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Review

Mining enterprise and partnerships for socio-economic development

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Partnerships are emerging as important for the business operations of mining enterprises in many parts of the world, particularly in the global South. During 2010, the London-based International Council on Mining and Minerals launched a global initiative which is geared to strengthen the contribution of mining to development goals and poverty reduction by promoting multi-stakeholder partnerships. The purpose of this article is to furnish a critical review of relevant international experience of partnerships between mining companies and governments. These partnerships are considered to represent innovative cooperation models for economic development (especially diversification) and service delivery. It is argued that whilst partnerships represent an aspect of good business practice for mining enterprises, partnerships are not a panacea and in certain situations may not be an appropriate model for delivering results. In light of the significance of socio-economic development in sub-Saharan Africa, and of the potential for expansion of mining activities, further research is required concerning the operations of mining enterprises and partnerships in this region of the global economy.

Key words: Mining, business practice, partnerships, socio-economic development, sub-Saharan Africa.

INTRODUCTION

The activities of mining enterprises remain of central importance to socio-economic development in several parts of the world, not least in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Recently, among leading international mining corporations there is a new commitment towards the establishment of partnerships for development (ICMM, 2010a). Initially the partnership concept was recognized during the 1980s "as a promising way of helping local communities cope with problems specific to their area" (OECD, 2001). In response to growing local economic pressures, the public sector, private sector and community-based organizations sought out new means to promote local economic and employment development (World Bank, 2001). Partnerships are defined as collaborations which are formed between the private sector, local governments and/or civil society with a commitment to work together on a project or programme in order to pursue common goals and in which the different partners bring complementary resources, contribute to the design of the programme and share risks and benefits (Stibbe, 2008). The growth of partnerships around mining enterprises is evidenced in the 'Partnerships for Development', a global initiative which aims to strengthen mining's contribution to development goals and poverty reduction through the promotion of multi-stakeholder partnerships (ICMM, 2010b). Significantly, this global initiative is led by the London-based organization the International Council on Mining and Minerals (ICMM), which involves 19 member companies. This important global initiative for promoting partnerships around mining businesses was launched in February, 2010, at the Indaba mining convention which was held in Cape Town, South Africa.

The objective in this paper is to offer a critical review of relevant international experience of partnering or more specifically of the emergence of partnerships between mining companies and governments. These partnerships are considered to represent innovative cooperation models for economic development (especially diversification) and service delivery. Methodologically, the article represents a critical analysis of a range of academic investigations particularly concerning mining business activities in Australia, Canada and sub-Saharan Africa. In particular, this investigation interrogates the recent outputs of research programmes which have been undertaken by the Business Partners for Development Natural

Resources Cluster, the Oil, Gas, Mining and Chemicals Department of the World Bank, and the International Council on Mining and Minerals.

MAXIMISING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF MINING

Considerable controversy surrounds the impacts of mining in developing countries both at national level and for the host communities. On the one hand, there is a school of thought which is pro-mining and stresses variously the positive impacts of mining for downstream local industry, cluster formation, for job creation, for technological advancement, innovation and substantial revenue flows (World Bank, 2002a; Buitelaar, 2001). Mainly, this school of thought bases its arguments that even though the abundance of natural resources is exogenous, natural wealth itself is not and rather depends on other factors, most importantly, the quality of institutions. In Ghana for example, advocates of mining contend that the industry is a star performer and contributes substantially to national development and poverty reduction, pointing to increased FDI flows into the sector, rising mineral output and exports and increased mineral exploration (Akabzaa, 2009).

On the other hand, a second school of writers stress the negative consequences of mining-led development (World Bank, 2002a). Among the most prominent issues are *inter alia*, disadvantages associated with specialization and dangers of vulnerability; the warping of investment policies such that governments end up investing in projects that not only generate low returns but involve large recurrent costs; and, that revenues from mining can finance and fuel internal conflicts within a country. Especially in countries such as the DR Congo with fragile institutions, the mining sector is considered to have generated more misery than wealth for local populations (Mazalto, 2009). Local communities are often compelled to bear the negative social and environmental effects of mining but do not receive much of the revenues from extractive activities (Campbell, 2009a).

Several critical observers draw attention to the 'resource curse' or paradox whereby countries with large endowments of natural resources often suffer from low growth rates, high economic volatility, corruption and sometimes devastating civil conflicts (World Bank, 2002a; Girones et al., 2009). In Africa, much criticism is directed at the fact that mining companies are often granted too many tax subsidies and concessions and that there is a high incidence of tax avoidance by mining companies (Akabzaa, 2009; Campbell, 2009a, b, c). Taken together with inadequate institutional capacity to ensure tax compliance, the result is "to diminish the contribution of mineral resource rents to national development" (Open Society Institute of Southern Africa, 2009). In Ghana, mining skeptics point to the fact that over-bloated tax concessions and incentives to mining investors leave little in the way of retained earnings for visible national development efforts (Akabzaa, 2009).

There is increased consensus that investment in mining and mineral resources does not always guarantee positive social and economic outcomes (ICMM, 2010b). One recent analysis, conducted of 33 mineral dependent countries, showed that while around half of these countries had been "broadly successful" as regards socio-economic development, as judged against a basket of indicators, the other half had performed poorly. Many of these poor performers were exhibiting symptoms of what is sometimes styled as the 'resource curse' (ICMM, 2010b). The resource curse argument is basically that notwithstanding the short-term gains from mining, the long-term consequences may be low or adverse for many countries. This is so because the presence of mining can create incentives for the private sector or governments "that are inimical to the creation of both the appropriate economic institutions and the impulses to modernization that are normally associated with sustainable development" (ICMM, 2006).

