# Is Transparency Enough? An Examination of the Effect of the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) on Accountability, Corruption and Trust in Zambia

Main Research Question: How does EITI compliance affect governance in the extractive industries, and why?

**Sub-question:** How (if at all) has the EITI affected the ability of civil society organisations to improve copper governance issues in Zambia, and why?

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# **Student Support Unit**

This candidate is dyslexic.
Please refer to the guidelines on marking which can be found in the Handbook for Examiners.

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## **Abstract**

The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) is the leading global transparency standard for the extractive industry (EI). It aims to improve governance standards in the EI, by providing a public platform for information sharing and multi-stakeholder dialogue. However, the success of the initiative has been brought into question by numerous scholars. This dissertation aims to shed new light on this work by presenting a unique analytical framework, based on Mackie's idea of INUS conditions. The framework hypothesises that improved transparency, through the EITI, can lead to improved EI governance: increased accountability, reduced corruption and increased trust. However, this improvement of governance can only take place when combined with three scope conditions: 1) transparency condition, 2) publicity condition, and 3) accountability condition. The dissertation applies this framework to the single case study of Zambia, and finds that the EITI has failed to meaningfully improve these three governance outcomes in the EI in Zambia. The dissertation argues that the reason for this is that none of the three necessary scope conditions are sufficiently present. The dissertation advocates for policy-makers to support the growth of these three conditions in contexts of poor EI governance, to ensure transparency standards have meaningful impact.

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# List of Abbreviations

Civil Society Organisations: CSOs

Development Agreements: DAs

Extractive Industry: EI

Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative: EITI

Insufficient, Necessary, Unnecessary, Sufficient: INUS

Multi-stakeholder Group: MSG

Political Resource Curse: PRC

Resource Curse: RC

Zambian Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative: ZEITI

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#### 1. Introduction

Extractive industry (EI) governance is a hot topic in both academic research and the public arena (Finér and Ylönen 2017; Hutchens 2016; Washington and Wilkinson 2017). The area that has been most heavily studied in the academic field is the resource curse (RC), which documents the negative effects of dependence on resource-rents in resource-rich developing countries. Rents are the 'super-profits' generated from resource extraction (Moore et al. 2018:98) shown in Figure 1<sup>1</sup> (Hogan and Goldsworthy 2010). These 'super-profits' are termed 'rent' as they are unearned income, generally accrued by the government by nature of the resources being within the state's boundaries. The political strand of this literature (PRC) argues that a strong dependence on resource-rents negatively impacts three governance outcomes: accountability, corruption and trust. However, scholars argue that these governance issues can be improved if transparency is increased, which inspired the creation of the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI). The EITI is a transnational non-governmental organisation which was launched in 2002<sup>2</sup>, with the aim of improving the three EI governance issues outlined above by increasing transparency in the EI (Sequeira et al. 2016). In order to be EITI compliant countries must make key documents and data from their El publicly available and form a multi-stakeholder group (MSG) with members of civil society organisations (CSOs), EI and government representatives to oversee reporting (Sovacool et al. 2016; Sovacool and Andrews 2015)1.

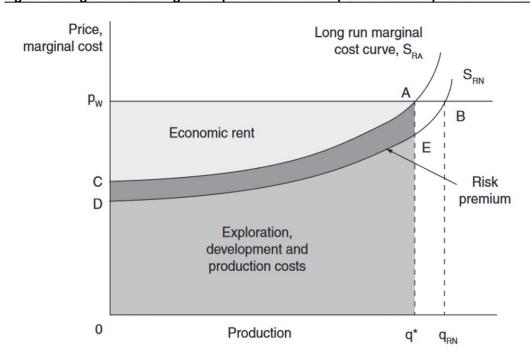


Figure 1: Diagram Illustrating the Super-normal Profits (Economic Rent) Generated from Mining

Source: Hogan and Goldsworthy 2010

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> While mineral extraction carries economic risks, such as commodity price fluctuations and lengthy exploration stages that may not come to fruition, the profits produced are often excessive (Anthonsen et al. 2012; Baunsgaard 2001; Hogan and Goldsworthy 2010; Laporte and de Quatrebarbes 2015; Moore et al. 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> By then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair

The EITI has been marketed by the development industry as the cure for the PRC (Hilson and Maconachie 2008). However, this dissertation presents a theoretical framework, based on Mackie's (1965) INUS conditions<sup>3</sup>, which argues that the EITI will not improve these EI governance issues unless it is combined with three scope conditions<sup>4</sup>: 1) transparency condition (the type, quality and accessibility of the data made available); 2) publicity condition (the capacity of CSOs and civilians to understand and analyse the data presented); and 3) accountability condition, (the availability of platforms of accountability that can be used by CSOs to advocate for change). CSOs play a key role in this process as it is they who generally use the data and act as intermediaries to shape broader trust in government (Grant and Vasi 2017; Muchadenyika 2017; Scholte 2011; Sovacool et al. 2016; Vijge et al. 2019). Hence, the analysis in this dissertation seeks to understand whether and to what extent the EITI has increased the ability of CSOs to hold those in power to account, reduce corruption and increase trust.

This dissertation applies the above framework to the case of Zambia, where mineral extraction, through the mining of copper, has dominated the country's economic and political landscape since colonisation (Aguirre Unceta 2021; Hearson 2021; Jayasinghe and Ezpeleta 2020; Manley 2012, 2013; Munene 2020; Sequeira et al. 2016; Webster 2013). There is a plethora of literature documenting how dependence on copper-rents has led to endemic corruption, limited accountability and severe mistrust in Zambia, which came to a head with the 'Development Agreements' (DAs) scandal (Aguirre Unceta 2021; Carmody 2012; Manley 2012, 2013). In 1997-2003 the Zambian government privatised previously nationally owned copper mines, in a series of secret DAs. The DAs were extremely unfavourable for Zambia and meant that the government received little-to-no taxation revenue from the mines. The DAs 'have never been made publicly available by the Zambian government. However, the agreements with some companies were leaked' (Manley 2013:30). The leaking of these DAs caused public uproar and served as the catalyst for Zambia to join the EITI in 2008. Yet, in the ten years since Zambia became EITI compliant, governance outcomes appear to have worsened (The World Bank 2021a), despite the country being rated "high" by the EITI (EITI 2021). Through interviewing six key-stakeholders of the Zambian EITI (ZEITI), this dissertation argues that the reason for the limited impact of the EITI in Zambia is because none of the three scope conditions listed earlier are sufficiently satisfied.

The dissertation is structured as follows: the following two sections outline the problem narrative of the dissertation. Section 2 outlines RC and Section 3 outlines PRC and presents the three EI governance outcomes highlighted in this literature (accountability, corruption and trust). The remainder of the paper examines the solution narrative. Section 4 outlines the theoretical framework for analysis: that increased transparency improves EI governance, by counteracting the opaque nature of EI. Section 4 then presents three scope conditions (transparency, publicity, accountability) which this dissertation argues must be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> INUS Conditions: Insufficient (alone cannot lead to outcome), Necessary (adds unique element than what other factors add), Unnecessary (there could be other sets of factors that lead to the same result), Sufficient (together, this set of required factors leads to the intended outcome) (Mackie 1965).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'The concept of scope conditions suggests that when formulating general theoretical propositions, scholars may also identify the specific conditions under which they expect these propositions to apply. By doing so, the risk of systematic falsification decreases, and the development of cumulative knowledge becomes possible' (Gauquelin 2021:1).

present for EI transparency initiatives to succeed. Section 5 outlines the methodology used in the dissertation, semi-structured interviews and desk-based research, and their limitations. Section 6 presents the research findings, arguing that the EITI has failed to improve accountability, corruption and trust in Zambia because none of the above conditions have been met. Section 7 is a discussion which compares these findings with those of other authors, followed by the conclusion outlining the impact of this research for policy-makers, CSOs and academics.

#### 2. Problem Narrative: The Resource Curse

The RC term was coined by Auty (1993)<sup>5</sup> to describe the negative economic impact of dependence on resource-rents in resource-rich developing countries. Auty's work was taken further by Sachs and Warner (1995, 1997) through a series of working papers demonstrating a negative relationship between resource 'abundance', defined as a 'high ratio of natural resource exports to GDP' (ibid:2), and long-term economic growth. Since then, RC research has continued, with hundreds of studies of varying complexity. While a limited number of scholars dispute the existence of RC entirely (Gilberthorpe and Papyrakis 2015; Gochberg and Menaldo 2016; Hancock and Sovacool 2018), the vast majority confirm that while there is such a phenomenon, it is contingent on certain variables (Brunnschweiler and Bulte 2008; de. V. Cavalcanti et al. 2011; Fenton Villar 2020; Papyrakis 2017; Stijns 2005, 2006). The three most prominent variables highlighted within this literature are: the type of mineral, the level of democracy and the level of resource dependence. The debate in the literature on all three of these is outlined in Table 1. However, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to fully explore that debate<sup>6</sup>. While early RC studies focused on economic issues, the literature has since branched out into numerous other 'strands', focusing on different outcomes (Hilson and Laing 2017; Manberger and Johansson 2019; Papyrakis 2017; Ross 2013). The strand of RC literature which provides the theoretical grounding for this research is PRC (Fenton Villar 2020), which will be explored in the following section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In an empirical study of six resource-rich developing countries (Zambia, Papua New Guinea, Bolivia, Jamaica, Peru and Chile) (Perkins, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For more information, see: Ades and Di Tella, 1999; Anthonsen et al., 2012; Auty, 1993; Barma et al., 2011; Barma, 2014; Bhattacharyya and Hodler, 2010; Bulte et al., 2005; Busse and Gröning, 2013a; Colgan, 2014; Gurses, 2011; Hancock and Sovacool, 2018; Moore et al., 2018; Oskenbayev et al., 2013; Papyrakis, 2017; Ross, 2009, 2001, 2013; Sachs and Warner, 1995, 1997; Serra, 2006; Treisman, 2007; Tsui, 2011; Wiens et al., 2014.

<u>Table 1: Debate in the RC Literature on Three Most Prominent Variables</u>

Defining Factor	Evidence in favour	Evidence against		
Type of mineral	<ul> <li>Most evidence suggests that oil has the most severe RC impact (Gurses 2011; Hancock and Sovacool 2018; Papyrakis 2017; Ross 2009; Tsui 2011)</li> <li>A more convincing argument is that different minerals lead to different variations in RC symptoms due to the differences in production, geography, market and political economy of each mineral industry (Barma et al. 2011; Bulte et al. 2005; Moore et al. 2018)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Ross (2013) argues that this could be simply due to it being the most heavily studied resource</li> <li>Barma et al. (2011) claims that both oil and mineral wealth are equally destabilising</li> <li>A panel study analysing the effect of different resources on institutional quality in 14 regions of Kazakhstan found that 'it is not the type of natural resources but rather their "overabundant" or excess production' which impacts the RC (Oskenbayev et al. 2013:254)</li> <li>A cross-national study by Ross (2001) found that both oil and mineral wealth negatively impact democratisation</li> </ul>		
Level of democracy	<ul> <li>In a panel study examining corruption, Bhattacharyya and Hodler (2010) found that autocratic countries suffered from the RC, but not democracies</li> <li>Wiens et al. (2014) found that resource dependence prevented autocracies from democratising but had no impact on the level on democracy in already democratic states</li> </ul>	Anthonsen et al. (2012:162) found that governance was negatively impacted by resource rents 'irrespective of [the] level of democracy in a state'		
Level of dependence	<ul> <li>Following Sachs and Warner (1995, 1997) there is general agreement among RC scholars that the level of mineral dependence is an important defining factor in the extent of the curse suffered and the ability to escape it (Anthonsen et al. 2012; Barma et al. 2011; Hancock and Sovacool,2018)</li> <li>Disagreement on how to operationalise the level of resource dependence:         <ul> <li>Auty (1993) defines it as developing countries with 'at least 8% of their GDP and 40% of export earnings from minerals'</li> <li>Colgan (2014) sets it at 10% of GDP, but does not measure exports and neither does Anthonsen et al. (2012)</li> <li>Other studies use exports alone to measure resource dependence (Ades and Di Tella 1999; Busse and Gröning 2013; Serra 2006; Treisman 2007)</li> <li>Hancock and Sovacool (2018) argue that there is no right or wrong measure of resource dependence, but that exports and GDP bring about different symptoms of the curse</li> <li>In order to cover all aspects of the RC this paper measures both GDP and exports, using the original criteria espoused by Auty</li> </ul> </li> </ul>			

Source: Author's own

#### 3. The Political Resource Curse

PRC literature examines the harmful impact that dependence on resource-rents has on the political landscape of a country, the quality of governance and its institutions (Anthonsen et al. 2012; Beck and Laeven 2006; Bulte et al. 2005; Oskenbayev et al. 2013). Studies have used a variety of indicators within PRC literature, however, there are three main aspects of resource governance which dominate the literature: accountability, corruption and trust. These are used to inform the problem narrative of this research. Transparency, in the form of the EITI aims to address these issues, which are now explored in more detail.

#### 3.1. Accountability

PRC literature argues that resource-rents reduce accountability (Anthonsen et al. 2012; Hilson and Laing 2017; Mailey 2015; Ross 2013). Accountability refers to 'the capacity or the right [of the population] to demand answers... [and] the capacity to sanction' (Fox 2007). Resource dependence has been found to reduce accountability for two reasons: 1) resource-rents reduce the government's dependence on the population for taxation revenues and 2) the opaque nature of EI.

#### 3.1.1. Reduced dependence on public taxation

It is argued that the supernormal profits generated from resource-rents create a 'centrally controlled revenue stream' (Mailey 2015:158) for governments, with 'no political conditions attached' (Anthonsen et al. 2012:163). This allows politicians to pursue their interests without needing to collect taxes from the public. Scholars argue this reduces accountability, as the government is less dependent on citizens, so citizens feel less able to make demands on the government, and the government has less incentive to yield to citizen demands<sup>7</sup> (Bates and Donald Lien 1985; Brautigam et al. 2009; Hilson and Laing 2017; Prichard 2016). Prichard (2016:3) provides empirical research to support this claim through a 'detailed cross-country econometric' study which finds that the level of accountability in a country is directly linked to the government's dependence on taxation from the public. However, due to the limited word count of this dissertation this aspect of accountability will not be included in the analysis; it will instead focus on the opacity of the EI as this is the main issue that transparency initiatives such as the EITI aim to address (EITI 2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This argument follows early scholars such as Mahdavy (1970) and Beblawi (1987) who used the term 'rentier state' to describe how oil-rich Arab states used rents to reduce taxation and increase patronage, leading to a reduction in accountability and economic growth.

