Women's Economic Empowerment Comes to a Zambian Mining Town

5.1 Abstract

The arrival of large-scale mining development in Northwestern Province, Zambia has transformed the region – creating opportunities for some, yielding little benefit for others. For those able to find formal work with the mines, to some extent expectations have been met. For those without the right connections, education, and gender, options are more limited. Under the guise of ‘smart economics’ and women’s economic empowerment, entrepreneurship has been positioned by global governance actors as the way, particularly for women, to make the most of the opportunities offered with mining development. Yet the opportunities associated with entrepreneurship differ for women based on the intersections at which they are positioned within society. Though some benefit, still more are finding themselves left behind. Informed by the political economy of health, feminist, and intersectional theoretical framework and drawing upon data collected from multi-sited ethnographic research, this paper examines the ways various development actors position women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining development context. I examined the experiences of women from two different groups, those involved in a microloan program and those in local market sales. Results from this analysis show how both groups of women take up entrepreneurial pursuits but that the intersections at which they are positioned in terms of income, education, network, etc. shape how they benefit. These intersections also determine impacts to their health and wellbeing, and what this has meant to their conceptions of self as ‘empowered’ women. Under this neoliberal development strategy, inequality seems to be the result, as social differentiation deepens between groups, while development actors fail to address one of the root causes of poverty and inequality.

(The goal is to submit this paper to Globalization and Health.)

5.2 Introduction

As is common with extractive industry development, the arrival of large-scale copper mining transforms regions socially, culturally, and environmentally – affecting citizens’ health and wellbeing (Chansa, 2021; Kapesa, Mwitwa, & Chikumbi, 2015; Kesselring, 2018; Lindahl, 2014; Negi, 2011; O’Callaghan, 2019; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). Solwezi, the provincial capital and mining hub of Northwestern Province, Zambia, is undergoing such an adaptation. One of the changes underway has been the push, in part supported by mining corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives, to expand entrepreneurial activity, particularly among women. These efforts have led to improved outcomes for some but for many others without the right connections, resources, and education, options are limited, and little benefit has been realized. Instead, economic inequality is growing across the region (Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014; O’Callaghan, 2019).

This paper examines regional economic and gender regimes associated with mining in Zambia. Drawing upon a review of the literature and data collected from multi-sited ethnographic research in Zambia and Canada, I examine how various development actors position women as entrepreneurial subjects. Results from this analysis show that women take up entrepreneurial pursuits but that the intersections at which they are positioned in terms of class, education, etc. shape how they benefit, and what impact these experiences have on their health and wellbeing.

5.2.1 Zambia and Mining in a Neoliberal Era

When Zambia declared independence from Britain in 1964 there was great hope that the copper industry would help fund economic development of the nascent state. Due to bad timing, governance challenges, and declining copper prices, opportunities promised by mining were increasingly constrained (Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). Given the legacies of colonialism and debt-bondage, Zambia found itself facing declining terms of trade along with weakening copper prices in the 1970s commodities market crash (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Wengraf, 2018). In a challenge to decolonizing efforts, in order to access development loans and prevent loan default, indebted nations were required to adopt structural adjustment policies (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary

Fund (IMF) intent on imposing a neoliberal, free-market regime onto countries in Africa and across the Global South (Besada & Martin, 2015; Eisenstein, 2015; Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Guttal, 2007; D. Harvey, 2005; Navarro, 2009). To embed this neoliberal macro-economic transformation, the World Bank and IMF were tasked with instituting practices of deregulation, reductions to government spending, market expansion, implementing free trade and the free movement of goods and services, profit repatriation, stable exchange rates, and privatization, among other changes (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; D. Harvey, 2005). In Zambia, this was “accompanied by a spectacular looting of the national [treasury], negative growth rates, deindustrialization, deepening debt, and increasing poverty” (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010, p. 11). Paradoxically, as national copper mines were sold cheaply to corporations ranging from small Zambian companies to international conglomerations, like the Binani Group out of India, and the transnational Anglo American corporation (Ferguson, 1999; Solomon, 2012) to support debt payments, incompetence of new owners led to the closing of mines at the turn of the millennium, leaving mass unemployment and unpaid pensions and bills in their wake (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; A. Fraser & Lungu, 2007; Solomon, 2012).

Across Africa, neoliberalism was remaking societies and economies – limiting the redistribution of wealth, intensifying class formation, increasing inequality, and decreasing social cohesion (Coburn, 2004; Ferguson, 2006; D. Harvey, 2005; Navarro, 2009; Wengraf, 2018). Even as the wealthy benefited from the privatization process, most Zambians experienced neoliberalization as a process that undermined their expectations of development, and instead entrenched poverty and inequality (Ferguson, 1999). The SAPs and associated austerity measures resulted in cuts to public spending, to devastating effect. In addition to the thousands of lost jobs, the health impact was significant. The AFRODAD Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Zambia described how between 1990-2000, the Zambian government was required to spend over 12% of its GDP on debt service payments; the health sector received 2% (AFRODAD, 2003). Infant and under five mortality increased, as did stunting. HIV prevalence rose to 20% among adults by the late 1990s (Goldsbrough & Cheelo, 2007, p. 3), as SAPs impaired the health system’s capacity to respond (Mulungwe, 2020). The effects on women were particularly severe, given that the loss of health care, education, and other

services increased their workload and diminished their wellbeing (Eisenstein, 2015; Rai, 2013; Sparr, 1994). Further, the IMF and World Bank's efficiency approach under the SAPs treated women's contributions as free labour. Under a triple workload, women in Africa were encouraged to produce more for the market, while also contributing more for their family and community (Barrett, 1995; Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Moser, 1989).

Constituent to the triple workload, the spread of neoliberalism transformed women's work lives as the relationship between the market and extra-market relations shifted. Those families still relying on a male breadwinner experienced declining incomes, and more household members, including women, were forced into the labour market (Çağatay & Özler, 1995). The globalization of supply chains, the deregulation of labour markets, the fragmentation of the production process, the establishment of new export zones with trade liberalization, and the easing of trade restrictions did lead to more jobs for women. These jobs, however, were largely low skill, low paying, informal, precarious, and often hazardous (Butler, 2015; Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Elson & Pearson, 1981; Hickel, 2014; Rai & Waylen, 2013; True, 2012). Though feminists have been critical of systems that saw women dependent on men for their economic security, the feminization of labour did not yield economic emancipation for women (Elson & Pearson, 1981; N. Fraser, 2009, 2017; Vosko, 2000). Rather, under this regime women found themselves in increasingly precarious employment positions. The requirement that women contribute to the household income had not generally been associated with a reduction in care work at home and in the community. Rather, for many, the overall burden on women had been intensified, further challenging women's wellbeing (Bakker, 2007; Barrett, 1995; Bhattacharya, 2017; Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Moser, 1989; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994).

5.2.2 The Feminization of Entrepreneurism

In Zambia, the neoliberal remaking of the market led to retrenchment of both the public and private sector. A lack of economic opportunities in the formal sector saw many women turn to informal activities and microenterprises to support their families (Mususa, 2010b; Tranberg-Hansen, 2004). This shift, aligned with the neoliberal ideological position that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms

and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (D. Harvey, 2005, p. 2), was promoted as a way to alleviate poverty and to stimulate economic development (De Vita, Mari, & Poggesi, 2014; Hassan, 2002; McPherson, 1996; Morduch, 1999). In the business environment, restructured via SAPs, entrepreneurship, microloan, and small-scale, often informal, business initiatives were celebrated by some as the ‘great hope’ for Africa (Frese & Friedrich, 2002, p. v). These approaches were explicitly included as an employment strategy in some countries’ SAPs (McPherson, 1996). Particularly for women in low- and middle-income countries, the World Bank began to encourage entrepreneurship and microloan approaches, describing them as a way for women to build their involvement in productive work, increase gender equality, and decrease poverty (IFC, 2017; World Bank, 2001, 2006). Female borrowing was associated not only with “increased earning capacity and control of household assets by women, but with more autonomy and decision-making power within the home, and greater demand for formal health care for women” (World Bank, 2001, p. 148). Under what has become known as the neoliberalization of feminism, feminist ideas of empowerment have been grafted onto market principles and development goals such as poverty elimination. Rather than turning to the state for leadership and the provision of structures to support citizens, women are empowered to become industrious entrepreneurial subjects, who are responsibilized to raise themselves and their families out of poverty (Prügl, 2015, 2017).

At the World Bank, women’s empowerment has been conflated with their economic empowerment – a means by which to move women into the market economy (Bergeron, 2003). Microloans provided a way for women to access their informal networks and grow their earning potential to increase their economic position (Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2013; Bergeron, 2003; Kuada, 2009; Rutashobya, Allan, & Nilsson, 2009). By 2019, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor reported that the highest rates of total entrepreneurial activity in the world were among women in sub-Saharan Africa, at 21.8% (Elam et al., 2019). Entrepreneurism has even been promoted in the extractive sector, which has been critiqued for excluding women from large-scale projects (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2011; K. Lahiri-Dutt, 2011; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 2015). The World Bank endorsed the position that it would be good for government and mining companies not only on the mine

site, but to involve women as entrepreneurs in the mining supply chain. This work would be good for development and good for business, and would address gender inequality (Eftimie et al., 2009; Parks et al., 2018). Various stakeholders across the extractive sector have adopted this approach, where it has been described as good development practice (IGF, 2021; Parks et al., 2018; PDAC, 2020; World Bank, 2015a). In their 2018 report for the World Bank, (Parks et al.) describe how this practice has a further benefit. “When given access to income, women are more likely than men to prioritize family welfare over personal consumer goods in their allocation of resources. Indeed, enhancing women’s incomes and decision-making power promises to enhance the well-being of households—and communities—in general”.

Not all players were as optimistic about opportunities for women in mined communities, where the African Mining Vision report posited that mining development may lead to an increase in gender inequality (UNECA, 2011). Kotosdam and Tolonen found that women may find greater opportunities in the service sector after mine openings. They also found a decline in agriculture. Overall, this led to an 8% decrease in female employment (2016, p. 325). Kabeer has found that organizations implementing the economic empowerment programs often assume that once women are able to access and exert some control over economic resources, they will be able to participate equally in the market economy (Kabeer, 2012). These economic empowerment discourses may fail to differentiate between women in terms of networks, education, and economic security, and the differences these make in terms of entrepreneurial opportunities and outcomes (Keating et al., 2010; K. Lahiri-Dutt & Mahy, 2010; Yetim, 2008). De Vita, Mari, and Poggesi report how, in sub-Saharan Africa, though entrepreneurial rates among women are high, their opportunities remain limited (2014). Even women who work formally in the entrepreneurial sector often struggle to access the capital, social networks, and market niches that would allow them to grow their business (Rutashobya et al., 2009; Spring, 2009). Women who have been relegated to the informal sector face increasingly precarious situations in their efforts to ‘get by’ (De Vita et al., 2014; Mususa, 2010b; Thieme, 2018).

The World Bank has continued to promote entrepreneurial development as a way for women to achieve economic empowerment, with strong support from sectoral partners like

the mining industry. An important question remains, who is able to succeed in these endeavours and how do they fare? The experiences of women entrepreneurs, especially those in low- and middle-income countries, is understudied (De Vita et al., 2014). There is even less focus on other, intersectional considerations, particularly those that are relevant to the wellbeing of women in the African, here Zambian, context (De Vita et al., 2014; George, Kotha, Parikh, Alnuaimi, & Bahaj, 2016; Spring, 2009). Further, there has been little inquiry into whether these solutions, as proposed by the World Bank and associated actors like mining companies, are addressing the underlying structures that determine this inequality, or are perpetuating it (Bergeron, 2003; Butler, 2017; N. Fraser, 2009; Hickel, 2014).

5.2.3 Intersectional Considerations

Intersectionality, first described by Crenshaw in 1989, is a theoretical perspective and methodology that considers the co-constitutive experiences of oppression by centring the identities of race, class, and gender (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989). Over time the approach has expanded, exploring how multiple social identities are intermeshed, in the “overlapping and conflicting dynamics of race, gender, class, sexuality, nation, and other inequalities” (Cho et al., 2013, p. 788). Consideration of these dynamics allows for a more nuanced understanding of women’s social locations and identities experienced as a product of a particular history, within specific social, cultural, economic, and political contexts (Anzaldúa, 1987; Hill Collins, 2002; hooks, 2000; McNally, 2017; Yuval-Davis, 2015). It challenges past efforts that described “Third World Women’ as singular, monolithic subjects” (Mohanty, 1988, p. 61).

Moving beyond a monolithic conception of subjects, intersectionality explores the ways in which various aspects of social identity exist in dynamic relationship with each other. In this paper, marriage is considered a social identity relevant to African women, in line with research conducted by Moore and Himonga (2017) and Bryceson, Jønsson, and Verbrugge (2013). They explored the way in which its conception (civil or customary) can determine African women’s access to resources, opportunities, and statuses. Also relevant are the ways in which these structures and processes can determine wellbeing and health outcomes. Kapilashrami and Hankivsky have examined how social location is mutably

intermeshed with the political economy and social and cultural processes. It interacts with structural forces, like colonialism, racism, and sexism, and effects the way certain groups are able to access – or not – the supports they need as factors shaping health inequalities and wellbeing (Hankivsky, 2012; Kapilashrami & Hankivsky, 2018). These processes demonstrate how “population patterns of good and bad health mirror population distributions of deprivation and privilege” (Krieger, 2001, p. 668). The enduring effect of these societal conditions come to be embodied in individuals’ lives, transmitted by the determinants of health.

Intersectional theoretical frameworks also create spaces in which Black women may stand with Black men, given their shared struggles with racism and colonialism, recognizing that no one form of oppression is necessarily more harmful than the next (Crenshaw, 1989; Mohanty, 1988; K. Wilson, 2011). Gender inequality exists. It does so in a space that recognizes how neoliberal development efforts have fostered the trope of the ‘lazy African man’ (Whitehead, 2000). This same space created the image of the efficient, industrious African woman who gives everything for her family, while ‘incidentally’ supporting the market liberalization narrative (K. Wilson, 2011). McNally’s interrogation of the theoretical foundations of intersectionality explicates the “systematic interrelations in and through which racial and gender domination are utterly interwoven with capitalist exploitation” (McNally, 2017, p. 111). These considerations resonate with the feminization of labour that led to women’s responsibilities being extended into the world of entrepreneurship, economic growth, and prosperity (Berglund, Ahl, Pettersson, & Tillmar, 2018).

The ‘entrepreneurial subject’ is conceived as a development discourse that has positioned women as productive workers with underexploited income-earning potential who exemplify the neoliberal ideals of self-sufficiency (Boeri, 2018). Given these considerations, this paper examines how various development actors position women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context. For women in low- and middle-income countries, their entrepreneurial potential often rests in small business, supported by microlending endeavours. Yet, entrepreneurship does not benefit all women equally, particularly women whose sole employment opportunity lies in the informal market (Boeri, 2018). Building off the work of Tranberg-Hansen (2004) and Mususa (2010a), here I examine the promotion of

entrepreneurism among women in the mining town of Solwezi, to better understand the inhabited realities of this space and the ‘webs of significance’ women attach to their livelihood experiences, giving insight into how sense is made of the world in which we live (Geertz, 1973). I explore what impact this positioning has on women’s opportunities and outcomes, their health and wellbeing, and what this means to their conceptions of self as ‘empowered’ women, given the intersections at which they are variously located.

5.3 Methods

The data for this study came from multi-sited ethnographic research consisting of interviews, focus group discussions, and observations conducted in Zambia over an eight-month period between June and November, 2018 and April to June, 2019, and in Canada in March 2019 and March 2020. Ethnography, a naturalistic, fieldwork-based qualitative methodology that honours the sociocultural and historic contexts of the people participating in the research study, is appropriate for addressing both the global political economy and the local context where fieldwork is conducted (Marcus & Fischer, 1999).

Over the course of the study, I conducted 72 individual and group semi-structured interviews in Canada and Zambia, with people who were affected, both directly and indirectly, by mining industry development in Solwezi, Zambia. I identified participants through key informant and community liaison recommendations, and through snowball sampling. I conducted interviews with mine workers, Zambian and Canadian NGO officers, business owners, health officials, Zambian and Canadian government representatives, mining company CSR representatives from Canada and Zambia,¹⁴ mining representatives from a mining trade school and three of the women in their current cohort, the police, members of the Council of Elders, and women from Solwezi, who participate in various entrepreneurial endeavours.

¹⁴ While interviews were sought with both Canadian mining companies, Barrick Gold, which owns Lumwana Mine in Zambia, did not respond, so I was only able to contact First Quantum Minerals, Ltd. I spoke to representatives at both their Kansanshi and Kalumbila mine sites, however, the data reported here focuses on the interviews undertaken with Kansanshi representatives, as Kansanshi Mine is located ten kilometers north of the centre of Solwezi.

I also conducted three focus groups with: ‘marketeters’ (12), teachers (14), and a ‘village banking’ group (8). Interviews and focus groups were conducted in English, though occasionally respondents (13) would respond in Kaonde (the predominant traditional language spoken in the region). Responses were translated *in situ* by the project’s research assistant/community liaison.

I attended the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada’s annual convention in 2019 and 2020. The convention is an international industry event that brings together major stakeholders and aspiring junior companies in the mining sector in a networking and knowledge sharing event. In 2019, I attended the Provincial Mining Indaba¹⁵ for Northwestern Province and the Zambian Alternative Mining Indaba in Lusaka, Zambia. Though mining company and government representatives attended these events, they are more focused on community concerns related to mining development.

While all interviews and observations provided important contextual information, this paper draws mainly on 17 semi-structured interviews and three focus groups I conducted with women who are living and working in Solwezi. I worked with these women to understand how their lives had been altered by living in a community with a large-scale mine. Discussion topics included women’s perceptions of changes in Solwezi associated with the mine, their lived experiences in Solwezi, their understanding of and experience with the ‘women’s empowerment’ narrative that has become quite frequently discussed in the region, their work lives and the way social and economic supports and opportunities affect them, the barriers they face that limit their access to these supports and opportunities, how opportunities and barriers may affect their health and wellbeing, and that of others they know who live in Solwezi.

I had the opportunity to spend time with some of the women in a more informal setting. I visited some of their homes, the marketplace where some work as ‘marketeters.’ Through these experiences, I was better able to understand the various intersections at which these women live, while recognizing the mutability of these spaces and the factors that led them to where they lived in the moments I met them (Hankivsky, 2012).

¹⁵ *Indaba* is a Xhosa and Zulu term for a large conference. The word has been adopted across sub-Saharan Africa.

All interviews were documented using comprehensive fieldnotes and, depending on the formality of the interview and respondents' comfort, 13 interviews and three focus groups were digitally recorded for transcription. Key findings from the interviews and observations were member-checked with key informants in Zambia. In Canada, interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and reflexive journal entries were entered into NVivo 12 for organization.