From a cross-country investigation of the best and worst performers related to mining and development, the important conclusion emerges that "it is the quality of economic management at large, as well as the competency and independence of institutions that determines whether a country's mining sector can support and enhance economic growth or is instead likely to fuel deterioration" (World Bank, 2002a). Put differently, the contribution of mining to a country's economy "does not take place in isolation, but rather in the overall context of the country's economic management and institutions. It is thus the quality and competency of these policies and institutions that will determine whether a mining sector can promote economic growth or whether revenues generated by the sector might impede development" (World Bank, 2002a).

In an important recent contribution to debates around mining in Africa, the work of Campbell (2009a, b) and her colleagues challenges the emphasis which the World Bank and other international agencies often given to 'internal factors', such as corruption, lack of transparency and 'weak governance', in explaining the disappointing performance of mining for local economies in Africa. Although the importance of these issues must not be downplayed, it is essential that other considerations be taken into account. Campbell (2009a) stresses that an emphasis on issues of corruption or lack of transparency runs the danger of masking the fact that such situations are often facilitated and even perpetuated by relations that are characterized by a lack of transparency which have been initiated by powerful external actors as well as by relations that mining enterprises may establish with certain local decision-makers. The essential argument is thus one of treating the symptoms of a particular politics of mining rather than the relations of influence and the structural conditions that make such dysfunctional processes possible (Campbell, 2009a).

The experience of mineral-led development in countries like Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Madagascar or DR Congo suggests that they lack any cogent programmes for the utilization and integrated development of mineral resources (Belem, 2009; Campbell, 2009c; Mazalto, 2009; Sarrasin, 2009). This lack of institutional framework cannot be attributed simply to internal factors but is considered from a political economy framework to be the outcome of the implementation of a set of mining reforms at the behest of international finance institutions and designed to encourage in the context of global competitive markets 'attractive investment environments' for mining investors (Campbell, 2009a, b). It is argued that a critical factor is the 'paradigm shift' that occurred to the viewpoint that the state should be constrained to the promotion and (weak) regulation of private investment and not be directly involved in the management of mining projects (Akabzaa, 2009).

Although the evidence from some developing countries suggests that mineral development can enhance economic growth and sustain per capita income growth over extended periods of time, less clear is the argument as to whether mining contributes to poverty reduction (ICMM, 2006). It is contended that extractive industries can bring positive development impacts both to countries and affected communities but also have the potential to create or exacerbate vulnerabilities within communities, not least a differential impact upon men and women (Eftimie et al., 2009a, b). Recent World Bank research points to gender biases and risks in mining projects; often with a situation that benefits accrue to men in the form of employment or procurement opportunities whereas the costs of mining projects "such as family and social disruption, and environmental degradation, fall most heavily on women" (Eftimie et al., 2009a). Overall, the World Bank analysis points to the fact that as sustained economic growth is a prerequisite for poverty reduction, mining could be expected to reduce poverty profiles as a whole. Nevertheless, there are several other ways in which mining can assist in poverty reduction which are discernible

i. By the creation of income generating opportunities for the poor directly in mining;
ii. By promoting growth in lateral or downstream businesses;
iii. By acting as a catalyst for infrastructure improvements which are a basis for expanded economic activity and livelihoods of the poor (World Bank, 2002a).

From a political economy perspective, Campbell (2009a, b) and others show that poverty reduction will require the enactment of measures for pro-poor governance, social and environmental protection, and respect for human rights. In one critical investigation of Ghana, these conditions have been found wanting and it was concluded that the generous incentives greatly limited the share of government revenues from mining and corresponding opportunities for government to fund social and development programmes. Indeed, this study showed that mining had not fulfilled its poverty reduction role and that poverty reduction was not mainstreamed into mining policies (Akabzaa, 2009). Considerable importance was attached to the nature of existing mining codes which were silent on measures that might be required to effectively deliver benefits to local communities impacted by mining, to protect the physical environment and protect the rights of vulnerable segments of the population (Akabzaa, 2009).

The detailed evidence from another investigation of four countries – Chile, Ghana, Peru and Tanzania – on the local impacts of mining and poverty reduction confirm mixed findings on the links between mining and poverty indicators. Uneven performance was recorded in terms of the status of local development and diversification with significant levels of local procurement and supplier upgrading recorded in Chile, but limited procurement locally in other cases (ICMM, 2006). The ICMM (2006) concluded that with regard to economic diversification and the long-term sustainability of communities after mine closure "the picture is somewhat discouraging, except in the case of Chile". Outside of Chile, the cross-country studies reveal limited evidence of planning by mining firms in partnership with other stakeholders to consider issues related to a post-mining economy (ICMM, 2006). In Tanzania, for example, it was found "arrangements necessary to support local economic development and economic diversification including the long term sustainability of mining communities when mines close – remain incomplete" (ICCM, 2007: 12). Even for Chile, however, the picture is not conclusive. Aroca (2001) looking at Chilean II region points to the fact that the mining sector "is not important in terms of the backward and forward linkages in the region" and that the mining sector operated largely independent of the rest of the regional economy (Aroca, 2001).