#### 3.1.2. Opacity of the EI

The second reason for reduced accountability as a result of resource dependence is the opaque nature of business practices in the EI (Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Mailey 2015; Moore et al. 2018). Within the sector, particularly in developing countries, it is common practice for the details of business activities and decisions to be obscured from the public domain, 'and most oil and mining contracts contain confidentiality clauses that prevent the public from accessing crucial information about the deals' (Mailey 2015:159). If citizens cannot hold governments accountable with their taxes, another key mechanism of accountability is voting in elections<sup>8</sup> (Lindstedt and Naurin 2010). However, if key information is hidden, the ability to sanction bad behaviour is greatly reduced (Kolstad and Wiig 2009). Thus, the lack of transparency in the EI leads to reduced accountability in resource-dependent developing countries.

#### 3.2. Corruption

The second governance outcome highlighted in the PRC literature is corruption. This dissertation uses the terms 'corruption' and 'rent-seeking' interchangeably for when government officials or private sector actors seek to capture more than their fair share of resource-rents and use them for personal gain, for example, through political patronage or tax avoidance and evasion. The argument is that the high value of resource-rents during boom times creates greed, and the opacity of El and lack of accountability mechanisms reduce the likelihood of getting caught. These factors create high incentives to capture rents through corrupt practices and use them for personal gain (Fenton Villar and Papyrakis 2017; Hilson and Laing 2017; Mailey 2015; Papyrakis 2017; Ross 2013). There are numerous studies which demonstrate a correlation between levels of resource dependence and corruption (Arezki and Brückner 2011; Busse and Gröning 2013; Leite and Weidmann 1999; Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian 2013). While critical scholars do exist, they tend not to dispute this link between resource-dependency and corruption entirely but rather the conditions under which it is present<sup>9</sup> (Ades and Di Tella 1999; Bhattacharyya and Hodler 2010), putting forward the argument that the lack of transparency and accountability surrounding El in resource-dependent developing countries results in increased corruption.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In democracies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Mainly related to the three variables highlighted earlier: type of mineral, level of democracy and level of dependence.

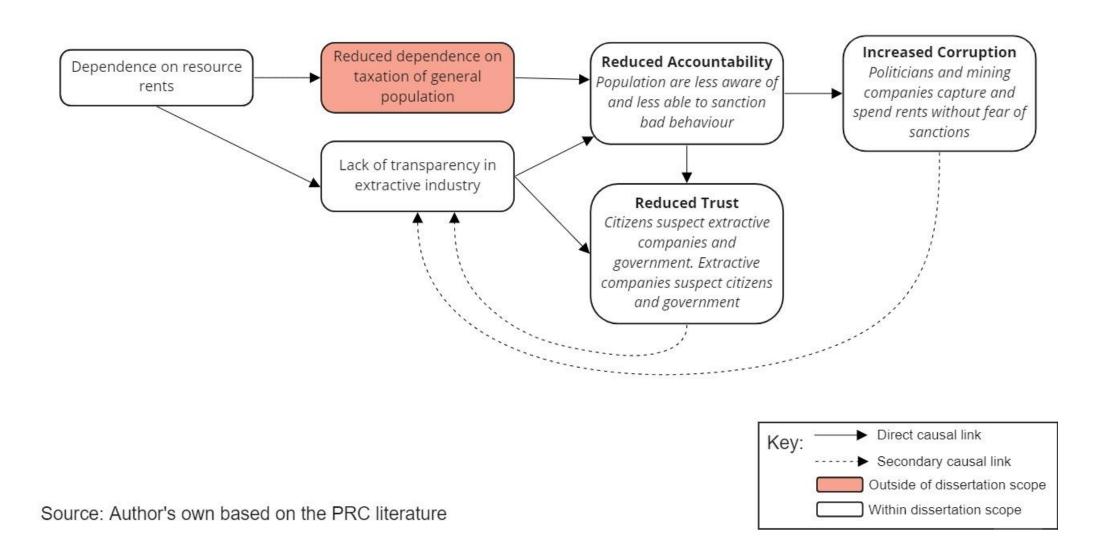
#### 3.3. Trust

The third key governance outcome presented in this literature is reduced trust. Trust is an important governance outcome and indication of the quality of representation and democracy in a society (Listhaug 2005). Governance scholars argue that a lack of trust could lead to increased conflict, increased opacity in government and industry decisions, and increased non-compliance with official processes from both citizens and private-sector actors (ibid). In resource-dependent countries a lack of transparency and accountability surrounding EI can result in 'continual uncertainty and distrust' between key stakeholders: the government, mining companies, CSOs and the public (Moore et al. 2018:105). Citizens and CSOs become suspicious that politicians and mining companies are scheming to capture resource-rents and share them amongst themselves, while sometimes 'companies feel that governments and citizens are ganging up on them to reset the rules and renegotiate contracts' (Eigen 2009:1). Kolstad and Wiig (2012) devised a theory to describe this phenomenon, the 'Pearl Hypothesis', which states that the political economy surrounding resource-dependence negatively impacts trust in societies. The theory has sparked empirical research (Ishiyama et al. 2018; Kolstad and Wiig 2012) which supports it, finding that 'public distrust is more likely to form in countries engaged in extracting natural resources' (Fenton Villar 2020:5).

These three governance outcomes are intrinsically linked. The lack of transparency means that citizens and CSOs are unaware of the full picture, so they are unable to hold politicians and mining companies accountable. This fuels distrust and suspicion of corruption, whether it is present or not. Corruption is more likely to build as the reward of resource-rents outweighs the risk of getting caught if accountability is reduced. Moreover, if powerful individuals are benefitting from corruption, they are likely to prevent transparency from being meaningfully improved, so they can continue benefitting from corrupt practices without getting caught. This fuels further distrust, which fuels further opacity, and the cycle continues. While each of these three governance factors have been studied in detail individually, there are no studies which focus on all three and their interconnected relationships 10 (demonstrated in Figure 2). Their mutual study is a critical gap, which this dissertation aims to fill. Scholars have argued that successful transparency initiatives improve these three governance outcomes by blocking the negative effects of 'lack of transparency' (Figure 2). The EITI was set up to fulfil this role, however, it has not always succeeded (Sovacool and Andrews 2015). This dissertation argues the EITI's limited success is because of the absence of three scope conditions needed: transparency condition, publicity condition and accountability condition. The following section outlines this solution narrative, and the theoretical framework for analysis of this paper.

<sup>10</sup> To the author's knowledge

# Figure 2: Problem Narrative - PRC Governance Outcomes



#### 4. Theoretical Framework

## 4.1. Solution Narrative: Transparency

The solution narrative in PRC literature examines how good institutions can mitigate against negative governance outcomes and even 'turn the curse into a blessing' (Papyrakis 2017:179). One key recommendation in this literature is increased transparency (Fenton Villar 2020; Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Mailey 2015; Sovacool 2020; Sovacool et al. 2016). This dissertation defines transparency as 'timely and reliable economic, social and political information accessible to all relevant stakeholders' (Sovacool 2020:1). For many years scholars have argued that 'transparency is an essential part of good governance' (Kolstad and Wiig 2009:522). Within PRC literature a variety of scholars have advocated for transparency to counteract and prevent the negative symptoms of PRC (Sovacool et al. 2016). This theory is supported by numerous empirical studies finding that transparency can result in increased accountability (Gupta 2010); reduced corruption (Kolstad and Wiig 2009); and increased trust (Armand et al. 2019). This informs the hypothesis of this dissertation, that successful transparency initiatives, such as the EITI, improve governance outcomes by blocking the effects of 'lack of transparency' (Figure 2). This is shown below in Figure 3.

Reduced dependence on Reduced Accountability Increased Corruption taxation of general Dependence on resource population rents Lack of transparency in Reduced Trust extractive industry Successful transparency initiative Increased Accountability **Reduced Corruption** Population (mainly CSOs) Politicians and mining are more aware of and Increased Trust companies fear sanctions, more able to sanction bad Stakeholders are aware of so incentive to capture rents behaviour what is going on, and can is reduced sanction bad behaviour, so trust increases Key: Causal links Previous causal links, now blocked by transparency Outcome of transparency Not an outcome of transparency Outside of dissertation scope Source: Author's own based on the PRC literature

Figure 3: Solution Narrative - Impact of Successful Transparency Initiative

However, many scholars argue that transparency alone is not sufficient and does not automatically lead to increased accountability, reduced corruption or increased trust, but is instead a necessary condition which must be present, along with other favourable factors, in order for these governance issues to be improved (Bauhr and Grimes 2014; Dashwood et al. 2021; Gaventa and McGee 2013; Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Lindstedt and Naurin 2010; Sovacool et al. 2016; Sovacool and Andrews 2015). The literature highlights three scope conditions which this dissertation argues are necessary for transparency initiatives, such as the EITI, to improve EI governance outcomes: 1) the quality of transparency (transparency condition), 2) the capacity of the population (publicity condition) and 3) the availability of accountability mechanisms (accountability condition). These are outlined below.

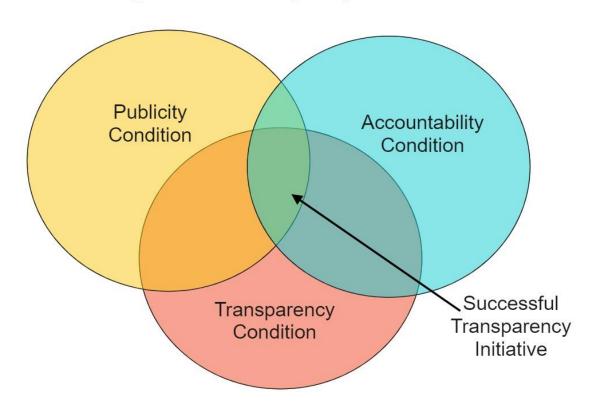


Figure 4: Necessary Scope Conditions

Source: Author's own, information from: Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Lindstedt and Naurin 2010; Svensson 2005; Sovacool et al. 2016a; Dashwood et al. 2021; Olken 2007.

#### 4.1.1. Transparency Condition

The transparency condition must be present for transparency initiatives to improve governance outcomes. This condition is related to the quality of transparency, which may vary depending on what form the transparency initiative takes, and who it is implemented by (Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Lindstedt and Naurin 2010). If the initiative is executed by the government, the extent of transparency is likely to be 'uneven and subject to government interests' (Kolstad and Wiig 2009:526), as well as the interests of other powerful stakeholders. Transparency initiatives can be manipulated in many ways, for example through the selection of what data is made available, how it is presented and who can access it. Therefore, if transparency in the form of the EITI is to address PRC governance issues, the information which is made available needs to be accessible, understandable and reflective of 'the areas most important to... alleviating the resource curse' in that specific context (ibid:529).

#### 4.1.2. Publicity Condition

Secondly, and closely related to the first condition, is 'publicity condition' which refers to 'the capacity of the population to understand and use information' (Sovacool et al. 2016:180). This condition is determined by the ability of stakeholders, especially CSOs, to comprehend and make sense of the information presented to them, which is impacted by the level and type of their education (Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Lindstedt and Naurin 2010; Svensson 2005). To verify this, in an empirical study examining the impact of increased transparency on levels of corruption, Lindstedt and Naurin (2010) found that the outcome was contingent of the levels of education in the country, and the 'capacity of people to... process information' (ibid:317). This indicates that if CSOs are not educated to the level required to fully digest the information presented to them in the form that it is presented in the EITI, they will be unable to derive meaning and use it to advocate for change.

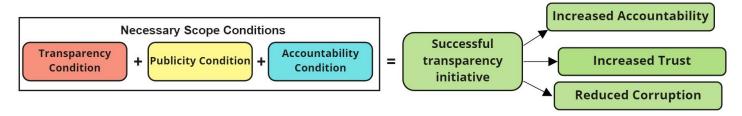
#### 4.1.3. Accountability Condition

The third condition necessary for transparency initiatives, such as the EITI, to succeed is related to the availability of accountability mechanisms (Sovacool et al. 2016:180). If CSOs are able to access full and relevant information and understand that information, they then need to be able to use that information to 'compel change' (Dashwood et al. 2021:5). In order to do this there must be mechanisms or forums available for them to bring about this change (Kolstad and Wiig 2009). An empirical study by Olken (2007) on the impact of audits on levels of corruption in Indonesia found that corruption only reduced if audits were carried out by those with the power to sanction. The study indicates that if there is no way for people to punish offences then the information is of little use. Thus, this dissertation argues that without the existence of all three of these necessary scope conditions, increased transparency, through the EITI, will not lead to

improved governance outcomes (accountability, corruption and trust). The theoretical framework diagram below demonstrates how this dissertation analyses the presence, quality and governance outcome of these scope conditions in the context of the Zambian EITI.

#### 4.1.4. Framework Diagram

Figure 5: Theoretical Framework



Source: Author's own based on the PRC and transparency literature

This theoretical framework follows the work of Mackie on 'INUS conditions'. An INUS condition is 'an insufficient but necessary part of a condition which is itself unnecessary but sufficient for the result' (Mackie 1965:245). This dissertation argues that a successful transparency initiative must include the three scope conditions, as together they form the sufficient condition for improved EI governance outcomes (accountability, corruption, trust). However, the set itself is not the only set of conditions which could improve governance, hence the set is an unnecessary but sufficient condition for improved EI governance (shown in Table 2).