To assess intersectional considerations I invoked McCall's (2005) work on inter-categorical complexity. Inter-categorical complexity "begins with the observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups, as imperfect and ever changing as they are, and takes those relationships as the center of analysis" (McCall, 2005, p. 1785). I inquired into the experiences of two groups of women working in Solwezi, the village bankers and the marketeers. This juxtaposition was useful in identifying how inequality exists between these two groups separated by class. Each group responded differently to the challenge of addressing women's experiences and economic opportunities in mined communities, based on their geographic, political economic, social, and cultural orientations, responsibilities, and priorities. I brought relevant groups into conversation with each, comparing each individual or group's perspective and experience to see better the points of convergence and divergence between them. I reflected on the interviews, focus groups, and observations within their social and historical contexts, returning to the summaries of each interview and focus group (and the raw data when necessary).

I coded the data using the 'holistic' method to identify vignettes and bounded experiences (Saldaña, 2015). The data were also coded using a focused hand-coding approach and were eventually connected and integrated into themes. The themes were revised to assess comparability and transferability across participant data (Saldaña, 2015). The process relied on 'recursivity' (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012). The themes emerged from both an inductive and deductive approach, with some informed by the literature on social positions, access to resources, the local and macro-level processes of power that shape women's lives, and the ways in which inequalities are structured between social groups and across social contexts. Some emerged from data itself, such as differential access to resources, the role of entrepreneurship, and differential health impacts.

Themes Emerging from the Data

- The ‘responsibilization’ of women
- The role of women in economic development
- Investing in women
- CSR initiatives
- CSR initiatives and women’s ‘economic’ empowerment
- Changing attitudes towards women
- Formal employment opportunities for women
- Entrepreneurism
- The benefits of entrepreneurism
- Problems with entrepreneurism
- Different networks
- The role of marriage/the role of family/the role of wealth
- The importance of education
- Achieving ‘empowerment’ or what it means for women to have money
- What it means for men to have money
- Attention to intersections/who is left behind
- Poverty and health impacts
- Changes in Solwezi
- Opportunities with the mine
- Challenges with the mine
- Empowerment for men

This approach enabled me to respond to variation and divergence experienced in the field, though I often returned to the raw data to ensure that the themes and descriptions emerging from the data reflected the experiences of local individuals and communities in their cultural context (Perry, 2013; Spradley & McCurdy, 1995). I also often returned to Mohanty, to be reminded that “women are constituted as women through the complex interaction between class, culture, religion and other ideological institutions and frameworks”

(Mohanty, 1988, p. 72). This consideration was particularly important as I entered this work as a White, Canadian-born settler woman who must reflexively consider what I am missing and misinterpreting, given my onto-epistemological position.

5.4 Setting

This study was set primarily in the mining town of Solwezi, Zambia. Whereas copper mining has been central to the development of Copperbelt Province to the east for more than a century, large-scale mining only began in Northwestern Province with the development of First Quantum Minerals Ltd.'s (FQM) Kansanshi mine in 2004, situated just ten kilometers north of Solwezi town centre. This project was followed in quick succession by two other mines over the subsequent twelve years. Barrick Gold opened its Lumwana operations in 2009, 90 km distant from Solwezi. First Quantum opened its Sentinel mine in 2014, a further 60 km away. Development of these three Canadian-registered, transnational mining companies, rapidly transformed the region (Kapesa et al., 2015; Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014; O'Callaghan, 2019; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

Solwezi, the provincial capital of Northwestern Province, is the centre of Zambia's 'New Copperbelt', and has been claimed by the 'Africa Rising' narrative, given the relatively high levels economic growth in the region associated with the arrival of the mines (Negi, 2014). Yet, development across Northwestern Province looks today quite different from the development experience that occurred on the Copperbelt from the 1920s to the 1990s, where more government involvement limited major socio-economic differentiation amongst workers and residents (Mususa, 2010b). Development in Solwezi, under the current neoliberal regime, has instead led to deepening social divides (Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014) in a country where 57.5% of all citizens live on less than \$2/day (World Bank, 2018).

5.5 Findings

5.5.1 Solwezi's Mining-Induced Transformation

Solwezi town has grown with the development of the mining industry. A small administrative outpost of approximately 70,000 inhabitants in 2004, its population numbered 254,000 in 2016 (Preuss & Schmidt-Eisenlohr, 2016), and reached a reported 303,000

residents in 2019 (personal communication, Zambia Statistics Agency, 2019). Zambians continue to migrate to the region in hopes of finding employment. For those who succeed – and success is often defined as finding a job associated with a mine – Solwezi is a town that could offer opportunity. Industrial development that supports the mining supply chain can be seen along the main roadway, as can other major developments, malls, hotels, bars, and night clubs. The transformation of Solwezi also includes housing developments ranging from the ‘Golf’ estate, a housing compound complete with golf course, that is home to largely expatriate mine workers, to *Kabitaka*, a Kansanshi-built development, that offers housing options to mine workers and other residents who can afford their rent-to-own prices. A growing middle class has also built houses for themselves, and for rental income – taking advantage of the population influx. For those who have not experienced a mining-related windfall, numerous ‘squatting’ settlements, lacking access to water and sanitation, have appeared on the outskirts of town. Only 34% of homes in Solwezi have access to piped water (personal communication, Provincial Health Office, 2019).

Despite being a national economic hub, the mushrooming of informal housing development is one indication of the ways in which Solwezi remains under-developed, even as many accrue wealth. A dearth of paved roads, the absence of a university, limited recreational facilities, and over-crowded schools and health clinics all speak to the lack of investment. Many residents describe Solwezi as a neglected town, rather than a major urban hub they believe it should be.

Nonetheless, because of the mine many see Solwezi as a place of opportunity, for women as well as men. In 2020, approximately 18,000 workers were employed at the three mining sites as permanent or contract workers. Of these, approximately 8,500 permanent and contract workers were employed at the Kansanshi mine in Solwezi town (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020b; Zambia Chamber of Mines, 2020). These employment opportunities were welcomed but demand far outstrips the number of jobs available on the mine site. This was especially for Solwezi residents who reported that three quarters of those employed on the site came from the Copperbelt Province, where workers already had the requisite skills. Access to employment on the mine has been limited for women. To increase opportunity, in 2017 and 2018, Kansanshi’s affiliated mining trades school trained two women-only

cohorts over the subsequent three years. Many of the 76 women have gone on to find work on the mine site. Despite this program (which ended after two years), opportunities for women on the mine remain limited. As of 2021, Kansanshi directly employed only 321 women (personal communication, Kansanshi Mine, 2021). Given community expectation, it has fallen to the mine's CSR branch, the Kansanshi Foundation, to develop employment opportunities for women. One program the Foundation offered beginning in 2020 was through a jewellery apprentice and workshop project (Mining for Zambia, 2020). However, this program too is limited in number and scope.

5.5.1.1 For Those Who Are Hardworking: CSR in Solwezi

FQM recognizes that it is their job to remove as many minerals from the ground as efficiently as possible, not to 'do development.' Yet, if the company does not offer development opportunities, an angry community might stall their project. As a result FQM would incur significant expenses with project delays. Pragmatic business practices and community expectations have led the Kansanshi Foundation to offer several programs over the years ranging from conservation farming to supports for women experiencing sexual and gender-based violence. With programmatic sustainability driving their CSR mandate, the Kansanshi Foundation came to focus a significant portion of its efforts on women, stating that they found programs to be more successful when women were key recipients.

The promotion of a village banking program was found to have the greatest reach and the greatest success. Village banking certainly meets the Kansanshi Foundation's programmatic sustainability requirements. Its only investment is a lock box and training potential members in how to set up the village bank. The Foundation reported the program has been very successful. In 2019 it involved 60,725 Solwezi residents, 96.3% of whom are women. (Women must always hold the leadership roles). The banks have brought in a reported collective income of over \$1 million USD.

The Kansanshi Foundation has also enrolled a number of women in one-year mentorship programs that, in addition to village banking, include training in entrepreneurship. Through this program women learned to run a ledger, marketing, growth, management, and business proposal development. In June of 2019, a reported 436 women

graduated from the program. As illiteracy remains a challenge for many participants, the certificate program also aims to support women in developing functional literacy. For youth, in addition to training in sexual health and assertiveness, entrepreneurship is also built into Kansanshi Foundation youth mentorship camps for both boys and girls.

In an interview with Zambia's representative Minister of Gender, I was told that, though there are still lower levels of women's employment across the country, it is starting to improve with small business development. The representative reported that further efforts need to be taken to increase market access and to ensure that conditions of work are decent. In Solwezi, the Council of Elders reported that because of the mine and associated opportunities, these changes are already occurring. "For those that are hardworking we have seen that their income has improved in their small business." A respondent commended the mine for their actions on women's empowerment,

"One positive thing I observed is the issue of gender. I think the mines to a big extent have helped raise the stature of women in Solwezi. [...] I see women emerging with very successful small business entities" (Male respondent from a group interview with the Council of Elders).

5.5.1.2 Solwezi Is the Place to Be

Though challenges abound, for many Solwezi has been a place of opportunity. FQM reports that,

"Zambia's largest mining company, First Quantum Minerals (FQM), is forging ahead in its quest to engage more local people in its supply chain to strengthen Zambian-owned businesses and boost the local economy. The company procured US\$1.65 billion (K36.3 billion) of goods and services from companies registered in Zambia in 2020, representing 85% of the total spending by its two mines: Kansanshi in Solwezi and Sentinel in Kalumbila" (First Mining DRC-Zambia, 2021).

Residents report most of this supply-chain provision goes to Copperbelt residents, who already have built up businesses capable of operating at scale, and most associated jobs go to men. A local chief felt differently. He finds there is opportunity through entrepreneurship and

is educating young men “to find solutions for themselves, to be self-dependent. I mentor young men to be money magnets. They mentor their families.”

A few women have found a niche for their entrepreneurial activities. I had the opportunity to meet a local woman and entrepreneur who I will refer to as Mwachilenga.¹⁶ Mwachilenga runs two of her family’s guesthouses and has committed to hiring and training women from Northwestern Province. She found that because there is opportunity tied to the mine, “Solwezi is buzzing. It’s the place to be. If you are an entrepreneur people are willing to give you a loan or you can finance.” As an entrepreneur, she is empowering local people, and has a particular focus on hiring women. She finds that by “giving them a different set of skills you give them a different option.”

Some women are planning to take advantage of the opportunities in Solwezi by opening private schools. Others are seeking training opportunities to scale up their local consultancies, quarrying businesses, and transportation companies. Women do, however, experience a capacity gap, they noted. Further training needed in leadership, record keeping, and financial management for medium-sized businesses (personal communication, NGO worker, 2019). Some NGOs have begun to establish programs to help women build their entrepreneurial skills and grow beyond small-scale, “to be more than tomato sellers.” Yet, the NGOs report that securing capital is the challenge as women struggle to access formal bank loans that will grow their businesses beyond what the village bank can provide.

5.5.2 Can’t Make Ends Meet Without Business – Entrepreneurism and Necessity

There are some who are succeeding through mining development and associated employment opportunities. However, the development of the mine has also led to deepening inequalities. Health officials described how the mines and associated opportunities led to wealth becoming concentrated amongst small numbers of privileged people. The rest live in poverty. Women from the marketeering focus group report how a “small group is doing well with the mines. Others are suffering. There are two groups in this society. We see it in schools, hospitals – [there are] two-tiers.”

¹⁶ All names included in this study are pseudonyms.

In Solwezi, when intersections are considered, there are tiers within tiers. Some women, perhaps best described as Solwezi's middle class, engage in entrepreneurship to help cover an increased cost of living. Others do so because it is the only source of income available to them, creating competition for limited market space. In the next section I share what it means to be an entrepreneur from the perspective of the village bankers and the marketeers

5.5.2.1 Village Bankers

Village banking is a common microloan practice in Solwezi. A significant number of women participate in, or have attempted to participate in, these groups in the hope they will bring in more money to support a nascent business effort (60,725, as reported by Kansanshi Foundation). The program requires participants to use their own money to buy shares in the bank. Potential business developers (bank members) approach the bank with a business proposal and the bank then decides if they will invest. The successful applicant uses the money to grow the business and then repays the loan in the set timeframe (usually within three months), with the set amount of interest (anywhere from 5% to 100%) being paid each month. At the end of the year, the interest payments are tallied and paid out as dividends to shareholders.

Village banking can be fraught with risk. If an applicant cannot repay the loan, she is charged a penalty. Eventually, the applicant may be taken to court. Given the potential for default on a loan, the whole group loses a portion of their investment. As a result, certain shared characteristics emerged among successful village bankers.

The women I met, who I included in the village banking group (some in a focus group with village bankers, others in a group interview with formally employed women, others in individual interviews), largely disclosed that they were married, had completed grade 12, if not a further degree or certificate, and spoke English fluently. This revealed that their families believed in and were able to educate their daughters. Their husbands generally worked at the mine in various capacities or had other relatively secure jobs in Solwezi (physician, police officer, accountant, etc.). Most of the village bankers themselves had a formal employment position, working as nurses, teachers, or administrators with NGOs.

Their entrepreneurial activities brought in income to the family in addition to their primary income source and that of their husband's. (A few of the women worked exclusively as entrepreneurs, though they were often mothers of young children.)

Their housing situation was also important. Most owned their homes, or were in the process of building them, and most had secondary properties for farming. Many were renting out second homes on their properties. Most described how they had been fortunate to buy their property before FQM built the mine, allowing them to capitalize on rental opportunities.

The women I met who were included in the village banking focus group first got to know each other through their church. It was their social connection that led to their decision to begin village banking as an economic opportunity, yielding an established, secure network built on trust. Trust was an important consideration because if a member defaulted on a loan the whole group lost a portion of their investment.

These women were all trained in village banking by Corridors of Hope or World Vision, not by the Kansanshi Foundation, though one of the groups had been awarded the 'Endurance Award' by the Foundation for their successful efforts which began in 2011. Though their village bank had nothing to do with the Kansanshi Foundation, the Foundation still claimed them as part of their village banking CSR initiative. Further, though many had husbands who worked for the mines the village bankers were not familiar with the mine's other CSR programs.

Many of the women I met, despite their comparatively stable circumstances, described how they started the village banking initiative because of the high cost of living in the mining town, "even as a government worker I can struggle to buy mealie-meal¹⁷ because prices have been hiked" (General Hospital nurse, interview). Women described how they started banking because salaries were not enough on their own and money was needed for children's school, for food, for their home. Village banking provided an opportunity to save money during a time when there were few economic opportunities.

During an interview, a village banker shared her story. Nkomba described how she left her job when she went to join her husband, who was working as an accountant for a mine

¹⁷ Staple food in Zambia – milled white maize eaten at most meals.

on the Copperbelt (the province to the east). Rather than looking for a new position they decided she would open a small grocery store on a property they rented. When her husband accepted a position in Solwezi with Kansanshi mine, Nkomba and her family came along, an arrangement that may not be typical, given the cost of living in Solwezi. She started participating in village banking to begin to earn the capital she needed to open a grocery store, but this time one that she and her husband owned themselves. In an interim business venture, she bought a freezer so she could sell popsicles. She used the income from this and other small ventures to help put her children through school, while saving to buy land. Over several years, she built up the capital she needed, using village banking money to buy materials. The money she made contributed to their down payment for a section of land and to the cost of building materials for their home and the grocery they are building on the property. Nkomba told me how her husband was happy to be married to such an industrious woman who contributed to the family. They budgeted for the family and made decisions on economic matters together.

As Nkomba took me on a tour of her almost complete cinderblock store, she shared her concerns about challenges her entrepreneurial efforts face. As more large-scale service providers and grocery store chains arrive in Solwezi (usually of South African origin) to serve the mine, they threaten the small-scale business efforts of Nkomba and her banking associates. People are beginning to choose the supermarket over the local grocery or market. To be able to compete they would have to grow their small enterprises to a mid-size business, which is not something they have yet achieved.

In some ways, Nkomba's story is unique as she works solely as an entrepreneur at this point. Most other women were taking on small businesses in addition to their work and family responsibilities. In addition to a full day of teaching and her family responsibilities, Kamalonga runs a fish farm. Susen raises chickens in addition to her administrative position. Hope runs her farm to feed her family and sells excess produce, and also works as a tailor. Given their reliable networks all have found village banking to be an important contributor to their families' income, even supporting their children through university degrees.

The bankers also reported a further benefit. In addition to their own education, the income they earned from their entrepreneurial endeavours contributed to establishing greater

gender equality in their homes. Because women were “bringing food to the table” they had more control over household decisions – and their lives.

“When we are not working, you just – you become a beggar in that home. There is no respect. The husband says no, then it is no. Now I have money I can give it to my mother if she needs it, rather than asking my husband.” (Group interview, formally employed women).

Village banking women reported how men were beginning to change their treatment towards their wives. Men have come to admire women who work, they are interested in being with educated, employed women. “They know, if I marry a nurse, at least half the burden has been carried off” (Group interview, formally employed women). Men can also appreciate women who might not work formally but work tirelessly. Being a successful entrepreneur is considered “very respectable”, especially if you are someone like Marriam who sells fifty bags of maize each year. Marriam and her husband, a police officer, share responsibility for earning income and together pay for their children’s education.

5.5.2.2 Marketeers

Though many of the village banking women sell their goods at the local markets, they are distinct from the group of marketeers, and live, geographically and contextually, in a different Solwezi. The marketeers I met during the focus group and again at a tour of their market were single mothers, widows, or married to retirees. Most women spoke some English but were more comfortable speaking Kaonde. Though girls education numbers are improving, girls are less still likely to attend senior secondary and post-secondary schools (60.1%, 22.5%), than are boys (70.9%, 36.3%) (Central Statistical Office, 2016, p. 27). This means they are less likely to be comfortable in English, which is the primary language of instruction in secondary school.

Attending school is an opportunity out of reach for many as fees are expensive. This makes the achievement of a grade 12 diploma difficult, especially in a country where 57.5% live on less than \$2/day (World Bank, 2018) and 88% of the population lives on less than \$5.50 a day (Trading Economics, 2020). Respondents shared that secondary school (grades 8 through 12) cost about K200 (~\$10USD) per term in 2019, plus the cost of uniforms, books,

and potentially transportation. Respondents shared how families who were not able to pay for both have traditionally paid for boys' education before girls, especially when it comes to senior secondary. Their daughters may instead be married. This not only eliminated the cost of school fees, but it also secured the bride price for the household.

Given the increasing cost of living in Solwezi, the ability for women to find work was reported necessary. The challenge was how to find the work. Education, skills, and connections help secure employment. None of the marketeers reported holding formal employment and all were the sole income earners in their households. Their families were entirely dependent on what they could earn from the market.