An important observation is that the lack of diversification in most developing world countries "may be a reflection of a lack of guidelines and available techniques to assess whether mining communities are viable after local mines shut, and how the closure process should be managed" (ICMM, 2006). One recent World Bank (2009) investigation argues fundamentally that in "the absence of adequate planning and mitigation measures" the impacts of resource extraction in local communities can have persistent and adverse effects. In particular, it is stressed that the closure phase of a mine must be understood as a sustainable development issue (World Bank, 2009). The general conclusion from the international experience is that planning for the socio- economic impact of mining should commence at the time that the mine opens (Kuyek and Coumans, 2003). Further, the integration of mining projects into wider regional development planning "can be an effective way to reduce the

the dependency of a region on the mine and can set a better framework for delivery of social services such as health and education" (World Bank, 2009). The case of Canada is instructive for a country which has an extended record of dealing with the revitalization of mining dependent communities and recently has adopted the approach that mining companies operating in remote areas should not build company towns any longer. Instead, the emphasis is upon encouraging long distance commuting by workers either by car or on fly-in – fly-out arrangements to stay in only in temporary camps rather than in established mining settlements (Kuyek and Coumans, 2003).

Notwithstanding the somewhat special Canadian case, the ICMM (2006) asserts that closure issues ideally should be considered with local and regional governments from the mine planning stage and updated regularly thereafter. In a recent ICMM publication, it was asserted that there is a need "to consider closure as a core part of our business" and that the "integration of closure considerations into an operation's planning and engineering processes is an important mechanism for a mine to create lasting value" (ICMM, 2011a). A similar position is offered from the World Bank's international review on mine closures. It was considered that in order to be fully effective the process of planning for mine closure should commence at the mine design stage (World Bank, 2002b). The significance of well planned mine closure is that it represents a bridge to "transfer capital extracted from mining to generations to come, thus achieving benefits for today's mining communities and countries that will be sustainable in the future" (World Bank, 2002b).

In addition to limited long-term closure planning, the ICMM (2008b; 2010c) is critical of the disappointing record related to local and regional economic development. In Peru the evidence pointed to a conclusion that regional development plans appear to be largely absent or dated". In addition, there was an uneven engagement of mining companies in enhancing local content to grow local economies (ICMM, 2008b). Overall, the four country case studies "reveal much investment in interesting individual projects but little evidence of consistent planning by mining firms and other stakeholders (including local and national government) to consider a future for local economies after mining" (ICMM, 2006).

Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that the resource curse is not inevitable and that large-scale mining projects can provide an important and sometimes critical boost for economic growth in developing countries as well as help them reduce poverty and engage in the international economy (World Bank, 2002a; ICMM, 2006, 2008b). As Buitelaar (no date) argues in respect of Latin America, "there is nothing intrinsic in mining that hinders it to be an engine of economic and social development in the region". A search for ways to enhance or maximize the social and economic contribution of mining, however, is critical (ICMM, 2010b, 2010c).

One pivotal finding from a range of international studies is that "the most important determinant of whether mining will contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction is the overall governance framework" (ICMM 2010b). 'Policy reform' for the development of mining operations is thus an essential step (World Bank, 2003).

Once again, a simplistic view of this as internal issue is challenged from the political economy perspective used by Campbell (2009b) which stresses that current attention devoted to 'capacity building for resource governance' in developing countries sidesteps the critical point that past policy reform measures in Africa which sought to open up the extractive sectors for investment, have done so in ways that have severely weakened the political and institutional capacity of national governments. It is stressed that there is frequently a lack of capacity to enforce regulations, and that to limit reforms, the questions of 'better norms and standards' is not sufficient as a means to ensure that the mining sector serves as a lever of development, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. What is required, it is argued, is "the need to introduce more appropriate legal, fiscal and regulatory frameworks for mining and to do this from a developmental perspective" (Campbell, 2009b). Three core areas for improvement relate to pro-poor public and corporate governance, including proactive planning to maximize poverty alleviation through sustainable development; more effective social and environmental policies; and respect for human rights.

It would be cautioned therefore that "enhancing the positive social and economic contribution from mining is not always easy: it depends on sound governance on the part of public sector agencies and, in regions where governance is weak, on proactive collaboration between companies and other stakeholders to help build adequate capacity to generate benefits at community and national levels" (ICMM, 2010c).

One critical finding from cross-country international research is that "more collaborative action and stronger partnerships between mining companies, government, civil society organizations and donors are needed to unlock the full potential of mineral wealth" (ICMM, 2008a).

As a whole, the development of, "more partnerships between companies and other stakeholders, can be the most effective way to strengthen mining's social and economic contribution (ICMM, 2010c)".

The ICMM has set down a set of 10 sustainable development principles for its members. Of these principles, five are of special relevance to mining partnerships:

i. **Principle 1:** Implement and maintain ethical business practices and sound systems of corporate governance.
ii. **Principle 2:** Integrate sustainable development considerations within corporate decision-making.
iii. **Principle 3:** Uphold fundamental human rights and respect for cultures, customs and values in dealing with

employees and others affected by mining activities.

iv. **Principle 9:** Contribute to the social, economic and institutional development of communities.

v. **Principle 10:** Implement effective and transparent engagement, communication and independently verified reporting arrangements with stakeholders (ICMM 2010a: 3).

PARTNERSHIPS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN MINING

It is made clear that the achievement of positive outcomes linked to mining projects is often, if not always, beyond the control of mining companies themselves. For example, in Tanzania it was concluded that "mining companies can only do so much on their own to address the inherent social tensions and economic rifts that a major new investment may create" (ICMM, 2007). Accordingly, it is contended that partnerships between companies, (local and national) governments, development agencies and civil society "can help fill capacity and governance gaps where necessary and help to expand, broaden and deepen the overall socio-economic contribution from mining" (ICMM, 2010b). It is stressed also that such "partnerships can drive progress on issues that companies acting alone may not have the capacity or mandate to address" (ICMM, 2010b). Accordingly, the ICMM asserts that mining companies can contribute towards addressing governance gaps through getting involved in multi-stakeholder partnerships of various kinds (ICMM, 2010c). The ICMM seeks to encourage stakeholders to join together across a number of different issues which affect mining's contribution towards socio-economic development (ICMM 2010b, c, 2011b).