**Table 2: INUS Conditions** 

1	Insufficient	The EITI alone cannot lead to improved EI governance
N	<b>N</b> ecessary	Each condition adds a unique element, which other factors do not add. Within this
		set of conditions, each condition is necessary if EI governance is to be improved
U	<b>U</b> nnecessary	There could be other sets of conditions which also improve EI governance
S	<b>S</b> ufficient	Together, this set of conditions is sufficient to improve El governance

Source: Author's own, based on Mackie 1965

### 4.2. The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative

The above framework will be applied to the EITI. The EITI was selected because it is the leading global transparency standard for the EI (Moore et al. 2018). There is a growing body of literature examining the effectiveness of the EITI to safeguard against PRC (Fenton Villar 2020; Hilson and Maconachie 2008; López and Fontaine 2019; Malden 2017; Sovacool et al. 2016). However, the findings of this literature have been mixed, and there is significant disagreement between scholars. For example, Hilson and Maconachie (2009:52) found that the EITI could only improve EI governance in Sub-Saharan Africa if it is accompanied by 'significant institutional change'. In addition, a study examining the impact of the EITI on six World Bank governance indicators in Liberia and Azerbaijan found that both countries performed worse after becoming EITI compliant. However, the authors were unable to definitively determine a causal link with EITI membership (Sovacool and Andrews 2015). In contrast, in their single case study of Mexico, López and Fontaine (2019:1165) found that the 'country's candidacy and its compliance with the EITI create the necessary conditions for good governance'. It is within this unresolved debate that the main question for this research is placed: How does EITI compliance affect governance in the extractive industries, and why? The sub-question is: How (if at all) has the EITI affected the ability of CSOs to improve copper governance issues in Zambia, and why?

# 5. Methodology

## 5.1. Qualitative Single Case Study

This dissertation uses a typical case in a theory generating single case study design (George and Bennett 2005; Gerring 2017; Gibbs 2007). Much of the previous EITI scholarship has been quantitative, some of which has established that the EITI has generally failed to improve governance indicators. However, this quantitative work does not thoroughly investigate the causal mechanisms behind this correlation; this is added by the qualitative nature of this dissertation. The theory generating nature of the dissertation sets out to discover the reasons for this trend of failing to improve governance indicators, through exploring the causal mechanisms behind the correlation (ibid). The author has chosen a single case study because it lends itself well to the theoretical framework based on scope conditions (George and Bennett 2005). Moreover, the governance outcomes being measured in this dissertation are not easily defined or quantifiable, and require 'detailed consideration of contextual factors' which is best explored through a qualitative case study (ibid:19).

#### 5.2. Case Selection

Zambia was selected as a typical case by comparing the most recent EITI validation scores<sup>11</sup> and Transparency International's corruption perception index (CPI) scores for EITI compliant resourcedependent developing countries<sup>12</sup> (CPI 2021; EITI 2019), as visualised in Table 3. The CPI score was selected as it represents the most accurate reflection of the three governance issues being measured in this dissertation within one metric, by capturing data on: 'ability of governments to contain corruption and enforce effective integrity mechanisms' [accountability]; 'bribery' and 'diversion of public funds' [corruption]; and 'legal protection for whistle-blowers, journalists, investigators when they are reporting cases of bribery and corruption' [trust]; along with many other relevant indicators (CPI 2021). All countries in the sample scored either Moderate or High EITI scores; the scoring system is explained in Figure 6. In defining resource dependence this dissertation follows the original criteria used by Auty (1993) in which the EI makes up 8% of GDP and 40% of exports (the blue lines in Figure 7). As visualised in Table 3, there appears to be no correlation between the EITI and CPI scores, even when accounting for type of mineral, which would suggest that the EITI is failing to improve these issues of resource governance. However, this data is purely descriptive; the aim of this dissertation is to interrogate if this is true, and why, in Zambia. Zambia represents a typical case for the "high" group of EITI countries and for all mineral producing countries across both EITI groups in the sample, so findings could be usefully relevant to other countries with similar conditions. However, mineral governance issues are highly context specific, therefore the generalisability of the research findings should be treated cautiously.

Figure 6: EITI Score Categories and Numerical Range



Poor Performance <del>C</del>

→ Excellent performance

Source: EITI 2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> At the time of writing the EITI was transitioning away from a text-based validation system to a numerical one. As a result of this change, accurate numerical scores are only available for three countries included in this sample, which had been validated under the new model (Zambia, Guinea and Liberia). The remaining eleven were validated under the old model. However, all countries were assigned a text-based rank, which was used as the basis for case selection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Developing countries are defined as all low and lower-middle income countries by the World Bank (The World Bank 2021b).

The Zambian EI is centred around the mining of copper<sup>13</sup> (Jayasinghe and Ezpeleta 2020; Manley 2013; Sequeira et al. 2016). The EI makes up 9.9% of GDP and 77% of exports, as visualised in Figure 7 (EITI 2019), which shows that Zambia exhibits average dependence when measured based on exports, but fairly moderate dependence when measured based on GDP. Zambia has been a multi-party democracy since 1991, yet the level of democracy in the country has regularly been brought into question (Human Rights Watch 1996; Kabemba 2004; Phiri 2021), and Freedom House (2022) ranks Zambia as 52/100 on its global freedom ranking, labelling the country as only 'partly free'. Thus, Zambia is moderately dependent, somewhat democratic, and relies on mining rather than the highest-risk category of hydrocarbons. While there is ongoing debate in the literature regarding the impact of these three factors (Section 2, Table 1), Zambia is relatively moderate in all three and is therefore a likely candidate to suffer from PRC while being able to escape it. However, in the ten years since Zambia became EITI compliant, governance outcomes have worsened (The World Bank 2021a), despite it being rated "high" by the EITI. Thus, Zambia is ideal as a typical case to explore the reasons why the causal mechanism proposed by the literature (increased transparency through the EITI) appears not to work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> It does also produce and export gold, cobalt, manganese, cement and gemstones, but in much smaller quantities. Zambia has also been exploring the existence of oil and gas in the country and the feasibility of producing and exporting it. While the Zambian government announced its first discovery in 2006, the petroleum industry in Zambia remains in the exploration phase (Aljazeera 2006; ZEITI 2020).

Table 3: Comparison between most recent EITI and Corruption Perception Index (CPI) Scores in Resource-dependent Lower-Income Countries

Key: Green - mining only; Red - petroleum only (oil and/or gas); Blue - mixture of mining & petroleum

CPI							2021 CPI
Rank	Country	Income Level	El in GDP	El in Exports	Extractive Industries	EITI Score	Score
1	Ghana	Lower-middle	14%	67%	Diamonds & oil	Medium	43
					Mining: old, zinc, copper, manganese, phosphate, limestone, diamonds, bauxite,		
2	Burkina Faso	Low	13%	75%	nickel and vanadium	Medium	42
3	Timor-leste	Lower-middle	36%	74%	Oil & gas	High	41
4	Mongolia	Lower-middle	22%	89%	Mining: gold, copper, coal and iron; Oil & gas (underdeveloped)	High	35
5	Zambia	Low	10%	77%	Mining: copper & cobalt	High	33
6	Papua New Guinea	Lower-middle	28%	88%	Mining: gold, nickel, silver, cobalt; Natural gas	Medium	31
7	Liberia	Low	52%	93%	Mining (iron ore, gold, diamonds - produced); oil & gas (exported, not produced)	Medium	29
8	Mauritania	Lower-middle	24%	67%	Mining: iron ore, copper, gold, silver; Oil and gas	Medium	28
9	Kyrgyz Republic	Lower-middle	10%	42%	Mining: coal, gold, silver, uranium and antimony; Oil & Gas (minimal)	Medium	27
10	Guinea	Low	18%	79%	Mining: gold, diamonds, bauxite, iron and nickel	High	25
11	Nigeria	Lower-middle	9%	76%	Oil and gas; underdeveloped mining	High	24
12	Republic of the Congo	Low-middle	61%	86%	Gold & diamonds (artisanal); crude oil	Medium	21
13	Chad	Low	20%	75%	Oil (& minimal mining)	Medium	20
					Mining: copper, cobalt, silver, uranium, lead, zinc, cadmium, diamond, gold, tin,		
14	Democratic Republic of Congo	Low	14%	99%	tungsten, manganese & rare metals <u>e.g.</u> coltan	Medium	19

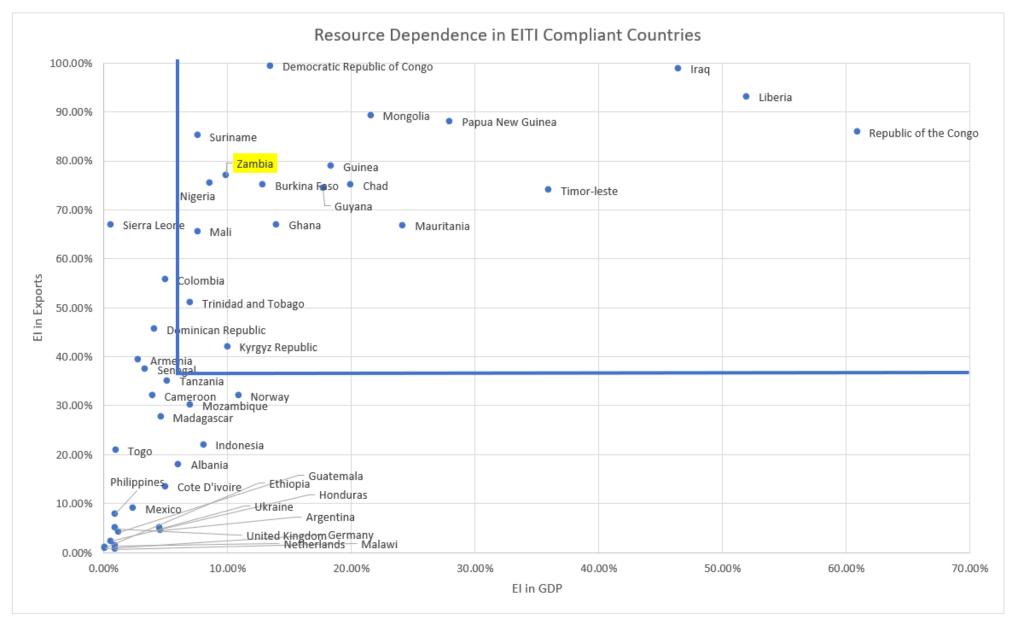
Source: Author's own. Data from CPI 2021 and EITI 2019.

<sup>\*</sup> High EITI Score = Better performance, Higher CPI Score = better performance

<sup>\*</sup> The table is ordered by CPI score, with the highest scoring country at the top of the table

Figure 7: Comparison of the Contribution of the Extractive Industry as % of Exports and GDP in EITI Countries

Key: Blue lines represent Auty's (1993) threshold of resource dependence



Source: Author's own, data from EITI 2019. Resource dependence threshold from Auty 1993

#### 5.3. Data Collection

**Table 4: Interview Information** 

Interviewee	Current or previous EITI MSG member?	Interview date	Software	Recorded?	Full verbal consent received?	Information sheet shared prior to interview?
El Rep 1	No	21/07/22	Zoom	No, because of technical issues	Yes	Yes
El Rep 2	Yes	28/07/22	Zoom	Yes	Yes	Yes
CSO Rep 1	Yes	26/07/22	Zoom	Yes	Yes	Yes
CSO Rep 2	Yes	27/07/22	Telephone, because of technical issues	Yes	Yes	Yes
ZEITI Rep 1	No	27/07/22	Zoom	Yes	Yes	Yes
ZEITI Rep 2	No	17/08/22	Zoom	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Author's own

The primary data used in this research came from six semi-structured interviews, each lasting for approximately 40 minutes, summarised above in Table 3. The interviewees were selected using three of Gerring's (2017:25) interview criteria: 'relevance (the source is pertinent to the question of theoretical interest), proximity (the source is in a position to know what he or she is claiming)... and diversity (collectively, sources represent a diversity of viewpoints on the question at hand)'. With this in mind, it was the intention of the author to interview two participants per ZEITI stakeholder group: CSOs, EI, ZEITI and government; however, no government representatives agreed to take part in the research. Thus, the final sample included two CSO representatives, two EI representatives and two ZEITI representatives. Each CSO and EI representative is either a current or previous<sup>14</sup> ZEITI MSG board member, except EI Representative 1, who has not been directly involved in the ZEITI MSG but has worked with other ZEITI processes. Where possible the interviews took place using an online video conferencing software (Zoom), but in one case a telephone interview was used<sup>15</sup>. The interviews are complemented with a quantitative presentation of the governance indicators over time, using World Bank data and a desk-based review of the 13 annual ZEITI reports and relevant academic and grey literature.

#### 5.4. Analysis

The interviews were 'topical' in nature. In topical interviews the researcher develops one 'coherent explanation by piecing together what different people have said, while recognizing that each person might have his or her own construction of events' (Rubin and Rubin 2005:8). This was undertaken through sorting, balancing and analysing interview responses into one coherent and balanced narrative. All interviews were recorded, with participant consent, except one<sup>16</sup>. The recordings were used to write accurate transcriptions, and in the case without recording the researcher's notes were used as the transcript<sup>17</sup>. For data analysis the transcripts were coded, without software, for 'creativity, flexibility and ease of access' (Gibbs 2007). The researcher used a combination of concept-driven and data-driven

<sup>\*</sup>EITI staff are not MSG members, but are involved in the process

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The research does not specify which so their identities remain anonymous.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Due to the internet connectivity of the participant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Because of a technical issue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> After transcription the recordings were deleted.

coding (ibid). The first set of codes were taken from the conditions and governance outcomes outlined in the theoretical framework. A second layer of data-driven coding was then added, driven by the interview responses, to establish important themes within those categories. The final codes are presented in Table 5. Where the researcher deemed necessary, the interview data was triangulated and supported with desk-based research.

**Table 5: Final Codes** 

Parent Codes (concept-driven)	Sub-codes (data-driven)
Accountability	N/A
Corruption	N/A
Trust	N/A
Transparency Condition	Increased information
	Data quantity
	Data quality
Publicity Condition	<ul> <li>Mining communities unable to understand</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Quantitative capacity of NGOs</li> </ul>
Accountability Condition	ZEITI MSG
	Other multi-stakeholder forums
	CSO campaigns
	General elections

Source: Author's own

#### 5.5. Limitations

As explained above, the researcher was unable to access any government officials, which skews findings to more strongly reflect the views of the other stakeholders. Also explained above, one EI representative had not been involved in the EITI MSG. This interviewee appeared to be much more direct and critical with his answers than some of the other interviewees, which could be because he was more confident that his identity would not be easily discovered. This shows inconsistencies between stakeholder groups, as both CSO representatives were either current or previous ZEITI MSG board members.