Some women had access to land for farming and would sell excess produce at their market stalls. Those with retired husbands reported they would work the farm. Most of the women, however, were single and did not have access to land. They bought produce from wholesalers and would resell at a higher cost. Solwezi's Council of Elders shared the challenge of this work,

“90% of people are doing very, very, very small businesses. Especially women. Maybe they sell bananas, nuts, veg, but there are so many [marketeters]. Some people just go and sit there all day not selling anything and go home just like that. Usually these are widows with four to seven children. How do you expect them to survive? These women buy from farmers and then they are not able to sell. Women need other avenues to improve their livelihood.” (Male respondent from a group interview with the Council of Elders)

Some women had received training in village banking from Kansanshi Foundation. For a few, banking helped them build capital. “It's planning. When you plan well, it works well with you.” Most, however, found village banking to have limited potential. “It does well when you have a business that is bringing in – a business generating that money, yes. And if not, then what? If not, you're in trouble. [laughs] You have penalty after penalty” (Focus group, marketeers). A marketeer revealed how the village bank she was a part of charged 20% interest. She could not sell enough of her vegetables to keep up with the loan payments. The women from the village banking focus group only changed 10% their first year, and then

lowered it to 5% the second year as the interest was too high and made it “hard to breathe.” The marketeers took the bigger interest risk, in hope of the bigger reward. The result was that many struggled to repay their loans. In the end, they repaid their loan eventually because they did not want to trouble their colleagues, but to do so they had to use their very limited reserves. Most resigned from the bank after a year. Entry into this CSR-sponsored program and one’s ability to benefit from it very much depends on women’s socioeconomic circumstances.

The marketeers described how market location was key to their business success. If you rented a (more expensive) spot in a high-traffic area in a busy market you were better able to sell your products and were then better able to participate in programs like village banking. The marketeers had invested in a small market not too far from Solwezi’s General Hospital, thinking they would get good traffic from the nurses and doctors. However staffing levels in the hospital were down, leaving them with few customers.

I went to visit the market. Even though it was a sunny weekday, around lunchtime there were no customers buying vegetables and most of the tables were empty. The two only customers around were buying fritters from the market restaurant.

During my visit, Evelyn shared some of her story. A widow, Evelyn is the sole provider for her family. She describes her group of fellow marketeers as “keen to work very hard so that they can sustain their families, but money is very difficult to find nowadays.” People were not frequenting their businesses. Few were attending the market restaurant. She described how many people in Solwezi have lost their jobs and the value of the kwacha (Zambian currency) is very low. Instead of spending money in Solwezi, mine workers may take the money they make back to their families outside Northwestern Province. Some money goes to sex workers. Neither do single men and sex workers buy from her market. If this continues, she and her peers will not be able to hold their market spot. “Most of the tables are empty. Customers are not there. Marketeers have no money to continue with their businesses.” Once they are forced to leave the market, they are out for good because it costs too much money to buy-in for a table. If this happens, she will go to the mine’s housing compounds and ask if people have clothes for washing. “After washing, they will give them

K20, yes. That's – maybe that K20 (~\$1USD) will just go to buy maybe relish [meat] for that day.”

The marketeers described how their market lacks power and water. They hoped the Kansanshi Foundation would provide this infrastructure, which they believed would help their market grow and attract new business. In the meantime, life continued to be difficult. Their children attended crowded primary schools, oversubscribed with the influx of migrants seeking work. There could be 60 students in a classroom and students may go without desks. Zambian families must pay between K150-200 (\$7.50-\$10USD) per child per year, plus the cost of school uniforms and program fees. All the marketeers reported that they were able to send their children to primary school but costs were a burden on the household.

Families also struggled to access medical care in the over-crowded general ward of the hospital, where all they would be given were scripts for medication which they must pay to fill. They compare this to the experiences of those who are able to “access the doctors very easily because there is a fee that they pay” (Marketeers, focus group participant). Meanwhile, the public system was always over-subscribed with so many newcomers to Solwezi and not enough staff or funding to meet the population's needs. If families could afford it, they could pay to send the patient to the mine's private clinic but most cannot. (Mine employees received free care from the clinic.)

Evelyn went on to tell me about the toll these challenges have taken on her. “Even now, I am suffering. I cannot purchase this and that because we've got no money, and children now, they're just stealing because they can't access what they want, and parents can't give them what they want.” Her friend described how the marketeers are “just living hand to mouth.”

In the focus group, the marketeers described how, “there are some areas where women are empowered but not in our case. It's not seen, not even today.” Economic empowerment has supplanted the notion of empowerment, which Naila Kabeer describes as voice, mobility, and a strong public presence (Kabeer, 2012), and the ability to make choices (Kabeer, 2005). In Solwezi, where poverty still has a grip on the majority of households, not empowerment, economic or otherwise, is out of reach for many women in Solwezi.

5.5.3 Health and Wellbeing in a Mining Town

Differences between the village bankers and the marketeers were also evident in the ways in which they variously embody their lived experiences in their physical and mental health. Women who described greater economic challenges were more likely to share accounts of threats to health and wellbeing in their communities, or even to share their personal experiences. Some of these threats were direct, others were mediated through the environmental, economic, and social conditions that influence differences in health status – the determinants of health.

Direct threats to health everyone shared were the mine-induced environmental health concerns. Almost every Solwezi resident I spoke to described being plagued by coughs associated with dust from the mines and poor air quality from the smelter. Many voiced concerns about the quality of water they were drinking. Yet, most of the threats to health and wellbeing were reported as being mediated through determinants of health, including income, housing, education, food security, violence, and thus affected the two groups differently. Mental health impacts were reported differentially, as well.

The higher costs associated with living in a mining town were the most frequently mentioned determinant. The arrival of the mine caused costs to increase dramatically due to inflation. Respondents described how costs on everything from rentals to maize had gone up. It was expected that mine employees and those benefitting from the industry could afford to pay more. As such, Solwezi was one of the most expensive places to live in Zambia. Everyone I met spoke of being challenged to make all their payments. Even men employed on the mines reported how they struggled to support their families given the cost of education and the cultural practice of supporting extended family members.

The cost of education, particularly secondary, was a burden to most. Secondary school fees ran at K200 (\$10USD) per term, plus uniform, school fees, and transportation. Another cost associated with secondary school are the boarding fees. If the family lived too far from the local secondary school (which was often the case for families living on the outskirts of town), they would be required to board their children at the school. Local Parent Teacher Associations would set the price for boarders, which could range from K750 to K1200 (\$37.50 to \$60USD).

The village bankers reported that between themselves and their husbands they could cover these costs. Village banking, however, was the source of income that made it possible to cover school fees without too much strife. It even allowed them to fund post-secondary education for their children.¹⁸ The marketeers, however, spoke of the challenges they faced in trying to educate their children at a primary level, let alone the secondary level. Most related how they were not able to send all their children to secondary school.

“Our children fail to access education because the fees are just too high. So, when we fail to pay that fee, they will not access education; they will just be loitering, and in that case maybe you find that this boy or girl may be stealing and indulging in so many nasty activities [sex work].” (Marketeers, focus group)

Teachers and NGO workers shared, given Solwezi’s high cost of living and the dearth of good jobs, some local families depended on their daughters to support their families through sex work.

Many of the marketeers described how they were seeing more children living on the streets without any support, even as the streets were becoming more dangerous. “Theft and associated activity develop when people are frustrated” (General Hospital nurse, interview). This differs from the gated and security-monitored ‘Golf’ estate, where a Kansanshi employee shared how he often left his home and car unlocked. Meanwhile, the marketeers described everything from the theft of clothing from their clothesline to children being beaten on the street because perpetrators believed they had money. The village bankers discussed how some were building walls around their homes to keep themselves safe.

For those who were more precariously situated, high costs of housing were also a challenge and could lead to eviction. Unable to afford rent in Solwezi, single women were often forced to move into the squatting settlement on the outskirts. These settlements generally lacked access to piped water and sanitation. Dysentery outbreaks were not uncommon when flooding was reported during the rainy season.

¹⁸ Post-secondary education, however, provided no guarantee of employment for their children. I learned of two village bankers whose sons were still living at home, unable to find work despite their degrees in medicine and teaching.

Not mentioned by the village bankers, the marketeers were very concerned about malnutrition – particularly for their children. The Ministry of Health had created a department meant to address this challenge, though they have not been adequately funded to meet the need. Many of the children they see are underweight. Mothers are experiencing more stillbirths because of malnutrition. Kansanshi Foundation had introduced a school lunch program at some of the schools close to the mine site after a visit by a CSR representative. The representative asked the school’s 300 children, ““How many of you have lunch?” Only one raised his hand and all he had was a small piece of cassava.” The school lunch program was reported to be successful, but it was likely to end because it did not meet FQM’s programmatic sustainability requirements. The representative reported that there was more crowding in the schools with the lunch program, as families would choose to send their children there over other locations. Some children would take the food home to share with their siblings who were not registered in school.

Though not reported by either the village bankers or the marketeers, health workers described how HIV and AIDS continue to be a challenge in Solwezi. Mine employees (and other men around Solwezi) may have acquired HIV from sex workers, where HIV positivity rates were reported to be 50% among sex workers in 2018 (Musheke, 2018). The men may then take the virus home to their wives. Many health workers believed HIV rates were increasing, however, data from the Zambia Demographic Health survey reported that prevalence declined slightly from 8.8% in 2001, to 8.5% in 2018. Intervention efforts had been significantly increased (Government of Zambia, 2020). It is possible that women I met were HIV+, but the stigma associated with HIV status remains. NGO representatives reported this was especially common among wealthier women. The stigma was such that women (and men) would go for testing and medication outside their community to avoid people learning of their status. This may affect the reliability of the reported prevalence.

Neither the village bankers nor the marketeers shared any personal experiences with sexual and gender-based violence. Violence is a subject rarely discussed even among friends, but even more taboo among higher income women. Accordingly, the stories the women shared about members of their community differed.

The village bankers reported how their husbands valued their financial contributions. They felt this led to a better treatment and a more equal partnership, “Whenever I say, ‘Let me have this,’ he will be giving, because he knows the wife will support him in everything. Even in educating children, what have you. If the wife is responsible, no problem.” (Nkomba, village banker)

Among the marketeers, and even mine workers, the story differed. They described various forms of violence in the community, ranging from physical, to economic, to emotional, to sexual violence. The marketeers observed how gender-based violence occurred in their neighbourhood if women they knew asked their boyfriends or husbands for money.

“When you ask him, ‘Where is the money?’ Come here, then they beat that woman. ‘It’s my money. Why are you asking about that money? How many people work from this home? It’s only me who works. Do you work? No.’ Traditionally, here and in Zambia, men actually are heads of families. So, sometimes I find that when the woman contributes towards what the man is thinking about, this man doesn’t even [acknowledge the contribution] from the wife because [he thinks] she has no capacity. She is not supposed to talk about anything to the man. He is imposing everything, now, on the woman. Women are not encouraged, in any way, by men, so that they can also progress in their own ways.”

Child pregnancy and early marriage were reported to have increased in Solwezi. Some local NGOs and health workers attributed this to the presence of the mines. Teachers described how mine workers would seek the company of young girls, giving them small gifts in exchange for sexual favours. They also reported how girls believe mine workers to be the ultimate ‘catch’ for a husband, given their relative employment security. NGO workers reported that, upon request from the family, mine workers might agree to marry the girls they had impregnated, but that often these men had other wives and the relationship would not

last.¹⁹ One all girl's high school was even moved away from its close proximity to the mine site to mitigate the child pregnancy problem. The Kansanshi Foundation even introduced a "marriage busting" team, whereby FQM would provide the "bouncer" to break up illegitimate child marriages between a mine worker and a child under 18. The child would be returned to her family. If it was found she was pregnant by the mine worker, the Foundation would offer to cover the girl's school fees.

A health official with the Provincial Health Office reported that cases of sexual and gender-based violence were reported but then withdrawn. Women depend on their husbands for to support their family. Life is much harder for single mothers. The health official shared, "If he is put away what happens? [...] 'I must rely on someone even if there is abuse.'" The 2018 Zambian Health and Demographic survey reported that 36% of women between the ages of 15 and 49 experienced physical violence at least once since the age of 15; 18% experienced physical violence in the previous year (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 311). A police officer described how, "Women have nowhere to go, but if they were economically more independent that would help to decrease gender-based violence. We want to prevent violence before it occurs." Many women disclosed that they believe violence arises because of financial tensions in the home. "If men are working and women are not – it may lead to tension, but when both are working sexual and gender-based violence decreases" (General Hospital nurse, interview). Women generally equated this change in behaviour to empowerment – when women "are allowed to manage businesses; when women are being allowed to work" (Formally working women, group interview). The marketeers reported a different experience. Empowerment is limited to a certain group of women: those who are educated and already economically advantaged. Local NGOs and Kansanshi Foundation representatives reported how they find that with money comes power. The ability to contribute to her family was considered a determinant of women's wellbeing.

¹⁹ Similar stories were reported in the 2018 report from Caritas and others: Challenges that Women, Children and Youth Face in Pre Post and Actively Mining Areas, A comparative case study of Kabwe, Chavuma and Solwezi (Caritas Zambia, 2018).

Though challenges to physical health were more frequently discussed by health care officials and the marketeers, mental health was also a concern. Women would talk of their suffering, and health care workers would describe seeing patients experiencing depression, anxiety, and dying by suicide. This would occur “when things aren’t happening as hoped. They are mentally tortured because he or she has failed to reach the target” (General Hospital nurse, interview). Health care workers would try to refer people to counselling, but the system was overrun, as health workers were busy addressing HIV, malaria, and chronic disease, and were generally unable to provide the support needed. Increasing alcohol consumption was a new coping strategy that seemed to be emerging among women. Though previously uncommon in Zambia, some shared how, “women may decide to drink because the husband spends all their money. Women might drink to relieve pressure.” They described how this shift had developed over the past three years, as life in Solwezi had become more challenging – jobs seemed to be fewer, and yet costs remained high.

5.6 Discussion

Intersectional analysis was employed here to examine the effects of the neoliberalization of feminism on two diverse groups of women in the mining town of Solwezi. This research revealed how a mining company offers, through village banking, a convenient, very affordable, CSR-appropriate programming solution to poverty and inequality. This solution is proposed despite its limited benefits – it keeps the middle class afloat even as the poor are excluded. Rather than addressing the root causes of poverty and inequality—the issue of capital accumulation by the few, while the many are poor (Krieger, 2001)—this ‘solution’ commodifies women’s empowerment and places the responsibility of solving poverty and inequality in the hands of the marginalized.

Given the high cost of living in Solwezi town, not to mention the very high cost of post-secondary education, formal jobs are often insufficient to meet a family’s needs, even with two working family members. This expense has led Solwezi’s middle class women, married teachers, nurses, administrators, etc., to take up entrepreneurship to meet their families’ household and educational needs. Through these efforts they have experienced success both economically and in terms of achieving gender empowerment. They described

feeling like more equal partners in their families. Their perspectives mattered when it comes to planning the budget or making important decisions that affect the household. However, for many women already working outside the home in formal employment, entrepreneurship is another workload placed on women (Moser, 1989). In addition to their family, employment, and community responsibilities, they must now negotiate a fourth type of workload, and become successful entrepreneurs.

This emphasis on entrepreneurship in Solwezi reflects the global neoliberal development narrative. Wages do not reach as far as employment security and living standards decline. The number of hours of work needed to support a family has increased dramatically. Reduced by the imposition of austerity measures, as the state withdraws its involvement there is a growth in informal economies. The further result is the casualization of labour and the failure of a capitalist system to make use of growing surplus labour. In this space, shifting labour norms and the feminization of employment have led to women increasingly working outside the domestic sphere. What form of work they take is often a product of their particular social, economic, and political contexts. For those families where it is possible, two incomes increasingly become the norm. Entrepreneurial women are called upon to run often precarious small businesses dependent on microloans in order to maintain their family's middle class status (Eisenstein, 2015; N. Fraser, 2009; Keating et al., 2010).

Through village banking, Solwezi has become a town of entrepreneurs. Each banker tries to carve out a niche for herself, making the best of her opportunities and circumstances. Inequality is the result, with deepening social differentiation between groups. Solwezi's marketplace has been flooded with the arrival of village bankers. It is they, with their deeper financial and social connections, who are successful. Yet, with their success, they may be displacing precarious others, like the marketeers, who are struggling to maintain their position without the same social and economic capital. The village bankers' networks are the product of their education, access to resources, and social connections, with a working husband committed to his family, forming the necessary supports to sustain these entrepreneurial endeavours (Bryceson et al., 2013; George et al., 2016; Moore & Himonga, 2017; Rutashobya et al., 2009; Yetim, 2008).

Despite these growing social divisions, no remedial intervention by the mining companies, let alone the World Bank, have been proposed to address the unequal access and distribution of benefit of village banking, and other microloan programs. Rather, the Bank seems intent on continuing to support economic policies and processes that secure neoliberal approaches to wealth accumulation that entrench inequality, rather than supporting wealth redistribution. Now this approach is also occurring under the guise of ‘women’s empowerment,’ whereby women are ‘empowered’ as entrepreneurial subjects to keep their families from poverty, fulfilling the role once held by the state (Prügl, 2015, 2017). The state remains largely absent from these conversations, taking the taxes paid by the mines and spending across the country without particular deference to the burdens faced by Solwezi residents. It is only the women themselves who contemplate what they could do to address the inequalities they are witnessing. They discuss opening orphanages or homes for the elderly, even as this poses a further burden of care.

This sense of responsibility to community women in Solwezi are experiencing brings to bear Michel Foucault’s interpretation of neoliberalism “as a specific, rationally reflected and coordinated way of governing” – neoliberal governmentality (Oksala, 2013, p. 36). This approach is capable of producing forms of subjectivity, for instance, subjects willing to act as entrepreneurs across all areas of their lives. These subjects can then be manoeuvred by self-interest into making rational choices based on economic understanding, once their interest in competition is nurtured and enhanced (Foucault et al., 2008). Individuals, however, cannot live in the “cold” mechanism of competition alone. As a social model, Foucault’s neoliberal governmentality requires “warm” social and cultural values, so that individuals are not disaffected by their environment. As such,

“[t]he individual’s life must be lodged, not within the framework of a big enterprise such as the firm or... the state, but within the framework of a multiplicity of diverse enterprises connected up to and entangled with each other... And finally, the individual’s life itself – with relationships to his private property, for example, with his family, household, insurance, and retirement—must make him into a sort of permanent and multiple enterprise” (Foucault et al., 2008, p. 241).

All arenas of private life are subject to the influence of enterprise – and given meaning through the market (Foucault et al., 2008). The marketeers and village bankers were becoming governable subjects, ‘self-responsibilized’ in the wake of the state’s abdication (Prügl, 2015).