The 'partnership' model in the mining sector has its origins in the work of the Business Partners for Development Natural Resources Cluster which produced a series of working papers on the need for "tri-sector" partnerships between corporations, government and civil society (Warner 2000; Davy, 2000, 2001a, b; Warhurst, 2000; Warner, 2002). Tri-sector partnerships were considered to offer a 'new model' for converting the wealth generated by the private sector in developing countries into sustainable local development" (Warner, 2000).Within the mining sector, it was stated that the tri-sector partnership for 'smarter' social investment represented a "new type of product – a unique set of relationships that if properly maintained can increase rates of investment return, create social capital, and produce a continuous set of benefits" (Warner, 2000). Tri-sector partnerships could link to a number of issues including improved revenue management or strengthening "the capacity of municipal authorities to deliver improved pubic services in line with growing local expectations" (Warner, 2000: 4). Importantly, it was recognized also that the nature of partnerships would vary across different operational phases of a mining project from exploration to de-commissioning. The World Bank (2002b) considers that mine closure processes represents "a prime example of how the new model of trilateral dialogue and cooperation that has been emerging in the mining industry can reduce costs and enhance results for all parties involved".

Another key finding has been that whereas independent social investment activity by a mining enterprise might help to gain a 'social license' to operate, working through a partnership offered a better prospect for long-term sustainability (Davy, 2000). Furthermore, with the building of understanding and trust, partnerships have the potential to create a wider distribution – geographical and social – of the benefits of mining (Davy, 2000). A further advantage of partnerships is their potential to leverage additional resources that cover a wider spatial area than the mine project 'footprint'. Partnerships could also result in better management of community expectations linked to and triggered by mining projects (Davy, 2001a). Monitoring of partnerships and their progress was considered a vital aspect of such arrangements (Warner, 2002).

Six priority themes are identified by the ICMM (2006, 2010b) in respect of contemporary mining and partnerships. Key elements of these six different priority themes are examined further.

Mining and poverty reduction

The ICMM (2010c) defines poverty reduction as activities that seek to promote growth and reduce the level of poverty in a community, a group of people or country, through economic and social policies and programmes where possible in line with the Millennium Development goals. It is stressed that this might encompass "strategies to create jobs and micro-enterprises and increase access to basic goods and services for economically marginalized groups" (ICMM, 2010c). As in much of the developing world, mining occurs in remote areas, where subsistence agriculture may be the only alternative form of livelihood opportunity, partnerships for agricultural development are important as also are investments in areas such as health, education or basic service provision.

In respect of addressing poverty reduction, four main opportunities are identified. First, to explore mining industry input into the development of poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP). The World Bank's 'Poverty reduction strategies source book' for governments contains specific guidance on mining. Nevertheless, there are very few examples either of governments actively consulting the mining industry in the development of a PRSP, or the mining industry proactively offering its input. Second is to learn from artisanal and small scale mining (ASM) engagement. ASM plays a pivotal role in alleviating poverty in many rural regions of the developing world. A set of guidelines to assist large-scale mines in their relationships with small-scale mine operations is available and stresses the need for a mutually beneficial engagement between mining companies and ASM operators. A third opportunity for poverty reduction is to learn engagement with 'indigenous people' such as Aborigines in Australia or native Indians in Latin America (Altman, 2009a, b). The fourth critical issue relates to poverty reduction, which relates to ameliorating the negative environmental consequences of mining operations (Belem, 2009). In many African countries, surface mining results in the alienation of large tracts of land from communities which deprives poor and marginalized communities of their land surface rights and as a result, deprives communities of their sources of livelihood. Often, this is accompanied by social upheavals and population relocations (Akabzaa, 2009).

In summary, large mining companies can make a major contribution to reducing poverty among some of the most economically marginalized communities in the world. For mining companies, the central challenges are to understand poverty in their area of operations, to participate in development dialogues and to support local capacity building in projects and programmes that assist towards poverty reduction. For governments the challenges of such partnerships are to integrate mining into broader poverty alleviation strategies and to acknowledge mining's potential contribution to poverty reduction. Further, there is the obligation on national governments to seek to promote governance that is in the interests of the poor with regard to mining activities as a whole (Belem, 2009; Campbell, 2009b). In respect of the critical challenges around the environment, the key is to ensure a framework of mining legislation which ensures protection of the environment (Campbell, 2009a).

Mining and economic development – revenue management

The ICMM (2010c) defines revenue management as steps that companies can proactively take to ensure effective use of mining revenues, particularly at a sub-national level. This may involve support for government capacity building and technical assistance projects, or revenue transparency projects. It is argued from experience in Ghana that ultimately, the ability of the minerals sector to contribute to achievement of poverty reduction targets at community level depends on the amount of mineral resource benefits that are retained locally and their prudent management and allocation (Akabzaa, 2009).

With the advance of decentralization in many developing countries, the question of revenue management associated with mining projects becomes of increasing significance. Moreover, it is acknowledged that "without investing in capacity building at local and regional levels, the decentralization process is likely to be ineffective" (ICMM, 2010c). A further factor that moves revenue management up the policy agenda is increasing public debate in many developing countries about revenue transparency and the growing public debates about the management of mining-generated revenues. The promotion of transparency in revenue flows is considered one of the most critical dimensions of pro-poor governance in mining (Campbell, 2009a).