A limitation of this work is that it does not analyse all necessary causes of poor or improved governance, such as dependence on taxation of the general population<sup>18</sup>. The reason for this restriction of scope is partly to achieve depth of analysis on the determining factors of effective transparency, but also because taxation is not a stated benefit of the EITI<sup>19</sup>, whose stated purpose is to improve transparency. Through this analytical scope the dissertation is able to focus on how the EITI improves transparency, but, as previously stated, that in itself is not a sufficient condition to strengthen governance, unless it is combined with the three scope conditions (Mackie 1965). Furthermore, as this dissertation is using a single case study design, it is not possible to say from this one case whether all three scope conditions or just one of them is necessary, nor is it possible to say which condition carries more causal weight, or to rule out the impact of the non-EI related factors (George and Bennett 2005). Moreover, as this is a single case study, although it is a 'typical' case, it is not representative of a wider group, thus the researcher does not claim that these findings are 'applicable to such populations except in contingent ways' (ibid:31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> As per the top line of Figure 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> But may be a secondary outcome.

#### 6. Zambia Case

#### 6.1. The Zambian EITI

Zambia became EITI compliant in 2012, three years after it first joined the initiative (Sequeira et al. 2016). Its motivation for joining was to increase trust among major mining stakeholders<sup>20</sup> which was initially broken during mine privatisation in the 1990s when the government secretly signed a series of famously unfavourable DAs transferring ownership from the state to foreign mining investors. These were later leaked and caused public outrage (Aguirre Unceta 2021; Carmody 2012; Lundsttl et al. 2013; Manley 2013). Since then Zambia has undertaken numerous mineral taxation reforms (Carmody 2012; Fjeldstad et al. 2017; Kragelund 2017; Manley 2013, 2012; Mutale 2022; Siwale and Chibuye 2019; Webster 2013). However, despite a decade of EITI compliance, tension between these stakeholders persists (Fjeldstad et al. 2017) and Zambia still exhibits many RC attributes. These attributes include high levels of poverty, high government salaries compared with low budget for social services, limited checks and balances, no savings safeguarding instruments for commodity price bust cycles, and a dependency on copper extraction with a lack of economic diversification (Aguirre Unceta 2021). This brings into question the impact that the EITI has had in Zambia.

The impact of the EITI in Zambia has previously been examined by two authors. One investigated the impact on corruption, finding that 'the implementation of EITI provoked a significant decrease in corruption in Zambia'<sup>21</sup> (Fenton Villar and Papyrakis 2017:795). The other analysed the impact of the EITI on 'voluntary environmental disclosures' and found that the EITI did not improve transparency and accountability (Sequeira et al. 2016:435). There remains a lack of clarity about the impact of the EITI in Zambia, and there is no current research focusing holistically on the three governance issues of accountability, corruption and trust. This dissertation thus fills a critical gap in understanding the effectiveness of the EITI in addressing the multiple deficiencies of Zambia's copper governance. This research is especially important now, in the context of the increasing demand and price of copper<sup>22</sup> (Ali et al. 2017; Bainton et al. 2021; Bazilian 2018; Hund et al. 2020; IEA 2022b; Marín and Goya 2021). Zambia needs effective copper governance in order to ensure sustained benefits from this new commodity boom and to safeguard against possible future busts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Stakeholders being: the Zambian government, mining companies and CSOs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> This paper may have been funded by the EITI itself (it is unclear); it is listed on the EITI website as being published by the EITI (EITI 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Copper is categorised as a 'critical mineral' for a transition to renewable energy, due to its use in multiple renewable energy technologies (Hund et al. 2020). It is catorgorised as having: 'High' importance in solar, wind, bioenergy, electricity networks and EVs and battery storage; and 'moderate' importance in hydro power, nuclear energy and concentrated solar power (IEA 2022a). Because of this the price and demand for copper is increasing (Bertram, 2021; IEA 2022a; Knoema 2022). However, like other mineral price swings this is not guaranteed to be stable (Sahla 2022).

# 7. Findings

The presentation of findings first analyses the overall effect of the EITI on governance *outcomes* before moving to an analysis of the scope *conditions* which are seen to determine the governance outcomes.

#### 7.1. Governance Outcomes

This section outlines what the data indicates is the overall effect of compliance with the EITI on the three governance outcomes (accountability, corruption and trust) in Zambia. Figure 6 (below) is a quantitative visualisation of the level of accountability and corruption<sup>23</sup> in Zambia over time, using World Bank (2021a) data<sup>24</sup>. There is a clear correlation between the two indicators. They follow a similar trajectory over time, with accountability consistently tracking ahead of corruption. Prior to Zambia joining the EITI, both indicator scores dropped. The accountability score began to increase immediately after joining the EITI (2009) and the corruption score increased a year later (2010). The accountability score continued to increase until 2015. However, the corruption score began to decline immediately after Zambia became EITI compliant in 2012. Since 2015 both scores have dramatically decreased<sup>25</sup> and are now significantly lower than when Zambia first joined the EITI<sup>26</sup>.

The immediate increase in governance outcomes between joining the EITI and becoming compliant, followed by a resulting downturn in both indicators once compliance was reached, reflects the findings from other academic studies on different EITI countries (Fenton Villar 2020; Fenton Villar and Papyrakis 2017; Papyrakis et al. 2017). These studies suggest that governance indicators improve during this time because countries must implement various reforms in order to reach compliance, but after compliance there is less pressure and scrutiny, so the momentum is lost (ibid). Overall, the World Bank data suggests that governance outcomes have actually worsened in Zambia in the ten years since it became compliant, despite being rated "high" by the EITI. However, the World Bank governance indicators measure a variety of factors, some of which are not related to the EI<sup>27</sup>. This dissertation interrogates these findings through a series of six interviews with key stakeholders in the EI in Zambia to try to understand if these findings hold true for the specifics of this case: whether compliance with the EITI has affected the ability of CSOs to improve copper governance in Zambia. The following section outlines the findings of those interviews.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> There was no indicator which reflected 'trust'

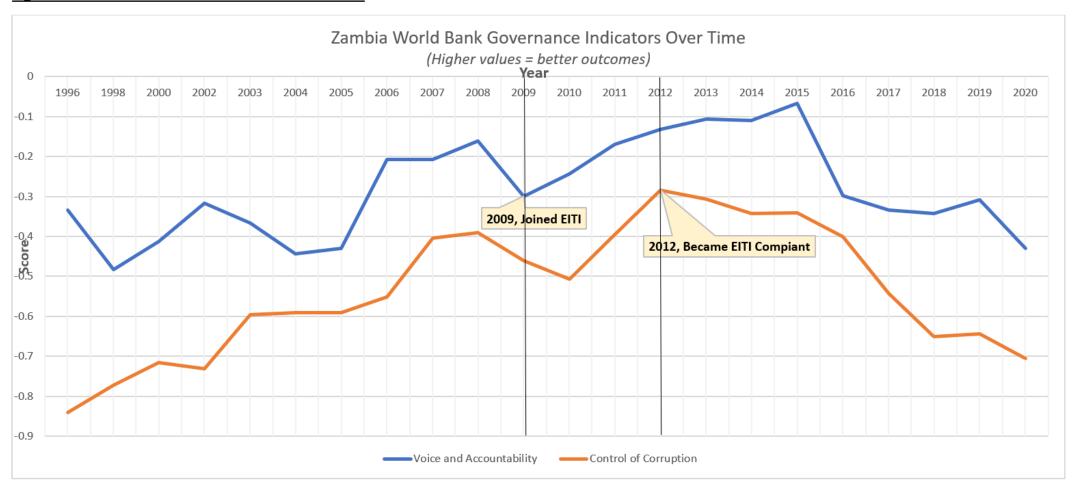
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The CPI changed to a new system of measurement in 2012 and the previous data is not comparable to the new data, so it is not possible to see changes overtime. Thus, the researcher used data from the World Bank governance indicators in the findings section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> With a short plateau between 2018-2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> equal to 2005 levels for accountability and 2002 levels for corruption

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> For a full list of the background data see appendix 1

Figure 8: Zambian Governance Indicators Over Time



Source: Author's own, data from World Bank (2021)

\*Higher values = better outcomes

There was no indicator which reflected 'trust'

Table 6: Summary of Findings on the Impact of the EITI on Governance Issues

Governance Indicator	Findings
Accountability	<ul> <li>Successful campaigns using EITI data have led to policy reform</li> <li>Policy reform is only small-scale and project specific</li> <li>Information asymmetry and imbalance of power in favour of mining companies persists and restricts ability to improve accountability</li> </ul>
Corruption	<ul> <li>General consensus that the EITI has not improved issues of corruption in Zambia, and one interviewee believes it has increased it</li> </ul>
Trust	<ul> <li>Distrust and suspicion persist, especially between mining companies and civil society, and especially related to CSR</li> <li>Mistrust of CSR has increased since EITI</li> </ul>

Source: Author's own

#### 7.1.1. Accountability

This section looks at accountability as an outcome. The question is: has compliance with the EITI improved the ability of CSOs to hold those in power to account? The result is questionable. The four interviewees from the ZEITI and CSOs believe that to some extent it has, by providing data on the EI in Zambia, where previously there was none.

"The EITI has played a very critical role in highlighting what is actually being paid or spent. So, the conversation has moved from an abstract construction to something real and tangible that people can point towards" (ZEITI Representative 1).

EITI data has been used by CSOs in campaigns which have led to policy change (ZEITI Representative 1, CSO Representatives 1 and 2). For example, in one district CSOs used EITI data to successfully campaign for the earmarking of EI revenue for community development projects (PWYP 2018). Another CSO campaign used EITI data to pressure the government into amending the law in relation to the payment of mining land-use fees (PWYP 2016). These campaign wins are significant and would not have been possible without EITI data. However, the reality is that these wins are relatively small-scale and project specific, while maintaining 'business as usual' and not tackling wider systematic EI governance change.

The view that the ZEITI has only brought about limited accountability was supported by all interviewees, and each had their own explanation as to why. Most participants argued that this was partly due to the limited engagement with ZEITI data, which is due to both the density of the reports (transparency condition) (Industry Representative 2; CSO Representative 2) and the limited capacity of CSOs to meaningfully engage with the data (publicity condition) (Industry Representative 1; ZEITI Representative 1 and 2). CSO Representative 1 argued that the capacity of CSOs to bring about substantial change (accountability outcome) is severely limited by the voluntary nature of the ZEITI and by the inadequate and unreliable funding for CSO advocacy and campaigns (accountability condition). Furthermore, Industry Representative 1 argued that the most important issues, such as transfer pricing and mineral baseline data, were not covered by the EITI (transparency condition). Thus, even with the ZEITI, an information asymmetry and imbalance of power in favour of mining companies persists and restricts the impact of the initiative to

improve accountability, and ultimately reduce corruption and increase trust (ZEITI Representative 2; CSO Representative 1; Industry Representative 1).

#### 7.1.2. Corruption

This section looks at the impact of the EITI on the second governance outcome: corruption. The consensus between the CSO representatives and Industry Representative 1 was that the EITI has not reduced corruption in Zambia. CSO Representative 1 was convinced that the only way that certain mining companies could continue operating in Zambia while reporting negative profits, is through tax avoidance and evasion (industry corruption), which is facilitated by corrupt government officials (government corruption).

"The only way that the mining companies would continue in that trajectory is when the political leadership is involved, and they are benefitting directly, instead of the country" (CSO Representative 1).

CSO Representative 1 believes that the EITI has not addressed either industry or government corruption, because of the voluntary nature of the initiative: "without legal backing you can't say that it [the EITI] has reduced corruption in Zambia" (CSO Representative 1). This points to the lack of accountability (outcome) from the EITI because of the weakness of the accountability mechanisms (condition) present. The EITI is voluntary, therefore there are no direct legal consequences for non-compliance and no immediate legal route available through the EITI to punish offences. What the EITI does to prevent corruption is to add an administrative hurdle that, in its current form, can easily be overcome: "if a government official still wants to give people backhanders, they just write an invoice" (Industry Representative 1). This reflects the limited quality of transparency in EITI data, as the data is published but not interrogated (transparency condition) (Industry Representative 2; CSO Representative 2). Moreover, CSO Representative 2 argues that the EITI has "created a new means of corruption" (CSO Representative 2). Companies who are not complying with the EITI by not disclosing their payments, have been paying government officials to submit an excuse for them: "You find that, where the mining companies are failing, those government officials would protect them" (CSO Representative 2). Not all interviewees agreed with this. Industry Representative 2 claimed that he was unaware of any corruption in Zambia at any point in time. However, this appeared to be defensive, as he also explained how he had personally never committed corruption, as if admitting to being aware of any kind of corruption would incriminate him: "No, I don't think there has been corruption in Zambia... Unless maybe at some other level, but not at my level" (Industry Representative 2). Thus, the interview data supports the World Bank data in finding that corruption has worsened in Zambia since joining the EITI.

#### 7.1.3. Trust

Both ZEITI representatives claimed that the ZEITI has improved trust between stakeholders, through the MSG, yet ZEITI Representative 1 admitted that trust building was "a work in progress" that needed more time. However, it is arguably in the interests of ZEITI representatives to claim this, and it was clear from all the interviews that mistrust and suspicion between key stakeholders in the EI in Zambia persist, especially between mining companies and CSOs, despite ten years of EITI compliance and collaboration on the MSG. As it stands CSOs are "still suspicious of the mines, they think the government is favouring the mines and they think they should be getting more [taxes from the mines]" (Industry Representative 2). This is especially the case among CSOs that represent mining communities:

"Communities really feel like they don't benefit... [they] feel like there is a lot of money coming from the [mining] investment but very little trickle-down, in fact there is no effect in terms of development at the local level... despite the money being collected coming from the mining host communities" (CSO Representative 2).

This distrust was particularly apparent when interviewees spoke about issues of corporate social responsibility (CSR), and to some extent the ZEITI has amplified this mistrust (CSO Representative 1 and 2; Industry Representative 2; ZEITI Representative 1). This is because CSOs are now able to see the figures that mining companies claim to be spending on CSR, which are extremely high and do not reflect the experience in communities. "I know that we have reported quite huge numbers in millions of dollars, but when you go on the ground there is absolutely nothing to show for it" (ZEITI Representative 1). Therefore, the findings of this dissertation support the World Bank data, indicating that compliance with the EITI has not led to significant improvements in any of the three governance indicators under consideration, and that some of them (corruption and trust) have actually worsened. This dissertation argues that the reason for this is that none of the necessary scope conditions are sufficiently fulfilled in the case of Zambia, which is explained in the following sections.