They do resist their marketization. When they discussed adding a further burden to their workload by establishing orphanages or homes for the elderly, they were doing it out of a sense of compassion for their community, not as a market enterprise, though the end result may be the same.

The women I met in Solwezi variously participate in entrepreneurship. Their health and wellbeing act as reminders of the limits of the entrepreneurial model being applied to them. In their specific contexts, which directly and indirectly determine health and wellbeing, I observed how they literally, and differentially, biologically incorporated the world in which they live through the process of ‘embodiment’ (Krieger, 2001). “Complex processes of social, cultural and psychic differentiation proceed through bodily channels [...] shaping bodies in particularly enduring ways” (Pedwell, 2010, p. 48). This was discussed as the mental anguish of depression and anxiety of those who are not achieving the income goals, they need to meet to support their families, or through the malnourishment of the mother who gives up food for her child, when she did not sell any vegetables at the market that day. The social inequalities in Solwezi are mirrored across the vast health and development divides that exist within and across nation-states, drawing attention to a wave of political and economic structural practices that have affected distribution of wealth and power (Doyal & Pennell, 1979; Edelman & Haugerud, 2005; Escobar, 2011; Ferguson, 1990; Navarro, 2009; Ottersen et al., 2014). These neoliberal and entrepreneurial enterprises and systems benefit some, and adversely affect others, while ignoring the structural factors that shape their realms of action and possibility.

The various health inequalities and outcomes I observed in Solwezi reflect the scarcity and abundance available, depicting the bodily effects of the neoliberal development project. Here we observe how the village bank can produce unanticipated effects, by failing to consider who benefits from the banking, and from mining development more broadly, and who is being left behind. As reported in Marmot et al.’s Whitehall studies, health outcomes

follow a social gradient (Marmot et al., 1978). The problem is not entrepreneurship, per se, rather it is how it is practiced. It is too easy for the story of entrepreneurship to become one in which women are made to rely on themselves to change their circumstances as the state recedes and all the CSR office provides is a lock box and a short course in microlending (FQM benefits by reporting women's participation in the village banking program as part of their CSR update to their shareholders). Entrepreneurism is no substitute for what is really needed: the transformation of a system that sees so many of the benefits of the mine accruing to the well-connected few, even as the majority scramble to find consumers for their tomatoes and popsicles. Private efforts, such as CSR, are insufficient substitutes for formal government services and supports.

In Solwezi, the women's entrepreneurship story plays out in a way that is common to the many narratives associated with women's economic empowerment. It is a story told that perpetuates and distracts from the problems inherent to the neoliberal development project (Eisenstein, 2015). What was once an emancipatory project, women's economic empowerment praxis has been critiqued for the ways in which it has been neoliberalized, instrumentalizing empowerment by focusing on the role women can play to further the capitalist project by "making women work for development, rather than making development work for their equality and empowerment" (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015, p. 398; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Keating et al., 2010; Prügl, 2015). The position neglects structural issues, forsaking the broader discussion of the processes of power that shape women's lives – discussions that would enable political economic change to support women in efforts to gain power and control over their lives, to be more than economic subjects (Bergeron, 2003; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Keating et al., 2010).

The entrepreneurial approach is also problematic in the way in which it perpetuates a colonial view of women's empowerment. It is a version that is underpinned by "the construction of women in the global South as 'more efficient' neoliberal subjects than their male counterparts" (Wilson, p. 318). This language has been adopted by the mine and the World Bank – that women are better economic subjects who more reliably look after their families, whereas men are more likely to spend their money on alcohol and other women. The women I met certainly described significant occurrences of problematic behaviour by

men, but they were equally ready to call for more opportunities for them. Currently, men and boys are being neglected in programming even as many become caught up in drug and alcohol addiction, or may turn to theft or join gangs, on Solwezi streets. When men (and boys) are not included in social interventions, as Austrian et al. found, community norms will not shift. Poverty levels only begin to change when the whole household is supported (Austrian et al., 2020) – presuming there are multiple breadwinners in a household.

While it is important to critique the framework through which the entrepreneurial intervention is being proposed as an all-encompassing solution to poverty in Solwezi, and beyond, nearly 60% of Zambians are living on less than \$2/day. This is a crisis that must be addressed. The structural conditions of neoliberal globalization, including the privatization of public services and cutbacks to state infrastructure that limit education and health care, must be considered if the root causes of poverty are to be addressed (Eisenstein, 2015; Feiner & Barker, 2006; D. Harvey, 2005). Despite the scale of the challenge the only broadscale solution being introduced in Solwezi is women's economic empowerment through entrepreneurship and village banking. Yet, the solution is flawed. It seems only to benefit middle class women. It does serve another purpose, however. It distracts from the underlying problem of poverty and inequality entrenched by neoliberal capitalism. New solutions must be found – ones that do not rely on the neoliberalization of feminism and commodification of empowerment. However, the World Bank, and by association, the extractive sector, do not consider "neoliberalism, globalization or previous experiences with World Bank-inspired development programs to be the problem. If they were, then it would be more difficult for the Bank to pose itself as a solution. The Bank is comfortable framing women's economic experiences in a particular way because of the solution it has to offer" (Bergeron, 2003, p. 410). By failing to transform this organizing paradigm, and instead through its continued efforts to push entrepreneurship's 'pull yourself up by your bootstraps' approach (increasingly directed toward women), it seems likely to continue its pattern of entrenching poverty and inequality, and their associated impacts on health and wellbeing.

Chapter 6 What Does It Mean to Be Empowered? The Experiences of Sex-Working Women in a Zambian Mining Town

6.1 Abstract

Commercial sex and mining have long been interwoven. With the spread of global neoliberal capitalism, social relations around the mine site have become increasingly commodified, especially around large-scale mines. Informed by political economy of health, feminist theory, and intersectionality, this ethnographic research study examined the experiences of female sex workers in the mining town of Solwezi, Zambia. Their stories offer insight into the lives of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative that has become associated with the mining industry. Despite the rhetoric, sex-working women saw little change in their lives. The mining context may still see women heavily reliant on mine workers given unequal opportunities within the labour market. In Solwezi, women who have been left by a mine-working husband may find that sex work is the one opportunity available to them. Alternatively, some women have migrated from across the country to participate in commercial sex work. Men, especially mine workers with twice-monthly pay cheques, have become a sought-after commodity, by both sex workers and wives. This has increased their power in these relationships. Despite these dynamics, sex working women continue to be neglected in Solwezi and by the broader development community. Where they are considered, generally attention is directed towards HIV prevention. These interventions fail to consider the complex social, political, and economic context that led to women's current conditions. The lack of attention to structural determinants has made efforts to resolve downstream challenges such as women's poverty and illness much more challenging. Though most of women involved in the study did not consider themselves empowered and would rather be doing something else, they recognized that commercial sex work allowed them, to some degree, to feed their families, put their children through school, and exert some control over their lives, given the limited options available.

(I plan to submit this paper to Global Public Health.)

6.2 Introduction

Not long after I arrived in Solwezi, Zambia in 2018, I went on a tour of a mine with a group for students between the ages of 13 to 15. Mine tours are regular events, meant to inspire school children, and to encourage them to think about a future in mining. Interestingly, one of the questions asked of the students during the orientation was, “What do you NOT want to be when you grow up?” Perhaps the question was asked in that manner because the tour host knew of the limited economic opportunities that are available for Solwezi residents, despite the mine development. In response, every single boy said he did not want to be a thief, and every single girl said she did not want to be a prostitute.

Fieldnotes, July 7, 2018

The figure of the sex worker is pervasive and longstanding in its connections to mining development (Laite, 2009; Parpart, 1994). For some women, and girls, sex workers may represent the criminal and the immoral. Facing limited options, sex workers may represent an income earning opportunity. They may represent an opportunity to escape social strictures (Mahy, 2011b). Some male mine workers see sex workers as a reward for the labour intensive, high risk work they perform on the mine site. Others may see the sex worker as an opportunity to assert their masculine identity. For some, sex workers may represent an escape from isolation in environments where men are often far from their families (C. Campbell, 1997; Moodie & Ndatshe, 1994; Van Tuan, 2010). Regardless of reason, commercial sex and mining have long been interwoven. However, social relations have become increasingly commodified with the spread of global neoliberal capitalism – the trend seemingly more pervasive around large-scale, corporate mine sites (Bryceson et al., 2013; C. Campbell, 2000; Laite, 2009; Mahy, 2011b; Moodie & Ndatshe, 1994). In these spaces, sex workers are often seen as a negative presence. They may be seen as the cause of social upheaval as they divert money away from the legitimate wives and children of mine workers (Moodie & Ndatshe, 1994; Negi, 2014). Yet, women working in commercial sex are pursuing a livelihood opportunity within a specific political economic condition. Despite emphasis on women’s economic empowerment initiatives, within the mining context

women may still be heavily reliant on men in mining given limited and unequal opportunities within the labour market. The system in which sex working women may find themselves is one which has historically given men, and the companies for which they work, the right to decide whether and how women can participate in these spaces. On the mine, women have been often relegated to lower paying positions as cleaners, administrators, and cooks. Off the mine, options may be even more limited, depending on ones' circumstances. Women have been left to act and resist in the spaces made available and the spaces they create for themselves, even though in these spaces they may face challenges to their health and wellbeing.

Gladys²⁰ is one of a multitude of women living in the mining town of Solwezi, Zambia, who has become involved in commercial sex work. Like many, this was not the life she imagined for herself. After her high school graduation in Lusaka, Gladys became engaged to a young man who had been offered a job at Kansanshi Mine, (owned by the Canadian-registered company, First Quantum Minerals Ltd.). These jobs are hard to acquire and much in demand for the income security they offer. The plan was for Gladys to continue her education after she and her soon-to-be husband moved. She would train to be a nurse at the local college, Solwezi Nursing School.

At 19, Gladys married her husband with the support of her family. Soon after, they moved to Solwezi, a 12 hour drive from her family in Lusaka. For a time life was good. Gladys and her husband had a baby, then two more followed. With the arrival of their children, discussion of nursing school ceased. Over the years, things began to change. Gladys' husband started to disappear. At first it was just a night here or there. Over time these disappearances became more frequent. When I met Gladys six years after she arrived in Solwezi, she described how her husband would disappear for a week, or two, at a time. He would switch off his phone and he leave them "without anything, no food at home. He's not even taking care of my kids, not paying school fees for them." When she sees him, if she asks for money, his response is, "Are you the one that goes for work?" If she asks about the supports, like health care, entitled to the family members of mine workers, he threatens

²⁰ All names in this paper are pseudonyms.

her with divorce. When I met Gladys, she was thinking of leaving her husband, “My marriage is not stable. I’m tired, it’s too much. Sometimes you can’t bear something for a long time. I’m not happily married. I’m just suffering.” Gladys made the decision to enter into commercial sex work because she could not depend on her husband and she needed to provide for her children.

6.2.1 Large-Scale Mining Development in Zambia

Gladys’ personal story may be unique, but her experience of becoming enmeshed in the political economic context of mining and sex work is not. This dynamic is a foundational component of the global extractivist system that has long defined Zambia’s development trajectory (Ferguson, 2006; Laite, 2009; Morin, 2008; Mususa, 2010b; Parpart, 1986).

In the optimism of the independence movements of the 1960s and 70s, Zambia sought to discard its colonial past and looked to mineral resources to fund development efforts (Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). Despite the promise of this wealth, Zambia was subject to the vagaries of the minerals market. Mining failed to deliver promised development as commodity prices collapsed and debt mounted (Besada & Martin, 2015; B. Campbell, 2009; Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). The financial disablement that resulted left Zambia at the mercy of international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which required that policy conditions, like structural adjustment programs (SAPs), be implemented to access development loans and prevent loan default. SAPs effectively imposed a neoliberal, neocolonial free-market regime onto countries in Africa and across the Global South, challenging decolonizing efforts (Butler, 2015). Under SAPs, market liberalization and privatization were required, as government control was limited (B. Campbell, 2009). Through these conditions, newly privatized mining companies, including the arrival of many new mining enterprises from China, South Africa, Europe, and North America, came to possess significant structural power and were able to negotiate taxation and royalty rates to their favour (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Fuchs, 2007; Hilson, 2012).

The turn of the millennium led to the sale of the national copper mines at discount rates to support debt payments. However, some of the new owners were soon forced out of the

market because of persistently low commodity prices and mine maintenance costs (Ferguson, 1999; Solomon, 2012). This led to the closing of mines, mass unemployment, and unpaid pensions and bills (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010). Zambia went from being one of the richest countries in Africa in 1970 to one of the poorest and most indebted by 2000 (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010).

Simultaneously, SAP-imposed austerity measures led to a drastic reduction of health, education, and other social services spending, weakening social structures, and impoverishing many. Between 1975 and 1994 urban poverty in Zambia climbed from 4% to 50% and inflation experienced at the level of the household meant food budgets between 1980 and 1988 increased by 650% (Ferguson, 1999, p. 10). Wages could not keep up. In addition to the thousands of lost jobs and growing poverty, the health impact was significant. Infant mortality increased from 103/1,000 in 1976 to 139/1,000 in 1990 (Zambia Central Statistics Office, 1990, p. 130). Child mortality increased from 80/1,000 to 110/1,000 during the same time period (Zambia Central Statistics Office, 1990, p. 133). By the early 2000s, the average national prevalence of HIV infection among those aged 15-49 years was approximately 10% across sub-Saharan African, but in seven countries across southern and eastern Africa, including Zambia, some 20% were infected (UNAIDS, 2000, p. 9). Because younger women are more likely to partner with older men, rates among younger women were five times higher than men of their same age, with far too many not living past their 30th birthday (UNAIDS, 2000, p. 11). Burdened by SAP requirements that limited public sector spending, Zambia's health and social service systems were not equipped to meet these growing needs (AFRODAD, 2003; Mulungwe, 2020).

6.2.1.1 Zambia, Women, and Mining

The devastating impact of neoliberal economic policy and the widening social inequalities they created persisted into the 21st century. The humanitarian crises associated with SAPs were recognized. Rather than fundamentally reforming its economic policies the World Bank settled for an attempt to reintegrate social considerations, such as gender and race, into its policies and programs to help resolve the imperfections of its proposed market remedies (Bergeron, 2003). Under the guise of 'smart economics' – what is good for women is good for

business, the Bank came to focus on the goal of women's economic empowerment (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; World Bank, 2006). "Not only does women's access to employment and education opportunities reduce the likelihood of household poverty but resources in women's hands have a range of positive outcomes for human capital and capabilities within the household" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 4).

The World Bank's position has been critiqued for the ways in which it crowds out more socially progressive approaches to women's empowerment, defined by Naila Kabeer as the ability to make choices (Kabeer, 2005). Instead, women's economic empowerment tends to economism. Empowerment is instrumentalized as women are made to serve capitalist development objectives, rather than development efforts working to emancipate women (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Eisenstein, 2015; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Keating et al., 2010). Further, many women face challenges when they attempt market participation. Economic empowerment fails to consider the diversity of women's intersecting experiences in terms of their background and networks, education, and economic security, and the way these factors may determine one's ability to access opportunities and participate in offered programs (Keating et al., 2010). Other considerations include the role of race and colonial history and the importance of difference and dislocation. Intersectional theoretical frameworks are needed to draw attention to these and other forms of inequality that may limit women's ability to participate and succeed in many spaces (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989). This perspective raises questions about the broader structure of this economic approach that has grafted the feminist idea of empowerment onto market principles (Prügl, 2015). (See Chapter 3 and 5 for more detail.) The proposed economic solutions hold little opportunity for Gladys, as they fail to reflect the specific concerns and context of her life. She is not alone in being neglected by these broadscale private governance interventions.

6.2.1.2 Economic Opportunity in Solwezi

Nataschia Boeri's invokes the idea of the 'entrepreneurial subject' "as a development industry discourse that emphasizes neoliberal ideals of self-sufficiency through the market" while ignoring the absent state, weakened through restructuring processes (Boeri, 2018, p. 158). Through the neoliberalization of feminism, women are made into industrious,

entrepreneurial subjects with underexploited income-earning potential, responsible for lifting themselves and their families out of poverty. This effort distracts from the systems and structures of neoliberal capitalism that created these conditions in the first place (Eisenstein, 2015; Prügl, 2015, 2017).

Entrepreneurial opportunities do not benefit all women equally (Boeri, 2018). Success varies by the intersections women inhabit. Gladys describes how she was someone who found it difficult to achieve ‘economic empowerment.’ Though she has completed grade 12, she has no work experience or connections to start a business, especially with her family being so far away in Lusaka. Given her husband’s neglect, like many women in Zambia she and her children are just getting by.

In Zambia, where nearly 60% of the population lives on less than \$2/day (World Bank, 2021b), 88% of the population lives on less than \$5.50 a day (Trading Economics, 2020), and the Gini coefficient is 0.69 (Government of Zambia, 2017), the vast majority of the population does not benefit from these entrepreneurial programs. The need to support oneself and one’s family remains. For some of those excluded from opportunities, sex work is a way of “expanding life choices and livelihood strategies” within their socio-economic circumstances (Doezema, 1999, p. 47; Mahy, 2011b). Despite this reality, the World Bank, for instance, gives little attention to sex work, outside of sex work in relation to HIV/AIDS or as an expected outcome that results from not including women in dialogues about extractive industry development (Parks et al., 2018; World Bank, 2001, 2015a; World Bank Group, 2013).

The lack of attention to structural determinants makes efforts to resolve downstream challenges such as women’s poverty much more challenging, particularly when efforts exclude the most marginalized from their considerations. In an effort to understand the experiences of those, like Gladys, who are left out of the conventional women’s economic empowerment narrative, this study examines the experiences of female sex workers in the mining town of Solwezi as a window into broader processes of social and economic change in Zambia.

6.3 Methods

The information for this study is based on ethnographic research consisting of interviews, two focus groups, and observations conducted in Zambia during an eight-month period between June and November, 2018 and April to June, 2019. The study is part of a larger project that examines how the development of three large-scale mines in Northwestern Province, Zambia, is affecting the lives and livelihood of women living in Solwezi. Though I had not intended to focus on the role of female sex workers, I soon learned that understanding their involvement in the social life of Solwezi was essential. Early interviews often entailed much discussion of their role and the space they occupy in this mining town, and the ethnographic approach gave me the space and time to explore some of these stories. In Solwezi, sex workers were often described as disruptive influences by the community and have few advocates who speak to their needs. Health officials and NGO workers attended to women's health, and focused on diagnosing, treating, and preventing HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer, but could do little else for them. In this paper, I query the informal sex work economy that has developed in conjunction with the mining sector, and what changes this has meant for the women involved and the community in which they live.

This study draws on observational data and individual or group interviews with a broad array of figures from around Solwezi: mine workers (5), NGO officers (8), a guest house owner (1), health officials (2), local and national government officials (2), mining company corporate social responsibility representatives (3), the police (1), and the Council of Elders (5), women living in Solwezi (20), and two focus groups, one with teachers from a community school (14) and one with a group of village bankers (8). These individuals were identified through key informant and community liaison recommendations, and through snowball sampling. I held conversations with four key informants on multiple occasions to expand and clarify my understanding.