The most promising initiative in revenue management relates to what is styled the extractive industries transparency initiative or EITI. The EITI process, as used for example in Ghana, involves companies providing information about payments made to governments, governments providing information about payments received, and civil society organizations monitoring the process independently and later producing a report which indicates any discrepancies between the two sets of data (ICMM, 2010c). The Ghana initiative has received broad acclaim as 'good practice' and has achieved greater transparency in revenue management, particularly at national scale. In particular, the Ghana example of EITI is gaining strength as a trilateral partnership model for revenue transparency. With administrative decentralization, a challenge remains for the EITI to improve the transparency of revenue management at sub-national spheres of government. One promising initiative is from Peru, where a company's foundation (the Antamina mining fund) has supplied managers to the offices of local and regional authorities in order to furnish technical assistance for managing revenue flows from mining (ICMM, 2008b).

As a whole, revenue management appears to have particularly significant scope for further action. Nevertheless, it is recognized as one of the most complex and politically delicate areas for action due to the fact that it is difficult for private companies to appear to influence a host country's decisions on public expenditure. One other 'good practice' has been drawn from the experience of the oil company, BP, in Azerbaijan, where the company leveraged existing government relationships in the country by providing technical assistance, initially on a very low-key basis by hosting meetings of experts and academics for government ministers in relevant departments.

Mining and economic development – regional development planning

In one recent contribution, 'regional development planning' was described as "an approach to making long-term plans for a country's regional development, which links feasible private sector initiatives in support of coherent and integrated, productive and social infrastructure to enable economic diversification of the region" (Essex et al., 2010). This issue is highly relevant to mining companies and governments for several reasons (ICMM, 2010b). First, because mining makes major infrastructure investments that have the potential to provide wider benefit, if planned and designed in line with regional needs. Second, that unless efforts are made to diversify the local and regional economy, mining companies can create a situation of 'cultures of dependency', which leads to problems following mine closure.

It is recognized that mining companies have an opportunity to engage in regional development planning processes either as participants or as initiators. In relation to the first category (mining companies as participants), in theory, there is a common interest in regional development planning between regional governments, domestic civil society organizations, donor agencies and mining companies. In practice, however, there are many obstacles to overcome if the planning exercise is to be effective. In relation to the second category of mining companies initiating regional development plans, there is scope, in theory, for mining companies to have more influence over the process of regional planning, though in practice this objective would need to be balanced with that for local communities to feel a sense of ownership over the plan. Three broad different 'models' of good practice are differentiated relating to mining enterprises and regional development.

The first relates to the Australian experience and of comprehensive agreements negotiated between mining companies and Aboriginal peoples. The Australian record is important as internationally mining companies have a poor reputation for engaging with 'indigenous peoples' or lack experience in this area (Brereton, 2010). There is a rich and important literature that has documented the changing relations between mining companies and Aboriginal Australia over what Altman (2009a) describes as 'contestation over development'. Concern exists over the 'paradox of plenty' (a parallel with the resource curse thesis) whereby the existence of poverty in Aboriginal communities sits amidst the 'plenty' of mining booms in Australia. The work of O'Faircheallaigh (1995) records the growing involvement of Australian Aboriginal communities in negotiating mineral agreements with mining companies and state agencies and points to the critical questions of the bargaining of communities linked to land ownership and to community capacity to mobilize such leverage. The ICMM (2010c) considers Australia a fertile base for models relating to regional development plans as agreements between Aboriginal communities and mining tend to be comprehensive and contain a shared long-term vision for local area development which is acceptable to both communities and mining enterprises. Many of these agreements are strengthened by a tripartite element, where the regional government is a signatory or observer of the process.

Other researchers are less positive and consider the developmental outcomes of such major agreements made in Western Australia, Queensland and Northern Territory as "disappointing" (Altman, 2009b). Attention is drawn variously to the continued "distributional equity" (Martin, 2009), the limits of 'indigenous entrepreneurialism' (Holcombe, 2009; Buultjens et al., 2010), "structural constraints" on sustainable regional development (Taylor and Scambary, 2005), and the fact that dependence on the state by Aboriginal communities "remains high and indicators have improved marginally at best" (Altman, 2009b). Trebeck (2009) highlights the significant finding that, in situations where there exist differences between mining companies and communities, "the state proves itself a poor mediator between company behaviour and the desires of local communities".

A second 'model' in relation to regional development planning is where a mining company has proactively approached a municipality and the local private sector with a view to establishing a local or regional development agency. The agency is constituted as an independent body which carries out research and implements projects on behalf of all local stakeholders, to identify opportunities for economic diversification in the area. In Brazil and Argentina, Anglo Ashanti has helped to establish and provide support to regional development agencies which have been important actors in respect of galvanizing economic diversification in their area of operations, more especially after mining operations ceased.

A third model for regional development is collaboration between a mining company and a donor organization. The experience of both Madagascar and Ghana shows the possibilities for partnerships for regional development between donor organizations and mining enterprises. The ICMM (2010b) draws particular attention to the example of Madagascar where a port was built on a public/private partnership basis, with ownership transferring to the national government post-closure.

This is considered to be "an extremely unusual but potentially highly effective model" (ICMM, 2010c), more especially as it involved the World Bank lending directly to a company (mining enterprise) rather than to a government.

