EdinBurg Peer Reviewed Journals and Books Publishers
Journal of Strategic Management
Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-10: ISSN 2789-4851
Email: info@edinburgjournals.org

The Impact of Extractive Industry Local Content on Community Development in Turkana County, Kenya

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How to cite this article: Masai, F. (2023). The Impact of Extractive Industry Local Content on Community Development in Turkana County, Kenya. *Journal of Strategic Management,* 3(1), 1-10.

Abstract

Extractive companies are major players in the economic landscapes of many developing countries. While the macroeconomic impact of extractive sector operations is significant and positive, the microeconomic impact of extraction enterprises is uneven, and in many cases could be greatly enhanced if companies adopted more explicit policies and practices to expand economic opportunity along their value chains. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the impact of extractive industry local content on community development in Turkana County, Kenya. The paper was anchored by the stakeholder theory and employed a desktop research approach. The paper established that extractive industry local content has the potential to boost community development. In particular, well-designed and implemented local content requirements are catalysts for sustainable development. Continuous consultation between extractive companies and host communities is critical in achieving meaningful community development. Local employment, training of the local workforce, technology transfers, and domestic sourcing of goods are some of the benefits accruing to the local community from the extractive companies. The paper recommended that the government through parliament should expedite the enactment of bills and create a policy to govern the extractive sector and protect the rights of indigenous communities. There is a need for civil society to create an understanding of the law by administrators, security heads, and local people and to provide technical assistance for policy development at the county level. County and national governments need to drive the development of the sector, rather than this being done by the investor. There is a need for the development of a clear policy framework on local employment as part of local content policies. Extractive companies should expand the provision of internship opportunities as well as staff learning through cross-posting, develop and adopt technology transfer agreements, form joint ventures, and set aside funds to support local research and development.

Keywords: *Extractive Industry, Local Content, Community Development, Turkana County*

1.0 Introduction

Extractive companies are major players in the economic landscapes of many developing countries. While circumstances vary from country to country, the proceeds from mineral, oil, and gas extraction contribute substantially to many developing countries public budgets. In Nigeria, for example, the extractive industry contributes 20% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 65% of its budgetary revenues (Muhongo, 2020). In Azerbaijan, oil is the leading export. Revenues from offshore oil production will double the country's current GDP of $60 billion over the next three years. At the macro level, extractive companies generate substantial levels of revenue for host governments in the form of royalties, income taxes, or other profit-sharing arrangements (Arellano-Yanguas, 2019).

The World Bank (2015) Group's Extractive Industries Review process concluded that extractive industries can contribute to sustainable development when projects are implemented well and preserve the rights of affected people, and if the benefits they generate are well-used. When allocated effectively and equitably, revenue flows from the extraction of natural resources and can finance public goods and services such as education and training, health care, and infrastructure – all of which ultimately contribute to expanded economic opportunity for host country citizens. However, this type of indirect contribution does not guarantee the expansion of economic opportunity in developing countries. The well-documented "resource curse" is often a problem, as the activities of the extractive sector fail to consistently and directly affect economic growth and expand economic opportunity, and in several cases have worsened conditions and quality of life for certain population groups.

Prior research has shown that natural resource-rich countries tend to experience slow economic growth and poverty (Ba & Jacquet, 2021). Mining areas and nearby communities may not fully benefit from their mineral wealth and can be at risk for increased poverty, especially during bust cycles. This phenomenon, at the regional and national level, has become known as 'The Resource Curse'. Scholars pinpoint the lack of broad-based economic development on the fact that extractive industries, which are often viewed as "enclave" industries that have few linkages with local economies, generate very few jobs locally. To combat this phenomenon, many national governments have instituted Local Content Policies (LCPs) that mandate or, at minimum, encourage foreign firms to pursue local employment and training, technology transfer, and local procurement of goods and services. LCPs have shown promise in capturing positive spillover effects from mining (Korinek & Ramdoo, 2017). However, much is still not well-known about the true effect of local content policies in these areas. Moreover, LCPs do not give enough consideration to marginalized groups such as women and indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples and other rural or remote populations often bear the social and environmental cost of extractive industries while obtaining little of the wealth they generate (O'Faircheallaigh, 2015). Recent developments including national and international recognition of Indigenous rights, and the growth of 'corporate social responsibility initiatives among mining corporations, offer the prospect that for Indigenous peoples at least their former economic and social marginalization may be reduced. A case study of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) development in a remote region of Western Australia shows that these changes are indeed creating opportunities to shape the local impacts of extractive industries. It also illustrates that effective political mobilization by Indigenous peoples is essential if they are to grasp these opportunities, especially as growing pressures to expand extractive industries across the globe increase demands for access to Indigenous lands.