#### 7.2. Scope Conditions

Table 7: Summary of Findings on the Presence of Scope Conditions in Zambia

Scope Condition	Findings
Transparency Condition	Greatly improved access to information
	Too much data – can cause information overload
	Not all-important issues are covered (mineral baseline, transfer pricing, licences,
	treaties) and lack of data scrutiny
Publicity Condition	Low literacy rate & ability of speak English (reports are not in local language)
	NGOs lack quantitative capacity
Accountability Condition	EITI provides MSG as accountability mechanism
	CSOs have launched other multi-stakeholder accountability forums
	CSOs can use EITI data as accountability mechanism in campaigns
	Power imbalance on MSG in favour of government & industry
	Lack of reliable funding for CSOs reduces power of accountability mechanism
	Mismatch between electoral cycle and mining cycle
	Politicians use elections to make promises on mining taxation which are later
	broken, causing regular fluctuations in mineral taxation regime

Source: Author's own

#### 7.2.1. Transparency Condition

The EITI has improved transparency of the EI in Zambia to some extent. There was agreement among all interviewees on the significance of this (Industry Representatives 1 and 2; CSO Representatives 1 and 2; ZEITI Representative 1 and 2).

#### 7.2.1.1. Increased Information

"Prior to the EITI there was a lot of chaos, we did not have any of the information that is now available in the public domain" (CSO Representative 1).

Before joining the EITI, the EI in Zambia was extremely opaque. This opacity came to a head through the leaking of the DAs, which, as explained earlier, caused public outrage and served as the catalyst for Zambia joining the EITI. Since it joined the EITI data on the EI in Zambia has been made publicly available via ZEITI 'reconciliation reports'<sup>28</sup> for each financial year. The reports publish data on payments between mining companies and government agencies. They categorise figures by payment types, company and government department. Data on production and export figures as well as non-tax revenue, such as environmental and social payments, and explanations of legal frameworks and fiscal regimes affecting the industry are also usually included in the reports. Despite the EITI being a voluntary process in Zambia,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The reports are termed 'reconciliation reports' because they state the figures provided by mining companies, compared to the figures provided by government agencies in two rounds, the second round allows both sides to resubmit further information to reconcile the differences and provide explanations for unreconciled differences which remain after the two rounds.

"compliance level is nearly 100%, in terms of reporting from both the government and the mining sector" (ZEITI Representative). Therefore, the information on the EI in Zambia has significantly increased since joining the EITI. CSO Representative 2 praised the initiative for giving them a clearer picture of the true makeup of EI in the country, by identifying the "companies operating in different areas which we didn't know about before" and by providing information on "the difference between taxes that are received by the central government as well as those that are received by the local authority". This information has provided CSOs with evidence to support local and national level advocacy (CSO Representative 2) and helped CSOs with limited resources to prioritise where to "channel our energies" (CSO Representative 1). However, the findings of this dissertation indicate that the quality of transparency of the ZEITI is reduced by the quantity and quality of the ZEITI data, explained below.

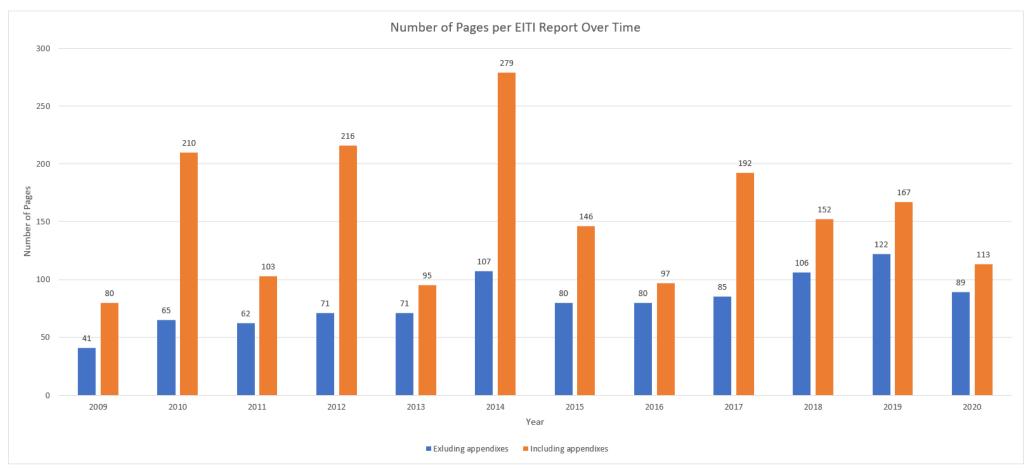
#### 7.2.1.2. Data Quantity

"How can I put it... there is too much data to read" (Industry Representative 2).

Both Industry Representative 2 and CSO Representative 2 said that they do not read everything in the ZEITI reports because they are overwhelmed by the amount of information. They both currently or previously sat on the ZEITI MSG, so if they are not reading all the information being produced by the ZEITI, it is unrealistic to expect stakeholders who are not involved in the EITI process to digest all the information. "Can you imagine sending a 500-page document to a local community to consume that information? It is just not possible" (CSO Representative 2). While 500 pages is an exaggeration, the documents are large and filled with dense numerical data. The largest ZEITI reconciliation report was 279 pages, including appendixes<sup>29</sup>, as demonstrated in Figure 7. This vast amount of data can result in what the business and development literature term 'information overload' (Laud and Schepers 2009), which disincentivises engagement. There have been instances of ZEITI reports being simplified so they are more accessible to community members, but these were specific donor funded projects, which have now ended (ZEITI Representative 2; CSO Representative 2). Moreover, selecting which data to include or exclude is contentious and open to manipulation (Kolstad and Wiig, 2009). This links into the next criticism, around the quality of ZEITI data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Appendixes are important as they often provide case specific evidence that can be used in CSO advocacy

Figure 9: Number of Pages per Annual ZEITI Reconciliation Report



Source: Author's own. Data from ZEITI Reconciliation Reports (2009-2020)

#### 7.2.1.3. Data Quality

The quality of the data in the ZEITI was criticised by numerous interviewees (Industry Representative 1; Industry Representative 2; CSO Representative 1; ZEITI Representative 2). Participants argued that the ZEITI does not cover the most important issues related to Zambian EI: baseline information on mineral data, transfer pricing, mining licences and treaties. The lack of mineral baseline data was highlighted as a major concern by three interviewees (Industry Representative 1; CSO Representative 1; ZEITI Representative 2). This is where the type of mineral affecting the way the PRC manifests becomes particularly apparent (Barma et al. 2011; Bulte et al. 2005; Moore et al. 2018). With copper mining in Zambia the government relies on companies to report on production figures, which are included in the ZEITI reports without being interrogated or checked: "It is not like the ZEITI comes and does some quality checks to check whether the figures we are doing are correct" (Industry Representative 2). As a result of this, there was concern among interviewees on the validity of the data and on the information asymmetry between government and mining companies on mineral data. "The government does not know the concentrations, the copper per tonne, the purity...there is no geological survey, they do not know what they have... [and] they have no clue what is going on" (Industry Representative 1). This was echoed by CSO Representative 1: "the biggest problem is the government is not able to interrogate further, whether what they are declaring is true or not... whatever they are given they just take it". ZEITI Representative 2 mirrored this concern: "as things stand now, the companies... know much more and much better than the authorities themselves" (ZEITI Representative 2). This information asymmetry and lack of scrutiny in a context where trust between stakeholders has already been broken, fuels further distrust.

Mineral baseline data is not the only information missing from the ZEITI reports. While Zambia brought in extensive regulations on transfer pricing in 2018 (Deloitte 2018), this information is not included in the ZEITI reports; this was highlighted as a major concern by Industry Representative 1. The EI in Zambia has been marred by scandals of abusive transfer pricing for many years (McClure 2020; Readhead 2016; RSM Zambia 2020). Despite new regulations and a recent win in court, compliance with the new regulations remains low (Litho et al. 2022) and interviewees (CSO Representative 1; ZEITI Representative 2; Industry Representative 1) and academics (Benuoga 2021) are concerned that the practices still continue to erode Zambia's tax base. Moreover, in its most recent EITI validation, Zambia lost points on the transparency component<sup>30</sup> (EITI 2021b). One of the corrective actions<sup>31</sup> which Zambia received was related to contract transparency. In Zambia the 2015 Mines and Minerals Development Act makes it illegal to make the full text of mining licences publicly available (ZEITI 2020). This is a major hinderance to transparency of the EI, especially considering that the reason for Zambia joining the EITI was due to the secrecy of the DAs. However, as it stands, in order to access any information on specific licences<sup>32</sup> stakeholders have to go through a lengthy bureaucratic process and pay a fee (ZEITI Representative 2). The inability of CSOs to

<sup>32</sup> Which were signed after 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> But scored a 'high' overall score (90/100).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Corrective actions were regarding: "contracts (Requirement 2.4), beneficial ownership (Requirement 2.5), production data (Requirement 3.2), export data (Requirement 3.3) and on disaggregation (Requirement 4.7) of revenue data" (EITI, 2021a).

easily access information on specific mining licences has led to an accountability vacuum, negatively impacting the conditions of mining communities: "because institutional capacity is weak, most of them [mining companies]... do not pay attention to a whole host of things that were provided to them as conditions for operating, including the social licence to operate" (ZEITI Representative 2). As well as a lack of transparency on mining licences, there is limited information on treaties affecting the EI in Zambia <sup>33</sup>, which "have a huge impact on what is happening in the mining sector in terms of who is losing and who is wining" (ZEITI Representative 2), but are not included in the ZEITI reports or published in another publicly available forum.

It is through the above mechanisms (mining licences, treaties, transfer pricing) that most tax avoidance and evasion (industry corruption) take place (Daniel et al. 2010, 2017). If these details are not publicly available through the EITI or otherwise, it is impossible for CSOs to scrutinise whether these practices are continuing and whether government officials are facilitating them (government corruption). "At an operational level and in relation to specific companies, information is not very easily available for civil society or media to start asking questions" (ZEITI Representative 2). The exclusion of this information from the ZEITI thus severely reduces the quality of transparency, which reduces the ability of CSOs to be aware of and oppose corruption and bring about accountability, which further reduces trust in society. The next section explores the existence of the second scope condition outlined in theoretical framing for this research: the publicity condition.

#### 7.2.2. Publicity Condition

This section explores the ability of Zambian citizens and CSOs to fully understand the information made available to them through the ZEITI. The interview findings demonstrate that: 1) mining communities are unable to understand the EITI reports, and 2) CSOs lack the quantitative capacity necessary to analyse ZEITI data.

#### 7.2.2.1. Mining communities unable to understand the EITI

"This document is not written in the local language; it is in English and very few people are able to read it and analyse that information" (CSO Representative 2)

In 2010 only 1.7% of Zambians had a competent level of English<sup>34</sup> (Mwanza 2020). Translation into local languages has been a recommendation in multiple ZEITI reports but has still not become mainstreamed into the ZEITI process (EITI 2021b). Moreover, while primary school enrolment is Zambia is high, the country has low secondary school attainment (Mwanza 2020), which is arguably the minimum level

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Investment protection and promotion agreements, bilateral investment treaties, double taxation agreements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> While this figure is over ten years old, it is astoundingly low, and is unlikely to have increased to an extent that English speakers now make up the majority.

necessary to understand and make sense of ZEITI reports. As previously explained, there have been projects by the ZEITI and CSOs to simplify, translate and present ZEITI reports so that they are digestible for local communities (ZEITI Representative; CSO Representative 2). However, these were individual donor funded projects for individual communities and when the funding runs out, the project finishes and communities are no longer able to access and understand the work of the ZEITI (CSO Representative 2). Even Industry Representative 2 advocates for more of these initiatives, as he believes that the mining communities' distrust in mining companies is misguided, and that proper understanding of the ZEITI data will improve this: "[We need] more education to the public, and more dissemination of the ZEITI reports, so that more people have access to it" (Industry Representative 2). The capacity of the population to understand and make use of ZEITI data is further reduced by the limited quantitative capacity of Zambian CSOs.

#### 7.2.2.2. Quantitative capacity of CSOs

The second component related to the publicity condition highlighted in the interviews is that CSOs lack the quantitative capacity to properly analyse ZEITI data (ZEITI Representative 1; ZEITI Representative 2; Industry Representative 1). "Capacity in terms of quantitative engagement is probably more needed: the financial modelling, to be able to justify a case using the numbers" (ZEITI Representative). It seems to be the consensus that CSOs' capacity to use ZEITI data to improve governance outcomes is undermined by their inability to match the quantitative capacity of mining companies. "It is too much for civil society to monitor" (Industry Representative 1). This capacity vacuum mainly comes down to the issue of funding, which CSOs themselves have admitted is a problem (CSO Representative 2), and other interviewees are also aware of: "Companies are able to easily buy those skills but not so much civil society" (ZEITI Representative). Therefore, these two factors indicate that the publicity condition has not been met in Zambia, limiting the ability of CSOs to increase accountability, reduce corruption or increase trust. The next section explores the third scope condition outlined in the theoretical framework: the accountability condition.

#### 7.2.3. Accountability Condition

In Zambia, there is no obvious legal framework for citizens to hold mining companies and government officials to account and 'the supreme law of Zambia does not recognize the right of public participation'<sup>35</sup> (Kasapatu 2013:60). Therefore, the only way for citizens and CSOs to seek legal accountability is to push the government to change the law itself<sup>36</sup>. This section analyses the four main forums available for citizens

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> As a result of this, some Zambian CSOs have sought legal proceedings in the country of origin of the parent company of Zambian mining subsidiaries e.g the UK (Volterra Fietta 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> In some cases this has led to a backlash, where mining companies have pursued legal proceedings against Zambian CSOs (again, in other countries as this option is not available in Zambia). E.g. the case filed by First Quantum Minerals in the

and CSOs to do this, related to the EI in Zambia: 1) the EITI MSG, 2) other multi-stakeholder forums, 3) CSO campaigns, and 4) general elections.

#### 7.2.3.1. The ZEITI MSG

The main accountability mechanism provided by the EITI is the MSG. The success of the MSG as an accountability mechanism was praised by both ZEITI representatives and CSO representative 2.

"The MSG is... the most important platform at the moment" (ZEITI Representative 2).

"I think the platform has created a positive way of engagement" (CSO Representative 2).