As sex work began to emerge as an important line of inquiry, I met with an NGO community worker who further expanded this story. She agreed to introduce me to eight women who engage in sex work. All eight women agreed to share their stories by participating in three semi-structured group interviews. I was able to meet with the community worker on four occasions. Discussion topics included women's perceptions of

changes in Solwezi associated with the mine, their economic opportunities, their lived experiences in Solwezi, and their understanding of and experience with the ‘women’s empowerment’ narrative that has become much discussed in Solwezi. My observations included visits to three Solwezi night clubs over two nights to understand better the environment in which sex workers initiate contact with clients, in addition to general observations about the spaces sex workers occupy in Solwezi. I wound up visiting one particular location, G-Greens, twice. While Solwezi’s numerous clubs and bars all served distinct clientele, G-Greens is the place where everyone usually winds up at the end of the night. Gladys described for me how women who could not afford to buy a beer, and thus ‘buy’ their way into the club, would often stand around the G-Greens gate holding an empty bottle. They waited for someone to take them on a date, either inside the establishment or to a brothel or guesthouse.

All my interviews were documented using comprehensive fieldnotes and, depending on the interview and respondents’ level of comfort, some interviews were digitally recorded for transcription. I member-checked interviews and observations with key informants in Zambia. In Canada, interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and reflexive journal entries were entered into NVivo 12.

To assess intersectional considerations I adopted an intra-categorical complexity approach to examine the distributions of inequalities with a focus on a neglected point of intersection – the experiences of commercial sex workers in a mined community. I examined the meanings and experiences of these women’s lives within their particular social and historical context. Diverging experiences were brought into conversation with each other to elucidate “diversity, variation, and heterogeneity” revealing complexity of lived experience (McCall, 2005, p. 1782). I reflected on the interviews, focus groups, and observations within their social and historical contexts, returning to the summaries of each interview and focus group (and the raw data when necessary).

Data were coded using the ‘holistic’ method to identify vignettes and bounded experiences (Saldaña, 2015). The data were also coded using a focused hand-coding approach and were eventually connected and integrated into themes. I revised the themes to assess comparability and transferability across participant data (Saldaña, 2015). The process

relied on ‘recursivity’ (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012), with themes emerging from both an inductive and deductive approach.

Themes Emerging from the Data

- Varying conceptions of empowerment;
- The limits of the empowerment rhetoric;
- The spread of the entrepreneurial agenda;
- The limits of ‘gender’ (women’s empowerment narrative);
- The limits of education;
- Limited economic opportunities for women;
- Political economic structures that limit opportunities for women (literature, supporting documents, and interviews);
- Mining-induced changes in Solwezi;
- The commodification of men;
- Turning to sex work;
- Power relations and inter-relationships between mine workers, the women they married, girlfriends, and sex workers;
- Sex workers’ experiences with stigma;
- Experiencing shame;
- Health impacts and HIV/STIs;
- Experiences with sexual and gender-based violence;
- Poverty remains high;
- Rape as a taboo subject;
- Divorce, legal costs and other barriers;
- Just trying to make money to survive;
- Sex worker strategies to secure payment;
- Internal migration – moving for work;
- Supporting each other.

This approach enabled me to respond to variation and divergence experienced in the field, just as the analysis often required me to return to the raw data to ensure that the themes and descriptions emerging from the data reflect the experiences of local individuals and communities in their cultural context (Perry, 2013; Spradley & McCurdy, 1995).

6.4 Setting

This study was set in Solwezi, the administrative capital of Northwestern Province. For most of the past century Solwezi was essentially a *boma*, an administrative outpost, in a province with a relatively stable population that relied mostly on agriculture and hosted limited trade with other regions (Negi, 2014). When large-scale mining was introduced to the province in 2004 a significant transformation ensued.

Currently, approximately 18,000 workers are employed at the three mining sites as permanent or contract workers across the province. Of the 18,000, approximately 8,500 permanent and contract workers were working on First Quantum Minerals Ltd.'s (FQM) Kansanshi mine in Solwezi (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020b; Zambia Chamber of Mines, 2020). As of September 2021, most workers were employed through subsidiaries, however, Kansanshi directly employed 3,150, of which 10.2% were women (personal communication, Kansanshi Mine, 2021).

With a downturn in the commodities market in 2015, layoffs among mine workers began. Despite the reduction of employment opportunities, there has been significant migration to Northwestern Province. The mining-induced change has been particularly notable in Solwezi town, which grew from a small administrative outpost numbering about 70,000 inhabitants in 2004 to 254,000 in 2016 (Preuss & Schmidt-Eisenlohr, 2016), to a reported 303,000 reported to me by a statistician from the Central Statistics Office in 2019. Gladys and her husband were two of these internal migrants. When they moved to Solwezi, Gladys had achieved what many women across the country dream of doing, she had married a mine worker. This meant she could look forward to living in a nice house, eating well, watching her children succeed in school, and perhaps going on to post-secondary education. If Gladys had attended nursing school, she and her family would have been part of Solwezi's middle class, with two income earners. (See Chapter 5).

For those who succeed, Solwezi has become known as a town that offers development opportunity for some. This transformation has also led to the rapid growth of inequality, in part driven by inflation caused by the presence of the mine. Many of those who cannot afford to live in the gentrifying downtown core have moved out to the ‘mushrooming’ housing developments on the outskirts which generally lack access to water and sanitation infrastructure, while children may attend community schools with class sizes over 60, given the rapid population influx.

Along with the population influx, changes in social dynamics have been noted. Among the local people, Solwezi town has become known as “*Solwezi mabanga, kyalo kya mali*,” a Kaonde phrase meaning, “Solwezi is in the night, a place of money” (Mbewe, 2017). The phrase describes the activities of alcohol consumption and sex work that become more visible at night, when the bars open, and lights, music, and alcohol transform the town. With this change, Rohit Negi reported community members expressing concern and frustration around community breakdown “as seen in the increased criminal activities, was manifest in the influx of populations commonly defined as a threat to the social order and the proliferation of unpoliced sexualities” (Negi, 2014, p. 1009). In these spaces, commercial sex workers have come to occupy a significant role in the social life of Solwezi.

Though many women involved in sex work live permanently in Solwezi, around the mine’s twice-monthly payday the city transforms. Women arrive by bus from around the country. Men arrive from the two other large-scale mine sites in less developed parts of the region. Solwezi is the place to be at payday. When they arrive, first mine employees form long queues outside the city’s banks, waiting to turn their cheques into cash. Then, they turn their cash loose on *Solwezi mabanga*. Women have learned this, arriving at the local bus terminal by the hundreds. They come from all around the country to claim a piece of the windfall that occurs after payday.

6.5 Findings

6.5.1 Adapting to Changing Times and Limited Opportunity

Before Gladys and her husband arrived in Solwezi in 2013, residents were already observing how their town was undergoing a mine-development induced transition. Some

men, and a few women – with appropriate levels of education, training, and the right connections, like Gladys’ husband – were able to find work on the mines. Those who had the financial capacity were able to invest in businesses to support the mining supply chain and growing populace. For Solwezi’s middle class, investment in property early in the mining boom created the opportunity to earn money from the rental market as the population began to increase with the mining influx. Gladys and her husband live in one of these properties and rental costs are expensive. When her husband fails to pay the rent, she is challenged to cover the expense.

Through their corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs, Kansanshi Mine has begun to incorporate considerations of gender, recognizing there were few women working on the mine site. Some women have benefited from opportunities associated with these programs, such as all-women classes of trade apprenticeships in 2017 and 2018 at the Solwezi Trade Training Institute (First Quantum Minerals Ltd, 2020a), or through CSR programs like the women-only jewellery apprentice and workshop project (Mining for Zambia, 2020). Some women have also found a way to capitalize on the economic opportunities offered by mining development by engaging in entrepreneurship. Through their own abilities and connections, they were able to open businesses that serve the growing population of the region. Others (mostly educated, married, middle class, well-connected women, see Chapter 5) have benefited from their participation in village banking, a microloan program supported by NGOs and Kansanshi’s CSR office. Despite the programs and efforts, opportunity is not spread equally, nor is it sufficient to meet the need in a country still struggling with the effects of the SAPs and the neo-colonial presence of transnational mining companies committed to exporting wealth to their shareholders (Butler, 2015).

Even with the mine, there is a dearth of women’s employment opportunities in Solwezi. Opportunities have failed to manifest through microloans and entrepreneurial efforts where most women wind up selling vegetables in heavy competition with their neighbours. Some women have sought work with community organizations, like the Youth Drop-In Centre. While there is need for their contributions, there are no funds to support their efforts. The nurse at the Centre reported how they were digging a garden so the volunteers could at least be given vegetables in thanks for their time. She also reported how

turnover was high, as most volunteers had to seek opportunities that paid so they could help support their families. Social workers at the One Stop Centre, a sexual and gender-based violence clinic, reported a similar story. Despite their post-secondary education there were no paid positions available. They too were working as volunteers. Many had volunteered for years, never to be hired as paid staff. The only remuneration they received was for their mini-bus fares to and from the Centre. Others left to try their luck at entrepreneurial endeavours.

A lucky few have found paid work in Solwezi's service sector, working in the kitchens or cleaning in hotels and guesthouses. Even the busiest lodges pay only around K3,000/month (\$150USD) for ten to twelve-hour shifts, six days a week. This amount, an employee reported, does not stretch as far as it needs to in a town subject to inflation driven by the presence of the mine.

Even for those who have been able to find opportunity in Solwezi, life is costly, particularly given the cultural practice of supporting extended family members. John, a mine worker at Kansanshi, shared how his responsibilities extend far beyond his immediate family members.

“We don't live alone in our homes. Me, I've got five or six extended family members which I am keeping. I've got four children, plus I've got my uncle there, I've got my auntie. I find that at my house, we are staying 12, 13, so for me to manage to feed these people, take my children to school, it's very expensive.” This is common situation in Zambia among those who have the capacity to offer this support. Families without income security and with few labour options often find themselves having to make difficult decisions to afford the inflated costs of daily living in Solwezi.

6.5.2 Lives Upended

Low-income families have limited options. Some may consider arranging a marriage for their daughter in order to receive the bride price to start a small business, which would otherwise have been out of reach.

“Mostly you find that some people, they rush to marry off their children because of poverty. So you find that those people mainly, even if you go to their homes, you find that there is poverty. So for them to do that, it’s because they want to get something so that they can sustain their living. So you find that [the bride price could be] K20,000 (\$1,000USD). When you give, they will start a small business just to sustain the family. Poverty absolutely is the bottom line. It’s the one which prompts them to do such a thing.” (Male mine workers, group interview)

Others may send their daughters out, knowing that the only option may be to participate in commercial sex work.

“The cost of living has become high. Even the rentals, you find they have become high, so those parents who cannot afford things, they are depending on their girls to go and look for money, so they can manage. They have to go to these big people with big money, so that they can be able to pay rentals and buy food.” (Female teacher, focus group)

In Solwezi where there are allegedly now more women than men, there are fewer labour options for women. “Sex work for women is one opportunity,” noted a health official. Many women come to Solwezi in the hopes of finding work, then fall into sex work when they fail to find other employment. Some women choose to make Solwezi their home because, as a mining town, it is known as a lucrative destination for sex work. Hundreds of women come from all over the country for the mining company’s twice-monthly payday. With limited opportunities for women, a mine worker described how there are,

“Plenty of [sex workers] because the majority of ladies are desperate, if you know what I mean. So, they find that you are working [as a mine worker], ‘maybe you can help me in that way.’ Now it is so. You find that prostitution is going high now, due to lack of employment.”

For most women living in Solwezi, unless they are well-connected, well-educated, and financially secure, there are few other opportunities.

I met four women who turned to sex work to support themselves and their families after their husbands left them. Like Gladys, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia arrived in

Solwezi with their husbands who had been given jobs on the mine. Their husbands, too, had slowly drifted away after encountering *Solwezi Mabanga*. Unlike Gladys who was still married to her husband (though contemplating leaving him), Charity, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia and their children were abandoned by their husbands and are now formally divorced. ‘Family abandonment,’ as it is known in Solwezi, was the catalyst that led to their eventual involvement in commercial sex work.²¹

Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia are several years older than Charity and Gladys and had arrived with their husbands when the mine was first being developed, between 2003 and 2006. Dalia and Georgina both have post-secondary education, signifying that their families were well-connected and well-resourced. Like Gladys, their marriages to mine workers meant they were well-situated for a comfortable life, especially when they were able to find work. Georgina is trained as a psychosocial counsellor. Though she was unable to make use of her counselling skills, she was able to find a job on the mine site through her husband’s connections. Dalia has a post-secondary certificate in agriculture. Though she was not working in agriculture, her education proved useful when she and her husband opened a small business together. As is more common for Zambian girls than boys, Fridha completed her education at grade 7, the end of primary school (Central Statistical Office, 2016). She found opportunity through a dress shop that she opened with her husband. The three women were doing well, raising their families, working, living a middle class life.

Yet after a few years, all three experienced dramatic upheaval in their lives. Both Dalia and Fridha lost their businesses after their husbands left them. They were unable to accumulate the capital needed to start again. Dalia looked into farming, but statutory land is expensive. Because she was not from the region, she could not gain support from the local Chiefs to hold customary land.²² Even if she could, she did not have the money to run a

²¹ While family abandonment is a frequently discussed item in the media, officials with Kansanshi mine’s CSR office were surprised to learn that the wives of the abandoned mine workers were turning to sex work to support themselves and their children.

²² Under statutory law, to account for historical imbalances women now are guaranteed at least 30% of all land allocations. The remaining 70% is to be competed for by both men and women. Yet, cost remains a barrier for women attempting to buy statutory land. Under customary law, land may be given for free, however, there is no equal provision for women. Decisions are left to the discretion of family and traditional leaders who often decide not to allocate land to married women out of fear it will cause marital strife. The process remains

farm. Once Georgina's contract with the mine ended, she was unable to have it renewed after her husband left her. Jobs on the mine are hard to secure and often go to people who have an established connection with an employee or who are willing to pay a bribe. There were different expectations regarding bribes paid by women. Georgina described, "for the women mostly, they have to use their bodies."

Charity's story was a little different. Because of the high cost of living in Solwezi, many families choose to separate. This is what happened to Charity. Her husband left her in the more affordable, nearby city of Chingola when he got a job at a mine in Solwezi. Over time, her husband's visits declined. Eventually, he stopped returning home, and then the money stopped. Charity and their new baby son were left hungry and in fear of eviction. After three months without hearing from him, she and their baby followed her husband to Solwezi. There she discovered that he had moved in with another woman. He tried to send her back to Chingola, but she wanted them to stay together. He then insisted they divorce. Because they were married under statutory law, she was able to divorce him formally through the courts. Under the court ruling he was required to pay child support, though soon the payments stopped. It was too expensive for Charity to continue to pursue him through the courts. In these circumstances, some women return to their extended families to seek support. Charity, however, is an orphan. She described how her status as an orphan added to her vulnerability, making it easier for those around her to exploit her. She is without a family network to offer her assistance and to pressure on her ex-husband to meet his responsibilities. Like Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia, Charity found herself and her son living in the mushrooming settlements around Solwezi.

6.5.3 Questioning the Empowerment Narrative and the Limits of Education

Gladys, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia all described the limited opportunities available to them in Solwezi. After spending months attempting to secure business loans, trying to find work on the mine site, or employment opportunities at guesthouses and

challenging for single women, too, as customary tenure is subject to local practices and beliefs (Government of Zambia, 2014 and personal communications, two Zambian NGOs).

shopping malls, the one option available to them was commercial sex work.²³ They all expressed shame in doing “something that was not ok.” They also expressed frustration with their situation, particularly given the much-discussed commitment by both the government and the mines to women’s empowerment. Like most residents I met in Solwezi, references to empowerment, or even gender equality, attended to its economic aspect. This not only reflected in the policies and programs embraced by the government and private sector, it also reflects the grim reality poverty poses to the vast majority of Zambians (World Bank, 2018). Everyone wants to be ‘empowered.’

All five women had heard about the mine’s CSR programs that were aimed at addressing gender inequality and women’s empowerment, though Gladys and Charity did not know how to participate. Even if they had, Kansanshi’s microloan program, village banking,²⁴ would have proven out of reach. These younger women were less likely to command higher rates for sex work. As Gladys reminded me, they were just getting by. “When you try to find a man, maybe he will just give you K100 (~\$5.00USD). You won’t be able to pay for that child’s school fees; you just buy food.”

Even for more experienced sex workers like Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia, who had established a more regular, better paying clientele over their decade plus in the business, trying to save enough to participate in the village bank was not only a financial strain, but was inadvisable. They had seen their friends wind up in court for failing to pay back their loans, while others left town to avoid their creditors. Georgina was almost one of them. She

²³ Charity, Gladys, and their friend Halima knew about another way to bring in a little bit of cash. The health sector could prove an unexpected boon. The women described how sometimes there was some money to be made from participating in research interviews (like mine). They may also be able to earn a small honorarium for working as peer support officers in HIV/AIDS awareness programs. However, as Gladys reminded me, sex work alone provided their daily income.

“If you start working [outside commercial sex work], the children still have to go to school. Then rentals as well, and then to buy clothes for you and your children, and food. When you’re working [on HIV awareness programs] you’re getting K1,000 in a month (~\$50USD). What are you going to do with that K1,000? But when you’re doing business [sex work], it’s everyday money.”

²⁴ The village banking program requires participants to use their own money to buy shares in the bank. Potential business developers (bank members) approach the bank with a business proposal and the bank then decides if they will invest. The successful applicant uses the money to grow the business and then repays the loan in the set timeframe (usually within three months), with the set amount of interest (anywhere from 5% to 100%) being paid each month. At the end of the year, the interest payments are tallied and paid out as dividends to shareholders.

had attempted to participate in village banking, but she described her effort as a failure and was lucky it had not landed her in court.

“Me, I’ve heard about village banking but the challenge, which is there, you can join in village banking, maybe you get some money from the bank – but maybe you didn’t have many customers in the night, or during the week or in the month. I got money from a bank, and I paid three months’ rent, but how to return that money?”