Overall, therefore, in respect of regional development and mining, for mining companies the opportunities are threefold: to link mine infrastructure to wider regional planning, to participate in sub-national development planning; and to sponsor initiatives for economic diversification. Correspondingly, for governments, the challenges are to engage corporate participation in regional planning, to identify opportunities for economic diversification, and to establish or support regional or local development agencies, including those which might be business-led. The World Bank (2002b) stresses the importance of regional development planning in the con-text of mine closure preparation and planning. It is stated that by adopting a larger regional planning perspective – beyond that of the mine per se, stakeholders can "examine options and opportunities whereby the mining operation and its investments in human capital and infrastructure, can help meet broader development needs and create a springboard for growth in preparation for the post-closure situation" (World Bank, 2002b). Lastly, in terms of regional planning, from recent experience in Latin America there is identified the imperative to improve the

the competiveness of the mining industry through enhancing the local business environment through better coordination of local and regional public institutions related to mining (Buitelaar, no date).

Mining and economic development – ‘growing’ local content

Although, mines are often the key economic engines of communities in which they are situated, often, the positive impacts for local communities are extremely limited due to limited spillover and multiplier impacts (World Bank, 2010). It is evident, however, that with the adoption of appropriate local economic development interventions, mining projects can bring far more than simply direct opportunities to local communities. Critically, the World Bank (2010) asserts that for the mining industry, a successful local economic development programme would improve community and employee relations, develop and deepen supplier linkages, and reduce dependence of local communities on the mine for long term economic and social well being. In addition, partnerships around local economic development can foster the growth of ‘social capital’. Over time, as a result of the consolidation of social capital “local communities can learn how to organize, how to negotiate, and how to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the mining operations to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps” (World Bank, 2002c: v).

The ICMM (2010c) considers ‘enhancing local content in the context of large-scale mining’ to refer to the sourcing of labour, materials, goods and services from small businesses and communities close to a mine site (where the exact geographical boundaries of what constitutes ‘local’ is agreed on a site-by-site basis in consultation with communities). In order to enhance local content, different partnerships are often required to ensure that local labour, materials, goods and services meet the necessary quality standards for large-scale mining companies (ICMM, 2009). Several opportunities for synergistic mutual partnerships are recognized in respect of enhancing local content. Especially in the developing world, questions of local economic development are viewed as of critical importance, particularly in the current global economic downturn. Local economic development is an issue considered also to be one of growing interest to business associations.

An array of different interventions has been identified that mining companies can make to enhance their supply chains, increase local procurement and expand the pool of skilled local employees. The argument of ICMM (2010c) is that these positive LED injections “can be most effectively undertaken in partnership with donors, local consultants and/or government agencies, technical colleges and social organizations”.

First, collective action can be taken between mining companies on enterprise development, local procurement and employee training. South Africa is cited as offering ‘best practice’ in this regard with the mining supplier park development initiative which involves Lonmin, Anglo Xstrata and Impala working since 2008 with the International Finance Corporation (IFC) in a joint effort to build two supply parks, in North West and Limpopo provinces to create approximately 4 000 new jobs (Sanchez, 2009). This is an example of a business/government coalition to build the capacity of the supplier base for the mining industry (Invest North West, 2010). The North West mining supply park is designed to house companies that supply goods and services to the mines in the region while “offering opportunities for local partnerships and transformation” (Platinum Trust of South Africa, 2010). Supplier enterprises from Gauteng are to be encouraged to establish subsidiaries in these mining suppler parks with the attraction of business opportunities from major mining players in the region (Sanchez, 2009). It is considered that this project affords “suppliers/vendors with a powerful marketing and manufacturing platform” offering cost savings through development of a specialized cluster of activities. The development of this platinum mine supply park in Rustenburg is being undertaken by the Bonjanala District Municipality and the Rustenburg Municipality and is coordinated by Invest North West Planning (Platinum Trust of South Africa, 2010). According to Sanchez (2009) the planning is for the first of the mining supply parks to be fully operational by 2011.

Secondly, it is recognized that in an increasingly capital-intensive mining economy, whilst the opportunities for direct job creation in mining might be constrained, the potential for indirect job creation, either through the company’s supply chain or via dedicated enterprise development initiatives, can be significant. The ICMM (2010c) applauds the Anglo American Anglo-Zimele initiative as a positive model in enterprise development with large indirect job creation spin-offs. The Anglo-Zimele initiative encompasses the establishment of an array of support programmes (include finance) for black-owned SMMEs that might be engaged in procurement for the supply chains of mining enterprises (Anglo-American South Africa and the International Finance Corporation, 2008; Anglo-American South Africa, 2008, 2009; Sanchez, 2009; Anglo-American South Africa, 2010). In similar initiatives undertaken in Chile and Ghana, mining companies are engaged in partnering with donors and others to transfer business skills in order to strengthen local SMME development through, for example, a range of business linkage initiatives.

Thirdly, the pursuit of an integrated approach towards increasing local content is a further dimension of enhancing local development impacts. In Canada, the Diavik Diamond Mine in North West Territories is identified as a potential innovative best practice as this mine applied an integrated approach to local training, employment and procurement. This was an element of five partnership agreements which were negotiated with neighbouring Canadian indigenous communities. These agreements were made prior to the mine's construction and were to provide communities and the mine with a basis upon which to build their relationship as the project progressed from construction to operation (ICMM, 2010c). Overall, the plans formalize commitments made between the mine and were "undertaken in collaboration with a number of local partners, including government authorities and representatives of indigenous groups" (ICMM, 2010c). A commitment made to local training, local hiring and expanding local business opportunities was at the heart of the mine's operations from the outset. As an outcome of this integrated approach, 70% of the mine's procurement is regional, with a consistently high level of spending undertaken with local Aboriginal businesses, and of outsourcing 50% of the mine's workforce requirements to local and regional businesses.