However, CSO Representative 1 claimed that the uneven power dynamics on the MSG limit its power as an accountability mechanism: "I have noticed during the time that I have been sitting on the Board that the government and the mining industry players, they really untwist the civil society". This is supported by ZEITI Representative 2: "Information and capacity asymmetry sometimes compromises the quality of engagement and the accountability". It has been argued that these uneven power dynamics have meant that mining company and government representatives have prevented some of CSOs' strongest advocates from joining the MSG: "If they don't want a certain individual to sit on the Board that is coming from civil society... they will bring out a number of guidelines, a number of rules to ensure that that person is not going to be on the Board" (CSO Representative 1). The ability of government and mining companies to dictate who sits on the MSG came to a head in 2016, when CSOs boycotted the ZEITI MSG meeting, because of the illegitimate appointment of a CSO representative (PWYP 2017)<sup>37</sup>. Furthermore, CSO Representative 2 criticised the MSG for excluding mining community members: "That has been the cry of local communities, they say: 'look, we are the ones hosting these mining companies but we don't sit on the MSG' ". Therefore, the quality of the ZEITI MSG as an accountability mechanism is greatly reduced because of the power asymmetries in favour of mining companies and government officials. However, the MSG is not the only multi-stakeholder accountability forum available in Zambia as in recent years similar forums have been formed outside of the ZEITI remit.

#### 7.2.3.2. Other multi-stakeholder forums

CSOs, in collaboration with mining companies, have created various other forums where participants can put questions to government and mining company representatives, many of which take place in mining districts (CSO Representative 2; ZEITI Representative 2). For example, CSO Representative 2 created a monthly forum for a specific mining community and company to discuss issues of CSR, which he claims is

Johannesburg against The Southern Africa Resource Watch (SARW) for its report monitoring the CSR of the company in Northern Zambia (BHRRC, 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> While CSO Representative 2 and recent ZEITI reports claim that this issue has since improved, CSO Representative 1 disagrees.

a site for accountability (CSO Representative 2). However, the fact that these initiatives are created in collaboration with mining companies could limit how much change they can truly bring about, as the agenda is being set in collaboration with the companies themselves<sup>38</sup>. Other CSOs have created similar initiatives, which, ZEITI Representative 2 claims are "critical… mechanisms for accountability" because they take place in mining communities, with community members. However, he also admits that they have limitations:

"Whenever questions are being asked about 'why is this company polluting that river, why is this council not accounting for this amount of revenue that was collected' ... then such individuals would be labelled as 'political' and no accountability happens because it ends up being a finger pointing exercise" (ZEITI Representative 2).

Moreover, none of the multi-stakeholder forums, including the ZEITI MSG, have any formal power to hold any stakeholder to account through legal processes. This indicates that while these forums are useful for information sharing, they are limited as accountability mechanisms as they have no legal backing and tend to serve the interests of mining companies, not communities.

#### 7.2.3.3. CSO Campaigns

The third accountability mechanism which the EITI has opened up, is the use of its data in CSO campaigns (CSO Representatives 1 and 2). This section looks at these campaigns as accountability mechanisms, not outcomes, i.e. not what change they have made but the strength of them as mechanisms to bring about change. As previously explained, there have been numerous campaigns run by CSOs utilising ZEITI data, which have led to some significant policy changes (ZEITI Representative; CSO Representative 1 and 2). However, both ZEITI representatives and Industry Representative 2 seem convinced that CSOs are not making the most of the EITI data available to them. CSO Representative 2 agrees but argues that this is due to the lack of reliable funding they receive, which reduces the strength of their campaigns as accountability mechanisms. When Zambia first joined the EITI, it received financial support from the World Bank to engage stakeholders and disseminate findings (ZEITI Representative 2). That financial support has now ended and CSOs have to apply for and rely on specific project-based donor support (CSO Representative 2), which greatly reduces their ability to advocate for sustained system-level change in governance (accountability outcome). Furthermore, Industry Representative 1 argues that "the impact of civil society on mining in Africa (accountability outcome) is not that big... because big international shareholders do not listen to local African CSOs (accountability condition)". CSO Representative 1 also claims that their ability to use EITI data to hold powerful actors to account (accountability outcome) is significantly reduced because of the voluntary nature of the EITI (accountability condition). Thus, while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> It was noticeable that CSO representative 2 was hesitant to criticise any of the big MNC mining companies, but was openly critical of smaller mining companies, and especially Chinese owned ones. This could be because he works in collaboration with large MNCs in these forums.

CSO campaigns are effective advocacy mechanisms for small project-specific issues, they are not sufficient to address the wider governance issues presented in the problem narrative of this dissertation.

#### 7.2.3.4. General Elections

The fourth accountability mechanism available in Zambia is general elections. Zambia holds democratic elections every 5 years. In recent years elections have been used as a platform to lobby on issues of EI, so it could be argued that voters use this accountability mechanism to improve EI governance outcomes in the country (Manley 2012). However, elections were only specifically mentioned by one interviewee, ZEITI Representative 1, who highlighted the mismatch of timeframes between mining and electoral cycles, arguing that it is an incompatible accountability mechanism for EI governance in Zambia:

"The electoral cycle is not exactly aligned to the mining cycle. A mining operation is 10 years at minimum, and the electoral cycle is 5 years. So, you find that the pledges that [politicians] make to the community, they have to happen within the 5 years... [which results in constant] changes to the fiscal regime so that politicians are able to achieve what they promised to the people" (ZEITI Representative 1).

In Zambia on numerous occasions politicians have used elections to make promises of EI governance, namely to increase EI taxation, and once they are elected, they implement those changes only to reverse them again when faced with opposition from mining companies (Manley 2012). This has resulted in Zambia changing its mineral taxation policy 'every 18 months since 2001' (Siwale and Chibuye 2019:1). The constant flux in mineral taxation regimes brought frustration to many interviewees (CSO Representative 1; Industry Representative 2; ZEITI Representative 1). Thus, while few interviewees commented directly on elections as accountability mechanisms, the evidence suggests that they have not been effective to improve governance outcomes in the long run. The findings of this dissertation thus support the World Bank data in finding that the EITI has not led to improved EI governance outcomes in Zambia, and in some cases (corruption and trust) they have actually worsened. Interviews with key ZEITI stakeholders reveal that the reason for this is that not one of the necessary scope conditions for effective transparency are sufficiently fulfilled in Zambia, thus supporting this paper's theoretical framework, as laid out in Section 4. However, it is not possible to say from this one case whether all three scope conditions or just one of them is necessary, nor to rule out the impact of the broader governance context beyond extractives.

**Table 8: Combined Summary of Findings** 

Necessary Scope Conditions							
Transparency Condition	Publicity Condition	Accountability Condition					
CSOs are overwhelmed with too much of the wrong kind of data     They are only able to bring about small-scale project-specific changes	Mining communities are unable to understand ZEITI data as it is too complicated and not written in the local language	Multi-stakeholder forums, including the ZEITI MSG, are dominated by powerful actors (mining companies and government) and hold no formal legal					
Major governance issues (transfer pricing, mining licences and treaties) are not covered by the ZEITI, preventing meaningful EI governance change	CSOs lack the quantitative capacity necessary to meaningfully analyse and interrogate ZEITI data	<ul> <li>CSO campaigns lack the reliable funding and international reputation necessary to be used as meaningful accountability mechanisms</li> <li>General elections in Zambia have been shown to be incompatible accountability mechanism for EI governance in Zambia</li> </ul>					
	Governance Outcomes						
Accountability	Corruption	Trust					
ZEITI has <b>not facilitated</b> meaningful	ZEITI has <b>not reduced</b> corruption in Zambia, and	ZEITI has <b>not improved</b> trust among major EI					
improvement in the ability of CSOs to hold those	in some cases it has <b>increased</b> it, by providing a	stakeholders in Zambia and it has increased					
in power to account, except on small-scale	new means of corruption (related to EITI	mistrust related to CSR payments					
project-specific issues	compliance)						

Source: Author's own

## 8. Discussion

The findings of this dissertation, summarised above in Table 8, dispute those of Fenton Villar and Papyrakis (2017) who found that the EITI reduced corruption in Zambia. However, the data used by Fenton Villar and Papyrakis finished in 2014, and as Figure 8 in Section 7 shows, the biggest increase in corruption in Zambia happened in 2015. Furthermore, Fenton Villar and Papyrakis used data from two corruption indexes<sup>39</sup> both based on a variety of indicators which are not all related to the EI and so could be measuring different governance outcomes entirely<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, Fenton Villar and Papyrakis did not undertake any interviews with ZEITI stakeholders, and only complemented their corruption data with a small amount of information from the ZEITI reports. However, ZEITI reports are unlikely to show the full picture of corruption in Zambia, as the reports are undertaken by consultants who are paid by the Zambian government, so will likely represent an institutional bias, as described by Industry Representative 1: "[The ZEITI] makes a nice shiny report, a shiny Excel for the government to hold up. But if it is produced by a former banker, they know how to make a shiny Excel. If you know what I mean?" (Industry Representative 1).

The findings of this dissertation do, however, support those of Sequeira et al. (2016), who, despite not using the terminology of the three scope conditions, found that the ZEITI was 'insufficiently transparent' (transparency condition) and lacked 'dedicated specialist capacity (publicity condition) and enabling funding (accountability condition)' which prevented CSOs from increasing accountability in voluntary environmental disclosures in Zambia. Scholars studying the EITI in other contexts have also found that the ability of the initiative to improve EI governance was hampered by the limited quality of information (transparency condition) (Brynildsen and Nombora 2013; Hilson and Maconachie 2008b; Ölcer 2009), poor capacity of CSOs (publicity condition) (Dashwood et al., 2021; Kolstad and Wiig, 2009) and inadequate accountability mechanisms (accountability condition) (Sovacool and Andrews 2015). Conversely, in the case of Mexico, the country has a strong presence of all three conditions, with 'transparency in all policy areas' (empowered and capable CSOs; and CSO participation in 'legislative process... [and] budgetary cycles of... [EI] public policy' (López and Fontaine 2019:1161). This has resulted in significant improvements in EI governance outcomes in Mexico (ibid:1165). Thus, while "the EITI is a good concept... if you apply it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> CPI and World Bank control of corruption indicator, which have both been used in this dissertation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Which is why this researcher complimented them with interviews with key stakeholders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> 'Eventually organization instruments were altered to increase the autonomy of the Federal Institute of Open Data (IFAI), the highest Sate agency responsible for the transparency policy. Afterward, the IFAI became independent from any political or public entity, and its attributions were extended in 2014 to information access and personal data protection, as reflected in the new name of the National Institute of Transparency, Information Access and Personal Data Protection (INAI)' (López and Fontaine 2019:1161)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> 'Regarding the extractive sector, this led to the creation of the network Collective for Transparency, which brought together 11 CSO to collaborate with the government in the elaboration of a legal frameworks for the energy reform, the transparency policy and the anti-corruption policy' (López and Fontaine 2019:1161)

*properly*" (CSO Representative 1), this dissertation argues that its proper application requires the existence of three necessary scope conditions, which are not present in many resource-rich developing countries.

## 9. Conclusion

The findings of this dissertation are not just applicable to the El. International transparency standards have been promoted as silver bullets in a multitude of industries (GSI 2022; IATI 2022; OECD 2022), to improve domestic governance standards which have been eroded by highly mobile global markets. However, this dissertation argues that these initiatives themselves are useless if not supported by a wider enabling environment, including the three scope conditions presented here. Policy-makers should use this dissertation's framework to bolster the strength of transparency initiatives and improve governance in their country as well as globally, by supporting the growth of the scope conditions to be instituted alongside transparency initiatives. Specifically, Zambian policy-makers can use the findings of this dissertation to reflect critically on the wider impact of the ZEITI, beyond validation scores, by working to fill the cracks in the conditions which have been highlighted here. Zambian CSOs can use the research to inform campaigns, request more reliable funding from donors and to advocate for improved quality of EI transparency from the Zambian government. More research is needed to assess whether any one scope condition has more weighting than others under certain circumstances and whether and how CSOs can be supported to build these conditions themselves from the grass roots level. Finally, complementary research would be beneficial to determine if and how the EITI can address the accountability issues that stem from reduced dependence on general taxation in resource-rich developing countries (i.e. the top line of Figure 2), which was beyond the scope of this study, and could bring about a more nuanced understanding of the issues presented here.

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# **Appendices**

# 1. World Bank Governance Indicators Background Data

#### Voice and Accountability

#### Voice and Accountability

Voice and accountability captures perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media. This table lists the individual variables from each data source used to construct this measure in the Worldwide Governance Indicators

#### Representative Sources

EIU Democracy index

Vested interests

Accountablity of public officials

Human rights

Freedom of association

FRH Political rights (FRW)

Civil liberties (FRW)

Freedom of the net (FOTN)

GWP Confidence in honesty of elections IPD Freedom of elections at national level

Do the representative institutions (e.g. parliament) operate in accordance with the formal rules in force (e.g. Constitution)?

Freedom of the press (freedom of access to information, protection of journalists, etc.)

Freedom of association

Freedom of assembly, demonstration

Respect for the rights and freedoms of minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic, immigrants...)

Is the report produced by the IMF under Article IV published?

Reliability of State budget (completeness, credibility, performance...)

Reliability of State accounts (completeness, audit, review law...)

Reliability of State-owned firms' accounts

Reliability of basic economic and financial statistics (e.g. national accounts, price indices, foreign trade, currency and credit, etc.).

Reliability of State-owned banks' accounts

Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... communicated?

Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... publicly debated?

Degree of transparency in public procurement

Freedom to leave the country (i.e. passports, exit visas, etc.)

Freedom of entry for foreigners (excluding citizens of countries under agreements on free movement, e.g. Schengen Area, etc.)