In addition to village banking, Kansanshi’s CSR efforts on empowerment and gender equality included support for programs that addressed sexual and gender-based violence. Like many women I met, working in commercial sex or not, Gladys expressed reluctance about seeking out supports made available through the CSR office. I shared with Gladys what I had learned about a program through which the mine provides support to abandoned legal wives. (This is as opposed to traditional marriages or other partnerships. To have access to this service, the marriage must be formally recognized under statutory law. Customary marriages are not recognized.) If mine working husbands are not meeting their domestic responsibilities, the mine will garnish part of their wages and turn it over to their wives. Unfortunately, the program is not well known and is only available to women who are still married. (It would not have benefitted Georgina, Charity, Fridha, or Dalia.) Gladys told me she would discuss the program with her parents. Like many women, she seemed reluctant to disclose publicly if she was experiencing violence at home. Though more women are starting to seek supports, I was told by local women-focused NGOs that sexual and gender-based violence remains a taboo subject in Zambia.

Having found little support through private governance initiatives, the women also critiqued the government’s handling of gender equality and women’s empowerment. Charity, who like Fridha had ended her schooling early, thought that “gender [empowerment] is only working for those who are educated.” Research from a USAID/PEPFAR project run by the Zambian NGO, FHI 360, found even educated women were struggling to find formal work. This was particularly evident in Solwezi where 41% of women in commercial sex work had completed high school or had a post-secondary diploma or degree, a rate more than 15% higher than other cities where commercial sex is

most frequently practiced (Musheke, 2018). Even for the educated, the women's empowerment rhetoric is failing to deliver substantive benefit. This has been the experience of Georgina and Dalia, who both have post-secondary education. Georgina shared her particular frustration with the government's commitment to girls' education.

“Our government, they're saying that's what they want to do with the education, they want to empower women. There's this girl child education thing. Still, it's not working because if I go for an interview with a man, I have the same document that the man has, they won't pick me, they'll pick the man. I don't know why it's like that, but they're saying they want to encourage the women, they want to empower the women but it's not working.”

Georgina's comments point to a delay in implementing the Government of Zambia's Gender Equity and Equality Act from 2015²⁵ that would require private bodies to “develop [and enforce] equity and equality plans, codes of practice, regulatory mechanisms and other appropriate measures for the effective promotion of gender equity and equality in the area of its operation” (Government of Zambia, 2015). These plans are needed at Kansanshi Mine, given that they directly employed only 321 women in 2021 (personal communication, Kansanshi Mine, 2021).

For all five women, who were either orphaned or far from their extended families, their only way to achieve ‘economic empowerment’ was through commercial sex. This was the only opportunity that offered them a chance to provide for themselves and their families. However, even commercial sex work in Solwezi is not as lucrative as it once was. A downturn in the economy began in 2015 when copper prices fell. Since then, everyone noted that their lives had become much more difficult, with most of their income being earned around mining paydays. Where they would never have considered it before, now “one can be taken for just K20 (~\$1USD) between paydays.” Frequent layoffs have resulted in fewer men being employed by the mines and mine workers' incomes do not stretch far. Charity illustrated the challenge. “I think the miners nowadays - they're having many girlfriends. They are failing to take care of them. You find that one has got maybe five

²⁵ This challenge was much discussed at the provincial and national alternative mining *indabas* (conventions). (See Chapter 4)

girlfriends. Today he'll be with this one, tomorrow with this one, tomorrow with this one. He cannot manage to give them a lot of money.”

Despite the gender equality, women's empowerment, or women's economic empowerment rhetoric from both public and private governance initiatives, sex working women have seen no improvement to their lives. The women I met still depend on men for their survival. Having been abandoned by their husbands, though, they must now turn to other men. As Fridha said, “They [our husbands] are forcing us to go and find other men so that we are able to take care of our kids. It's a burden. At least if there was someone to employ us, we would start doing something better than depending on our men.” These opportunities remain elusive given the current political economy under which the presence of income-earning men remains central to women's economic life.

6.5.4 The Commodification of Men

It is not only sex workers like Gladys, Georgina, Charity, Dalia, and Fridha, who depend on income-earning men. Many in Solwezi are reliant on the income of mine workers. Mine workers' wives and children depend on their income for rent, food, school fees and they are made anxious by the presence of single women in the company of alcohol (Ferguson, 1999; Laite, 2009; Negi, 2014; Parpart, 1986). Women fear that their husbands will be “stolen” by women in commercial sex who have come from outside Solwezi. A police officer, who also arrests women for ‘loitering’ around bars and requires them to pay K50 (~\$2.50USD) in bail, reported that,

“When miners are getting paid, we receive a lot of wives coming to complain that their spouses have disappeared. So, we endeavour to try and link to said husbands. We've normally caught them, then counsel them and educate them on the implication of what we call child neglect – failure to provide necessities for the family, when you are actually able to, but you decide not to. It is an offence in Zambia. We've sat down with them, and showed them the implications, tried to counsel them. Others, they've tried to show some remorse, but again, with time, we still record the same behaviour recurring.” (Male, police officer)

In the current socio-economic context, many women in Solwezi fear that their husbands may leave them for a new wife or girlfriend, consigning them to a life of dwindling financial support, limited opportunities, and less respect. In this context, sex work is stigmatized by the women of Solwezi. Their daughters inherit this fear, as I saw on the day of the Kansanshi Mine tour. Every girl in the room stated that the thing she did not want to be “a prostitute.” They all, however, seem to realize it is a possibility.

Gladys, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia all experienced abandonment and live with the way it has impacted their lives. They also live with the double stigma associated with their circumstance. First, they are divorced women in a country where, “for women to be valued they must be attached to men” (health officer, interview).

Among the Kaonde, the people of the central region in Northwestern Province, that includes Solwezi, there is an honorific given to both men and women when they are married: *Ba* or *Bamuka*. This signals that you are well-respected because you are bringing children into the world, increasing the membership of the village. “There will be more people because of you. This is good” (male teacher, interview). One may still be referred to as *Ba* without children, or if one is divorced, but the title does not carry as much respect. In the village, the teacher went on to say, it used to be common to see divorce but this is no longer the case. “Now divorce is discouraged as it is bad for the children. They will suffer. It is the Chief’s choice. Even if there is an incidence of [gender-based violence] the Chief says to forgive each other and will offer counselling instead.”

More than a loss of status, in Solwezi, divorce is also stigmatized because single women are seen as a threat. Women “fear other women from other places. [...] They’re just coming to Solwezi, maybe there is nothing else they are doing, but they are just doing [prostitution]” (female teachers, focus group).

Gladys, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia realize they are doubly stigmatized for being divorced and for their line of work. Consequently, they reported that they were not interested in placing other women in the position in which they found themselves.

“We have to do things so as not to harm our children. After the experience that we went through, then – okay, we can sleep with their husbands, but we do not grab their husbands.”

“It’s respect. Just demand what you want from them and leave them.”

“Some [men], they show interest. I don’t know if they just pretend to make you feel good or what, they’ll just say “I want to marry you, I like you,” but you look at him, he’s already committed, he’s got a family. You just tell him, “What about your family?”

Perhaps these attitudes reflect their beliefs, or perhaps they were learned as a narrative they needed to promote given the stigma they experience. Regardless, the women shared how not all sex working women feel the same way. Some are seeking men as husbands for the financial security they offer.

In this economy, it is not only the sex workers who are viewed as commodities. Indeed, among the women I met, it was men, especially men employed by the mine, who were also perceived as prized possessions. They were in high demand given their limited supply. They were valuable – not just to sex workers, but to their families. This gave men significant power. Thus, while men seeking sex outside a marriage was an act condemned by their wives, it is not generally regarded as an act worthy of divorce. As Charity, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia’s stories demonstrate, divorced women find themselves in a precarious a situation, both socially and economically. Like the traditional Chiefs, community organizations offer counselling services to try to keep the family together, knowing the difficult circumstances divorced women face. When divorce does occur, it is usually men leaving their wives. Gladys’ story, however, demonstrates an exception. Her experiences with financial and emotional violence (and perhaps other forms) at home had driven her to the point where she was willing to consider divorcing her husband. She was exploring this option even though the threat of violence is also very much present in the world of commercial sex.

6.5.5 Facing Risks – HIV, STIs, and Violence

Given the money the mine workers have, Charity reported how this power differential affects their behaviour, “They have the money, so they can treat us how they want.” In research from the Copperbelt Province to the east, Nicholas Wilson demonstrated how women engaged in sex work are more willing to engage in increasingly risky sexual behaviour during times of economic volatility (N. Wilson, 2012). Similar findings were reported among women in Solwezi since the commodities decline in 2015. Given their limited clientele between paydays, all the women said that they may be willing to accept a higher rate for sex without a condom. Georgina described how “you increase the price. Because there are two different prices, with the condom, that’s another price.” Men offer to double their payment for this service.

All the women face many difficult economic choices which they must balance against the risk to their health. HIV remains an ongoing threat, with 11% of the Zambian population infected. The rate remains higher among women (14%) than men (7.5%) (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 259), and even higher among sex workers. FHI 360 reports a 50% positivity rate among sex workers in Solwezi (Musheke, 2018). Two of the women I met, Dalia and Halima (a friend of Charity and Gladys), reported being HIV+. They were fortunate to have access to the USAID-funded NGO, Open Doors. This NGO supports underserved groups, including sex workers, by providing counselling and support, testing, screening, and free access to medication, including pre-exposure prophylaxis. These services are not always widely available, and the women were grateful for the NGO’s support. Though there has been significant achievements in public health, NGO workers report that HIV remains a stigmatized illness, especially so as one’s income level increases. Those living in lower income brackets were more comfortable reporting their status, as I witnessed, though the sharing of one’s status may still be accompanied by expressions of shame. When I met Halima, the first thing she did was disclose to me that she is HIV+. Through her tears she wanted to be sure I knew. She did not want me to find out later and then refuse to pay her for her time, an experience she has had with men all too frequently. When she reports her status to her clients, she does so with trepidation, knowing it may result in maltreatment. Halima

described how clients may abuse her and refuse to pay, an action they felt was acceptable once they learned of her HIV status.

“In my situation, sometimes I come across some men who are violent, most of them are miners. I would sleep with them, but they failed to give me money. They end up beating me and tell me to go without giving me anything.” (Halima, sex worker)

As women weigh the risks to their health, they know in these transactions they may be exposed not only to HIV, but to other STIs. I was told by health workers that syphilis has a high prevalence in Solwezi. Human papillomavirus, increasing women’s risk for cervical cancer, was also a concern.

Sexual and gender-based violence was also a risk. According to the 2018 Demographic and Health Survey, across Zambia, at least 36% of women between 15 and 49 have experienced physical violence at least once, while 47% of ever-married women report experiencing physical, sexual, or emotional violence by their most current partner (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 311). Yet 52% of women indicated they never told anyone about the violence they experienced (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 311). Divergences in the gender equality and women’s empowerment narrative are made visible as 46% of Zambian women believing there are reasons to justify wife beating – though only 26% of men agree (Government of Zambia, 2020, p. 283). Of the women I spoke to, only Halima reported ever experiencing physical violence. Charity, Georgina, Fridha, Gladys, and Dalia all disclosed emotional and financial abuse. They all shared stories about their friends who had argued for the rate they had been promised at the beginning of the transaction and then experienced physical violence. One was raped by a group of men.

Zambia remains a country which does not have a widely accepted word for ‘rape,’ and there is little funding reported by the NGO sector in Solwezi to draw attention to this form of violence. In order to avert violent encounters, sex workers reported they would take care to note where their friends were heading and would do their best to show up to support them if there was trouble.

Though the government and mining sector have begun to consider women’s empowerment and economic empowerment, there is much work to do. Women continue to

face significant barriers to their financial independence. There are too few opportunities and the one opportunity available to so many women continues to see men remain central to women's economic security. This remains the case even as men may pose a threat to women's physical, emotional, and financial wellbeing. Despite these challenges, some women are finding ways to exert some control over their lives, even within the realm of commercial sex work.

6.5.6 Finding Control and Creating Opportunity

Petra Mahy reminds us that “sex work should not be straightforwardly classified as a negative impact of mining on *all* women. In the absence of better choices, it often provides a livelihood and an escape from mainstream social constrictions for many women” (Mahy, 2011b, p. 61). This holds true among the women I met. Gladys has been able to contemplate leaving her abusive husband because of the income she earns through sex work. After at least a decade in the business, Georgina, Fridha, and Dalia have achieved a level of control over their lives and their work. They put their children through school. When I met them, they were freer to set limits on the type of clients they accept, having built up a dependable roster. Their experience has also provided them with greater security, as they are generally able to identify men who may prove problematic.

The women I met all spoke of their desire to do something other than sex work. They all also recognized that sex work allows them, to some degree, to feed their families, put their children through school, and exert some control over their lives. Though they are exposed to greater risk, in some ways their livelihood is more secure than that of women working in the market trying to sell a few vegetables.

Indeed, three of the women I met, Halima, Cynthia, and Tiwonge, had migrated to Solwezi specifically to work in commercial sex. They are not alone. Though life is expensive and there are an increasing number of women in the town, especially around payday, Cynthia says, “It's better in Solwezi than going somewhere else.” Migration is a common strategy employed by sex workers. This practice demonstrates ingenuity, and skills in logistical management and the ability to mobilize their resources. Cynthia and Tiwonge described how sex workers from Solwezi sometimes travel to other mining towns, and to conferences,

festivals, and other events around the country where they can find interested clients with money to spend. Women are finding creative ways to make the most of available opportunities.

Cynthia and Tiwonge have seen much over the years. Though they have been ‘in the business’ for decades, they only arrived in Solwezi in the past five and seven years, respectively. Having been “chased” out of two other cities, they both, separately, decided Solwezi was the place to establish their businesses. They have thrived by turning their livelihood into a sound, if illegal, business venture, the unlicensed brothel. Cynthia works mostly with a mining clientele and Tiwonge works with a wider clientele of mostly non-mine workers. They both still describe themselves as still sex workers, but “it’s not like the way we used to do it before. Now we have grown old.” They mostly leave the clients to younger women. Their businesses have proved a solid retirement plan that continues to offer them a decent income into their later years.

In their brothels, both have also set themselves up as *Queen Mothers*. As Queen Mothers, they run a household that could be considered a training school. Housing about seven women at a time, each woman pays K300/month (~\$15USD) for their room and provides the Queen Mothers with 10% of their income. In return, the Queen Mothers not only provide a safer environment for the women, but they also visit night clubs in the evening and will help scout out potential clients with means, directing men towards ‘their girls.’ They educate their girls in the art of client evaluation and price negotiation. They also learn how to discern which clients will likely be less problematic and more apt to pay well. Though, more often than not during the economic downturn, outside payday at the mines, it is “*nachwama*.’ It’s dry. That’s the word to say if the lion has no food.” The Queen Mothers even help their girls steal from inebriated clients and bail them out of jail if they are caught. At the brothels, they provide condoms and arrange testing and treatment for HIV and STIs and ensure their girls are able to access cervical cancer screening.

Within the sex work community, the safety and support provided is considered important to the ‘girls,’ who would often stay up to a year with their Queen Mother mentors before venturing out on their own. Gladys shared how she would often book at room at a brothel for the nights when she was working, as it was safer than going somewhere alone

with a client. In turn, the Queen Mothers would record the client's license plate number and would ensure that they women have been paid before the client leaves. Whereas some would view these relations as exploitative, these Queen Mothers view their role as supporting women, while also supporting their own livelihood.

Neither Gladys, Halima, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, or Dalia stayed permanently with Queen Mothers, so their relationships with each other were very important. They all spoke of the importance of their friendships and the camaraderie they found with each other. They were dismissive of the government and mine's gender equality and empowerment initiatives for women, but in many ways, they had empowered themselves through the relationships they formed with each other and the experience they gained over the years. These networks and relationships are an important source of support. They help women avoid dangerous clients and ensure that clients pay. They are also an important source of support in difficult times, such as through an HIV diagnosis, and in the good times, offering a safe space to joke and laugh about their work outside the stigma they may experience in the broader community. Together they also come up with strategies for how to deal with the client who "does not want to take a shower with a raincoat on [use a condom]." For those who do not want to pay, they "soak his clothes in a bucket" or hide them until he pays up. Together these women have created a space for themselves in Solwezi and are redistributing a bit of the local wealth – an act of economic empowerment.

6.6 Discussion

Sex working women living in the mined community of Solwezi hold multiple, intermeshed social identities. These identities overlap and conflict with the dynamics of class, age, education, culture, etc., as they exist within current ideological institutions and frameworks (Mohanty, 1988). In their differences and dislocations, Gladys, Halima, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, Dalia, Cynthia, and Tiwonge are a diverse group. Some are educated, lived a middle class life, held places in 'respectable' society, and turned to commercial sex when they were abandoned by their husbands. Others actively pursued this available livelihood option, with some turning it into a thriving small business. Women's experiences are the result of their age, network, and knowledge earned over time. Their stories demonstrate the

complex subjectivities of women involved in sex work, who challenge the binary of passive victim and active free agent of the historically applied analysis of sex work (Mahy, 2011b; Parpart, 1994). The women I met were striving to exert control over their lives by creating opportunity for themselves and their families under challenging socio-economic conditions, outside of traditionally accepted social practices. Though they have been excluded from the conventional gender equality and women's economic empowerment narrative, and their lives were at times difficult and even dangerous, they also experience moments of emancipation.

Their stories also shine a light on the roles men play in the community. Men are valuable commodities to the women who rely on their income. They could also be considered gatekeepers, given their capacity to create opportunities for or establish barriers to women's ability to achieve economic empowerment. In an effort to address this inequality, some programs, such as the women-only trade apprenticeships or CSR programs like the jewellery apprentice and workshop project, may offer real opportunity for some women to achieve economic empowerment, unfortunately their scope is limited. Only a few dozen women are able to participate each year. Where women's empowerment initiatives exist on a broader scale, such as through village banking, they often tend to economism, focusing on women's ability to participate in the market by establishing small businesses. These types of microloan interventions geared toward women may be seen as a cooptation of feminism, as the language of women's empowerment is used to entrench neoliberalism (Eisenstein, 2015; Prügl, 2015; A. Roberts, 2015). Under the current neoliberal order, rather than being able to turn to the state for support, women are "self-responsibilized." They are entrepreneurial subjects 'empowered' to find their own solutions to their challenges (Prügl, 2015).

Neoliberal programs, like microloans, also fail to address the barriers that affect women's ability to participate. To be successful in these programs one requires education, a strong social network, start-up capital, and often the support of a husband willing to act as investor. One would also require a public system that is able to provide the health and social services that could help sustain women attempting these endeavours (Butler, 2017; Hickel, 2014; Prügl, 2015; A. Roberts, 2015). These factors have been actively neglected or

ignored. Consequently, one option available to ‘responsible’ women needing to support their families is sex work.

When efforts to provide a more holistic program have been offered, such as those seen in the Zambian pilot study, the Adolescent Girls Empowerment Program, the effect was still inadequate. Though the program taught girls life and financial management skills and provided health care, analysis revealed that any benefit received was statistically insignificant. Without addressing household economic conditions and social norms in the community, girls were unlikely to experience improvements in their social, health, and economic conditions (Austrian et al., 2020). The study also emphasizes that, though gender inequality must be addressed, efforts that prioritize women (and girls) and neglect men (and boys) are unlikely to succeed. These programs may even cause greater harm given the solidarity women share with men given the context of neoliberal capitalism, racism, and colonialism that has so privileged inhabitants of high-income countries over all others (Bhattacharya, 2017; Mohanty, 1988; Tyagi, 2014).