A second example is offered from Ghana in the work of Newmont in establishing a linkage programme around Ahafo mine in order to maximize the business opportunities for local SMMEs as well as more broadly to seek means to increase local incomes. Among important aspects of this particular programme, was support for development of direct local suppliers to the mine; improvement in the competitiveness of local non-mining businesses in order to develop a diversified local economy outside of mining; and, improvement in the capacity of local business institutions and associations to support long term business development.

Mentoring is a vital element of the Newmont programme for linkage development and business development. Another example of innovative approaches is from Peru, where a local large mining enterprise is engaged in building the capacity of local agricultural producer to supply products to the mines canteen as well as to local hotels and restaurants (World Bank, no date).

Fourthly, in enhancing local economic development impacts through local content it is pointed out that in remote areas, often it is difficult to identify capable local partners which "can work with mining companies to increase local capacity and provide training". In this regard, the role of technical and training colleges can be important and the ICMM (2010c) draws attention to examples of partnerships between mining enterprises and technical training institutions in remote mining areas of Canada and Peru, which includes using mobile units for training in remote communities.

The opportunities for mining companies to enhance local content are essentially related to two themes. First is for innovative individual initiatives for expanded procurement from local suppliers, including through support for training, finance and mentorship of local enterprises. Second is for partnerships that go beyond individual initiative and involve wider collaboration with other mining firms in order to promoter a critical mass in terms of market opportunities for supplier enterprises to mining enterprises. For sub-national and local governments, the challenges are to deepen business development support to the mining supply chain and to improve the local business environment for private sector supply chain development.

Above all, important lessons concerning opportunities and challenges around mining and local economic development emerge from the World Bank's (2002c) analysis of experience in both developed and developing countries. Two key lessons must be highlighted:

i. It was concluded that for local benefits to be sustainable the key factor was that of extended outsourcing with many goods and services needed by mining companies provided by local communities. In many successful cases mining enterprises play an active in improving the quality of goods and services that their suppliers provided.
ii. A legal license to operate a mine is considered insufficient as it is averred that mining enterprises also must earn a 'social license' to operate. Ultimately, this is dependent on consultation, participation and strong dialogue and partnerships. The argument is set forth that a mining company that is about to enter a new country or region must ensure that it know about the area's social dynamics and politics.

A commitment by the company to the development of the country and region is important and the "earlier the company is perceived and understood as a member of local society, the better" (World Bank, 2002c.

Indeed, the mine enterprise must understand that the responsibility "it is about to assume in the local communities is part of its corporate ethics and that its assistance will strengthen local governance and capability to formulate projects" (World Bank, 2002c).

Mining and social investment

Social investment is defined by the ICMM (2010c) as the provision and use of finance to generate social and economic returns in the local community, typically in the spheres of health, education or housing. It is acknowledged that whilst traditionally social investment was undertaken on an ad hoc or philanthropic basis, many mining companies now adopt an increasingly strategic view of the subject. Mining companies seek to align social investments, whenever possible, with clearly-identified community needs as well as with a long-term view to strengthen community self-governance and build the capacity of local authorities to meet the local needs in order to reduce dependence on the company. That being said, it is evident that in some parts of the world, a philanthropic legacy persists and what is styled as 'social investment' may be seen only as discretionary spending by mining enterprises.

The World Bank in collaboration with the ICMM has produced a community development toolkit which is designed to guide social investment taking place throughout the project cycle of a mine (World Bank, 2005a). Community development is defined as the process of "increasing the strength and effectiveness of communities, improving people's quality of life and enabling people to participate in decision-making to achieve greater control over their lives" (World Bank, 2005a). The toolkit is anchored on the philosophy that 'community development is good for business' and by contributing to local community well-being and development, the benefits to mining companies would be: (1) enhanced reputation; (2) improved access to new mineral resources; and (3) easing approval processes and assisting in dispute resolution as better relations exist with local governments (World Bank, 2005a).

At the heart of the World Bank approach is an acknowledgement that the most sustainable legacies that mining operations can leave in community development relate to local skills and capacities through the provision of training, education, health and employment programmes for local people.

Overall, the prime aspect of a sustainable community development programme is "that it can survive without input from a mining company, especially after the mining project is finished" (World Bank, 2005a). The message is simply that mining enterprises can support community sustainability through helping "to convert one local asset, nonrenewable natural resource capital, into another local asset, sustainable human and social capital" (World Bank, 2005a).

The World Bank highlights the unique development challenges from the recent Southern African experience as having "pushed the mining industry to pioneer new forms of community engagement and social investment" (World Bank, 2005b: 10). It is added also that this has "given rise to new expectations regarding the private sector's role in the development process" (World Bank, 2005b). Considerable acclaim is given to the new regulatory environment that has been created in South Africa through the combined Mineral Resources and Petroleum Development Act and Mining Charter. Taken together, this has provided a new regulatory framework that obligates the mining industry "to plan and operate in ways that would minimize adverse and maximize positive development impacts" (World Bank, 2005b). Of all the countries in Africa, the World Bank (2005b) considers that South Africa "has been the most explicit in articulating policies and targets relating to social and community development".