The Tanzanian government recently adopted new legislation to reform its oil and gas sector, to safeguard its interests and serve the developmental aspirations of its ordinary citizens. While laudable in spirit and content, these reforms have raised questions about their implementability, particularly about their developmental impact on all Tanzanians (Kamat, Le Billon, Mwaipopo & Raycraft, 2019). While the rhetoric of gas-driven prosperity has contributed to high expectations among communities in the gas-producing region, it has not translated into reality for most individual households. This gap reflects the centralized character of resource governance, the inconsistent way policies about natural gas development have been

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framed and reframed, the unrealistic expectations of prosperity that have pervaded national and local discourses on gas discoveries, the lack of public consultation, and state-directed violence.

To promote equitable distribution of natural resource wealth, there has been a movement towards introducing policies to leverage the resource, promote industrialization, and sustain economic growth. These policies are called local content requirements, legislations, or regulations (Acheampong, Ashong & Svanikier, 2016). Many governments have stated a commitment to ensuring that resource-based investments fuel broad economic growth (White, 2017). While Dobbs, Oppenheim, Thompson, and van der Marel (2013) note that over 90 percent of resource-fueled economies now have local content (LC) regulations, Kinyondo and Villanger (2017) argued that these LCs remain deeply controversial and are associated with rent-seeking corruption and non-productive lobbying. Since, governments continue to use local content requirements despite the highly controversial debate in the literature about their success or failure (Weiss, 2016), it is crucial to determine how local content policies affect sustainable local development.

Kalyuzhnova, Nygaard, Omarov, and Saparbayev (2016) define local content as an industrial tool used to expand the activities of domestic producers by increasing their access to superior international managerial, technical, and technological expertise. Ramdoo (2016) opines that local content is a policy instrument developed by governments to push foreign companies to source the factors of production such as labor, supplies, and technology from the local population. OECD (2016) defines local content as policies that are imposed on foreign firms by host governments to ensure that they use goods and services manufactured locally in their production processes.

In Kenya's legislative framework captured in Local Content Bill (2016), the local content policy also aligns with the constructs of employment, training, sourcing, and technology transfer. In terms of employment, foreign companies in the extractive sector are required to ensure a percentage of their employees are locals. Further, there should be a distinction made between skilled and unskilled labour, and employment in various positions ranging from lower-level to upper-level positions. However, in some cases, there is less prescription and the only focus is on demonstrating job creation and employment of local personnel. In Kenya, under Section 26 of the Local Content Bill, 2016, the oil and gas companies are (a) required to give preference to local persons in employment consideration; (b) minimize the employment of foreign personnel as much as possible; and (c) ensure that foreigners are only employed in positions where local expertise could not be attracted (Local Content Bill, 2016).

The Local Content Bill was intended to support community development in areas where oil exploration occurs in Kenya. In 2012, viable oil was discovered in Turkana County in Kenya. Turkana is a vast arid and semi-arid remote county in Kenya's northwest, bordering Uganda, South Sudan, and Ethiopia, and is home to just under a million Turkana pastoralist people and their livestock. The county is one of the least developed in Kenya and suffers severe and frequent droughts. Mobility across international borders occurs as a mechanism of adaptation to climatic variability, and inter-communal conflict over water and pasture resources, together with reciprocal livestock raiding is common (Mkutu & Wandera, 2016).

The main players in Turkana at present are Tullow PLC/Africa Oil and CEPSA. Tullow/Africa Oil has 10BA (northeast Turkana) in which exploration has currently stalled, and 10BB/13T (south Turkana) in which extraction is planned for 2017-2018. CEPSA has block 11A, where it has completed the seismic survey and plans exploratory drilling towards the latter part of 2015. A planned oil pipeline and road network known as the LAPSSET corridor will traverse

Turkana and link Kenya's coast with South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Uganda, connecting it with a port at Lamu, Kenya which is already under construction (Lokiyo, 2014).

Turkana's land is communally held in trust by the county for pastoralist communities, but the majority has been allocated as oil blocks in agreements with investors. Investment or oil installations can displace pastoralists from important grazing sites and migratory routes. During exploration, around 13 acres of land are fenced for each well. This results in real livelihood difficulties and also high levels of anxiety. It is uncertain how much land will ultimately be inaccessible to pastoralists (Mkutu & Wandera, 2016). Communities may also be displaced from water sources, although boreholes and some water tanks have been provided to communities in various parts of the county. Communities also fear environmental impacts, a valid concern given the devastating environmental impact that the oil industry has had in other parts of the world, such as the Niger Delta. Environmental impact assessments are long and complex, difficult to access, and have not been made available to communities in a simple format.