There are limited options available to Zambian women, especially those who are single mothers without family capable of offering support. Once a part of the world of commercial sex work, women face stigma, threats to their health, and are often ignored in development efforts (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Mahy, 2011b). Where they are considered, generally attention is directed towards HIV prevention. Though this health need is imperative, it risks reducing women to a statistic. The biomedical approach may fail to consider women within their complex social, political, and economic context – and may thereby fail to find solutions that may sustain the wellbeing of the ‘whole’ woman.

The women I met in Solwezi remain reliant on men in the mining industry to support their economic aspirations, and even their basic needs. Despite the women’s empowerment narrative, I observed few changes in women’s experiences from those of the 1920s as described by Parpart (1994), though I found evidence that supports Wilson’s position, that reliance on men deepens during times of economic volatility (N. Wilson, 2012).

With the 2015 decline in the copper markets, the country’s debt has continued to rise (Servant, 2019). Life has become more difficult. Mine workers who kept their jobs play an increasingly significant role in supporting the local economy in Solwezi. Their wives are

reliant on their earnings to support their families – as are women in the commercial sex trade. Men employed on the mines are a valuable commodity. In this role, they hold power. They are able to control both women’s ability to participate in conventional, and unconventional, social and economic life. Without their support as husbands, women lose their primary economic investor. Their social world is also threatened with the stigma of divorce, so they may accept distressing behaviour. Sex working women may have to accept disrespectful or even violent behaviour from their clients. They face significant pressure to participate in risky sexual activity from men who “don’t want a sweetie with the wrapper on.” HIV and other STI rates remain stubbornly high among sex workers as men control their ability to negotiate price and safety. Women are left to choose between their income and their health.

Research has indicated that the power men hold in mined communities is even greater than elsewhere, given the disparity in income generating capacity between men and women. This has the potential to intensify gender inequality, as women become more dependent on men around the sites of extractive industry development given their limited labour opportunities (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Ross, 2008; Suliman, 2019).

The inequality associated with the extractive industries exists across multiple scales – from the local where it manifests in unequal relations between men and women, to the global where it manifests in unequal relations between states and transnational corporations. Current efforts by mining company CSR offices are unable to address the roots of poverty and ill-health within this complex mass of intersecting factors. As one mining company representative told me, “It’s our job to remove minerals as efficiently as possible. It is not our job to do development work.” These companies are indeed ill-equipped to do development work. These are corporations with a vested interest in the neoliberal and neocolonialist global expansion of the extractive industries sector in Africa and around the world (Butler, 2015). When mining companies like FQM do engage in development work through CSR, their programs support efforts that expand markets through the neoliberalization of feminism, as was seen in Solwezi and the village banking program. These programs do nothing to benefit Gladys and her friends.

Organizations, like the World Bank, have endeavoured to address the determinants of poverty. They do so from a specific macroeconomic perspective that is grounded in

neoliberalism. Programs like microloans, or village banking, fall in line with the World Bank's 'smart economics' approach. They work to strengthen markets even as they neglect the most marginalized and distract from needed structural changes that limit options for resource 'cursed' countries (Butler, 2015; Ferguson, 1999; A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; Kesselring, 2017; Negi, 2014). Some countries have been able to use extractive industries to catalyze growth, increase employment, and direct greater investment into health and social services. Other countries, like Zambia, have experienced economic underperformance, increased unemployment in under-resourced sectors, increased inequality, employment volatility, and corruption associated with mining development (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; A. Fraser & Lungu, 2007; Gamu et al., 2015). The impact of these inequalities is experienced at the local scale – manifesting in part as gender inequality.

Efforts are needed that challenge the current neoliberal macroeconomic structures, as are alternative, transformative development scenarios (Bebbington, Hinojosa, et al., 2008; Butler, 2015; Chant, 2012; Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Prügl, 2017; Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015). Under the current macroeconomic paradigm women's empowerment has become restricted to women's economic empowerment, as it is conceived within the framework of neoliberal feminism. Self-responsibilized women have limited options in the extractivist context. Broad structural change is required, just as within existing systems there is a need to attend to the most marginalized. Despite this need, sex working women continue to be neglected in mining communities and by the broader development community. Though they are actively resisting and exerting some control over their lives, Gladys, Halima, Charity, Georgina, Fridha, Dalia, Cynthia, and Tiwonge should not have to work so hard while being neglected by so many.

Chapter 7 Discussion and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The goal of this research study was to understand the political, economic, and social contexts of mining development and governance practices, from global and local perspectives, that determine the experiences and opportunities, health, and wellbeing of women from Solwezi, Zambia. To accomplish this goal, the research employed the political economy of health, feminist theory, and intersectionality to inform a multi-sited ethnographic study set in Zambia and Canada.

The three objectives of the research were:

1. To understand how Zambia and Canada grappled with the governance imperatives of gender equality and women's empowerment within the spheres of government, company, and community.
2. To explain how various development actors positioned women as entrepreneurial subjects within the mining context, and to understand, given the various intersections which women hold, what impact this had on women's opportunities and outcomes, health and wellbeing, and what this meant to their conceptions of self as 'empowered' women.
3. To identify the experiences of female sex workers in Solwezi as a window into the experiences of those excluded from the conventional women's economic empowerment narrative.

This chapter presents a summary of key findings from the study and draws connections to current literature on women, mining, governance, and health. The chapter further identifies the main contributions of the research as well as limitations and concludes with a discussion of the research implications for policy and directions of future study.

7.2 Summary of Key Findings

The following is a summary of the three papers that comprise this dissertation.

Chapter 4 explores the influence of various governance approaches to the challenges women experience that are associated with large-scale mining development in Zambia and Canada. Applying feminist theory to the reading of global governance documents, the

narrative of gender equality and women's empowerment is documented. In parallel with the emergence of the neoliberal economic discourse, we witness a shift in priorities. The concept of women's social and political empowerment is conflated with women's economic empowerment, which fits well into the global macro-economic framework. The language of women's economic empowerment even appears in the governance documents that are applied to transnational companies' mining development efforts. However, mining development has long been known to result in unequal adverse bias in the distribution of mining risks to women. To mitigate these effects, the governance documents encourage mining companies to increase opportunities for women on the mine sites, and to involve them in the mining supply chain by encouraging them to participate in entrepreneurial endeavours. The study explores how this discourse is being experienced across multiple sites in Zambia and Canada, two countries that are deeply connected through transnational mining development.

The study explores if and how the women's economic empowerment narrative is being adopted across various government, company, and community sites. In Canada, though the GAC has little direct involvement in supporting development projects in Zambia, it has adopted the new Feminist International Assistance Policy. The policy articulates a strong role for private governance, referring to the "role that the private sector plays when it comes to driving economic growth through trade and investment" (Government of Canada, 2020b). GAC's development and trade divisions has adopted language that encourages women's involvement in resource development, either directly, or through the supply chain. Similar language is employed in Zambia within the new Ministry of Gender, and at the various mining conferences I attended in Zambia and Canada. The Zambian mining conferences, which were more community focused, also call for efforts to address the ways in which women are disproportionately affected through not only land dispossession but the challenges of acquiring land in the first place, illiteracy, and their exclusion from decision-making processes. While these references are also heard at GAC, there was no programming for Zambia that addresses these issues despite Canada's strong presence in the Zambian mining sector. One Canadian-registered, transnational mining company operating in Solwezi, Zambia, First Quantum Minerals Ltd., had a somewhat broader approach to the idea of

empowering women. FQM is supporting various initiatives that address sexual and gender-based violence, and programs to support girls' empowerment (of which economic skill development is one aspect). Their most widely accessed program is a microloan program, termed locally as 'village banking,' in which approximately two out of five women and girls from Solwezi are ostensibly enrolled. The capacity of village banking to address the political, social, and economic upheaval visited by large-scale mining on communities is not only limited, but it also does not reflect the sort of investments Solwezi residents and women-focused NGOs would like to see implemented. FQM, however, is credited with helping change the perception of women in Solwezi, though NGOs have attributed this shift to a broader change in discourse. Across the region, women and men remain frustrated with the lack of improvement they have seen in their lives despite the presence of a large-scale mining company in their midst. They are frustrated by the paternalistic practices of the mining company that dictates development investments, rather than first seeking the consent of locals. They see how too many women, and men, are being left behind under current practices.

Zambian and Canadian governments, Canadian-registered transnational mining companies, and even certain NGOs have come to centre women in their programming and governance efforts, revealing a trend that encompasses all these stakeholders. As these stakeholders engage with mining and gender work, it appears they are also participating in work that is neoliberalizing feminism. They tend to construct women as economic subjects to be brought into markets through their entrepreneurial endeavours. Far too few women are benefitting from the current arrangement and growing inequality is the result. In the mining community of Solwezi, women, and men, continue to be left behind.

Chapter 5 adopts the same feminist theoretical lens, but this time also applies intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological framework and the political economy of health approach to understand how changes in Solwezi have differentially affected two groups of women: village bankers and marketeers. This paper considers ways in which these women embody the complex processes of social, cultural, economic, and political differentiation, and how their experiences manifest through their health and wellbeing.

The women I met who are village bankers are a group of well-educated, well-connected, well-financed, married women. Many of them report having a decently paid, primary occupation, and are married to men who also have secure employment. Most are homeowners who may have other plots for rent or for agriculture. As is typical of the “triple workload,” these women are dedicated to their reproductive, productive, and community responsibilities. They add to this their small-scale entrepreneurial endeavours. Yet, the income they earn from these entrepreneurial activities, which serves to supplement household income, is considered essential. They otherwise would not be able to maintain their middle class lifestyle and would not be able to send their children to good schools and on to post-secondary education, given already high costs and prices further exacerbated by mine-induced inflation.

The village banker’s entrepreneurial endeavours place pressure on a second group, the marketeers, with whom they compete for limited consumer dollars. The marketeers engage in their entrepreneurial efforts often as their sole form of income. Most of the women are single mothers, widows, or married to men who are not working, and are less likely to speak English reflecting a relatively lower level of formal education. For the majority, efforts to grow their earnings through village banking schemes were reported to be untenable. They need to consume what they earned and did not have the financial capacity to invest in growing their businesses. Rather, they find their businesses dwindling as they face growing competition and decreasing numbers of customers. They struggle to support their children and their households and discussed the challenges they face in getting by. Though they did not disclose their own health status, they shared how the children of their friends and neighbours are malnourished, how many experience challenges to their mental health, how health care services are too expensive and are unequally distributed, and how there are growing reports of criminal activity and violence in their neighbourhoods, as increasing numbers of children are unable to attend school due to rising costs and declining incomes.

What I observed in Solwezi reflects the influence of neoliberal capitalism. Wages do not reach as far as needed and employment security and living standards are deteriorating. The number of hours of work needed to support a family has increased dramatically. As the state, reduced by the imposition of austerity measures, withdraws its involvement in service

provision and regulation, a growth in informal economies is the result. This is accompanied by the casualization of labour and the failure of a capitalist system to make use of growing surplus labour. Shifting labour norms and the feminization of employment have also led to women increasingly working outside the domestic sphere. What form of work they take is often a product of their particular social, economic, and political situations. For those families where it is possible, two incomes increasingly become the norm. Entrepreneurism is the one option being sold to women as the method to keep one's family out of absolute poverty. Inequality is the result. There is deepening social differentiation between groups, given differences in their capacities to participate in microloan schemes and entrepreneurship. Under neoliberalization of feminism, women have become "self-responsibilized," compensating for a weakened state and the limited supports made available through private entities driven to maximize their profit. Impacts to women's health and wellbeing, often mediated through the determinants of health, act as physical reminders of the limits of the entrepreneurial model being applied in Solwezi.

Following from the theoretical insights developed in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 delves into the experiences of sex workers to gain an understanding of what it means to live outside of conventional livelihoods in Solwezi. Given the high cost of living in Solwezi, some families were reported to find no option but to send their daughters out to participate in the commercial sex trade. They are joined by hundreds of women who arrive from across the country for mine workers' twice-monthly payday. Still others have turned to sex work after they are left by their mine-employed husbands.

Intersectional analysis reveals interesting differences among the women I met who engage in commercial sex work in Solwezi. While some women had migrated to Solwezi as sex workers, other women had moved to Solwezi because they were married to men who found work with FQM. Mine workers are considered to be desirable partners for marriage given the relative financial security that comes with their position. Two of the women who had been married to mine workers were educated through at least grade 12 and were employed in various endeavours. Despite their education and experience, after their husbands left them, the women reported few viable economic options outside of sex work. There are few legal or social service systems in place to support them, and those that exist are

expensive and oversubscribed. In the divorce these women lost their status, their income and food security, and were suddenly homeless. Further, they remain responsible for their children, even as they were unable to collect child support. Those who owned a business with their husbands lost their livelihood, too, as they were unable to maintain it on their own. Sex work was one option available.

Intersectional analysis revealed that age plays an important factor in determining women's ability to earn an income through sex work. Women's experiences are the result of their network and knowledge earned over time. With experience women are freer to set limits on the type of clients they accept, having built up a dependable roster. Their experience also provides them with greater security, as they are generally able to identify men who may prove problematic. After many years in the business, two women were able to open up brothels, which earns them supplemental income and security as they age.

Largely shut out of conventional employment options in and around the mine, the number of women engaged in commercial sex work (reported by health workers to be in the hundreds especially around the twice-monthly payday when women arrive by bus for the occasion) suggests that mine working men have become an important commodity for women in Solwezi, and for women from across Zambia. This system places women in competition with each other to gain a fragment of the promise proffered by the mining industry. These men are a limited resource, though. Sex working women find themselves in competition with the women who have married mine workers, along with other sex workers, to secure a portion of their income.

The work is also dangerous. Between paydays, mine and sex workers report how women are often desperate for money to support themselves and their families. They may be willing to accept very low rates, just to provide a meal for their children. Others will negotiate a higher price by forsaking a condom. Though a local NGO provides good health service for sex working women in Solwezi, it has been reported that 50% of them are HIV positive (Musheke, 2018). They also run the risk of acquiring STIs and cervical cancer. Violence continues to be an ongoing risk for women engaged in sex work.

The women I met spoke of their desire to be doing something other than sex work, but they recognized that it is work that allows them, to some degree, to feed their families,

put their children through school, and exert some control over their lives. Though they are exposed to greater risks to their health and safety and to social stigma, in some ways their livelihood is more secure than that of the marketeers who are trying to make a living selling vegetables. Regardless, options are limited and objectionable. Under the current neoliberal macro-economic system, too many women are excluded from secure work and livelihoods. The solutions offered are insufficient and are leading to deepening inequality. The concentration of wealth among the few means deepening poverty, limited opportunity, and increasing risk of illness among those who are left behind.

7.3 Contributions

7.3.1 Theoretical Contributions

This study was framed by the political economy of health, feminist theory, and intersectionality to explore how social, economic, and political context contribute to women's experiences of inequality, health, and wellbeing in a mined community.

The research adds to the political economy of health literature in that the extent to which different aspects of the political economy come to influence health are only partially understood (McCartney et al., 2019). In this study we observe the long reach of neoliberal ideology and the influence of its proponents, which have done much to shift the discourse to more individualized and technology-focused understandings of health and wellbeing, and solutions that centre on private rather than public interventions (Labonté et al., 2007; Ottersen et al., 2014). In a Zambian context, this manifests as the adoption of private governance approaches to address the challenges Solwezi faces that affect residents' determinants of health. This individualized focus is clearly visible in the ways that CSR programs emphasize low-investment like volunteer-run sexual and gender-based violence programs and microloan programs, like village banking. Interventions that would build broader systems of stability for the health and wellbeing of all Zambians are neglected by the private sector as costly, unsustainable, and not their responsibility. Meanwhile, the Government of Zambia continues to lack the fiscal capacity to address these gaps. Here, feminist theory helps articulate these connections, with its exploration of the feminization of the workforce and the responsiblization of women. Through the exploration of the neoliberal

approach that instrumentalizes gender in an effort to entrench a growth agenda under the guise of development (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Oksala, 2013; Parisi, 2020; Prügl, 2015, 2017), it also builds on Foucault's idea of individuals as 'entrepreneurs of the self' (Foucault et al., 2008). These entrepreneurs rationally calculate the costs and benefits of each of their choices in order to maximize returns. They must self-monitor to ensure they are acting in line with market requirements. We witness the use of the women's economic empowerment narrative as a means of employing women and girls to further the neoliberal capitalist project – here conveyed using CSR as the governance mechanism to entrench entrepreneurship. Not only are these efforts co-opting the feminist agenda by placing even more responsibility on women, but efforts also appear to have contributed to increasing inequality (as demonstrated through intersectional theoretical frameworks), and have come to affect women's health and wellbeing, as mediated through the social determinants of health. Through this research, further evidence is provided that collaboration with corporate institutions are unlikely to yield salutary results (Labonté et al., 2007; O'Laughlin, 2016; Schrecker et al., 2018).

This study also contributes to understanding how feminist agendas have been absorbed into the global governance discourse, by exploring how the gender equality agenda has been adopted – albeit narrowly – by some institutions of global governance (Prügl, 2017; Waylen, 2021). Though the focus has largely been on 'smart economics' approaches there has also been a certain amount of norm shifting as these large-scale institutions, be they the World Bank or the transnational mining industry, have come to consider the feminist agenda. Though these institutions continue to follow the market as the absolute arbiter of social value, some space is left open to the feminist agenda, which too can prove subversive (Prügl, 2017). This subversion can occur across multiple scales and has resulted in some openings which have come to reflect a shift in norms. There are now more conversation about integrating women workers on to mining sites, and in CSR practice, which has come to feature programs that address sexual and gender-based violence.

7.3.2 Methodological Contributions

This multi-sited ethnographic study is an effort to build on the call from Marcus and Fischer, which seeks to draw greater attention to the “workings of impersonal international

political and economic systems on the local level where fieldwork usually takes place” (1999, p. 39). By using this approach this study attempts to consider the creation of inequalities as they exist across borders, from the local to the global, as they determine availability of resources accessible to certain groups – and not others (Yuval-Davis, 2015). The ethnographic approach in this research attempts to situate the issue of women’s various experiences with mining development and governance practices across political, economic, and social contexts, from global and local perspectives, as they come to influence women’s health and wellbeing. The scope is broad, but the situatedness of this approach allows for “greater understanding the contradictions inherent in location within various structures” that is needed if there is to be hope of achieving structural change (Mohanty, 1988, p. 74).