Notwithstanding the framework provided by national government, the World Bank identifies correctly the weak spot of local government and the general lack of involvement of local authorities with mining operations "in the planning and implementation of social investments" (World Bank, 2005b). Typically, in Tanzania, the limitations on the direct and indirect local impact of mining operations area are attributed to weak local government capacity (ICMM, 2007). Local governments are acknowledged to be both under-resourced and lacking capacity (World Bank, 2005b). The result has been the establishment of either "inappropriate development projects" or projects that have not addressed the needs of local communities. The World Bank (2005b) makes the significant observation that even in situations when local projects have had a positive impact, "the impact has often not been sustained after the company withdraws from active involvement because there has been no investment in the development of local leadership to manage the initiative" (World Bank, 2005b). In addition, limitations on local initiatives are also the result of the lack of, or poor quality of, development planning taking place at local level. The outcome is isolated pockets of success with little or no relationship to what other development initiatives may be occurring in the wider regional economy. The important policy message is that mining companies should align their social investment plans with local and regional development priorities.

The ICMM (2010c) offers a survey of a number of 'good practice' examples of mining linked to social investment and highlights that the major challenge now is for companies to replicate and scale-up existing programmes. It is suggested that a critical success factor is to identify innovative mechanisms which expand local ownership of projects. For example, local ownership and involvement in a road building project in mining areas of Pakistan was augmented by inviting villagers to donate portions of their land rather than through the purchase or lease of land for roads. Likewise, it is considered that "an effective social investment should be aligned with a clear business need" (ICMM, 2010c). South Africa provides examples of this in terms of the construction and maintenance of health clinics in major labour sending areas which obviously responds to the business need for employees to be in good health. In addition, there are South African cases of clinics going further to drive local development by facilitating the establishment of locally-ru supplier enterprises nearby to the clinic. In the example of a clinic in the Bushbuckridge area, the health facility has stimulated local entrepreneurship to include a nappy manufacturer, a bakery and a car washing enterprise (ICMM, 2010c).

A potential for new forms of partnerships is identified between different industry (including mining) sectors, government and communities. One example of a community health centre in South Africa involves two companies (a mining company and a corporate foundation, named Virgin unite). It is considered by the ICMM (2010c) that there is further scope for fertile collaboration between different industry sectors to collaborate or partner as different industry sectors bring different skills, tools and approaches, and economies of scale can be achieved thus increasing the impact and reducing costs for individual companies. Nevertheless, a critical factor for the establishment and consolidation of such partnerships is a capable local intermediary; in the local South African example, the key intermediary was a dynamic social entrepreneur whose creativity 'made things happen' and who manages the health project (ICMM, 2010c).

Overall, the major opportunity in social investment and community development is that of scaling up projects to support long term poverty reduction and to partner with the relevant agencies that are involved in service delivery. For governments the challenges are to engage with communities, capacity-building and to adopt a long-term approach for successful partnership in social development (ICMM, 2010c). In respect of social investments, there is a wealth of good practice for mining companies to draw from and consolidated, in part, in the World Bank community development toolkit (World Bank, 2005a, b). A major lesson offered by the World Bank (2002c) is that successful community development processes should build up human and social capital which will require management and funding. This is essential, as institutional and organizational weaknesses in local communities represent one of the key bottlenecks for local economic development and community development, and capacity building is a long-term process that can be assisted by social investment (World Bank, 2002c).

Mining and dispute resolution

The sixth and final sphere for partnership development relates to the arena of dispute resolution which is considered to involve "the development of accountability mechanisms for resolving complaints, disputes and grievances" mainly between companies and communities (ICMM, 2011b). The core opportunity is defined as that of establishing grievance mechanisms as an integral part of all stakeholder engagement and community development programmes such as those discussed earlier. It is argued by some observers that a paradigm shift is required, such as mining companies consider their operations from the standpoint of how they affect the local community and that they – the mining enterprise – are 'guests'. This type of mindset shift would demand the establishment of effective grievance procedures "as a central element of ensuring that communities feel satisfied with a company's presence" (ICMM, 2010c).

CONCLUSION

It is evident from this critical review that questions related to partnerships and mining have been on the international policy agenda for at least the past decade. An emerging consensus is that whilst there are certain common lessons that apply to all mining operations – such as the significance of transparency and of developing appropriate partnerships – it must be acknowledged that "each mine has its own historical, social, cultural and geo-graphical characteristics that preclude the use of a one-size-fits-all prescription" (World Bank, 2002c). Another important observation from the rich cross-country comparative investigation sponsored by the ICMM is that "partnerships are not a panacea" or magic bullet and that "there are times when partnerships are not appropriate as a model for delivering results" (ICMM, 2010c). Accordingly, it is appreciated that 'responsible business practices' remain critical for mining companies to enhance their contributions to socio-economic development. From a political economy perspective, however, it would be reiterated that the activities of partnerships must be set within an institutional context in which national government supports pro-poor governance, including proactive planning and management designed to maximize poverty alleviation, the enactment of effective social and environmental policies and respect of human rights (Campbell, 2009a, b).

Overall, in terms of the six different priority areas for partnerships, the international experience points to relatively more current partnership activity in the spheres of enhancing local content or addressing poverty reduction and much less in revenue management or dispute resolution. Notwithstanding the broad range of partnership activities and of identification of 'good practice', it is cautioned that "partnerships still remain the exception rather than the rule" (ICMM, 2010c). In order to assist the broader advance of the partnership model, it is necessary therefore to expand awareness of the approach of partnerships both through the development of toolkits to facilitate partnership replication and to expand the quality of available information on partnerships (World Bank, 2005a, b). In view of the importance of socio-economic development in sub-Saharan Africa, and of the potential for expansion of mining activities, further research is required urgently, relating to the operations of mining enterprises and their partnerships in this region of the global economy.

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