Freedom of movement for nationals around the world

Genuine media pluralism

Freedom of access, navigation and publishing on Internet

PRS Military in politics

Democratic accountability

RSF Press freedom index

VDM Expanded freedom of expression

Freedom of association

Clean elections

#### Non-representative Sources

AFR Trust parliament / national assembly

Satisfaction with democracy

Freeness and fairness of the last national election

BTI Political participation (SI)

Stability of democratic institutions (SI)

Political and social integration (SI)

EQI Confidence in Parliament

Elections are Not Free and Fair

FRH Independent media (NIT) Civil society (NIT)

Electoral Process (NIT)

Elections

Public management

Access to information and openness

Rights

HRM Right to Opinion and Expression

Right to Participate in Government

Right to Assembly and Association

IFD Policies and framework for rural development and rural poverty alleviation

Legal frameworks for and autonomy of rural people's organizations

IRP Electoral index

LBO Satisfaction with democracy

Trust in parliament

MSI People have rights to create, share, and consume information

People have adequate access to channels of information

There are appropriate channels for government information

There are diverse channels for information flow

Information channels are independent

OBI Open budget index

VAB Trust in parliament

Satisfaction with democracy

WCY Transparency of government policy is satisfactory

WJP Factor 1: Limited government powers

Factor 4: Fundamental rights

Factor 5: Open government

#### Code Data Source Name

ADB African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments

AFR Afrobarometer

ASD Asian Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments

BPS Business Enterprise Environment Survey

BTI Bertelsmann Transformation Index

CCR Freedom House Countries at the Crossroads

EBR European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transition Report

EIU Economist Intelligence Unit Riskwire & Democracy Index

EQI European Quality of Government Index (Underlying Survey Data)

FRH Freedom House

GCB Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer Survey

GCS World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report

GII Global Integrity Index

GWP Gallup World Poll

HER Heritage Foundation Index of Economic Freedom

HRM Human Rights Measurement Initiative

HUM Cingranelli Richards Human Rights Database and Political Terror Scale

IFD IFAD Rural Sector Performance Assessments

IPD Institutional Profiles Database

IRP African Electoral Index

LBO Latinobarometro

MSI International Research and Exchanges Board Vibrant Information Barometer

OBI International Budget Project Open Budget Index

PIA World Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments

PRC Political Economic Risk Consultancy Corruption in Asia Survey

PRS Political Risk Services International Country Risk Guide

RSF Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index

TPR US State Department Trafficking in People report

VAB Vanderbilt University Americas Barometer VDM Varieties of Democracy Project

WCY Institute for Management and Development World Competitiveness Yearbook

WJP World Justice Project Rule of Law Index

WMO Global Insight Business Conditions and Risk Indicators

#### 1.2. Control of Corruption

#### **Control of Corruption**

Control of corruption captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests. This table lists the individual variables from each data source used to construct this measure in the Worldwide Governance Indicators

#### Representative Sources

EIU Corruption among public officials

GCS Public trust of politicians

Diversion of public funds

Irregular payments in exports and imports Irregular payments in public utilities Irregular payments in tax collection

Irregular payments in public contracts

Irregular payments in judicial decisions

GWP Is corruption in government widespread?

IPD Level of "petty" corruption between administration and citizens

Level of corruption between administrations and local businesses

Level of corruption between administrations and foreign companies

PRS Corruption

VDM Corruption index

WMO Corruption. The risk that individuals/companies will face bribery or other corrupt practices to carry out business, from securing major contracts to being allowed to import/export a small product or obtain everyday paperwork. This threatens a company's ability to operate in a country, or opens it up to legal or regulatory penalties and reputational damage.

#### Non-representative Sources

ADB Transparency, accountability, and corruption in public sector

AFR Corruption: office of the presidency

Corruption: judges and magistrates Corruption: government officials

ASD Transparency, accountability, and corruption in public sector

BPS How common is it for firms to have to pay irregular additional payments to get things done?

Percentage of total annual sales do firms pay in unofficial payments to public officials?

How often do firms make extra payments in connection with taxes, customs, and judiciary?

How problematic is corruption for the growth of your business?

BTI Anti-corruption poicy

EQI Corruption Is Prevalent in Education System

Corruption is Prevalent in Health Care System

Corruption is Prevalent in Police Force

Been Asked For a Bribe in Past 12 Months (% Yes)

Paid a Bribe in Past 12 Months (% Yes)

FRH Corruption (NIT)

GCB Frequency of household bribery: education

Frequency of household bribery: judiciary Frequency of household bribery: medical Frequency of household bribery: police

Frequency of household bribery: permit Frequency of household bribery: utilities

Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Parliament / legislature Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Legal system / judiciary

Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Public officials

GII Accountability

IFD Accountability, transparency and corruption in rural areas

LBO Corruption in judiciary

Corruption in office of the presidency

Corruption in parliament

Corruption in public employees

Corruption in local government (councilors)

Corruption in police

Corruption in national tax office

PIA Transparency, accountability and corruption in public sector

PRC To what extent does corruption exist in a way that detracts from the business environment for foreign companies?

VAB Perception of politicians to be corrupt -- % of respondents agreeing with statements: more than half & all politicians are corrupt

Thinking of the politicians, how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption?

WCY Bribery and corruption do not exist

WJP Factor 2: Absence of corruption

Code	Data Source Name
ADB	African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments
AFR	Afrobarometer
ASD	Asian Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments
BPS	Business Enterprise Environment Survey
BTI	Bertelsmann Transformation Index
CCR	Freedom House Countries at the Crossroads
EBR	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transition Report
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit Riskwire & Democracy Index
EQI	European Quality of Government Index (Underlying Survey Data)
FRH	Freedom House
GCB	Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer Survey
GCS	World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report
GII	Global Integrity Index
GWP	Gallup World Poll
HER	Heritage Foundation Index of Economic Freedom
HRM	Human Rights Measurement Initiative
HUM	Cingranelli Richards Human Rights Database and Political Terror Scale
IFD	IFAD Rural Sector Performance Assessments
IJT	iJET Country Security Risk Ratings
IPD	Institutional Profiles Database
IRP	African Electoral Index
LBO	Latinobarometro
MSI	International Research and Exchanges Board Vibrant Information Barometer
OBI	International Budget Project Open Budget Index
PIA	World Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments
PRC	Political Economic Risk Consultancy Corruption in Asia Survey
PRS RSF	Political Risk Services International Country Risk Guide
TPR	Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index
VAB	US State Department Trafficking in People report Vanderbilt University Americas Barometer
VAB	Varieties of Democracy Project
WCY	Institute for Management and Development World Competitiveness Yearbook
WJP	World Justice Project Rule of Law Index
WMO	Global Insight Business Conditions and Risk Indicators
VIVIO	Order margin dealless Conditions and Nat mulcators

# 2. Corruption Perception Index Background Data

# What kind of corruption does the CPI measure?

The data sources used to compile the CPI specifically cover the following manifestations of public sector corruption:

- Bribery
- Diversion of public funds
- · Officials using their public office for private gain without facing consequences
- · Ability of governments to contain corruption in the public sector
- · Excessive red tape in the public sector which may increase opportunities for corruption
- · Nepotistic appointments in the civil service
- Laws ensuring that public officials must disclose their finances and potential conflicts of interest
- Legal protection for people who report cases of bribery and corruption
- State capture by narrow vested interests
- Access to information on public affairs/government activities



The CPI does not cover:

- Citizens' <u>direct perceptions or experience of corruption</u>
- Tax fraud
- Illicit financial flows
- Enablers of corruption (lawyers, accountants, financial advisors etc)
- Money-laundering
- Private sector corruption
- Informal economies and markets

# 3. ZEITI Annual Reconciliation Report Contents (2009-2020)

Source: Author's own

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Executive Summary:	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction
- Findings	- Objective	- Background	- Background	- Background	- Background
- Reconciliation results	- Scope of work	- Objective	- Objective	- Objective	- Objectives
	- Structure of the report	- Nature and extent of our work	- Nature and extent of our work	- Nature and extent of our work	- Nature of our work
	- Acknowledgement				
General Context	Executive Summary	Executive Summary	Executive Summary	Executive Summary	Executive Summary
	- Summary of the flows reported	- Completeness and accuracy of	- Revenue Generated from the	- Revenue Generated from the	- Revenue Generated from the
	- Government receeipts	data	Extractive Industries	Extractive Industry	Extractive Sector
	- Unreconciled differences	- Payment Reconciliation	- Production and Exports	- Production and Exports	- Analysis of Production and Export
	- Completeness and accurancy of	- Government revenues	- EITI Scope	- EITI Scope	- Scope of the reconcilisation
	data		- Completeness and Accuracry of Data	- Completeness and Accuracy of Data	- Completeness and Accuracy of
			- Reconciliation of Cash Flows	- Reconciliation of Cash Flows	Information
					- Reconciliation of Financial Flows
					- Analysis of Government Revenues
					- Corporate Social Responsibility
					Payments
					- VAT Refunds
Approach and Methodology	Overview of the extractive	Approach and Methodology	Approach and Methodology	Approach and Methodology	Approach and Methodology
- Scoping study	sector in Zambia	- Scoping study	- Scoping Study	- Scoping Study	- Scoping Study
- Capacity building workshops	- Oil and gas sector	- Capacity building workshop	- Data Collection	- Data Collection	- Information Collection
- Reconciliation work and	- Mineral sector	- Reconciliation process	- Reconciliation and Investigation of	- Reconciliation and Investigation of	- Reconciliation and Investigation
reporting		- Reliability and credibility of EITI	Discrepancies	Discrepancies	Discrepancies
		data	- Reliability and Credibility of Data	- Reliability and Credibility of Data	- Reliability and Credibility of
		- Basis of reporting	Reported	Reported	Information Reported
			- Basis of Reporting	- Basis of Reporting	- Basis of Reporting

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
4	Reconciliation Scope	Approach, methodology and	Overview of the Extractive Sector	Contextual Information on the	Contextual Information on the	Determination of the Reconciliation
	- Sectors and Activities	work done	in Zambia	Extractive Industry	Extractive Industry	Scope
	- Taxes, Charges and Fees	- Scoping of reconciliation	- Oil and Gas sector	- Oil and Gas Sector	- Oil and Gas Sector	- Selection of financial flows
	- Extractive companies	- Elements of the reconciliation	- Mining Sector	- Mining Sector	- Mining Sector	- Selection of Extractive Companies
	- Governmental Bodies	work		- Collection and Distribution of the	- Collection and Distribution of the	- Reconciliation scope
	- ZCCM-IH			Extractive Revenues	Extractive Revenues	
				- Beneficial ownership	- Beneficial ownership	
				- State Participation in the Extractive	- State Participation in the Extractive	
				Sector	Sector	
				- Audit and Assurance Practices in	- Audit and Assurance Practices in	
				Zambia	Zambia	
5	Results of the Reconciliation	Scans of the reconsiliation	Determination of the	Determination of the Reconciliation	Determination of the Reconciliation	Reconciliation Results
5	Exercise	Scope of the reconciliation - Flows and entities included in				- Payment Reconciliation between
	- Reporting by extractive	the reconciliation	- Sectors and Activities	Scope - Selection of payment flows	Scope - Selection of payment flows	Mining Companies and Government
		- Determination of scope of the		- Selection of Extractive Companies	- Selection of Extractive Companies	Entities
	Bodies	reconciliation	- Extractive companies	- Reconciliation scope	- Reconciliation scope	- Payment reconciliation per
	- Reporting by tax category	- ZCCM Investment Holidings	- Flow chart of payments	- Reconcination scope	- Neconcination scope	company
	- Adjustments	PLC	- How chart of payments			- Payment reconciliation between
	- Unreconciled discrepancies	- Environmental protection fund				mining companies and ZCCM-IH
	- Analysis of payments	Environmental protection rand				mining companies and zeciw in
	- Production declared by					
	extractive companies					
	- Social payments and					
	transfers					

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Recommendations and	Results of the Reconciliation	Reconciliation Scope	Reconciliation Results	Reconciliation Results	Contextual Information on the
Conclusions	- Flows to government analysed		- Payment Reconciliation Between	- Payment Reconciliation between	Extractive Industry
- Recommendations	by company	- Extractive companies	Mining Companies and Government	Mining Companies and Government	- Oil and Gas Sector
- Conclusions	- Flows to governmemnt by	- Government Agencies	Entitites	Entities	- Mining Sector
	payment type		- Payment reconciliation between	- Payment reconciliation between	- Collection and Distribution of the
	- Reconciliation adjustments		mining companies and ZCCM-IH	mining companies and ZCCM-IH	Extractive Revenues
	and unreconciled differences				- Beneficial Ownership
	- ZCCM-IH: Dividends and price				- Government Participation in the
	participation fees				Extractive Sector
	- Production declared by				- Audit and Assurance Practices in
	extractive companies for 2010				Zambia
Annexes	Recommendations	Results of the Reconciliation	Reported Data	Reported Data	Recommendations
Terms of Reference     Reconciliation by extractive		- Reporting by extractive companies and Governmental	<ul> <li>Analysis of Government Revenues</li> <li>Social payments</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Analysis of Government Revenues</li> <li>Social payments</li> </ul>	
•		Bodies	- Analysis of production data	- Analysis of production data	
- Reporting template		- Reporting by tax category	- Analysis of production data	- Analysis of production data	
- List of companies paying		- Reconciliation adjustments	- Analysis of export data	- Analysis of export data	
taxes ro the ZRA		- Unreconciled discrepancies			
- Persons contacted or		on contined distrepanties			
involved in the Audit					
involved in the Addit					

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
8		Appendices - Persons met during the reconciliation - Terms of reference - Reporting template - Reconciliation by extractive company - List of licensed companies involved in the extractive sector, exploration and production - Audit certifications obtained - Payments to local councils by company	Reported Data  - Analysis of Government revenues  - Social payments  - ZCCM-IH revenues  - Production declared by extractive companies	Recommendations - Lessons learned from the 2012 Reconciliation - Follow up of the recommendations of the 2011 EITI Report	Recommendations - Lessons learned from the 2012-2013 Reconciliation - Follow up of the recommendations of the 2011 EITI Report	Annexes  - Reporting template and Supporting Schedule  - Tracking table of certified declaration forms  - Extractive companies profile and immediate beneficial ownership  - List of Oil and Gas companies  - List of Mining Rights (MMMD)
9			Recommendations - Lessons learned from 2011 reconciliation - Follow up of the recommendations of the 2010 Report	Annexes  - Reporting template and Supporting Schedule  - Tracking table of certified declaration forms  - Extractive companies profile and beneficial ownership  - List of Oil and Gas companies  - Evaluation Criteria for Bids for Petroleum Exploration Licence  - Oil and Gas Exploration Blocks of Zambia  - List of Mining Rights (MMEWD)  - Reconciliation sheets by company  - Persons contacted or involved in the 2012 ZEITI reconciliation	Annexes  - Reporting template and Supporting Schedule  - Tracking table of certified declaration forms  - Extractive companies profile and beneficial ownership  - List of Oil and Gas companies  - Evaluation Criteria for Bids for Petroleum Exploration Licence  - Oil and Gas Exploration Blocks of Zambia  - List of Mining Rights (MMEWD)  - Reconciliation sheets by company  - Persons contacted or involved in the 2013 ZEITI reconciliation	