The greatest cause of tension between communities and investors has been the issue of tenders and jobs, particularly where sub-contractors are concerned (Mkutu & Wandera, 2016). Tullow's report gives a figure of around half of the employees coming from Turkana, this half comprising all the unskilled posts and some semi-skilled posts. Turkana communities, however, have had high expectations and say that they are being left out of opportunities that should belong to them and have requested assistance with training to meet the requirements. The unsustainability of employment together with an insufficient explanation has inflamed tensions further. In some parts of the county, elites have been able to control community-company relations and masterminded the distribution of opportunities such as driving tenders to those who are well-connected, leading to increased tensions and also inter-clan conflicts. However, in other parts, the community has created more representative structures through which jobs are distributed more fairly.

1.1 Problem Statement

Resource extraction fuels the global economy. It also contributes substantially to the national economies of countries from which the oil, gas, and minerals are derived. While the macroeconomic impact of extractive sector operations is significant and positive, the microeconomic impact of extraction enterprises is uneven, and in many cases could be greatly enhanced if companies adopted more explicit policies and practices to expand economic opportunity along their value chains. Even though countries are incorporating local content policies, and increasing legal and regulatory provisions for extractives, their effects on development outcomes are unclear. The communities from which these companies extract commodities are among some of the poorest. Economic opportunity does not flow directly and evenly from multinational extractive companies to those closest to and most affected by their business activities. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the impact of extractive industry local content on community development in Turkana County, Kenya.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Review

The stakeholder theory was proposed by Freeman (1984) as a managerial perspective for identifying the key stakeholders of a firm, and defined stakeholders as entities that "affect or be affected by" a corporation. These entities include business owners, employees, customers, and suppliers. The theory assesses stakeholders' identity based on the possession of one or more of the attributes: power, legitimacy, and urgency, in the relationship. According to

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Donaldson and Preston (1995), there are three main perspectives in stakeholder theory: descriptive, normative, and instrumental. The descriptive perspective describes stakeholder characteristics. The instrumental approach identifies the connections existing between stakeholders and how the connections affect the achievement of overall goals. The normative approach is concerned with the health of these relationships, particularly the guidelines that can be adopted to successfully coordinate and implement objectives (De Vita, Lagoke, &Adesola, 2016).

A stakeholder analysis of the sector's local development policy explores the extent of the interactions between stakeholders and how these interactions are aligned with the specific local content policies. As initially stated, the stakeholder approach is concerned with identifying the entities that are affected by a firm's activities or that affect a firm's activities. There are many stakeholders involved in the extractive sector; particularly the exploration and production work in Tertiary Rift Valley (Turkana) block. These stakeholders range from National agencies, Parliament, County government, Civil Society Organizations, the community, and Licensed Petroleum Companies.

A stakeholder's identity can be characterized based on power, legitimacy, and agency. Firms that possess greater attributes of power, legitimacy, and agency must, of necessity, take into account different issues affecting stakeholders. In this study, the firms holding these three attributes are the upstream oil and gas companies. As captured by the stakeholder theory, the activities carried out by these firms affect the host community.

2.2 Empirical Review

Oshionebo (2019) examined the nature, scope, and contents of Community Development Agreements (CDAs) in Africa's extractive industries. The study assessed the degree to which CDAs enable host communities to participate in project implementation and resource revenue-sharing. Although the study notes that CDAs are potential instruments for local participation in resource projects, it identifies certain factors inhibiting the utility of CDAs in Africa including the power imbalance between extractive companies and host communities. While extractive companies have enormous financial resources that allow them to retain the services of highly trained experts including lawyers, local communities in Africa are predominantly poor and lack the requisite capacity and expertise to negotiate and implement CDAs. The financial power of extractive companies allows these companies to exert a considerable degree of leverage over host communities in Africa. The result is that, in some cases, the terms of CDAs in Africa are dictated by extractive companies. Given this reality, the study suggests that African countries should enact legislative provisions mandating and dictating the contents of CDAs in the extractive sector. Such legislative provisions could ameliorate the power imbalance and ensure that extractive companies do not take unnecessary advantage of their superior power in the course of negotiating CDAs with host communities in Africa.