Mohanty describes how women are constructed in an assortment of simultaneously existing economic, social, and political contexts. These constructions resist generalization (Mohanty, 1988). As such, the adoption of the intersectional approach to analysis offers the opportunity to gain deeper insight into the way in way mining development and associated opportunities and barriers affect a diversity of women differently. Employing intersectionality as a methodological tool allows for a better understanding of difference, belonging, and associated experiences of oppression and privilege (Hill Collins, 2002; Yuval-Davis, 2015). This study revealed deepening social differentiation between groups of women struggling to earn a living in the mining town of Solwezi.

Finally, this project contributes to qualitative efforts in the health field to explore women’s experiences in mined communities. There is a dearth of research on this topic (Jenkins, 2014; Mactaggart et al., 2016). Where there are studies on this topic they are often focused on toxicological contamination or occupational health. There is significantly less attention paid to the ways in which mining development disrupts the social determinants of health, especially from a qualitative perspective (Lee, Johnston, & Janes, 2019). This study takes up the call by providing ethnographic data on women’s health and wellbeing experiences in mined communities.

7.3.3 Substantive Contributions

This study responds to the call for research that specifically focuses on the impacts of mining on women, and their experiences in relation to the mining industry (Jenkins, 2014). The findings offer insights into the limitations of the governance approach currently employed locally and globally, centring on the theme of women's economic empowerment (Kabeer, 2012). Local governance efforts to address women's exclusion from opportunities associated with mining have included FQM employing CSR initiatives to support the widely endorsed microloan approach, in the form of village banking and entrepreneurship (Frese & Friedrich, 2002; IFC, 2017; World Bank, 2001, 2006). Microloans have been marketed as a method by which women use their informal networks and grow their earnings potential to increase their economic position (Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2013; Bergeron, 2003; Kuada, 2009; Rutashobya et al., 2009). This study reveals that this economic intervention is resulting in increasing social inequality, benefitting only the well-educated, the well-connected, and the well-financed – that is in part the product of being well-married. For many of these middle class women, these entrepreneurial requirements also increase their workload. They now find themselves experiencing a quadruple workload as they take on the role of entrepreneur to support their families. In so doing, they may be outcompeting women who do not have their access to these forms of social capital or their social networks. Inequality is becoming further entrenched in Solwezi.

For some women, one livelihood option available is sex work. This study contributes by offering further insight into the experiences of commercial sex workers in Solwezi. Though sex work has long been associated with large-scale mining development. It plays an integral role in the economic and social development of Zambia. Yet, the discourse largely ignores women's complex subjectivities and their agency with regard to decisions about their labour (Mahy, 2011b). The World Bank, for instance, gives little attention to sex work, outside of its relation to HIV/AIDS or as an expected outcome that results from not including women in dialogues about extractive industry development (Parks et al., 2018; World Bank, 2001, 2015a; World Bank Group, 2013). This study explores how women engaged in commercial sex work are participating in the social and economic world of Solwezi. The fact that many of the women I interviewed had once been married to mine workers was surprising

to FQM's CSR department, as was the fact that so many women continue to arrive in Solwezi for the twice-monthly payday. (Though this came as no surprise to health officials.)

The focus on 'smart economics' and women's economic empowerment, has proven a distraction from the need to address broader structural challenges in LMICs (Eisenstein, 2015; N. Fraser, 2009). The self-responsibilization of women has left women to deal with the ongoing disastrous effects of SAPs and austerity politics. It is women in Solwezi who are discussing how they might help orphans and the elderly, now that state supports have all but disappeared. Ironically perhaps, these women's 'empowerment' narratives and programs have often served to burden women further while simultaneously inculcating them via narratives of responsabilization.

This study further reveals the success of the neoliberal project in that it is increasing competition, a cornerstone of capitalism. One of the ways this is happening is by increasing competition between women. Women are finding themselves in competition with each other for the rare commodity that is the mine working man. Men are holders of an accessible, if small, piece of mining wealth, and women compete for this resource, be it as entrepreneurs, marketeers, wives, or sex workers. This study reveals the competition underway given the limited local distribution of mining wealth in Solwezi, and what this means for women's health and wellbeing when it comes to malnutrition, homelessness, and HIV.

This study is a further contribution to the mountain of evidence demonstrating the flaws in the neoliberal macro-economic framework that continues to be espoused by global governance institutions even as it continues to drive inequality and entrench poverty. The health status and wellbeing of women in the mining town of Solwezi demonstrate the need for structural change that addresses the drivers of poverty, such as tax avoidance, weakened regulatory frameworks, and unfair investment conditions that limit countries' earning capacity and government's ability to invest in public goods, such as education, health care, and the implementation of transformative gender-based programming. If addressed these changes may actually help alleviate poverty (Hickel, 2014). Also needed are alternative, transformative development scenarios (Bebbington, Hinojosa, et al., 2008; Butler, 2015; Chant, 2012; Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Prügl, 2017; Scott-Samuel & Smith, 2015). Some (generally high-income) countries have been able to use extractive industries to catalyze growth, increase

employment, and direct greater investment into health and social services. Other countries, like Zambia, through perverse economic mechanisms have experienced economic underperformance, increased unemployment as non-mining sectors go unsupported, increased inequality, employment volatility, and corruption associated with mining development (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; A. Fraser & Lungu, 2007; Gamu et al., 2015). The impact of these inequalities is experienced at the local scale – manifesting in part as gender inequality.

7.4 Policy Implications

7.4.1 Moving Away from Neoliberal Policy Positions

This research study has implications for policy. Findings are added to significant evidence that insists on a whole-scale ideological shift and the undoing of neoliberal approaches to development. Barring this, efforts should be made to undo policies that institute deregulation, reductions to government spending, market expansion, and privatization (A. Fraser & Larmer, 2010; D. Harvey, 2005). Too many are suffering under the inequality and oppression engendered by the *status quo*.

Though this may be an unrealistic expectation, the Government of Canada could introduce policy changes that would help to mitigate neoliberal harms, rather than perpetuating them. Currently, the Government of Canada holds to a policy position that centres self-responsibilization and turns to the private sector to resolve global challenges (Parisi, 2020; Thomson, 2020). This is a position that dates back to the 1990s, and has been supported by Conservative and Liberal governments alike (Butler, 2015; Tomlinson, 2001). Global Affairs Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy extends this practice, endorsing private enterprise and CSR as a tool to instrumentalize women in service of generating growth (Government of Canada, 2020b; Parisi, 2020; Thomson, 2020).

This study contributes to the ‘gender-washing’ dialogue by exposing ineffective uses of CSR, that includes ineffective voluntary programs and empty gender claims (Walters, 2021). Here we see CSR ineffectively employed by FQM through village banking, and endorsed in the Feminist International Assistance Policy by the Government of Canada (Government of Canada, 2020b). Instead, Canada could follow the example set by Sweden.

Their feminist foreign policy centers domestic and international commitments to change, to gender equality, and to a greater role for public governance (Thomson, 2020). This study also highlights why the Government of Canada should deliver on its long-promised commitment to review its CSR policy, which currently only includes one reference to gender. This review should be conducted in line with the 2009 tabled legislation, An Act Respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries, which centred Canadian responsibility for the corporations it registers (Government of Canada, 2014; K. Keenan, 2013). (Corporate policies could also be reviewed through this lens.)

7.4.2 Attending to Customary Rights

This study draws attention to one place where private governance and policy efforts, on the part of FQM, may play a role – by revising the way in which it chooses to pay its employees. Currently, FQM has a policy in place by which the company will hold back a portion of a mine worker’s wages if his wife (from a state-sanctioned marriage) demonstrates family abandonment. This could be extended to consider child support payments after a divorce settlement. Further, both FQM and the Government of the Republic of Zambia could consider customary marriage under the same legal code as state-sanctioned unions, which would expand rights to a much larger group of women (Moore & Himonga, 2017).

These same considerations should be extended to women’s ability to access land. Under statutory law, to account for historical imbalances women now are guaranteed at least 30% of all land allocations. The remaining 70% is to be allocated to both men and women. This does not change the fact that cost remains a barrier for women attempting to buy statutory land. Under customary law, land may be given for free, however, there is no equal provision for women. Decisions are left to the discretion of family and traditional leaders who often decide not to allocate land to married women out of fear it will cause marital strife. The process remains challenging for single women, too, as customary tenure is subject to local practices and beliefs (Government of Zambia, 2014).

7.4.3 Community Recommendations

To reiterate policy recommendations made by Solwezi residents themselves, Kansanshi Foundation could establish a community trust, in line with the program offered by Barrick Gold at Lumwana Mine, which would give decision-making power to Solwezi residents to decide which programs best meet community needs. Further, the Government of Zambia could introduce a revenue sharing law that would require a certain percentage of the tax income collected by the national government to be allocated to the communities which host mines.

7.4.4 Considering the 'Green' Energy Transition

Finally, akin to the work of Schrecker et al. (2018) and others, this study offers a note of caution with regard to the convergence of the economic approach that has expanded the reach and power of extractivism. This exercise attains further significance given the threat of the climate crisis and the rapidly mounting need for more metals to meet the 'green' energy transition (World Bank Group, 2017). Green technologies are highly dependent on the availability of copper, cobalt, and other metals, yet as this research study has demonstrated, women, and local communities more broadly, are often marginalized in this work. Some tools, such as gender and social impact assessments, may draw attention to and help mitigate the ways in which women and communities are marginalized under current practice; however, these assessments are voluntary, limited in their reach, (Götzmann & Bainton, 2021), and do not address the structural inequality inherent in existing economic practice. As the green metals race begins, Thomas Pogge has proposed an alternative to the fiscal regime for mining that is grounded in the use of royalties and corporate taxation. He proposes a "charge for a carefully formulated right of natural-resource extraction." This approach does away with the corporate incentive to hide earnings and encourages a slower sales rate, allowing LMICs to wait until metal prices are higher to maximize their income (a practice employed by OPEC) (Pogge, 2021). Something to consider.

7.5 Limitations and Future Research Directions

There are methodological and substantive limitations to this research study, which open directions for future research.

7.5.1 Limitations

Zambia is a country comprised of 72 language groups, of which English is only one. The primary language spoken in Solwezi is Kaonde, along with its sister languages, Lunda and Luvala. People of Northwestern Province are very proud of their traditional language and were happy to entertain my stumbling efforts to exchange greetings or to ask about the price of tomatoes in Kaonde. I was never capable of having a proper conversation with people in their traditional tongue. Given disparities in education, this meant I was often unable to speak to women, especially in rural regions, where they were less likely to have attended secondary school. This was unfortunate and frustrating for us all and limited my ability to immerse myself in Solwezi culture. I was very fortunate to work with my Kaonde instructor, my driver, my NGO hosts, and Mrs. Peggy Lenge, my community engagement officer/research assistant, and other key informants. All also acted as my language and cultural ambassadors, helping interpret what I was seeing and hearing. Even so, I know I missed a great deal, and was limited when alone to speaking to those fluent in English, who were more likely to be men and in positions of authority. Gender diversity was greater in the health sector, so I was still able to gain many women's perspectives there. However, in my 'deep hanging out' without Peggy, my conversations were restricted to men or women with higher levels of education, which implies more social capital. Interestingly, 74% of sex workers in Solwezi have at least some secondary education, with 40% having completed grade 12 or having attended post-secondary or technical education (Musheke, 2018).

For my interviews I relied on Peggy's personal and professional network and on snowball sampling. This gave me good geographic coverage of the east side of Solwezi, however, I had very little opportunity to meet with those on the west side. The east side is richer, given its proximity to the mine. The west side of the city contains the refugee settlements and Solwezi's largest (and poorest) market. I missed the opportunity to speak to people from these neighbourhoods.

My formal and informal interviews with those in the health care sector were always interesting, in part, because the officials were reluctant to directly attribute health impacts to the presence of the mine. They were careful not to attribute direct causality unless they were very certain of the relationship. This opens up an area of future research, which would explore the connections between mine development, social inequality, and health impacts, using a survey to extend reach. Additionally, investigations into mental health impacts are an area that remains largely understudied (Lee et al., 2019; Mactaggart et al., 2016).

A further limitation is my ethnic, racial, and cultural identity. I am a cultural “other” in this context, representing a colonial history and ongoing dynamic in the form of resource-colonialism. My privilege was a constant, making me ever more grateful to Peggy who opened so many doors for me. At times, I know there were things that went unsaid because of my identity, just as I may have missed and misinterpreted many exchanges because of my cultural background. Again, I am exceedingly grateful to all my key informants who helped me as much as they could to avoid the pitfalls of misinterpretation.

At times, my otherness and outsider status also served as a point of safety, as I was outside of the Solwezi social world. I felt this in particular in my interviews with the sex workers. They seemed comfortable telling me their stories once I made it clear that I held no judgement of anyone’s HIV status. I became aware of this distinction when one of the NGO workers dropped into an interview. Suddenly, conversation became stilted. When the NGO worker left to answer a phone call, conversation flowed, only to become stilted again upon their return.

A further methodological – and substantive – limitation is my focus on women. One of my key informants (a man) asked me in my first weeks why I was focusing on women in this study. I talked about the gap in the research, which he understood, but he, and many others, pointed out that men are suffering, too. In most of my interviews, women would call for ‘empowerment for men.’ This draws attention to the reminder from bell hooks that White feminists are more likely to draw the gender distinction, where much broader attention is needed (hooks, 2000). Despite my efforts to attend to women’s stories, while placing them within a larger conversation about gender, much of the story remains untold.

Finally, I finished my fieldwork in March 2020, at the PDAC convention. In conversations at the event, I joked that we had better be washing our hands frequently. Once home, I learned that there had been a small outbreak of the ‘novel coronavirus’ associated with the event. I was very lucky to have completed my fieldwork before COVID-19 transformed our reality. The world has changed significantly since this pandemic began. I have not been able to return to Zambia to see for myself how it has transformed lives, though I have heard heartbreaking stories from friends and colleagues. Interestingly, FQMs productivity is reported to have increased, though I do not know what this time period has done to employment. I have been in touch with an NGO colleague who is working on a report documenting the effects of the pandemic on Zambian women. It would seem the pandemic has caused poverty to become further entrenched. I do not believe that entrepreneurship is the solution to this challenge.

7.5.2 Future Research

As I engaged in this research, I found myself considering many different avenues of future research. I was intrigued by the idea of family separation, as one. It is known that many men leave their wives and children to go work on the mine sites. I was intrigued to learn more about the experiences of sex-working women, given that more than 65% of sex-working women have at least one biological child (Papworth et al., 2015). Migrant sex-working women’s dual identities as sex worker and mother are rarely interrogated in academic and policy literature, especially in the context of the hypermasculinized extractive industries. As a result, the support structures commercial sex workers need to respond to the challenges they and their children face may be insufficient – or may not exist at all (Gottfried & Chun, 2018; Ma, Chan, & Loke, 2019).

A second area for further research emerged from my interviews with women who were selected to participate in FQM’s trade skills training program, which ended after two years. In some ways, the program achieved what it hoped by giving women the needed skills and the opportunities to achieve financial security previously unconsidered. Further, they achieve a sense of confidence in themselves and their abilities. It has also had farther reaching affects, denoted by changing attitudes towards women and work by men in Solwezi.

Traditionally, men have been the head of the household, but this program and others that have focused on empowering women economically have begun to challenge and transform long held cultural norms. Women in the program also shared how their participation is changing the way they see themselves, which may be stressful as they reckon with both their financial independence and the call of their traditional values. Though women in mining is a topic receiving some research attention, most study efforts are directed towards education and recruitment in HICs. Little attention being given to the cultural transformations communities experience as they watch women being to work in the sector, or to women's changing sense of self as they spend more time in a highly masculinized environment, particularly in LMICs (Lee et al., 2019).

A third area for research—and action—is in the realm of governance tools. Gender impact assessment, social impact assessment more broadly, and health impact assessment all remain important governance tools to anticipate and mitigate broader mining effects. However, these directives are often relegated to sub-sections of impact assessment legislation (Bhatia & Wernham, 2008; Fehr, 2014; Harris, Viliani, & Spickett, 2015; Morgan, 2012). The authorities currently responsible for mitigation efforts may lack the expertise to monitor whether social and health mitigation strategies or gender equity measures are being effectively implemented (IGF, 2019). As is currently legislated in Zambia, impact assessments have not given sufficient attention to issues like population displacement, internal migration, the spread of infectious diseases around mines, including the major killers of malaria, TB and HIV, growing inequality, housing constraints, and livelihood impacts that are exacerbated by mines (Kesselring, 2017; Ministry of Health, 2018; Musheke, 2018; Negi, 2014). There is evidence that demonstrates how more rigorous gender, social, and health impact assessment processes could yield further improvement to community outcomes (Götzmann & Bainton, 2021; Knoblauch et al., 2018; Parsons, Everingham, & Kemp, 2019).

This research taught me that all future studies would benefit from a framing that considers the political economy of health, which understands health and wellbeing to be the function of the political, economic, social, and cultural contexts in which social inequality, exclusion, and oppression are experienced. A political economy approach is necessary because attention must be held on the need for structural, as well as local, change. Under

current practices, women's so-called empowerment is being instrumentalized in the service of a system that benefits the few and causes great harm to the many. Nearly 60% of Zambians are living on less than \$2/day, even as foreign shareholders in Canadian-registered companies benefit from the wealth generated by Zambia's copper. The *status quo* is not working; entrepreneurship is not the solution. Alternative livelihoods need to be considered and public governance needs to be restored.

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Appendix A Interview and Focus Group Guide

Interviewee:

Date:

Study Overview

Ethics/Consent Form

Tell me a little bit about yourself. How long have you been in Solwezi, etc.
(Basic demographics: work, education, marriage, children, when you lived previously, etc.)

Solwezi and the surrounding areas have changed a lot over the years. Could you tell me about how mining has changed things in Solwezi and beyond?
(Positive impacts, challenges, cost of living, more single men, changing behaviours? Access to work? Access to education? Impacts on families and children? Effects on the local community? Access to health services?)

Specifically thinking about women's health, what kinds of changes have you experienced?
What kind of changes have you seen?

When I look around Solwezi I see that some people are doing very well, while others are struggling. What can you tell me about how certain people are doing in Solwezi versus others?
(Work, opportunities, education, housing, health care, etc.)

Tell how you think mining development has changed things for women and girls in this region?
(Health issues, sex work, women's ability to participate in local decision making, changes in the treatment of women?)

I'm wondering about changing ideas about women's equality and empowerment in Zambia. Do you think things are changing? How? Has it changed things in your homes?
(Education? Income generation? Changing household dynamics?)

What would you like to see that could improve the lives of more people? What would be your ideal vision for Solwezi? What would you like to see change?
(By the mining company? By government? By community?)

(Questions relevant to the particular respondent's life experience, e.g. work, family, migration patterns, education, etc.)

Is there anything else you think I should know?

Thank-you.

Honorarium.