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	ntroduction	Introduction	Executive Summary	Executive Summary	Introduction	Introduction
-  -	Background	- Background	- Introduction	- Introduction	- Background	- Background
-	Objectives	- Objective	- Key figures of the ZEITI Report 2017	- Key figures of the ZEITI Report 2018	- Objective	- Objective
-	Nature of our work	- Nature and Extent of our Work	- Reporting and reconciliation results	- Reporting and reconciliation results	- Scope of the report	- Scope of the report
			- Recommendations	- Recommendations	- Nature and extent of our work	- Nature and extent of our work
	xecutive Summary	Executive Summary	Approach and Methodology	Approach and Methodology	Executive Summary	Executive Summary
-	Revenue Generated from the	- Revenue Generated from the	- Preliminary analysis of the scope	- Preliminary analysis of the scope	- Revenues generated from the extractive industry	- Revenues generated from the extractive indust
	extractive Sector	Extractive Industry	- Data collection	- Data collection	- Contribution to the economy	- Contribution to the economy
-	Analysis of Production and	- Production and Exports	- Reconciliation and investigation of	- Reconciliation and investigation of	- Production and exports	- Production and exports
	xports	- EITI Scope	discrepancies	discrepancies	- Reporting and reconciliation results	- Reporting and reconciliation results
-	Scope of the reconciliation	- Completeness and Reliability of	- Reliability and credibility of data	- Reliability and credibility of data reported	- Recommendations	- Recommendations
-	Completeness and Accuracy	Data	reported	- Basis and period of reporting		
	of Information	- Summary of the Reconciliation	- Basis and period of reporting	- Procedures for the management and		
-	Reconciliation of Financial	Results	- Procedures for the management and	protection of the collected data		
	lows	- Limitations	protection of the collected data			
-	Analysis of Government	- Mainstreaming Data				
	Revenues	- Follow-up on the Latest Validation				
		Results				
		- Findings				
	Contextual Infromation on the	Approach and Methodology	Contextual Information on the	Contextual Information on the Extractive	Reconciliation Scope and Results of Reconciliation Works	Reconciliation Scope and Results of Reconciliatio
	extractive Industry	- Scoping Study	Extractive Industry	Industry	- Scope of ZEITI Report 2019	Works
-	Oil and Gas Sector	- Data Collection	- Key Features of the Extractive Industry	- Key Feautures of the Extractive Industry	- Approach and Methodology	- Scope of ZEITI Report 2020
-	Mining Sector	- Reconciliation and Investigation of	- Legal and institutional Framework	- Legal and Institutional Framework	- Results and reconciliation works	- Approach and Methodology
-	Collection and Distribution of	Discrepancies	- Fiscal Regime	- Fiscal Regime	- Adjustments	- Results and reconciliation works
-	he Extractive Revenues	- Reliability and Credibility of Data	- Environmental regulation	- Environmental Legislation	- Unreconciled differences	- Unilateral disclosure of VAT refunds by in-sco
-	Beneficial Ownership	Reported	- Licenses	- Licenses	- Unilateral disclosure of revenues by government	companies
-	Government Participation in	- Accounting Records	- Contribution of the Extractive Industry	- Production and Export	- Unilateral disclosure of VAT refunds by in-scope	
-	he Extractive Sector		to the Economy	- Contribution of the Extractive Industry to the	companies	
-	Audit and Assurance		- Production and Exports	Economy		
	Practices in Zambia		- State participation	- State participation		
-	Corporate Social		- Collection and Distribution of the	- Collection and Distribution of the Extractive		
	Responsibility		Extractive Revenues	Revenues		
	VAT Refunds		- Audit and Assurance Practices and	- Audit and Assurance Practices and Controls		
			Controls in Zambia	in Zambia		
			CONTROLS IN Editible	20111510		

2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Approach and Methodology	Contextual Information on the	Determination of the Reconciliation	Determination of the Reconciliation Scope	Extractive Sector in Zambia	Extractive Sector in Zambia
- Scoping Study	Extractive Industry	Scope	- Revenue Streams	- Legal framework and fiscal regime	- Legal framework and fiscal regime
- Information Collection	- Key Features of the Extractive	- Revenue Streams	- Extractive Companies	- Contracts and license allocation	- Contracts and license allocation
- Reconciliation and	Industry	- Extractive Companies	- Reconciliation Scope	- Register of licenses	- Register of licenses
Investigation of Discrepancies	- Legal Framework	- Reconciliation Scope	- Reporting by Project Level	- Disclosure of contracts and licenses	- Disclosure of contracts and license
- Reliability and Credibility of	- Fiscal Regime	- Reporting by Project Level	- Level of Disaggregation	- Beneficial ownership	- Beneficial ownership
Information Reported	- Contribution of the Extractive	- Level of Disaggregation	- Materiality of Deviation and acceptable	- State participation	- State participation
- Basis of Reporting	Industry to the Economy	- Materiality of Deviation and	reconciliation difference	- Exploration and production	- Revenue collection
	- Production and Exports	acceptable reconciliation difference		- Revenue collection	- Revenue allocation
	- State-Owned Enterprise			- Revenue allocation	- Social and economic spending
	- Collection and Distribution of the			- Social and economic spending	
	Extractive Revenues				
	- Licenses				
	- Audit and Assurance Practices				
Determination of the	Determination of the Reconciliation	Reconciliation Results	Reconciliation Results	Analysis of the Reported Data	Analysis of the Reported Data
Reconciliation Scope	Scope	- Payment Reconciliation between	- Payment Reconciliation between Extractive	- Analysis of government revenues	- Analysis of government revenues
- Selection of financial flows	- Revenue Streams	Extractive Companies and Government	Companies and Government Agencies	- Analysis of employment data	- Analysis of employment data
- Selection of Extrative	- Extractive Companies	Agencies	- Adjustments		
Companies	- Reconciliation Scope	- Adjustments	- Unreconciled Differences		
- Reconciliation scope	- Reporting by Project Level	- Unreconciled Differences	- Unilateral Disclosure of Revenues by		
	- Level of Disaggregation	- Unilateral Disclosure of Revenues by	Government Agencies		
	- Materiality Deviation	Government Agencies			
	- Beneficial Ownership				
Reconciliation Results	Reconciliation Results	Analysis of Reported Data	Analysis of Reported Data	Recommendations	Recommendations
- Payment Reconciliation	- Payment Reconciliation between	- Analysis of Government Revenues	- Analysis of Government Revenues	- 2019 IA Recommendations	
between Mining Companies	Extractive Companies and	- Analysis of Social Payments	- Analysis of Social Payments	- Follow up of recommendations of previous EITI Processes	
and Government Entities	Government Agencies	- Analysis of Payments by Project	- Analysis of Payments by Project		
- Payment reconciliation per	- Adjustments	- Analysis of Employment Data	- Analysis of Employment Data		
'	- Unreconciled Differences	- Analysis of Production Data			
	- Unilateral Disclosure of Revenues by	*			
	Approach and Methodology - Scoping Study - Information Collection - Reconciliation and Investigation of Discrepancies - Reliability and Credibility of Information Reported - Basis of Reporting  Determination of the Reconciliation Scope - Selection of financial flows - Selection of Extrative Companies - Reconciliation scope  Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation between Mining Companies and Government Entities	Approach and Methodology - Scoping Study - Information Collection - Reconciliation and Investigation of Discrepancies - Reliability and Credibility of Information Reported - Basis of Reporting - Contribution of the Extractive Industry to the Economy - Production and Exports - State-Owned Enterprise - Collection and Distribution of the Extractive Revenues - Licenses - Audit and Assurance Practices  Determination of the Reconciliation Scope - Selection of Fixrative Companies - Reconciliation scope - Reporting by Project Level - Level of Disaggregation - Materiality Deviation - Beneficial Ownership  Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation between Mining Companies and Government Entities - Payment reconciliation per company - Key Features of the Extractive Industry - Contribution of the Extractive Industry - Contribution of the Extractive - Paymend Exconciliation Scope - Revenue Streams - Extractive Companies - Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation between - Extractive Companies and Government Agencies - Adjustments - Unreconciled Differences	Approach and Methodology - Scoping Study - Information Collection - Reconciliation and Investigation of Discrepancies - Reliability and Credibility of Information Reported - Basis of Reporting - Contribution of the Extractive - Basis of Reporting - Contribution of the Extractive - Contribution of the Extractive - Collection and Exports - State-Owned Enterprise - Collection and Distribution of the - Extractive Revenues - Licenses - Audit and Assurance Practices - Reconciliation Scope - Selection of Fixnariav - Reconciliation Scope - Reporting by Project Level - Lureconciled Differences - Unilateral Disclosure of Revenues by - Analysis of Reported Data - Analysis of Social Payments - Analysis of Employment Suta - Analysis of Employment Suta - Analysis of Employment Suta - Analysis of Employment Data - Analysis of Production Data	Approach and Methodology - Scoping Study - Scoping Study - Scoping Study - Revenue Streams - Reporting by Project Level - Reporting by Project Level - Contribution of the Extractive - Reporting by Project Level - Contribution of the Extractive - Industry to the Economy - Production and Exports - State-Owned Enterprise - Collection and Distribution of the - Extractive Revenues - Licenses - Audit and Assurance Practices  Determination of the Reconciliation Scope - Selection of financial flows - Selection of Extrative - Revenue Streams - Reconciliation Scope - Reconciliation Results - Reconciliation Scope - Reconciliation Scope - Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation - Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation - Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation - Reconciliation Results - Reconciliation	Approach and Methodology - Scoping Study - Information Collection - Reconcilitation and insurestigation of Discrepancies - Legal Framework - Relability and Credibility of Fiscal Regime Information Option of the Extractive Companies - Reporting by Project Level - Basis of Reporting - Production and Exports - Contribution of the Extractive Companies - Contribution of the Extractive Companies - Reporting by Project Level - Usenses - Audit and Assurance Practices - Collection and Distribution of the Extractive Revenues Streams - Audit and Assurance Practices - Collection and Distribution of the Extractive Revenues - Audit and Assurance Practices - Collection of Tinancial flows - Selection of Tinancial flows - Reconciliation Scope - Reporting by Project Level - Licenses - Audit and Assurance Practices - Payment Reconciliation Scope - Reporting by Project Level - Licenses - Audit and Assurance Practices - Collection of Tinancial flows - Selection of Tinancial flows - Selection of Strative - Reconciliation Scope - Reconciliation Results - Reconciliation Scope - Reporting by Project Level - Selection of Strative - Companies - Reconciliation Scope - Reporting by Project Level - Level of Disaggregation - Materiality of Deviation and acceptable reconciliation - Revenue allocation - Revenue allocation - Revenue Streams - Audit and Assurance Practices - Payment Reconciliation Results - Payment Reconciliation Deviation - Reconciliation Results - Reporting by Project Level - Unintered Disclosure of Revenues by Government Agencies - Analysis of Reported Data - Analysis of Septembers -

2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Recommendation	ons Analysis of Reported Data	Recommendations	Recommendations	Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the	Annexes
	<ul> <li>Analysis of Government Revenues</li> <li>Analysis of Social Payments</li> <li>Analysis of Payments by Project</li> <li>Analysis of Employment Data</li> <li>Analysis of Production Data</li> <li>Analysis of Export Data</li> </ul>	- 2017 IA Recommendations - Follow up of recommendations of previous EITI Processes	- 2018 IA Recommendations - Follow up of recommendations of previous EITI Processes	Extractive Industry in Zambia  - Objectives of the survey  - Results of the survey to companies  - Results of the survey to Government Agencies	- List of Annexes available at: http://zambiaeiti.org - Letter from the Mining Cadastre Department on the award and transfer of Mining Licences - Evaluation Criteria for applications for Mining Licence - Evaluation Criteria for bids for Petroleum Exploration Licence - Award and transfer of Petroleum Licences - Letter from the Geological Survey Departmen - BO declaration form - Estimated budget of the works provided by KMP to Solwezi Council - Tracking table of certified reporting templates - Company by company reconciliation sheets
Annexes	Recommendations	Annexes	Annexes	Annexes	- company by company reconciliation sneets
- Reporting templal Supporting Schedt - Tracking table of declaration forms - Extractive compa profile and immedia beneficial owners - List of Oil and Gascompanies - List of Mining Right (MMMD)	te and - EITI Implementation ule - Governance of the Mining Secto certified - Follow up Recommendations of previous EITI Processes nies tte ip	- Payment from the Oil abd Gas	- Payment from the Oil abd Gas companies (Unilateral Disclosure by the Petroleum Unit) - Company by company reconciliation sheets - Tracking table of certified reporting templates - Extractive companies' profile and beneficial ownership - Register of Licenses - List of Licenses Transferred 2018 - Evaluation Criteria for Bids for Petrolleum Exploration Licence - Evaluation Criteria for application for Mining Licence - Detail of social payments - Detail of unilateral disclosure by company - Award and transfer of Mining Licenses -	List of mining licences granted in 2019 Letter from the Mining Cadastre Department on the award and transfer of Mining Licenses Evaluation Criteria for applications for Mining Licence Evaluation Criteria for Bids for Petroleum Exploration Licence Award and transfer of Petroleum Licences - Letter from the Geological Survey Department Register of mining licenses BO declaration form Payment streams included in the scope of the report Estimated budget of the works provided by KMP to Solwezi Council Details of the companies social payments in 2019 Production data as reported by the in-scope companies in 2019 Minerals Export Data 2018 reported by ZRA Tracking table of certified reporting templates Payments from the Oil and Gas companies (Unlilateral Disclosure by the Petroleum Unit)	

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
9		Annexes				
		- List of Petroleum Companies				
		- List of Mining Companies Below				
		the Materiality Threshold				
		- Tracking table of certified				
		reporting templates				
		- Extractive companies profile and				
		beneficial ownership				
		- Register of Licenses				
		- Reporting Templates and				
		Supporting Schedule				
		- List of Licenses Transferred				
		- Evaluation Criteria for Bids for				
		Petroleum Exploration Licence				
		- Systematic disclosure				
		assessment table				
		- List of Outstanding Documents				
		- Persons Contacted or Involved in				
		the 2016 ZEITI Process				