Abe (2022) investigated the framework of Nigeria's local content laws and policy, and the implications for sustainable development. The legislation is geared towards safeguarding local productivity and aiding the progressive aspirations of Nigeria's citizens. While commendable in principle, there have been questions about policy articulation, implementation, and enforcement mechanisms, especially with regard to the Sustainable Development Goals. The article examines the local content legislation in Nigeria, and how policies have shaped the community-corporate nexus. This exposes the challenges facing extractive resource governance in a jurisdiction such as Nigeria and the discourses that have permeated legal scholarship on the practical deference to local content by non-state actors. It considers that well-designed and implemented local content requirements are catalysts for structural development. To achieve sustainable development of its extractive sector, Nigeria requires state-led determination to stimulate economic growth and development. The article argues for continuous consultation as a bedrock for meaningful engagement.

Geenen (2019) paper speaks to the debate on extractive industries and development. It challenges two fundamental assumptions of the mainstream local content literature: that production linkages will develop if an enabling environment is created, and that local content is beneficial for local people. Based on almost 600 interviews and focus groups in four mining concessions in Ghana and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) it focuses on how local content policies are translated into concrete practices – more particularly around the granting of contracts and employment. In doing so it unravels the political dimensions of local content policies and their structural embeddedness in large-scale extractivist projects. It is argued that local content policies are implemented in complex political arenas, where the power holders use them as political instruments to enhance profit accumulation and control rents. Moreover, they are embedded in the structural dynamics that permeate large-scale extractivist projects, producing (new) patterns of exclusion.

Akena (2019) study analyzed Uganda’s legal requirements on local content, particularly its impact on the rights of women to participate and obtain benefits from extractive industry activities. Regard is had to the fact that much of Africa’s non-renewable natural resources have not been applied to the benefit of its people. Resultantly, governments have developed legislation and other requirements to among others, attract foreign direct investment without unnecessarily disadvantaging the nationals. The research is anchored on the need to improve the livelihood of women in extractive industries and thereby examines the implications of the law on their rights. The recommendations were; embracing gender inclusiveness and taking into account women’s views in policy and law-making, balancing political rhetoric and agenda with the need to secure women’s participation, as well as setting specific quotas to be complied with by extractives companies are paramount. Further, encouragement of women to participate in extractive industry activities, development of more cohesive and gender-inclusive policies as well as the adoption of a strategic approach in extractive industry policy making. Also, the eradication of archaic practices which exclude women from participating in and taking direct benefits in extractives activities. Much as the local content requirements in Uganda are designed to engender equality and equity, more still needs to be done to enhance women’s rights in the extractive industry.

Nwapi (2021) paper argued that local content policies (LCPs) are well embedded in extractive industry regulation in Canada. While the Canadian federal government does not have an official LCP as we know it, as no policy document makes explicit reference to local content, the federal government has incorporated the policy in some form under the federal foreign investment policy since 1973. Local content is also fully embedded in requirements for the submission of benefits plans under accords negotiated between the federal government and the Atlantic provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia to enhance benefits to the provinces from offshore oil and gas development in Canada’s continental shelf appurtenant to the two provinces. Furthermore, unlike in most other countries, LCPs in Canada are not characterized by the setting of stringent targets that companies must fulfill but are instead characterized by a more flexible approach that encourages negotiation between the government and project developers to determine the acceptable level of local content.

Ihugba and Okoro (2017) evaluated the legal framework for promoting sustainable development in the extractive host communities in Nigeria. The extraction of oil and mineral wealth has some environmental, social, economic, and political impact on the host communities. In many instances, these communities do not derive any sustainable developmental benefit from the wealth extraction activities in their area and where they do, it is less than the magnitude of harm suffered. This has contributed to conflicts between the government and host communities, and between host communities and extraction companies. This suggests that either there is no legal framework for extractive industry host community development or they are weak or not applied. In Nigeria, the existing legal framework includes revenue allocation formulas between the Federal and State Governments, the establishment of bodies like the Niger Delta Development Commission, and the enactment of laws like the Nigeria Minerals and Mining Act (NMMA) 2007, the Nigeria Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (NEITI) Act 2007 and the proposal of the Petroleum Industry Bill 2012 and the recently passed Petroleum Industry Governance Bill 2016. However, despite this framework, contentions persist and there is sparse evidence of sustainable development in host communities to counter some conclusions of ineffectiveness.

Mulati (2019) investigated the effect of local content policies on sustainable local development in the upstream oil and gas industry in Kenya. The study sought to determine the effects of employment and training of the local workforce, domestic sourcing of goods and services, and the effect of technology transfer to the local economy on sustainable local development by the upstream oil and gas companies in Kenya. This study sampled papers written by scholars on local development and its effect on community development. The study established that local employment, training of the local workforce, and domestic sourcing of goods have a positive effect on sustainable local development, but the effect was not statistically significant. Technology transfers had a positive and significant effect on sustainable local development. The study concludes that companies have moderately initiated, adopted, and implemented provisions of local content policies and that these policies have the potential of improving sustainable local development. The study recommends the development of a clear policy framework on local employment as part of local content policies. Upstream oil and gas companies should expand the provision of internship opportunities as well as staff learning through cross-posting. There is a need for the upstream segment to increase opportunities for domestic firms. Finally, upstream companies need to develop and adopt technology transfer agreements, form joint ventures, and set aside funding support for local research and development.

3.0 Methodology

The paper adopted a desktop research approach. Desktop research is a type of research that is based on the material published in reports and similar documents that are available in public libraries, websites, and data obtained from surveys already carried out (Zhou & Nunes, 2016). Some organizations also store data that can be used for research purposes. The paper involved a review of existing literature on the impact of extractive industry local content on community development.

4.0 Results

Oshionebo (2019) observed that community development agreements are potential instruments for local participation in resource projects. However, the study identified certain factors inhibiting the utility of CDAs in Africa including power imbalance between extractive companies and host communities. While extractive companies have enormous financial resources that allow them to retain the services of highly trained experts including lawyers, local communities in Africa are predominantly poor and lack the requisite capacity and expertise to negotiate and implement CDAs.

Abe (2022) opined that while commendable in principle, there have been questions about policy articulation, implementation, and enforcement mechanisms, especially with regard to Sustainable Development Goals. The study stated that well-designed and implemented local content requirements are catalysts for structural development. The study argues for continuous consultation as a bedrock for meaningful engagement between extractive companies and host communities.

According to Nwapi (2021), local content policies in Canada are not characterized by the setting of stringent targets that companies must fulfill but are instead characterized by a more flexible approach that encourages negotiation between the government and project developers to determine the acceptable level of local content.

Mulati (2019) found out that local employment, training of the local workforce, and domestic sourcing of goods have a positive effect on sustainable local development, but the effect was not statistically significant. Technology transfers had a positive and significant effect on sustainable local development. The study observed that extractive companies have moderately initiated, adopted, and implemented provisions of local content policies and that these policies have the potential of improving sustainable local development.

5.0 Conclusion

Based on the findings, the paper concludes that extractive industry local content has the potential to boost community development in Turkana County, Kenya. In particular, well-designed and implemented local content requirements are catalysts for sustainable development. Continuous consultation between extractive companies and host communities is critical in achieving meaningful community development. Local employment, training of the local workforce, technology transfers, and domestic sourcing of goods are some of the benefits accruing to the local community from the extractive companies. The implication is that such benefits are likely to lead to sustainable community development.

6.0 Recommendations

The paper makes the following recommendations:

1. The government through parliament should expedite the enactment of bills and create a policy to govern the extractive sector and protect the rights of indigenous communities.
2. There is a need for civil society to assist in understanding the law administrators, security heads, and local people and to provide technical assistance for policy development at the county level.
3. County and national governments need to drive the development of the sector, rather than this being done by the investor
4. Strong well-governed institutions are prerequisites for avoiding conflict over a resource, which is most important when revenues start to flow.
5. A clear coordination framework that includes all the actors is important to reduce tension and suspicion. This should be produced and disseminated to all stakeholders within and outside the state.
6. Formal channels of engagement should be respected and records kept of all communications.

7. The government of Kenya and the county have a responsibility to ensure that revenues benefit the marginalized people of Turkana.
8. Civil society needs training in skills specific to the extractive industry. Civil society has a role in advising people on maintaining fallback mechanisms for livelihood (pastoralism), school attendance, and the dangers of alcohol abuse and sexual networking amongst other new risks for Turkana.
9. Local procurement should be emphasized and enhanced. The county government should, possibly in partnership with civil society and investors, train local people to make them employable (including advanced driving skills, hospitality, and oil industry specialist jobs, construction, and mechanics)
10. There is a need for the development of a clear policy framework on local employment as part of local content policies.
11. Extractive companies should expand the provision of internship opportunities as well as staff learning through cross-posting.
12. Extractive companies to develop and adopt technology transfer agreements, form joint ventures, and set aside funding support for local research and development.

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